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HM History Club

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

We are excited to end this year off with the first issue of Historia!
We are proud to present the diligent efforts and dedication of our writers and editors, and we cannot wait for you to join us on this journey through the annals of history.

This issue of Historia, the HM History Club's newsletter, is centered around the captivating theme of "Revolution, Reaction, Reform." Historia is dedicated to unraveling the intricate tapestry of history and with this issue, we embark on a riveting exploration of historical revolutions and the subsequent waves of reform that reshaped societies.

Through insightful articles, we aim to shed light on pivotal moments of change, be it social, political, or cultural, that have left an indelible mark on the course of history. Through the voices of our club members, Historia provides diverse perspectives and interpretations of the theme.

Our mission is to ignite intellectual curiosity and promote critical thinking, inviting our readers to engage in meaningful discussions surrounding each issue's theme.

We would like to thank all of the students for their incredible work and the dedication of our faculty advisors who support the History Club and Historia: Ms. Morales and Dr. Meyer. None of this would be possible without them!

Happy reading,
The History Club

Erica Jiang
Vice President of History Publications
Volume 1, Issue 001

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Neoconservative Nostos: The Twists and Turns of a Political Movement

BY WILLIAM BRAMWELL

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/e/ec/James_Burnham.jpg/220px-James_Burnham.jpg

JAMES BURNHAM

S ing to me, O Muse, of the creed of many devices, driven time and again off course. Having plundered the citadels of countless lands, with many seasons passed it was ordained to return home.

The creed of which I speak is neoconservatism. Embraced by a small cluster of intellectuals united (at least in recent decades) by their advocacy for an aggressive American foreign policy, this ideology has been a powerful faction in American politics. While most associate neoconservatism with the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, its enigmatic story reaches far deeper into the past, and its influence well into the present. The history of the neocons divides into three parts: their origins in the Trotskyist Left, their conversion to and inundation of the American Right, and finally their return to the Left, albeit its more liberal-democratic version. The neocons' odyssey from Trotsky to Reagan to Biden is long and winding, but without it the story of post-war America would be impossible to tell.

Perhaps no man exemplifies the first half of the neoconservative saga better than the political theorist James Burnham, a Trotskyite activist throughout the 1930s. For Burnham and many other leftists disillusioned with Stalin's Soviet Union, the Ukrainian revolutionary Leon Trotsky—exiled by Stalin in 1929—offered an alternative interpretation of Marxism.[1] Burnham led the Trotskyist takeover of the Socialist Party of America in 1936 and became a leader in Trotsky's Fourth International.[2]

The outbreak of World War II was the first of many shocks that sent the primordial neocons on their path to the Right. After the 1939 Soviet invasion of Eastern Europe, a schism emerged within the Fourth International between those outraged at the Soviet Union and those who supported Stalin's territorial gains, a faction which ironically included Trotsky himself.[3] Burnham's rejection of the Soviet Union and hardline Marxism was manifest in his 1941 bestseller, *The Managerial Revolution*, in which he argued that capitalism had been defeated—not by socialism, but by a large-scale bureaucracy of technocrats. The new regime of managers—whether they be Nazi, Soviet, or American—was destined to control and advance the world. Burnham even praised the Nazi *Gleichschaltung* as a superior economic model to capitalism.[4]

When World War II ended, Burnham stuck with his ideological priors. In his 1950 book, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, Burnham maintained his anti-Soviet streak, and strongly supported not just containment but "rollback" of communism worldwide. Another ideological throughline was his contempt for capitalism and American business: He censured those "greedy" capitalists, whose "monstrous incomes and profits have an antagonizing and demoralizing effect upon the workers."[5] He blamed businessmen for America's sluggish wage growth: "These income statistics are emotional explosives handed gratuitously to the *communist propaganda machine*."[6] What could have been a Trotskyist diatribe from a communiqué of the Fourth International was now a mainstream element of the anti-communist Right! Burnham's foothold on the Right was cemented in 1955, when Burnham and William Buckley founded *National Review*, the most influential publication of the New Right. Buckley himself called Burnham "the number one intellectual influence on *National Review* since the day of its founding."[7]

Burnham's conversion to the American Right was by no means unique among post-war Trotskyists. Their whose anti-Stalinist messianism—which led them to believe that even American capitalism was preferable to the "degenerate" Soviet version of communism—made them welcome in the nascent anti-communist conservative movement. Throughout the 1950s, however, the neocons were still leftist activists: Irving Kristol, the so-called "godfather of neoconservatism," founded *Encounter*, a magazine dedicated to advancing the anti-Stalinist left. The CIA covertly funded *Encounter* because its contributors—despite being socialists—strongly supported containment of the Soviet menace. Norman Podhoretz led *Commentary*, a magazine which had also originated as a forum for socialists. As Podhoretz himself moved to the right, he brought the formerly leftist publication with him.

Perhaps no one's defection from the Left is more shocking than that of Marxist theorist Max Schachtman. After declaring in 1940 that he would sooner have hairs grow out of the palms of his hands than support "American imperialism," Schachtman in the 1960s put his full support behind Richard Nixon and the American effort in the Cold War.[8] Schachtman justified his about-turn by invoking the Trotskyist concept of the "minimum program": the transient reforms taken to improve workers' lives under capitalism before the "maximum program" of the inevitable socialist revolution. Many of Schachtman's followers would become

the leaders of the neoconservative movement. Among these was Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's future ambassador to the UN, who would become known for her staunch advocacy of US alignment with anti-communist authoritarian regimes—later to be coined the "Kirkpatrick Doctrine."

Even as they traveled to the Right throughout the Cold War, these former Trotskyists had not quite shed their ideological skin. While Burnham and Schachtman still clearly wrote in the language of egalitarianism, Irving Kristol did publish a book entitled *Two Cheers for Capitalism*. Kristol's vision of capitalism, however, was still heavily swayed by his socialist heritage. He maintained his hatred of America corporations, which, he explained, "every day…look more and more like a species of dinosaur on its lumbering way to extinction."[9] He continued to look at the economy through the socialist lens of classes with conflicting interests, and polemicized the "stupid party" of conservatives who resisted the welfare state and the state guarantee of a basic social minimum. Though a supply-sider ex officio, Kristol in truth hewed closer to Bismarckian social democracy than Friedmanite libertarianism.

BILL KRISTOL

The neoconservatives triumphed with the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan, himself a former Democrat, who promised to restore American strength after the seeming aimlessness of the 1970s. The duty of the second generation of neocons would thus be to restore "Reaganite" foreign policy to relevance in Washington. These new neocons much resembled their forbearers, most especially because they were their sons: Bill Kris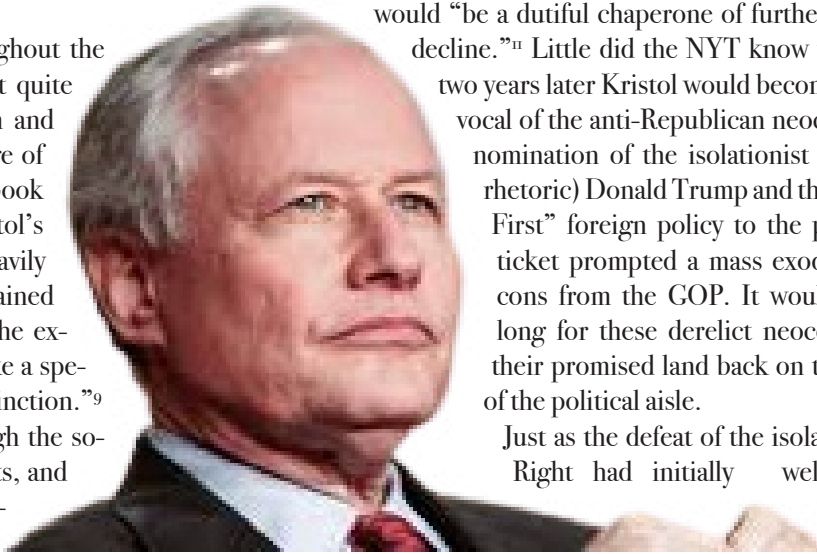tol was the son of Irving Kristol and conservative historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, Robert Kagan the son of Donald Kagan, John Podhoretz the son of Norman

> The duty of the second generation of neocons would thus be to restore "Reaganite" foreign policy to relevance in Washington.

Podhoretz and Midge Decter, a contributor to Commentary and author of the sycophantic biography of Bush 43's Secretary of State, *Rumsfeld: A Personal Portrait*. It was no surprise then that this new wave of neocons rallied around their comrade beneficiary of nepotism: George W. Bush. Following 9/11, Bush promised to impose the "benevolent global hegemony" for which Bill Kristol and Robert Kagan had advocated in their 1996 article, "For a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy."[10] The enemy was no longer the Soviet Union but rather radical Islam. The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the ubiquitous deployment of American troops throughout the world (known as "Operation Enduring Freedom"), was the consummation of the neocons' dreams.

Merely a decade later, the neocons would once again reverse course dramatically. As early as 2014, the neocons began to switch their political allegiance. Disconcerted with the rise of populist

isolationism within the Republican base, the neocons increasingly admired Hillary Clinton for her stint as Obama's Secretary of State. One New York Times op-ed did note one exception to the veneration of Clinton: Bill Kristol, who declared that she would "be a dutiful chaperone of further American decline."[11] Little did the NYT know that merely two years later Kristol would become the most vocal of the anti-Republican neocons, as the nomination of the isolationist (at least in rhetoric) Donald Trump and the "America First" foreign policy to the presidential ticket prompted a mass exodus of neocons from the GOP. It would not take long for these derelict neocons to find their promised land back on the left side of the political aisle.

Just as the defeat of the isolationist Old Right had initially welcomed the neocons into the Republican Party, so the demise of the anti-war Left as a political force makes the neocons feel back at home in the Democratic Party. No Democrat, not even the Progressive caucus or the ostensibly anti-establishment members of "the Squad," opposed the preliminary $40 billion package to Ukraine in May 2022. All 68 votes of dissent in Congress came from the Republican Party: The "temptation of Buchananite neoisolationism"—as Bill Kristol and Robert Kagan had labeled it back in their 1996 article—is slowly gaining traction on the Right. The neocons had forecasted wisely in vacating the party that had been the bulwark of their ideas for 40 years.

Even as they navigated the turbulent ideological sea from communism to conservatism to modern liberalism, the neocons remained universally wed to Trotsky's biggest theoretical contribution: the "permanent revolution." In contrast to Stalin's isolationist "socialism in one country," Trotsky argued that communism would have to be a worldwide force.[12] To Trotsky, the Soviet Union needed to aggressively export communism because its very existence depended on the existence of other communist economies. Though communism is no longer part of the neoconservative mission—and no neocons today would actually self-identify as Trotskyists (with the exception of Stephen Schwartz)—they are nonetheless heirs to the permanent revolution and its eschatological vision of human history. Washington D.C. has merely replaced Moscow as the epicenter of the revolution. Neoconservatism may have been thought dead and buried in the sands of Iraq, but its origin in the frozen tundra of Russia and its telos in the committees of the DNC make it a potent, if fickle, political force.

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THE LEGACY OF THE ARAB SPRING

BY ASHA TANDON

When a young Tunisian fruit vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire to protest the corrupt government that had confiscated his produce in December of 2010, he did not know that his action would be the catalyst for one of the most significant reform movements of the 21st century.[1] His resistance quickly spread through Tunisia, prompting massive waves of protests across the nation that overwhelmed government security forces and ultimately toppled the regime of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali.[2] Ben Ali was known to be an extremely corrupt leader and was later convicted of embezzling public funds as well as smuggling guns, drugs, and historical artifacts.[3] He was also seen as an autocratic leader who was ineffective on issues like the economy and human rights, contributing further to domestic discontent.[4] In December of 2011, though, a new president and prime minister was elected democratically and a new Constitution began to be drafted. This characterized a transformative moment not only for Tunisia but for the entire Middle East.[5]

Revolution quickly spread, and soon Egypt was embroiled in its own parallel uprising. As a mass movement of young Egyptians sparked a wave of protests beginning on January 25th, the government struggled to control the protesters and resorted to violence, in a similar fashion as in Tunisia. Soon after, the military denounced the leader, President Hosni Mubarak, which led him to cede power and replace himself with a council of military leaders.[6] Considered by many as a "Facebook revolution" or "Twitter revolution", the Egyptian Revolution relied on social media to help organize domestic civilians as at the time 84% of young Egyptians received political news from social media. Social media also allowed information to spread from citizen journalists to a larger international audience.

While the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt saw relative success, removing current authoritarian leaders and beginning the process of democratization, the same cannot be said for the other movements inspired by their triumph. These uprisings also centered on tyrannical leaders refusing to step down and led to massive violence and civil conflict, and eventual international intervention. In Libya, mass protest movements against the leader Muammar al-Qaddafi began in February 2011 and were immediately met with violence. Rather than quickly step down as other leaders did, Qaddafi mobilized paramilitary units against the rebels, who became increasingly armed. As these groups fought viciously for control of territory across Libya, such as the key cities of Benghazi and Tripoli, international concern grew. Sanctions from the UN Security Council against the Qaddafi regime were put in place and NATO forces offered support to the rebels, from what is now known as the Transitional National Council (TNC). With the help of Western allies, the TNC was able to seize power, killing Qaddafi and achieving international recognition by 2011.[7] Despite this, a second civil war fueled by foreign troops rocked Libya in 2014 and only ended with a ceasefire in 2020.[8]

Similarly, pro-democracy protests began in Syria in March 2011, pushing back against the authoritarian regime of President Bashar al-Assad.[9] When the government expectedly responded with violence against the protestors and began to torture children who painted anti-Assad graffiti, public backlash swiftly arose. As the revolution continued, international powers quickly stepped in with the US, EU, Arab League, Qatar, Turkey, and Syria backing anti-Assad forces and Russia and Iran continuing their support of the Assad regime. As international actions and UN-established ceasefires failed, rebels allied under the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces. Weapons streamed into the group from Western sources as well as regional allies, while Iran and Lebanon continued to back Assad. Some al-Qaeda-affiliated opposition forces also coalesced and seized control of Iraq-Syria border regions under the moniker Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). US forces turned their attention to fighting off various Islamic extremist groups and then eventually pulled forces out of Syria during the Trump administration. This has left a devastated, war-torn Syria with a civil war that continues to show no signs of stopping.[10]

Yemen, another nation subject to a similar pattern, saw mass pro-democracy protests in January 2011. However, the Yemeni revolution failed to establish a successful government and instead led only to President Ali Abdullah Saleh ceding power to his Vice President, Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi.[11] Unsurprisingly, he was unable to restore stability, and as Houthi insurgents seized control of the presidential palace, this fighting culminated in the 2014 Yemen Civil War. The failure of the rebels and the internationally recog-

PROTESTERS BENEATH A POSTER OF BOUAZIZI

https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/AP_11021397_1-c1f0d1a00d1f1567.jpg?resize=770/k4C513&quality=80

nized Yemeni government to collaborate has led to a protracted conflict, which has rendered far more deadly because of intervention from the Gulf. Additionally, US and Russian involvement, such as airstrikes against al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), has exacerbated the ongoing conflict.

These parallel revolutions quickly became known as the Arab Spring, a reference to the "People's Spring" of 1848.[12] During that period civilians in France, Germany, Italy, and the Austrian Empire rebelled against monarchs, attempting to establish more democratic governments, similar to the aims of those involved in the Arab Spring.[13]

The Arab Spring was certainly a transformative time of renewal and youth, as the name implies, however, questions remain over the long-term impacts and success of the movement. By focusing on the five aforementioned nations, in which the revolutions had tangible impacts on the governmental system, it is clear that the effects of the period have differed substantially between nations. One key metric with which to analyze these revolutions is their original aim, the establishment of democratic governments. While war-torn Libya, Syria, and Yemen clearly fail this metric, so does Egypt, which quickly reverted as Islamic parties gained power. The only longstanding democracy birthed from the revolution was in Tunisia, which enjoyed relative stability and remains successful. Other important aspects of quality of life, such as standard of living and youth unemployment have plummeted in Libya, Syria, and Yemen while remaining stagnant in

> ## These parallel revolutions quickly became known as the Arab Spring, a reference to the 'People's Spring' of 1848.

Tunisia and Egypt.[14] Most importantly, the toll caused by these failed revolutions on citizens has been absolutely massive. 14 million people have become internal or international refugees in Syria, with over 600,000 people killed as of now. On top of the thousands who died throughout the region in the initial uprisings, many more have died or been made refugees due to the ongoing conflicts in Libya and Yemen.

When we analyze the complex legacy of the Arab Spring uprisings, it is crucial that we not only understand the human toll of the conflicts, rooted in Bouazizi's original act of protest, but also how these acts of revolution set the stage for modern conflict in the Middle East. Finally, we must consider and acknowledge the role of US and Western foreign intervention in exacerbating conflict and whether we truly acted in accordance with our supposed national values.

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Threads of Transformation: America Becomes an International Market Leader

BY ERICA JIANG

I n the opening decades of the 19th century, the Market Revolution was a period of transformation for the American way of life. Following the War of 1812, the population gradually increased and the US looked to expand West to take advantage of the new land. The federal government hoped to play a larger role in regulating the nation's trade and infrastructure, unifying and growing the country's economy. The revolution can be framed as a transition from self-reliance and local economies to the dominance of commercial plantations and global markets. To this end, the market revolution introduced a plethora of advanced technology to American society that resulted in a drastic change in the labor force, but also aggravated tensions between classes and facilitated increased exploitation of enslaved people, ultimately leading America to become an international yet internally divided market leader.

Sparked by technological advancements such as the steamboat and cotton gin, the market revolution propelled the United States into a prominent position within the global economy. The first major invention during this period was Eli Whitney's 1793 cotton gin. The amount of short-staple cotton that could be cleaned in one day increased from one pound to fifty pounds with the gin, making cotton a viable cash crop for much of the South.[1] As the cotton gin became more popular between 1793 and 1810, American cotton production swelled from 3,000 to 178,000 bales a year.[2] This marked the decline of tobacco and rice in America, as cotton could be grown on smaller farms with less investment. By 1831, America produced almost half of the world's cotton, dominating the international market.[3] Better transportation accompanied the rise of an easily-available cash crop; Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat in 1807 revolutionized transportation by allowing easier and quicker upriver travel.[4] This knit the North and South together in an integrated economic system with raw materials flowing North, and goods flowing South. As transportation developed, Francis Cabot

THE COTTON GIN

Lowell created the Waltham labor system in 1814. He opened the United States' first fully mechanized textile mill in Massachusetts with his imitation of the English power loom. This system housed the full production process and relied on a new organizational plan with a managerial role.[5] By 1827, the Lowell mills produced 1,045,386 pounds of cloth that year alone, from Southern raw cotton.[6] The high rate of cotton production and the faster rate of transportation in America enabled the factory system to grow and America to enter the international market with the cotton crop.

Coupled with the rise of factories, American women and girls began to join the labor force as opportunities opened up for more independence. Women dominated the factories for a few years, as it was one of the only jobs they could hold outside of the home. At the Lowell mills, nine-tenths of the employees were women.[7] The workers could keep their pay and return home for vacation if they pleased, offering them a newfound freedom and happiness.[8] For example, Mary Paul, an employee at the Lowell mills, wrote in 1846 that she believed the factory was the best place for her, and would encourage other girls to come work as well.[9] However, their independence did not last long. By the end of 1848, the factory conditions had worsened, and the wages were being reduced. Paul wrote to her father that she thought she could not endure her work anymore.[10] In addition to the grueling conditions and meager wages, factory labor was dehumanizing due to the monotonous and insignif- icant nature of the tasks performed. Moreover, the hiring of immigrant men for these jobs, coupled with a minimally regulated market, led to a race to the bottom where wages and working conditions were squeezed to the utmost extent to maximize profits and maintain competitiveness, overshadowing the initial aspirations of creating a more uplifting factory environment.

Although the new labor system appealed to many at first, it instituted wage-working, which exacerbated existing tensions between the working class and elites. As a result of the new system, the US labor force increased from 2,330 in 1810 to 11,110 in 1860.[11] Concurrently, employers began treating their employees
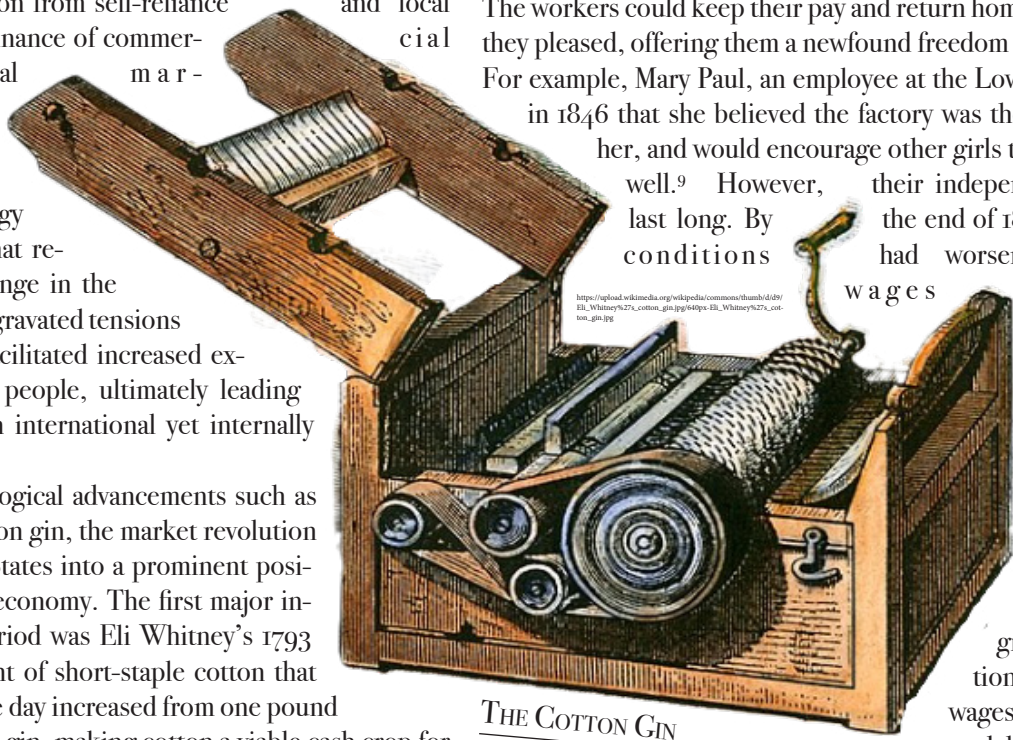
mercilessly, exploiting them for profit. This conflict between management and labor was rooted in the creation of a new, lower class of cheap labor workers, who did not possess many skills besides their work in the assembly line. In an act of defiance, Lowell workers took to the Massachusetts House in 1845 to petition for a change. One worker, Eliza R. Hemingway, testified that the hours were too long and the air quality was dangerous.[12] The workers' lives began to revolve around the clock as their hours increased and conditions decreased, as Hemingway detailed. As immigrants increased the amount of expendable labor, these workers barely made a living wage. In 1840, Orestes Brownson declared that the system of wage labor was the fundamental issue, creating a dependency on the elites. He advocated for the complete abolishment of the system to break the cycle of poverty.[13] Many laborers shared the same opinion, regarding the market revolution as a loss of freedom. The threatened craftsmen created their own Workingmen's parties, lobbying support for candidates who would fight for their rights. Similarly, the first variation of unions and strikes were introduced to Americ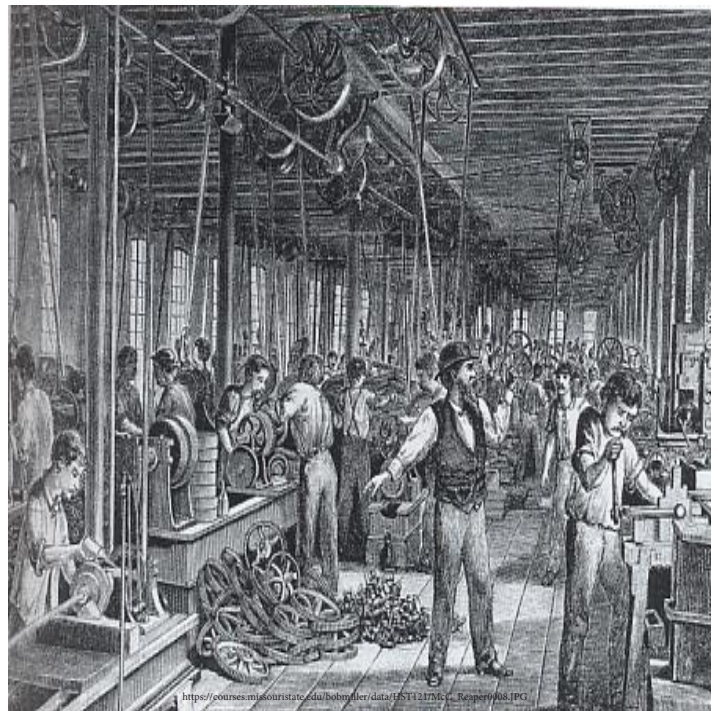an society in the 1830s, demonstrating the power of a unified working class. By the end of the 1830s, factory conditions worsened, and consequently, tensions arose and workers rebelled. Despite the thriving American economy, the existence of class divisions and the persistence of slavery positioned the US as an outlier, aligning it unfavorably with countries like Brazil and Imperial Russia that still practiced serfdom, as Western European nations had already abolished slavery, ultimately impeding its path to becoming a full-fledged international leader.

The institution of slavery, which facilitated the economic boom, also invited international judgment, on top of worsening domestic racial divisions. Although the transatlantic slave trade was banned in 1808, America's internal slave trade continued to grow in order to keep up with high manufacturing rates demanded by the new labor system. Southern slave society continued to grow as better transportation allowed for westward expansion. In 1800, slavery was concentrated in the Chesapeake, but by 1840, western states such as Louisiana housed more than 50,000 slaves, and continued to grow.[14] This correlated with the cotton production from 1800 to 1860, illustrating that the new rise in cotton exports further solidified the institution of slavery.[15] Furthermore, to keep up with the cotton boom, overseers enforced harsh regulations and guidelines; plantation owners believed that enslaved people should be kept in their place.[16] As the population of enslaved people grew, plantation owners needed to be sure that they held full control over their "property in man". Thus, if enslaved people did not fall into place, there were brutal punishments, as Frederick Douglass details in 1852. He recorded that

as a group of enslaved people were being transported, a pregnant woman's speed had slightly faltered, but she was still punished with the "slave-whip" and left with a deep gash on her shoulders.[17] This treatment led more and more enslaved people to rebel in subtle ways. They feigned illness, created familial and communal ties, and fostered religion and traditions. They also used African traditions and culture mixed with Christianity to craft their own group identity. This identity would be ever changing, and makes up a large part of today's African American culture.

The market revolution, with its transformative technological advancements, catapulted the US to the forefront of the international economic stage. However, this remarkable progress came at a steep price—exacerbated racial and class conflicts that thwarted America's ascent as a true leader. As other nations looked down upon a divided America, its energies were sapped by internal tensions instead of being harnessed for robust growth. Tragically, the same revolution that accelerated economic prowess also nurtured the dark underbelly of slavery, staining the nation's history. Today, the legacy of these interconnected phenomena persists, hindering America's journey towards true leadership. The echoes of exploitation, inequality, and racial division reverberate through time, reminding us that until these issues are meaningfully addressed, America's ability to emerge as a genuine leader in the contemporary world will remain incomplete.

This article is adapted from Erica Jiang's paper, "America Becomes an International Market Leader," written for Dr. Bales's U.S. History course.

Despite the thriving American economy, the existence of class divisions and the persistence of slavery positioned the US as an outlier.

https://courses.missouristate.edu/bobmiller/data/HST421/McC_Reaper0908.JPG

Notes

1. Michael McGerr et al., Of the People: A History of the United States, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 271.
2. McGerr et al., Of the People, 272.
3. "Cotton Production in the United States," in Edward E. Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 114.
4. McGerr et al., A History, 274.
5. McGerr et al., A History, 276.
6. "Industrialist Kirk Boott Chronicles the Great Achievements at Lowell, 1827," in Major Problems in American Business History, eds. Regina Lee Blaszczyk & Philip B. Scranton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company 2006) 174.
7. Boot, Achievements at Lowell, 175.
8. McGerr et al., A History, 277.
9. "Mary Paul's Letters, 1845-1848," in Major Problems in American Women's History, ed. Mary Beth Norton (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1989), 176.
10. Paul, Letters, 177.
11. "Labor Force Distribution, 1810 to 1860," in Gary M. Walton and Hugh Rockoff, History of the American Economy, 12th ed. (Mason, South-Western, 2010), 187.
12. "A Lowell Workers' Petition and Legislative Response, 1845," Enduring Voices, Volume 1: to 1877, ed. James J. Lorence (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 181.
13. Orestes Brownson, "The Laboring Classes, (1840)," in Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History, Volume 1, ed. Eric Foner (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 163-166.
14. "Distribution of Slave Population by County, 1800, 1840, and 1860," in Edward E. Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism, (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
15. "Distribution of Cotton Production by County, 1800, 1840, and 1860," in Edward E. Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism, (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
16. "Plantation Order," in Major Problems in the History of the American South Volume 1: The Old South, eds. Paul Escott and David R. Goldfield (Lexington, D.C. Heath and Company, 1990), 310-311.
17. "Frederick Douglass Remembers the Slave Trade, 1852," in Major Problems in American Business History, eds. Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Philip B. Scranton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 144-145.

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"The Most Reprehensible Decision in the History of American Engineering:" How The Ford Pinto Proved People Second to Business

BY ALLISON MARKMAN

One evening in 1963, Ford Motor Company President Arjay Miller drove home from his office in Michigan, a banal and ritualistic endeavor to which he paid little mind. As he drove down the highway congested with its usual rush-hour traffic, another car rear-ended Miller's four-door Lincoln. The car burst into flames, spinning the car vigorously. Fortunately for Miller, his seat belt helped him escape the fiery wreck unscathed. The traumatic event struck Miller; inspired, he promised to build safe, well-constructed vehicles that could save lives. On July 15, 1965, Miller testified before Congress and pledged to control fuel-fed fires, dedicating Ford to offer solutions. He ensured that Ford's new fabric gas tank would not only provide safety from fires but would soon become the industry standard.[1] Five years after Miller made this promise, Ford released the Pinto, a car that killed twenty-seven people and injured 900 due to a misplaced fuel engine that rendered the car combustible on impact. Miller failed to fulfill his promise, as did the federal government when attempting to establish oversight on auto safety protocols. The Ford Pinto and the revelations about Ford Motor Company's unethical business practices revealed the federal government's failure to regulate safety protocols in the auto industry and to protect consumers in the 1970s; this failure of oversight modified the legal culture of the 1970s to not only protect business interests but to seek justice protecting consumers harmed by industrial negligence.

The mid-1960s in America proved to be a time when the American public advocated for justice within society to strengthen the regulation of businesses. Inspired by social activism and the Civil Rights Movement, Americans had a galvanized interest in safety, justice, and federal intervention in previously unregulated territories.[2] Lawyer and activist Ralph Nader's 1965 book, *Unsafe At Any Speed*, highlighted the need to enforce regulation and detailed how car manufacturers were reluctant to spend money on safety precautions.[3] The book sparked a rising public interest in auto safety which grew into a comprehensive government response to auto safety issues which resulted in Congress authorizing the federal government to set safety standards for new cars in 1966 under The National Traffic and Motor Safety Vehicle Act.[4]

Despite an onslaught of federal regulations affecting the auto industry, federal oversight did not promise nor result in greater safety. Oversight failed due to the auto industry's power in defining "safety protocol" for vehicles.[5] Car accidents, thanks to industry narratives and corporate marketing, manifested not as a symptom of poor car design but rather as a consequence of reckless driving and defective infrastructure.[6] While egregiously untrue, Congress authorized money through the National Traffic and Motor Safety Vehicle Act, not to guarantee safer car designs, but to fund infrastructure.[7] The decision was the result of corporate lobbying which restricted government oversight solely to industry-approved targets.[8] These industry-approved targets made the primary sponsor of automobile safety research the auto industry itself. The industry blamed drivers rather than the vehicle mechanisms themselves, resulting in minimal change by the corporation to secure safety.[9] As sociologist Matthew T. Lee writes, "The industry 'owned' the power to define the problem of auto safety and fixed political responsi-

PATTY RAMGE LOOKING AT HER FORD PINTO
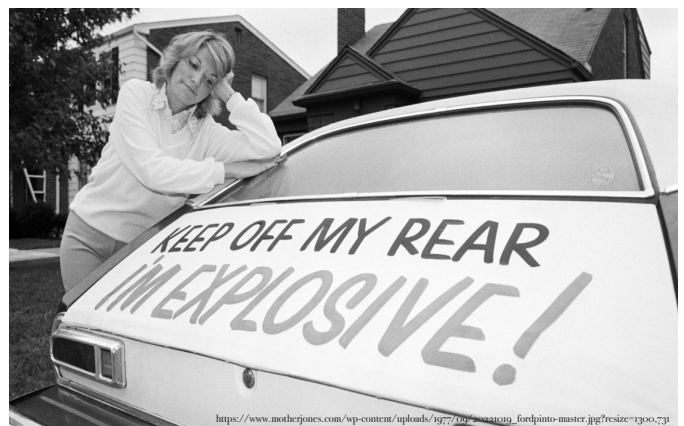
bility to driver behavior and road construction."[10] Further, federal oversight failed to provide consistency in industry standards of safety. For example, some carmakers and manufactures did not feel a duty to protect their consumers against "crash protection," because they felt

THE PINTO

https://townsquare.media/site/295/files/2020/09/pinto-getty.jpg?w=980&q=75

it did not qualify as a "normal operation" of the vehicle.[11] Indeed, allowing some companies to bypass certain safety precautions exemplified how federal oversight failed to protect the consumer.

The federal government's failure to secure consistent safety protocols transpired because of the legal culture of the early 1970s, which often prioritized the protection of business interests over human lives. The legal culture of the 1970s created an environment in which complete implementation of regulatory efforts stalled, as the legal standard during the time placed an extra burden on the government to justify its oversight of businesses.[12] The courts became responsible for determining competing economic visions of the federal government's role in the industry. Two cases governed the extent of government intervention. In 1898, the Supreme Court established in *Smyth v. Ames* the "Rule of Reasonableness," a test required to assess the impact of regulations of businesses affected by the new standard.[13] *Automotive Parts and Accessories Association v. Boyd*, a 1968 case that blocked federal oversight, forced the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

(NHTSA) to hear every objection to proposed interventions.[14] In requiring the NHTSA to hear every objection presented, the courts created an environment in which attempted regulation stalled. Pausing regulation benefitted the auto industry but failed the consumer.[15] These cases hindered NHTSA's ability to regulate the auto industry and restricted the government's regulatory scope. Thus, courts added to the hegemony of the auto industry, allowing corporations to stall regulations and to bypass federal directives, championing business interests over consumer protection.

The legal culture's fixation on business interests in the 1970s and the weak federal regulation of the auto industry led to the popularity of one of the deadliest vehicles on the U.S. market. In 1971, Ford created the Pinto, a stylish, affordable subcompact automobile. In attempting to make the Pinto both stylish and cheap, Ford's management made a questionable decision regarding the positioning of the car's fuel tank.[16]

> The legal culture of the early 1970s often prioritized the protection of business interests over human lives.

Though Ford admitted that a safer gas tank location appeared technologically feasible at the time, Ford prioritized affordability and style over consumer safety.[17] The Ford Pinto not only illustrated some of the ethical issues related to safety at the time, but its fatalities catalyzed public discourse on business regulations and consumer protection. These fatalities included customers such as Sandra Gillepsie whose Ford Pinto caught fire while driving with her thirteen-year-old son, and three

teenage girls in Indiana who burned to death in their Pinto.[18]

A publication, *Mother Jones*, released an exposé on the casualties and Ford's questionable practices surrounding the faulty design. In the exposé, *Mother Jones* revealed that Ford engineers had claimed to be constrained by design and cost limitations, which portrayed how vital engineering decisions meant to protect human lives, championed marketing strategies, and failed consumers.[19] The exposé's greatest finding revealed that the Ford Motor Company knew of its vehicles' lethal deficiencies, and the car's combustible potential in a crash, but kept the car on the market to save costs examined in Ford's cost-benefit analysis.[20] The company prioritized money, exemplified by Ford executive Lee Iacocca's statement "safety doesn't sell."[21] The Pinto's fiery crashes captured the imagination of the American public; the lethal vehicle fueled an existing cultural phenomenon of consumers' "general expectation of justice" and their "entitlement to a higher degree of safety."[22]

Seeking justice, victims of the Pinto went to the courts, an arena that had previously failed them with relaxed federal regulations. Despite judges' complicitness in regulatory failure, juries existed as the primary means by which victims of the Ford Pinto sought justice in the form of compensation. A civil jury in California awarded a plaintiff who had suffered severe burns in a Pinto a record $126 million a few months before the car's recall.[23] The award marked the largest U.S. product liability and personal injury case compensation, solidifying the trial courts as some-

where consumers could seek justice for business misconduct. These large awards for victims solidified the courts as a place for consumer justice. The jury stated, "we came up with this high amount so that Ford wouldn't design cars this way again." Foreman Quinn described the Pinto as "a lousy and unsafe product" and said that the jury wanted a punishment severe enough to sting the big automaker.[24] Between 1971 and 1978, litigants filed nearly fifty lawsuits against Ford for rear-end accidents in Pintos.[25] Through these civil trials, the public took back their power, asserted their discontent, and achieved a small step towards the expectation of justice that Americans in the 1970s demanded. While appellate courts aided the auto industry in reducing federal oversight, the trial courts became forums in which victims sought and received justice in the form of compensation.

The Ford Pinto and its careless design exists almost as an allegory for American life in the 1970s; the Vietnam War, the Iranian Hostage Crisis, and Watergate all accumulated in a conflagration of a decade riddled by public distrust in the government. Perhaps Americans' distrust in government was exacerbated by witnessing its failure to regulate the auto industry, seeing negligence and greed as a symbol of how the government felt about its citizens. Studying the Pinto as an artifact of the 1970s expands our understanding of the Supreme Court as an institution that protected business interests, and how a shift in the legal culture championed trial courts to deliver justice to victims of industry negligence. A car marketed to the American middle class as affordable and safe soon became a consumer's worst nightmare and death for twenty-seven Americans. Ford knowingly placed business interests before human lives, a terrifying notion that fostered a larger ethical conundrum in 1970s America.

This article is adapted from Allison Markman's year-long paper, "'The Most Reprehensible Decision in the History of American Engineering:' How The Ford Pinto Proved People Second to Business," written for Dr. Strauss's Contemporary U.S. History course.

Notes

1. Dowie, "Pinto Madness."
2. The concern for safety in American life and society was not solely limited to the automobile industry; this newfound concern in safety and welfare was also manifested in America's interest in environmentalism, particularly the suburban anxieties of clean water and air. Despite these concerns, the auto industry continued to stay dominant in their own safety protocols whilst the government continued to have a minimal presence. Adam Rome, "Give Earth a Chance": The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," The Journal of American History 90, no. 2 (2003): 535, https://doi.org/10.2307/3659443.
3. Michael R. Lemov, Car Safety Wars : One Hundred Years of Technology, Politics, and Death (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), 53, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/horacemann/detail.action?docID=2000873.
4. The Act deemed seat belts and other safety equipment mandatory. Lemov, Car Safety, 53.
5. The industry's dominance in standardizing regulations meant that government oversight simply became glorified funding. Lemov, Car Safety, 103.
6. Lemov, Car Safety, 50.
7. A 1965 Senate Bill invested $320 million in highway-beautification, $5 million to study ways to dispose of scrapped cars, and a low $500,000 for a Commerce Department study of highway safety. Lee, "The Ford," 394.
8. Matthew T. Lee, "The Ford Pinto Case and the Development of Auto Safety Regulations, 1893–1978," Business and Economic History 27, no. 2 (1998): 394, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23703151.
9. Lemov, Car Safety, 50.
10. Lee, "The Ford," 394.
11. Lee, "The Ford," 395.
12. "Legal Culture" is defined by Lee in the article as patterns of assumptions that determine both the scope and nature of legal activity. Lee, "The Ford," 395.
13. Smyth v. Ames, 169 U.S. 466, 18 S. Ct. 418, (1898).
14. Lee, "The Ford," 398.
15. Lee, "The Ford," 398.
16. Ford engineers placed the tank under the rear axle versus over the axle, like in most vehicles, to conform to certain design aesthetics. Dowie, "Pinto Madness."

17. Dowie, "Pinto Madness."

18. On a brisk Minneapolis afternoon, Sandra Gilleseppe drove her Ford Pinto with her young son, Robbie Carlton. As she attempted to merge lanes, her car got rear-ended at a steady speed of twenty-eight miles per hour. Her gas tank exploded and caught on fire, killing Sandra and charring off the ear and nose of her thirteen year old son who suffered severe burns. Regrettably, Sandra and Robbie were not the only victims so devastatingly affected by the Ford Motor Company's faulty design. Dowie, "Pinto Madness."

19. John R. Danley, "Polishing up the Pinto: Legal Liability, Moral Blame, and Risk," Business Ethics Quarterly 15, no. 2 (2005): 207, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3857678.

20. Lee, "The Ford," 398.

21. Lemov, Car Safety, 54.

22. Lemov, Car Safety, 169.

23. On appeal, Ford contested the trial court judgment on the basis of errors, and contested the punitive damages award on the grounds of an absence of malice and that the punitive damages award was not authorized by statute and was unconstitutional. The appellate court affirmed the trial court. Grimshaw v. Ford Motor Co. 119 Cal. App. 3d 757, 174 Cal. Rptr. 348 (1981). The award was later reduced from $126 million to $6.6 million, though the judge stated that Ford's institutional mentality was shown to be one of callous indifference to public safety and that there was substantial evidence that Ford's conduct constituted conscious disregard of the consuming public. Danley, "Polishing up the Pinto."

24. Roy J. Harris, "Jury in Pinto Crash Case: 'We Wanted Ford to Take Notice,'" The Washington Post, February 15, 1978, accessed December 11, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/02/15/jury-in-pinto-crash-case-we-wanted-ford-to-take-notice/996a9aa5-8f48-4541-8553-19c63f666830/.

25. Dowie, "Pinto Madness."

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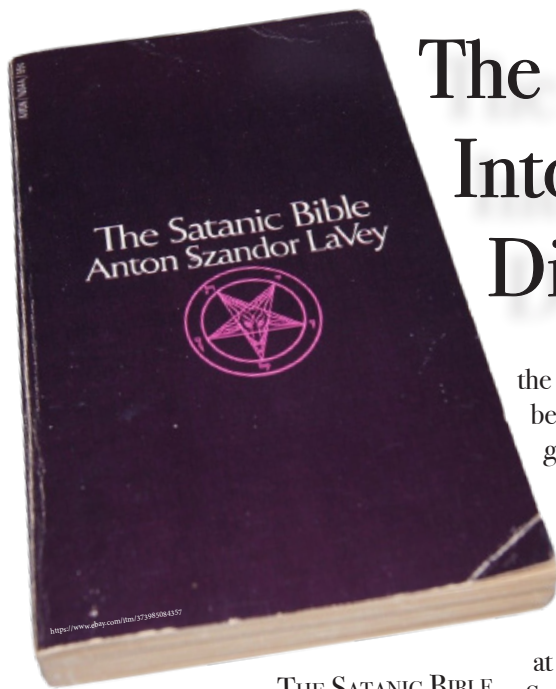
The Satanic Bible: A Window Into 1960s American Religious Dissatisfaction

BY SOPHIA LIU

THE SATANIC BIBLE

When former police photographer, carnival artist, and self-proclaimed satanic expert Anton Szandor LaVey formed the Church of Satan in 1966, his main reasoning had been to receive tax benefits on his satanic consultation business. However, what initially began as a tax loophole quickly became a movement that established contemporary Satanism in the United States. Hoping to capitalize on further popularity and financial success, LaVey published *The Satanic Bible* in 1969, a book that served as the church's primary scripture. In the Bible, LaVey critiqued traditional Christian values, such as disapproval of pride and greed, and instead promoted their opposites, encouraging Satanists to engage in "all of the so-called sins, as they all lead to physical, mental, or emotional gratification!"[1] Despite plagiarizing a wide variety of sources, from pulp fiction novels to philosopher Frederich Nietzsche, LaVey's *Satanic Bible* became an international hit and inspired Satanists and other satanic sects for decades to come.[2]

LaVey's *Satanic Bible* came at a period of great social turmoil; large-scale activist movements like the Civil Rights Movement and anti-Vietnam War protests headlined the news, making many Americans begin to question dominant religious values, drawing them away from Christianity and towards alternative, less-established religions like the Church of Satan.[3] Despite never having more than a few thousand active members at any given time, the Church of Satan faced fierce opposition from conservative religious Americans due to their perception of *The Satanic Bible* as a departure from moral values.[4] By challenging traditional Christian values and mocking the Christian Church, *The Satanic Bible* contributed to both the rise of a new religious counterculture generation during the end of the 1960s and the inflammatory response of anti-cult conservative Christians during the 1970s.

Changing political and social dynamics during the 1960s pushed many Americans who were becoming more affluent and educated to seek alternative religions or New Religious Movements (NRMs).[5] While the Civil Rights movement and the feminist movement challenged American social norms, the anti-Vietnam War movement caused many Americans to become politically disillusioned with the strength and competency of the federal government. As Americans reexamined their views on the patriarchy, white supremacy, and the U.S.'s foreign policy, the counterculture movement also led to a collapse of American religious beliefs. Specifically, many members of the counterculture movement began to challenge the traditional Judeo-Christian model of religion, turning to other religious movements for spiritual guidance.[6] The 1965 Immigration Act, which removed racial quotas for immigrants entering the United States, brought Asian and African-derived religious sects into the country, but NRMs also took a more provocative form, directly opposing established Judeo-Christian religions. Such domestically-based NRMs included the Church of Satan.[7]

The contents and the ideology of *The Satanic Bible*, particularly LaVey's mockery of the Christian Church, reflected the sentiments of the 1960s counterculture movement. Firstly, the name "Church of Satan" itself directly challenges Christianity, asserting its status as a church while also worshiping Satan, the embodiment of evil and the antithesis of anti-Christian belief. Additionally, LaVey saw Christianity as a hypocritical religion and conveyed this repeatedly in *The Satanic Bible*; for example, he denounced how traditional Christians would pray constantly for personal enrichment, but denounced chasing pleasure as satanic at the same time.[8] Similarly, in LaVey's Nine Satanic Statements, intended to replace the Judeo-Christian Bible's Ten Commandments, he points out Christianity's fixation on Satan, saying, "Satan has been the best friend the [Christian Church] has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years!"[9] As the United States became increasingly secular during the 1960s, with over a third of all Americans leaving the denomination in which their parents had raised them, participants in counterculture became drawn to the Church of Satan, a community that embraced guilt-free personal gratification and opposed the socially restrictive rules of Christianity.[10] In this way, frustration with Christianity pushed counterculture

youth towards anti-Christian groups like the Church of Satan as a means of rejecting the religion's social repression and traditionalist values.

Support for *The Satanic Bible* characterized an American departure from devout Christianity during the 1960s and the turn towards NRMs during the 1960s; however, even more so, the Church of Satan provided a crucial lens into the conservative religious resurgence of the 1970s and the Religious Right's opposition to sexual freedom. As the United States became more progressive due to the 1960s social activist groups, the Supreme Court lifted censorship of obscene books and films, ended prohibitions on birth control, and legalized abortion, leaving conservative Christians increasingly exasperated, feeling that the nation had moved away from public decency.[11] The arrival of NRMs created to criticize Christianity only exacerbated religious conservatives' interest in returning to so-called traditional values. Efforts to curb Christianity-related NRMs began in the early 1970s when concerned parents of youth involved

ANTON SZANDOR LAVEY

https://www.scribd.com/article/490649842/Friend-Of-The-Devil

in the Children of God cult created the first organized anti-cult initiative, Free Our Children from the Children of God (FREECOG).[12] Despite holding fundamental Christian values, the Children of God, later renamed The Family, also promoted unconventional views about sexual activity, including using sex as a means

of recruitment and encouraging consensual extramarital sex as a means of sharing "God's Love."[13] Such beliefs directly counteracted more traditional Christian values, which opposed sex education and all nonmarital sex, much less extramarital sex.[14] Conservative Christians would not grow into a major social and political force until the beginning of the 1980s; nonetheless, NRMs promoting sexual freedom made religious conservatives feel under threat during the 1970s as well.

Similarly to the Children of God, *The Satanic Bible* also supported freedom from Christian sexual repression, and intentionally flaunted this aspect of the Church of Satan in order to spark an inflammatory Christian conservative response. Although *The Satanic Bible* did not condone extramarital sex like the Children of God, the book's section on Satanic sex preached incredibly unfamiliar sexual freedoms for the 1960s, validating and encouraging homosexuality, bisexuality, and even asexuality among its members, as well as any sexual act between consenting parties, so long as it caused harm to no one else.[15] As conservative Christians continued to oppose homosexuality and any other form of sexual deviation, such a scripture contributed to their feeling that the United States "was spiraling downward toward Hell."[16] Additionally, LaVey aimed to gain both personal attention and support for the Church of Satan by garnering Christian opposition, inviting news channels and journalists to public satanic rituals to exaggerate the popularity of the Church of Satan. These rituals included the satanic wedding between John Raymond and Judith Case, the satanic baptism of LaVey's daughter, and other satanic

events, one even displaying a nude woman as the altar.[17] Combined with LaVey's self-given title as the "Black Pope," his shaven head, and his pet Nubian lion, the scenes of satanic activity on the news galvanized fundamental Christians to bring America back to conservative, traditional beliefs once again.

The Satanic Bible provided an important view into the nationwide disillusionment of dominant social and religious systems during the 1960s and 1970s, while also laying the foundations of the Religious Right and initiatives against New Religious Movements through its anti-Christian attention-grabbing rituals. After fundamentalist Christians began to publicly oppose NRMs in the 1970s, anti-Satanist initiatives soared to popularity the next decade in a movement called the Satanic Panic. Exacerbating anti-Satanist sentiments seen during the 1970s, accusations against the Church of Satan became increasingly severe, including allegations of satanic rituals sacrificing children to harvest their life energy; during the 1980s, some estimated that Satanists sacrificed fifty to sixty thousand babies every year.[18] Although statistics regarding satanic-driven violence have varied in reliability, little evidence confirmed any violent activity among satanic churches, and investigations regarding the relationship between Satanism and unexplained animal deaths, sociopathic murderers, and heavy metal music found no connection.[19] Still, the exaggerated and disproportionate anti-Satanist response to the Church of Satan signaled an end to nationwide support for the 1960s progressivism. In the following decade, support for sexual liberation and personal indulgence in organizations like the Church of Satan would become buried underneath conservative religious groups.

This article is adapted from Sophia Liu's year-long paper, "The Satanic Bible: A Window Into 1960s American Religious Dissatisfaction," written for Dr. Straus's Contemporary U.S History course.

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Book Review of *Munich* By: Robert Harris

BY ALEXANDRE SAINT-SAUVEUR

The atrocities of war following the Munich Agreement in 1938 tell us the outcome of this final plea for peace, yet, in his historical fiction novel, *Munich*, Robert Harris tells us what could have been. *Munich* provides a thrilling retelling of the Munich Agreement and the days leading up to it through the perspective of Oxford graduates Hugh Legat, the private secretary to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, and Paul von Hartmann, a diplomat at the German foreign ministry and a member of an anti-Hitler group. Harris describes pre-war Britain and Germany through their eyes in excruciating detail, outlining soldiers installing anti-aircraft guns "as if they feared the Luftwaffe might appear at any moment." Harris also provides an overview of the hectic and exhausted state of 10 Downing Street, where "the pale green Ministry of Works linoleum" and unassuming furnishing housed overworked British government employees, including Legat, who was awake until three in the morning collecting documents for the Prime Minister. In contrast, Berlin is aptly characterized by "the dome of the Haus Vaterland, with its UFA-cinema and its giant cafe...lit by traceries of four thousand electric bulbs." More importantly, though, was the crowded, pro-Hitler gatherings in Berlin that drew hundreds seeking to demonstrate their patriotism to the Third Reich.[1]
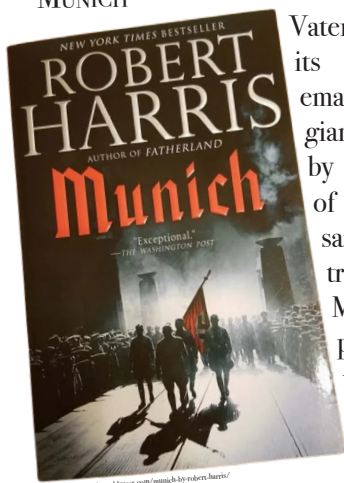
Harris begins his expert crafting of Legat and Hartmann's collision course three days before the Agreement, on Tuesday, September 27, 1938. When Hartmann receives a classified document about Hitler's clear intent to invade Czechoslovakia, he anonymously relays the information to Legat, who, after presenting the message to the British Secret Intelligence Service, is sent to the Munich Accord as a part of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's party. On that same night, Hartmann attends a meeting to plot against the regime, presenting the same information: "'if Hitler issues the order for mobilisation tomorrow, there is a good chance the Army will disobey it and move against the regime instead.'" In reaction to this dire situation, the resistance devises a plan to arrest Hitler the following day with the help of the army. However, when Hitler delays his plans for war, this revolution is canceled. Hartmann and the rest of the German resistance decide that it is unreasonable to kill Hitler, and instead a new strategy for reform is devised. The resistance will combat the Third Reich by relaying additional inside information to the Allies; to do so, Hartmann is to go to the Munich Accord to provide further classified information to Legat.[2]

Although Legat and Hartmann's revolution against Hitler may seem abstract, Harris grounds the plot through the pro-

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tagonists' roles, albeit minor, once they arrive in Munich. Largely relegated to the sideline, Legat is ordered to stay at the hotel to establish an open line to London. At the same time, Hartmann describes himself as "only the messenger" for foreign dignitaries at the conference. All the while, Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini, and their advisors continue their negotiations, edging closer and closer to signing a resolution.

Perhaps the novel's most enticing aspect is Harris's ability to write from facts while simultaneously keeping readers immersed in a thrilling plot of Legat and Hartmann's efforts to inspire reform and prevent the Munich Accord from going into effect. Harris performs this style of writing by detailing the actual events of the Munich Accord, while at the same time, pushing Legat and Hartmann to the forefront of the story line. While the European leaders continue to deliberate inside the Fürherbau, Legat and Hartmann escape to a nearby beer garden. Though "in the undergrowth [in the beer garden] around them any number of eyes could be watching," Hartmann hands Legat classified evidence of Hitler's imminent intentions for war, pleading Legat to arrange a meeting

with the British Prime minister. Through this meeting, Hartmann is seeking to personally relay classified information to Prime Minister Chamberlain, and in doing so, convince him to not sign the Munich Agreement.[3]

The climax of the book occurs that same night when Hartmann is granted a meeting with the Prime Minister, who, to his dismay, refuses to reconsider proceeding with the peace treaty. All hope of reform is lost at this point, and Harris makes it clear the pair of Oxford graduates cannot change the course of history.

Robert Harris' *Munich* is a brilliant novel that transforms the Munich Accord from one of history's greatest blunders into a thrilling tale of revolution and dissent against the German regime. Instead of focusing on the significant historical figures, Harris' historical fiction plot brings the event to life through the lens of Hugh Legat and Paul von Hartmann. The story is exhilarating, yet it is certainly not devoid of historical fact: Harris' thorough research is underscored in his vivid descriptions of wartime London and Berlin, as well as Hitler and Chamberlain's personas leading up to and during the Munich accord.

That being said, perhaps Harris could have made more of an effort to flesh out the plot of Legat and Hartmann's relationship. Instead of having the entire action-filled novel take place over four days, Harris might have told the story over a more extended period of time, even exploring Legat and Hartmann's friendship back when they were still at Oxford. I originally picked up *Munich* after it was recommended to me, and I hope this recommendation does the same, making the book appealing to read. *Munich* reflects Harris' uncanny ability to write compelling, accurate historical fiction, making the novel a must-read.

Notes

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THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE: A PIVOTAL SHIFT FOR THE FUTURE OF JUDAISM

BY COCO TRENTALANCIA

Judaism's history can be traced back almost four thousand years. It is one of the oldest monotheistic religions based on a covenant made between G-d, Abraham, and his people – later known as the Jews. For the purposes of this paper, the term "Judaism" encompasses the Jewish people's laws, practices, traditions, and culture. Because the history is long, Judaism is often studied through the lens of different eras. The First Temple period was defined by the construction of the Temple of Solomon in the capital of Jerusalem during the Babylonian captivity of the Jews. Under the First Temple, the priesthood had been submissive to the monarchs, until King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon ordered the temple be destroyed. The Jews eventually rebuilt their temple and, free from monarchs, formed semi-autonomous communities governed by their own laws and customs.[1] This marked the Second Temple Period beginning in 520 BCE, a time of prosperity in which the sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots and eventually early Christians formed. The Temple was the central hub of the religion and rituals and sacrifices revolved around it.

Eventually the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in 70 CE and radically altered the trajectory of the religion. In this paper, I will explore the shifts that took place in Judaism by analyzing the following metrics before and after the destruction of the Second Temple: practices and rituals, religious authority, and the evolution of Jewish theodicy. After the hub of rituals and sacrifices was destroyed, Jews turned towards prayer, Torah study, and adapted rituals aimed at commemorating a shared past. In order to distinguish themselves from the rising sect of Christianity and ensure the survival of their religion, the Jews remained unified through commemorating a shared past as they were geographically spread around the world. Furthermore, G-d's judgment was ultimately viewed as beneficial for the religion, allowing Jews to understand "evil" from a new lense.

After the destruction of the Second Temple, practices and rituals shifted toward the home, and prayer was emphasized over sacrifice. This flexibility made it easier for dispersed families to continue their worship and adjust to a new reality. The Jewish people were committed to ensuring their religion would not only survive, but spread throughout the world during the diaspora. It was clear that something had to be done, or else Judaism would be gone too soon. One scholar claims Jews faced three potential solutions: cleave to tradition and reject the new, adopt the new and reject tradition, or reconcile the two.[2] This shows that Judaism was committed to both tradition and adaptation. So how did this manifest specifically? Before the destruction of the Second Temple, in order to identify as a Jew, "three things were required...as an indication that they had accepted the Torah (Law): circumcision, the offering of a sacrifice, and complete immersion in a miqveh."[3] But the miqveh no longer existed; it was destroyed. After the destruction of the Second Temple, instead of the requirement of full immersion in the ritual pool, it was declared sufficient to rinse "the head and most of the body" with "drawn water."[4] This meant that Jews could perform rituals within their home as they were no longer dependent on the temple. Being able to do such an important ritual in the home made Judaism a domestic-friendly religion: it was for families that could be anywhere in the world.

Another important ritualistic shift following the destruction of the second temple was the replacement of sacrificial rites with temple prayer. The "Amidah prayer" is the "central prayer in the Jewish liturgy" that ensures individuals are able to repent for their sins.[5] Prayer enabled followers to engage in religious activities anywhere, including in their own homes. This contributed to the expansion of Judaism. The prayer now accomplishes the goal of repenting for sin. It was recognized that "prayer evolved as it became more structured, and came to serve as "a novelty, a legitimate and adequate substitute for the sacrificial rite."[6] This formed a monumental shift for Jews as they were still able to feel like they were substantially connected with their faith and repenting, even if it was in a new form they had to adjust to.

How do we see the effects of this shift today in Jewish rituals? We see it in certain prayers, like the quote the groom has to recite at his wedding. He states, "if I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its skill. May my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth if I do not remember you, if I do not consider Jerusalem my highest joy." This clearly exemplifies the Jewish idea of the past being part of the present, which we will explore later on. The destruction of the temple is to be remembered and is therefore implemented into rituals that persist today.[7]

But who made these decisions? Who held authority within the religion during and after the destruction? During the Second Temple period, each sect of Jews had different ideas that conflicted with one another. As time went on, Messianic Jews started to splinter off and follow a charismatic leader, and the other sects realized that division would only have their reli-

gion further disappear. It became evident that unifying was the only way the religion would sustain itself, and so the Pharisees gave birth to Rabbinic Judaism, which emphasized a new, blessed Torah as the shared text that would unite Jews and ensure their survival.

During this period, there was no longer a native king ruling in Judah. Judah was now considered a part of the Persian empire. Due to the absence of the monarchy, the high priesthood gained more prominence in the Second Temple era than it had previously, and the Temple was even more vital to the life of the people than before. Judah was now a temple-state, a territory based on and dominated by its temple-establishment, which consisted of four different sects: the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots. Pharisees believed in the unifying power of the oral tradition ("the unwritten Torah"), which remains a foundation of Jewish theology. Laying the foundation for Rabbinic Judaism, "the Pharisees removed various religious rituals from the Temple precincts, expanding them to involve the general populace outside of the Temple."[8] By making decisions to ensure the survival of the faith, the Pharisees emerged as the leading authority within the religion. They not only made the rituals more accessible to families across the globe, but they made important claims about authority in general, like claiming that knowledge is a collective effort. In their teachings on authority, they state: "this authority may be human (the father and the wise in the wisdom tradition), or it may be divine (G-d or the Torah of G-d), but it is a recognition of the fact that the coordination of desire and knowledge is not conceived of as an individual project but is always placed in a collective or social context."[9] Authority can come from fathers, the Torah, or from the collective. Unlike the early Christians who splintered off, the Pharisees emphasized a collective, communal religion that

didn't center on an otherworldly figure or prophet, or even a central location. It was found that, "[D]espite the yearnings for Zion and Jerusalem, Jews developed a sense of identification and belonging to the places where they lived."[10] The Jewish religion, which depended on ritual gath-

> The Jewish religion, which depended on ritual gatherings with the clergy, oral traditions and sacrificial rituals, was now reconstructed around written scripture and communal authority.

erings with the clergy, oral traditions and sacrificial rituals, was now reconstructed around written scripture and communal authority. This united the sects as one and laid the foundation for Judaism being an itinerant and communal religion, a religion that didn't need a geographic center.

The final metric I will explore is theodicy. How did the Jews, who were consid-ered to be the chosen people destined for greatness, philosophically understand the temple getting destroyed? How can a perfectly good all mighty G-d permit evil? In this final section, I will argue that the destruction of the temple showed a just G-d capable of punishment, resilience, and a unique relationship with the past.

One of the major sources for how theodicy evolved in Judaism through conflict is the Hebrew Bible. Second Maccabees states that the Temple was desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes because of the sins of Israel. Additionally, the book provides substantial information as "it goes beyond the simple correlation of destruction and Israel's sin. In this punishment, justly administered by G-d, he saw a loud proclamation of G-d's justice. Such ideas are found throughout the period and continue alive in later jewish literature."[11] In other words, evil is fundamental to any human, and the evils that G-d inflicts on humans are completely deserved. It is likewise one of the

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fundamental principles of the Law of Moses that "it is in no way possible that He, may He be exalted, should be unjust."[12] Evil is an essential construct that states that individuals who deserve it shall receive it. In response to the Christians, the Pharisees devoted themselves to Torah, since they felt the disciples of Jesus were a threat to Judaism. The disciples of Jesus felt the same way as they "were strongly opposed to the Pharisees and considered them adversaries, and in the heat of arguments they accused their former teachers, the Pharisees, of being hypocrites for not accepting Jesus as the Messiah."[13] Perhaps as a reaction to being considered evil for not accepting Jesus as the Messiah, the Pharisees devoted themselves to the Torah as a fundamentalist response to the Christians splintering off and as a way to form their own identity, paving the way for the future of Rabbinic Judaism.

In order to understand the present, events of the past have to be understood. Michael Stone writes that "in the attempt to comprehend the destruction, the idea arose that by recounting, examining and evaluating the events of the past, a basis could be found for understanding the present."[14] The Temple getting destroyed was a momentous act of justice that Jews commemorate often in order to remember to follow the Torah and trust in their communal identity. Although I have framed the Christians' splintering off as an "evil action" that triggered G-d's judgment, one could say that it might have benefited Jews, since it helped the religion identity itself in opposition to something else, and helped splintered sects come together to form a stronger whole. In this sense, one might perceive it otherwise.

Before the destruction of the Second Temple, Jews perceived G-d as all powerful and good, but they realized that if they disobeyed him, there would be judgment in the form of suffering. "Evil" was inflicted by a just G-d. However, after the destruction, the shift in theodicy was that punishment was still inflicted by a just G-d, except it now carried concrete benefits, like a clearly unified identity, a more communal interpretation of the Torah, and a Jewish sense of resilience. Maybe it was not "evil" after all.

Overall, the destruction of the Second Temple caused a restructuring of Jewish culture in order for survival. After being "punished," or united, by G-d, depending on how one sees it, the Jews called on their strength, resilience, and perseverance to adapt to their circumstances. They replaced certain temple rituals such as handwashing with prayer and oral practices. Torah study and other customs shifted so that they could still be done at home in order to commemorate critical events, such as the destruction. The Jews united under the umbrella of what would come to be Rabbinic Judaism, emphasizing Torah study and communal authority. They re-evaluated what was "evil," or theodicy as we may now know as an almighty G-d permitting evil. As previously stated, by "recounting, exawmining and evaluating the events of the past, a basis could be found for understanding the present."[15] The destruction of the Second Temple was a pivotal moment that Jews remember to this day in order to understand their place in the current world.

This article is adapted from Coco Trentalancia's semester-long paper, "The Destruction of the Second Temple: A Pivotal Shift for the Future of Judaism," written for Mr. Reed's Religion in History course.

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SUMMARY OF THE GRECO-PERSIAN WAR

BY ZACK PELOSKY

The Greco-Persian war was a series of kinetic conflicts between the uber-powerful Persian Empire and the formidable amalgamation of city-states under the jurisdiction of the Greek Empire. Commencing in 499 BCE, the war lasted nearly five decades until the two empires signed a peace treaty in 449 BCE.

In 547 BCE, at the preliminary zenith of the enormous Persian Empire, Cyrus the Great - the father of the Achaemenid Empire - invaded Greek Ionia (present day Turkey). Subsequently, Cyrus endowed the Ionian colonies to numerous tyrants who served as puppets to the looming Persian empire. However, this proved to be a fatal mistake as the occupation served to be the catalyst of the fifty year war that followed.

In 499 BCE, several Ionian states rebelled against their occupying power, the Persian Empire. Expressing their discontent, the Greeks felt that death was preferable to living at the whims of capricious, puppet despots. Therefore, four formerly Greek city states in the Asian minor rebelled with the Ionians in a conflict known as the Ionian revolt. This revolt served as the first major conflict in the Greco-Persian war.

Initially, these Ionian sovereignties found success as they triumphed over the discombobulated Persian Empire and thereafter regained much of their territory. Still, under the new Persian Emperor Darius, the Persian Army (One of the largest in human history), led a three-pronged attack against the Ionians and, once again, defeated much of the Greek army. However, the Athenians who proved to be the most powerful city-state at the time, pledged nearly two-dozen warships to support the ionian effort against the Persian. Therefore, small battles continued until 494 BCE. Then, the Persian Army and Navy had regrouped and decisively quelled the nearly successful rebellion.

Though the revolt had ended, Darius was irate as the Athenians supported the anti-Persian naval effort. Therefore, seek-

https://www.britannica.com/event/Greco-Persian-Wars

THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS, GREECE

ing revenge, Darius organized and prepared for an all-out invasion of mainland Greece. In 492, Darius and his son-in-law Mardonius commenced the re-integration of semi-autonomous Thrace. The next year, Darius ordered the invasion of Euboea and Eretria. After nearly a week of combat, the city was surrendered to the Persians.

In the following months, the Persian fleet and army sailed to Marathon, where they met the well trained and equipped Athenian army. For the first five days, the battle remained a stalemate. Then, Darius ordered the retreat of the Persians to allow them to sail to Athens and take advantage of the preoccupied Greek army. However, unexpectedly, nearly 10,000 Greek warriors surrendered the high ground and began to attack the Persian infantry. The risk paid off; 6,400 Persian bodies were counted while the Athenians lost only 192. Immediately after, the Athenians raced to Athens and arrived before the Persians. Knowing the Athenians had returned before the Persians could attack, the fleet retreated back to Asia.

In the wake of the naval retreat, a post war period of informal conflict lasted for the next decade. However, the newer emperor Xerxes (the son of Darius) planned another invasion, leading to the clash of empires at the legendary battle of Thermopylae. Despite losing the territory, Leonidas, the King of Athens, played a crucial role in securing a decisive Greek victory. In a hail mary, a few hundred Greek warriors were able to kill thousands of Persians, despite a 100% casualty level.

Months later, the empires met at Salamis. Ending in a Greek victory, the Greek navy was able to flank the Persians and sink over 200 Persian vessels. In turn, the Greeks seized naval superiority and essentially made any Persian invasion effort improbable.

For the next three decades, small, indecisive battles occurred with no decisive victor. Greek counterattacks and invasion efforts ensued, but they only ended in stalemate with little territorial gain. The war finally concluded in 449 BCE with a peace treaty between the two emperors.

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Revolutionary and Reactionary Change in the Post-War Civil Rights Movement

BY LAWSON WRIGHT

After World War II, civil rights had become an issue of international importance. As civil rights activists, drawing on their experiences in the second World War, began to understand and connect their own struggles with anti-colonial movements abroad, they saw how internationalizing the issue of civil rights could provide them leverage to demand domestic change. However, when these internationalist views came in conflict with rising anti-communist hysteria, civil rights leaders had to foreclose their most radical claims. As the Cold War came into focus, organizations like the NAACP would be forced to adapt for their own survival and to create compelling Cold War justifications for civil rights.

Many African Americans, having risked their lives while defending other minority groups' rights around the globe during the second World War, returned home hungry for social change. Many were no longer willing to submit to the status quo of racial discrimination (and worse). During the war, Black Americans championed the Double-V campaign, arguing that in order to conquer facism abroad, racism and Jim Crow at home must be defeated first.[1] An active Black press published the message, as membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) skyrocketed, ballooning from 50,000 in 1940 to at least 400,000 by 1946, though some historians pin the number even higher at half a million.[2] One Black American, Bayard Rustin, who would go on to become a prominent civil rights leader, stated: "we are not going to put up with this anymore."[3] He was not alone. A WWII veteran who served as a fighter pilot wrote that he and his fellow soldiers were ready "to help defeat the domestic enemies back home: Jim Crow attitudes and practices in government,

schools, jobs, churches—everywhere!"[4] And a corporal from Alabama explained that "I spent four years in the army to free a bunch of Dutchmen and Frenchmen, and I'm hanged if I'm going to let the Alabama version of the Germans kick me around when I get home. No sirreee-bob!"[5]

Beyond expecting to be treated fairly in return for their service during the war, many Black Americans linked their own struggles against domestic racism with contemporary struggles against imperialism and colonization around the globe. For example, during the conflict African Americans began paying attention to and connecting their own experiences with the mounting independence movement in India. In a 1942 poll of 10,000 Black Americans conducted by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, 87.8 percent answered "yes" to the question "Do you believe that India should continue to contend for her rights and liberty now?"[6] Four thousand people attended the September 1942 Rally for the Cause of Free India in New York, at which Paul Robeson, a civil rights activist, stated "we have much in common."[7] What they had in common, Robeson explained, was a shared conviction that colonialism and racism around the world must end. Robeson laid bare his philosophy at the rally:

> Robeson laid bare his philosophy at the rally: World War II was "a war for the liberation of all peoples, all races, and all colores oppressed anywhere in the world."

World War II was "a war for the liberation of all peoples, all races, and all colores oppressed anywhere in the world."[8] Racism and colonialism undermined the sanctity of the Allied struggle against fascism, Robeson argued.[9]

As African Americans forged connections with international movements across the globe, the conclusion of World War II ushered in a period of hope — activists believed the time was ripe for social change. Walter White, the executive secretary of the NAACP, traveled throughout Europe in 1945. When he returned to the United States, he declared: "A wind is rising — a wind of determination by the have-nots of the world to share in the benefits of freedom and prosperity which the haves of the earth have tried to keep exclusively for themselves. That wind blows all over the world."[10] As a new world order began to form from the embers of WWII, White and other African Americans were convinced it was time to end the twin evils of domestic segregation and global colonization.

The immediate aftermath of the war presented an opportunity for these hopefuls to pursue change: in May, 1945 the U.S. Department of State appointed White, W. E. B. Du Bois, director of special research at the NAACP, and Mary McLeod Bethune, from the National Council of Negro Women, to serve as official consultant-observers for the American delegation at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco later that year.[11] As the conference opened, Metz T. P. Lechard, the editor-in-chief of the *Chicago Defender*, an influential African American newspaper, proclaimed that "the World Security Conference in San Francisco has but one meaning to the Negro people — that is, how far the democratic principles shall be stretched to embrace the rights of our brothers in colonies and to what extent the American Negro's own security at home shall be guaranteed."[12]

Du Bois, who had a long history of involvement in Pan-African conferences, was clear about his and the NAACP's objective at the conference: to "impress upon the American delegation and others [at the conference] that human rights among the great nations and especially among the colonies must be respected. Their flagrant disregard ... toward colonial peoples has caused two wars in our day and will cause wars in the future."[13]

However, emerging Cold War considerations would hamstring the United States delegation and undermine activists' optimism surrounding the conference. As the gulf between the United States and the Soviet Union widened, American leaders were unwilling to raise issues about colonialism, as the topic conflicted with the interests of the nation's increasingly important European allies who were important bastions against communist domination of the European continent.[14] The Truman administration was also receptive to its al-

W. E. B. Du Bois

https://hutchinscenter.fas.harvard.edu/sites/hwpi.harvard.edu/files/styles/os_files_xlarge/public/hutchins/files/hutchins-bg-dubois.jpg?m=1541166412&itok=b2eq1j6X

lies' claims that colonial possessions were essential in order to rebuild their damaged post-war economies. The United States, therefore, supported — or at least did not publicly denounce — its allies continued colonial activity, such as France's control over Indochina.[15] The United States itself was also continuing a form of quasi-colonialism with its control of the South Pacific in a supposed effort to preserve global

peace and stability.[16] Thus, Black Americans who had come to the conference hoping to challenge the global colonial order found little support or success within the U.S. government.

The American delegation, nevertheless, advanced an amendment to the United Nations charter that would forbid discrimination "on account of race, language, religion, or sex."[17] However, this prohibition was limited; the United Nations was not permitted to intervene "within the domestic jurisdictions of the state concerned." This caveat is symptomatic of the United Nations' broader inability to affect meaningful change. The United Nations charter would come to include numerous provisions on human rights, equal rights, and self-determination. But, so long as countries could refuse to yield their sovereignty over issues of human rights, these clauses were hollow — nothing more than words on paper.

While the conference did not deliver everything that African American activists desired, the conference served to further reinforce their understanding that racism in America was now an international issue. As the sociologist and journalist Horace R. Cayton had argued in 1943, "through an identification with the exploited peoples of the world... the Negro had placed his problems in a new and larger frame o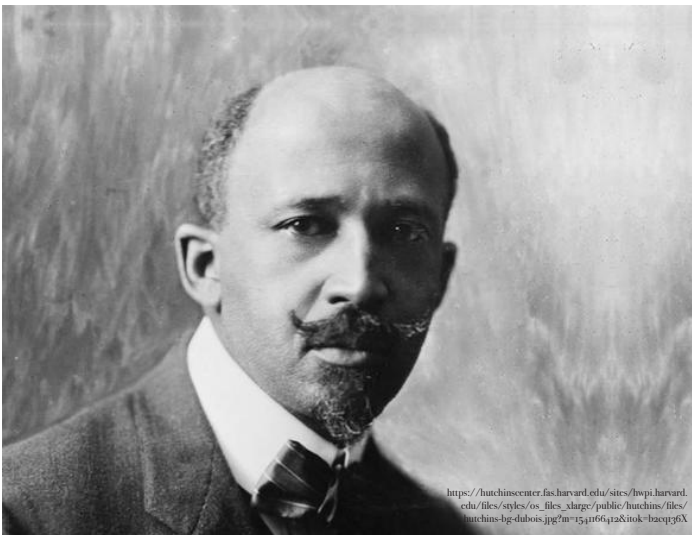f reference and related them to world forces."[18] Indeed, Paul Robeson declared "that an essential part of the solution of the Negro problem in this country will be the pressure of other countries on American from the outside."[19] Black Americans recognized the immense power that they could wield through cultivating and employing international criticism of American practices in an effort to compel domestic change.

Black Americans quickly leveraged international institutions in order to call out the United States on the world stage for the discriminatory conditions in which they lived. In 1947, the NAACP sent a petition to the United Nations titled *An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress*. Principally authored by Du Bois on behalf of the NAACP, the book-length petition provided a stark and unflinching account of the history of racial discrimination in the United States.[20] The petition asked the United Nations to intervene in the domestic affairs of the United States to protect otherwise unprotected Black Americans. The NAACP's appeal declared: "Peoples of the World, we American Negroes appeal to you; our treatment in America is not merely an internal question of the United States. It is a basic problem of humanity; of democracy; of discrimination because of race and color; and as such it demands your attention and action. No nation is so great that the world can afford to let it continue to be deliberately unjust, cruel and unfair toward its own citizens."[21]

The notion that the United Nations could intervene in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation, let alone one which possessed veto power in the organization, was ludicrous — the NAACP knew that. Rather, the organization wanted to publicize ongoing injustices with the hope that they would create enough international pressure such that the American federal government could no longer ignore their plight. Thus, the NAACP took great efforts to ensure wide circulation of its petition by sending the document to newspapers and magazines around the country. Extensive press coverage ensued, with the media remarking upon the damage that the petition would cause to the nation's international credibility — particularly on global perceptions of the veracity of America's claims of democratic equality.[22]

This mounting pressure was palpable within the American government. U.S. At-

torney General Tom Clark admitted that he was "humiliated" by the petition, to which he responded by bolstering the size and strength of the civil rights branch of the Department of Justice.[23] Moreover, former first lady Elanor Roosevelt, who was serving as the United States' Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, refused to introduce the petition to the assembly. She and others in the federal government feared that doing so would only invite further attacks from the Soviet Union.[24]

To the displeasure of Du Bois, the NAACP's senior leadership, believing that the utility of the petition had been fully realized, agreed with Mrs. Roosevelt. White saw no benefit in partnering with the Soviet Union to introduce the petition and humiliate the United States.[25] After all, it was the American federal government, rather than the United Nations, who had the power to create meaningful domestic change. Moreover, the NAACP's growing unwillingness to fight the Truman administration on issues of foreign policy, including issues of colonialism, was symptomatic of a larger phenomenon seizing the American psyche: anti-communist hysteria.

The social environment in which the NAACP and other Black activists were operating had changed radically in the short time since the end of the second World War. The fire and fury of anti-communism had ratcheted up as Americans' fear of communist subversion fueled a second red scare.[26] Civil rights activists and organizations became easy targets for anti-communists, especially since many Americans increasingly saw civil liberties as a "pink" issue.[27] Southern Dixiecrats, in particular, were quick to seize upon these fears in order to undermine civil rights reforms and

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legitimize their support for segregation. Though anti-communist ideology was simply a tool for many racists to argue for the status quo, their rhetoric was unquestionably potent.[28] If they could successfully paint civil rights reform as an elaborate communist conspiracy, they could retard its progress.

Simultaneously, fears of communist infiltration prompted the federal government, largely through the FBI, to begin extensively surveilling and repressing the most divisive Black activists. The Bureau's goal was not to produce prosecutions, but rather to gather information it could use to discredit Black Americans who had become too influential or radical. The Council on African Affairs, which was chaired by Robeson, was labeled as "Communist" as early as May 1945. The federal government used passport restrictions against prominent civil rights leaders whom it thought might be affiliated with communism. Du Bois and Robeson, among many others, fell victim to these federal machinations. So long as Robeson, for example, refused to produce an affidavit stating his relationship with the Communist Party — a relationship which he fervently denied — the State Department refused to grant his passport application. He found himself under near constant FBI surveillance.[29]

In the face of rising anti-communist

hysteria and increasing government repression, civil rights activists and organizations needed to adapt. The NAACP, exemplifying the mainstream civil rights movement, had been repeatedly accused of communist affiliations since 1946. This label worried the organization's leadership. Roy Wilkins, the NAACP's assistant secretary, wrote in a 1947 letter that "Like many another organization [sic] on the liberal front we are being sniped at in the current hysteria over Communists.... Perhaps we are more jittery than we ought to be, but it is natural that we would become alarmed lest many projects we have underway should be endangered by the old cry of 'Communism.'"[30]

Thus, the NAACP, like many other civil rights activists and organizations seeking cover from anti-communist attacks, acquiesced to liberal anti-communism and ardently disavowed any communist affiliations. After the Soviet Union had introduced the *An Appeal to the World* in the United Nations, for example, the NAACP's leaders worried about appearing oppositional to the U.S.'s Cold War interests. White tried to dissociate the NAACP from the petition and forestall its further distribution.[31] When a NAACP branch president signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, White personally contacted the U.S. Attorney General to inform him that the branch president had absolutely no knowledge of the document's communist origins. The organization additionally established robust systems for local branches to report to the national office any attempted communist infiltrations.[32]

Unlike during the immediate post-war years when the organization sought to combat both domestic racism as well as

colonialism, the NAACP abandoned its internationalist advocacy. The organization now reformulated its civil rights strategy and approach to fit firmly within the boundaries of liberal anti-communism. The organization accepted America's global ascendancy and, instead of criticizing the country's support of colonialism, fervently draped its rhetoric in the American flag. Loyalty and patriotism became core elements of the NAACP's messaging. The organization now framed its argument for civil rights through a Cold War lens, arguing that domestic segregation and racial violence only served to undermine the nation's position in the Cold War and in the eyes of the emerging Third World. This argument, reflecting the increased international awareness of the civil rights movement over the last decade, was compelling. Instead of trying to undermine American democracy from within – as some Dixiecrats proclaimed – the NAACP countered that it was helping America *win* the Cold War.[33] Wilkins argued that "the Negro wants change in order that he may be brought into line with the *American* standard ... which must be done not only to persevere and strength that standard here at home, but to guarantee its potency in the world struggle against dictatorship."[34]

Critiques of the NAACP's embrace of liberal anti-communism levied by a cadre of historians have been largely overstated. These historians have suggested that by abandoning its most radical positions and purging its most "principled anti-racist organizers and activists," the organization is, at least indirectly, responsible for African Americans' deteriorating living conditions in later years.[35] Indeed, reformers who called for "broad-based social change" and linked race and class, such as Robeson, were largely excised from the movement. But while it is certainly true that by embracing anticommunism the NAACP ceased to advocate for more radical domestic social reform or for anti-colonialism, the organization had no choice. It was the anti-communist hysteria of the day that limited the scope of acceptable reform, not the NAACP. The organization's opportunistic alignment with anticommunist values was a matter of survival – there was no other viable option. During a time when other organizations who held further left positions were ravaged by McCarthyism and faded into oblivion, the NAACP survived. Moreover, it never ceased, tirelessly working to keep civil rights on the national agenda.[36]

https://www.loc.gov/static/classroom-materials/naacp-a-century-in-the-fight-for-freedom/images/twentieth.jpg

THE NAACP

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Notes

1. Kevin Gaines, "The Civil Rights Movement in World Perspective," OAH Magazine of History 21, no. 1 (January 2007): 58, http://www.jstor.org.horacemann.idm.oclc.org/stable/25162103.

2. Manfred Berg, "Black Civil Rights and Liberal Anticommunism: The NAACP in the Early Cold War," The Journal of American History 94, no. 1 (June 2007): 81, https://doi.org/10.2307/25094777.

3. Thomas E. Ricks, Waging a Good War: A Military History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1968 (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2022), 4.

4. Ricks, Waging a Good, 4.

5. James T. Patterson, Grand Expectations, vol. X, The Oxford History of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), Grand Expectations, 23.

6. Penny M. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 28.

7. Martin Bauml Duberman, Paul Robeson (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 266; Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 28-9.

8. Duberman, Paul Robeson, 266.

9. Duberman, Paul Robeson, 266.

10. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 81.

11. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 81.

12. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 78.

13. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 45, 79; Brenda Gayle Plummer, Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1969 (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 15.

14. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 81.

15. Patterson, Grand Expectations, 291-2.

16. Plummer, Rising Wind, 127.

17. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 81.

18. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 40.

19. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire, 40.

20. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, "An Appeal to the World: A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress," 1947, accessed March 14, 2023, https://www.crmvet.org/info/470000_naacp_appeal_un-r.pdf.

21. Du Bois, "An Appeal"; "W.E.B. DuBois, 'An Appeal to the World: a Statement of Denial of Human Rights to Minorities...,'" Blackpast, last modified May 3, 2011.

22. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 82.

23. Plummer, Rising Wind, 182-3.

24. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 83.

25. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 83.

26. Patterson, Grand Expectations, 178-9.

27. Plummer, Rising Wind, 194.

28. Plummer, Rising Wind, 167-8.

29. Duberman, Paul Robeson, 297, 425-6; Plummer, Rising Wind, 195.

30. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 88.

31. Plummer, Rising Wind, 183.

32. Michael J. Klarman, From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 191; Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 88-9.

33. Carol Anderson, Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4-5]; Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 95; Peniel E. Joseph, The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2020), 18; Daniel S. Lucks, Selma to Saigon: The Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 23, 27, 34-5; Peniel E. Joseph, Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 5.

34. Mary L. Dudziak, Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy (New York: Princeton University Press, 2011), 29; Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the president of Howard University, cautioned that for every day Jim Crow persisted, the communists were using it to "tak[e] the world away from us before our very eyes." Klarman, From Jim Crow, 183.

35. See Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 95, discussing the work of Penny Von Eschen, Carol Anderson, Manning Marable, and Gerald Horne.

36. Berg, "Black Civil Rights," 76.

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