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Its purpose is to provide a venue for undergraduates at the University of Kansas to share their research in the Humanities.



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Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

In December 2015, I started the *Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities*. However, I would not be publishing the *URJH* ten months after its conception without the support of its Partners, the support of Dr. Jonathan Hagel, and, most importantly, the hard work of the student editorial committee. The editorial committee is the most important because they are friends who sacrificed their free time in order to help me create the *URJH*. When I say sacrifice, I mean it. None of them knew how much work it was going to be, but they agreed to be editors when I asked. They are truly the reason why we were able to review submissions and publish the *URJH* in one semester.

I can already hear them saying, “But, Savannah, you attended meetings every second of the day, organized submissions, kept us on track, etc. Shouldn’t you be the sole reason for the *URJH*’s success?” No, I should not be. I did do everything they said, but it was all just work to establish the *URJH*. I was so concerned with making it sustainable that sometimes I forgot that we needed to do this issue first. The editors did the work to make this inaugural issue happen, while I did the work to make sure future issues can occur. Therefore, we both are integral to the *URJH*’s success.

Creating an academic research journal has been the second most stressful, yet rewarding experience of my life. I hope the editors agree, or at least they agree on the rewarding part. We have all learned a great deal. For instance, I learned how to cram a million meetings into one day; while the editors learned that I am not always as calm, cool, and collected as I pretend to be.

To our readers, please enjoy this inaugural issue. A good deal of time, energy, blood, sweat, and tears went into it. Thank you again to the Partners who eagerly agreed to partner with us. Thank you to Dr. Jonathan Hagel, faculty advisor extraordinaire. Without his support and permission, we would have never been able to start the *URJH*. Again, thank you to the student editorial committee members. Thank you also to the faculty editors, who were very gracious to take the time to edit submissions during the busiest part of the year. Lastly, thank you to all the authors who submitted. Thank you to the authors who patiently participated in our three-step review process. Without your submissions, issues of the *URJH* would not exist.

It takes a community to raise a child. Well, it also takes a community to raise an academic journal. The *URJH* has a spectacular community, which will only grow and become even better.

Please enjoy this issue and raise a toast to future ones.

Sincerely,
Savannah Pine

P.S. Thank you also to my best friend, Lee Louder, who was the first supporter of this endeavor, and who patiently listened to me describe every detail, good and bad, about the *URJH*.

Soviet Leap: Oppression, Defection, and Re-Envisioning Ballet

Grace Kathryn Martin is a senior majoring in Dance and History. She is from Centreville, Virginia. This article is a section of her senior thesis for History under the direction of Dr. Adrian Finucane.

Abstract:

Throughout the Cold War, Soviet ballet dancers defected to America in hopes of finding artistic freedom. After their defections they played a critical role in shaping what can be considered today's American ballet. By exploring how foreign dancers were able to contribute so much to an American cultural establishment, one can start to understand the distinct differences between the cultures behind capitalist America and the communist Soviet Union during the 1900s. Three specific dancers, George Balanchine, Natalia Makarova, and Mikael Baryshnikov made significant contributions to American ballet. When put together, their contributions form the core of the American art form seen on stages across the nation and abroad today.

Nina Ananiashvili, a famous Georgian ballerina, once said, "ballet is not just movement, not simply abstract. It's something beautiful."¹ Ballet is movement that expresses much more than a story; it has the ability to examine cultural and political changes of the time through movement. It is the meaning behind the choreography that expresses the deeper cultural significance. Ballet becomes especially important to examine in times of extreme cultural upheaval within a country, or during times of cultural competition between nations. Both of these scenarios can be seen during the Cold War, with the new Bolshevik Revolution's creation of a Soviet society and the reaction of the United States to its communist competitors.

The Soviet Union and the United States fostered very different artistic atmospheres throughout most of the 20th century. The Soviet Union used art, especially ballet, which had been a popular art form in the country beginning in 1689, as a way to spread its political message. Within the United States, ballet was seen as a copied art form, derivative

of its predecessors with little to offer to the general public. Opposing Soviet and American cultures cultivated a fascinating partnership of artistry that became the unique American ballet style. The oppression Soviet dancers faced created a desire for them to expand the boundaries of ballet, while the artistic freedom of American artists never encouraged them to dream for more. As a result, Soviet defectors created new choreography that would become the new Americanized brand of ballet.²

Historians have looked at ballet as a way to study culture as it pertains to history. For instance, Cadra McDaniel deals with the cultural exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union when the Bolshoi Ballet Company toured America in 1959.³ McDaniel uses this exchange to examine the cultural tension between the two nations. She then goes on to argue that the Soviets believed "ballets were to be uncomplicated and convey a clear pro-Soviet message that can be grasped easily without words or an in-depth explanation."⁴ The pro-Soviet message that was supposedly conveyed through their ballets was not picked

¹ Nancy Ellison, *The Ballet Book: Learning and Appreciating the Secrets of Dance* (New York: Universe, 2003), 46.

² Cyril W. Beaumont, *A Short History of Ballet* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1933), 25.

³ Cadra Peterson McDaniel, *American-Soviet Cultural Diplomacy: The Bolshoi Ballet's American Premiere* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 1.

⁴ *Ibid*, xxii.

up by American audiences. McDaniel also highlights the idea of artists as “leading representatives of either the talent that could flourish in the free capitalist West or the representatives of Communism’s artistic superiority.”⁵ However, even though her book looks at the importance of cultural ties with ballet and spends some time talking about the importance of specific artists to the spreading of cultural messages, it lacks an explanation about the overall effect culture had during the time period. By zoning in on one exchange she misses many other crucial events that demonstrated how culture took on a vital role in the debate of whether capitalism or communism was the better system.

Another perspective of the ballet world during the Cold War comes from historian Christina Ezrahi. She focuses on how ballet was used as a dissident movement within the Soviet Union during the later years of the Cold War. In order to do this, Ezrahi starts by explaining the effects the Bolshevik Revolution had on ballet, and how the Soviet system shaped ballet in a way that could be used for its own benefit.⁶ Soviets believed that ballet could help fill their “ideological propaganda needs of the emerging dictatorial state,” which put strict rules on what could be created by ballet choreographers of the time.⁷ She then goes on to talk about specific choreographers who were able to somewhat break the mold and create pieces to challenge the Soviet system.⁸ Ezrahi starts to hint at the importance a restrictive system has on cultivating artistic expression.

This paper will examine the effect cultural and political pattern the Cold War had on certain artists. Dancers who choose to defect were able to leave the Soviet Union and come to America, where they could express their

artistic ideas on stages that were more welcoming than those of their homeland. It is important to look at this aspect of ballet history and Cold War history because it shows how the communist and the capitalist systems failed in certain regards. The communist society restricted its artists to an extent that made them rebel against the system and leave. The capitalist system provided freedom, but it did not provide the training and experience necessary to utilize it. More significantly, however, this paper goes on to demonstrate that the combination of the two systems brought together under a cultural lens produced something beautiful that withstands the tests of time.

Ballet has a rich history beginning in the 15th century in the Italian Renaissance Courts.⁹ By the 16th century it was being performed in courts across Europe, and was well known for its role in Louis XIII’s court where the king himself often played the lead roles in ballet productions.¹⁰ It was not yet an established art form, but instead a form of entertainment involving elaborate costumes and masks. The tradition of ballet coming out of the courts stuck with the art form, and even today ballet is considered a “high art,” an art form normally enjoyed by the wealthy. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, which allowed ballet to reach the masses and become a relevant art form in American society today.

The present form of ballet established its foundation in the early 1800s when Carlo Blasis created and wrote the first pedagogy for classical ballet.¹¹ This is especially important, because dance pedagogy determines how a dancer is trained and brought up, and therefore affects the way they perform and the choreography they create. There are many

⁵ *Ibid*, xxx.

⁶ Christina Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin: Ballet and Power in Soviet Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 28.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*, 102.

⁹ Beaumont, *A Short History of Ballet*, 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 20. Pedagogy is a method of teaching, in ballet this refers to the different ways to structure and teach a ballet class in order to achieve the best results.

different forms of dance pedagogy today, one of them being the American form created by Soviet defectors. Although the first pedagogy was created in the early 19th century, ballet began to find its modern shape in the middle of the 19th century. During this period, ballet became known for its prima ballerinas instead of the ensemble as a whole, and in order to draw in crowds a big name needed to be attached to the program.¹² Russian dancers began to dominate the ballet world by the end of the 19th century as a result of the state schools, which were sponsored by the czar.¹³ Although ballet experienced many changes during its infancy, the 20th century brought a new level of maturity and a revival of audience appreciation.

To fully grasp how and why Soviet defectors had the impact they did on American ballet, one must first understand the artistic environment that they were trained in. The Soviet Union was established in the wake of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Before the revolution, ballet represented the interests of the wealthy and was supported by the imperial czar and his followers. It was not easily accessible to the general public, but it was known around the world for producing spectacular dancers with flawless technique.¹⁴ After the revolution, however, as Ezrahi described in her book, “the political, ideological, and economic consequences of the revolution put the survival of ballet into question.”¹⁵ The communist leadership needed to decide whether or not ballet could be used to benefit its new government, or if it was too laced in the traditions of a past Russia they

were trying to separate themselves from. Eventually it was decided to open ballet up to the masses and make it a public event that everyone in society could enjoy.¹⁶ They did this not only to strip it of its imperial past, but utilized it as a tool to spread the communist ideology.

The communist takeover of ballet had important consequences for the ballet dancers as well as the choreography produced. Ezrahi explains that the “theaters were expected to build a repertoire that contributed to the state’s ideological goals.”¹⁷ They started to limit the ballet performances by all of the Russian ballet companies and strictly forbid any Western ballets from being staged.¹⁸ McDaniel clarifies that “artistic innovation needed to maintain conformity with the doctrines of Socialist Realism and thus be representative of communist teachings.”¹⁹ The communist leadership gave ballet directors social ideologies that they wanted to see expressed in the new ballets being produced and this precedent lasted throughout the Cold War. These limitations often caused ballets to be thrown out at the last minute, leaving both dancers and choreographers frustrated with the system. Natalia Makarova, a prima ballerina for the Kirov Company, explains that “the ballet is supposed to reflect the nation’s successes, space flights, [the] up-to-date realty-quite incompatible with the abstract nature of ballet.”²⁰ Trying to emulate these concepts was hard for choreographers and dancers alike and quickly stirred up discontent within the ballet companies. It also made choreography dry and

¹² *Ibid*, 26.

¹³ *Ibid*, 31.

¹⁴ Technique is the form of the body and the way it moves from one position to another in ballet. Different techniques lead to different performance qualities and there are many different established techniques in ballet.

¹⁵ Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin*, 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 17.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 30. Repertoire is the collection of ballet productions that a company performs. They recycle the shows and often perform more popular shows once every season.

¹⁸ Barbara Aria, *Misha: The Mikhail Baryshnikov Story* (New York: Saint Martins Press, 1989), 54.

¹⁹ McDaniel, *American-Soviet Cultural Diplomacy*, 41.

²⁰ Natalia Markarova, *A Dance Autobiography* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1979), 76.

boring for both the dancers and the audience members.

The biggest advantage to ballet in the Soviet Union was the wide audience artists were able to reach because of the unrestricted access the state gave to ballet. This resulted in increased exposure and popularity for ballet stars. Barbara Aria uses the analogy that “ballet is to the Russian people, including the ordinary working people, what baseball is to Americans: an irreplaceable part of national life, complete with the most loyal of fans.”²¹ This is an important comparison because it gives insight not only into Russian society, but also American culture. Ballet became a popular past time for Soviet comrades, and it was a part of the Russian culture that they took pride in. The popularity of ballet also led the Soviets to believe that they could use it as a political tool in foreign policy.²² Soviet ballet companies were allowed to tour in hope that the ballets would spread the communist ideology outside the Soviet Union.²³ The need to spread communist ideals outweighed the risk of dancers defecting. While on tour they kept their dancers under the security of KGB agents, but this was not always enough to keep them from abandoning their native country. The lure of Western artistic freedom became too much for some artists to resist.

What was so special about American artistic freedom that provided such a draw for young Soviet dancers? It was actually surprising that so many talented Russians ended up in America, where ballet was not well known or respected. Americans did not start to view ballet until the mid-19th century when European companies came on tours around the U.S.²⁴ The United States was much more

known for its rising musical theater presence and modern dance scene. The ballet that did exist in America was not considered American ballet; instead it was considered a copy of ballet from France, Italy and Russia.²⁵ Although Americans had artistic freedom, they lacked the training necessary to produce a unique ballet form. Before the presence of Soviet defectors, American companies never even toured outside the United States and therefore had no chance of being taken seriously on a global scale.²⁶ The United States was in desperate need of fresh, new artists to breathe life into the American ballet system.

Soviet defectors would fill the artistic void in America and their place in the Soviet system put them in prime position to defect. There were common traits across most defectors which reveal the restrictiveness of the Soviet government across all disciplines. Jay Bergman examined these criteria. He states, “Soviet oppression is traceable to a denial of the inherent worth and inviolability of the individual; individual freedom and autonomy were destroyed when Soviet leaders applied collectivist principles to the organization of social and political life.”²⁷ When a government tries to control all aspects of a person’s life it is easy to suffocate the person. Bergman also lists traits defectors had in common, such as they often had the opportunity to travel outside of the Soviet Union for work, they all experienced some kind of political doubt mixed with personal repressed interests, and they all gradually became more discontented with the Soviet Union.²⁸ Bergman’s most profound point about defectors is that “defectors [were], at the time of their defection, employed by the political system they repudiate, often in

²¹ Aria, *Misha*, 46.

²² McDaniel, *American-Soviet Cultural Diplomacy*, xix.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Beaumont, *History of Ballet*, 61.

²⁵ A.H. Franks, *Ballet: A Decade of Endeavour* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1981), 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁷ Jay Bergman, “The Memoirs of Soviet Defectors: Are They a Reliable Source about the Soviet Union?” *Canadian Slavonic Papers/ Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 31 (1989): 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

positions of responsibility and power.”²⁹ Ballet dancers were held as valuable assets in the Soviet system and received many benefits, as well as being prominent public figures. These benefits, however, came with a personal responsibility and set limitations that many found to be unacceptable.

Narrowing the scope more specifically to ballet, defection often came after years of trying to cater to the regime’s demands. Although dancers were civil servants, they often did not see why ballet had to be so closely tied to the politics of the Soviet Union.³⁰ Artists had to play a game with the authorities, convincing them that they were following Soviet ideology in order to experiment with their own artistic visions.³¹ The constant pressure of pleasing the authorities made the stage feel more like a prison than an escape for many young Soviet dancers.³² While art will always have some political ties, a lack of political freedom leads to a lack of artistic freedom, which was the primary motivation for Soviet defections among dancers.

Defection led to the spread of art, which enriched other nations, such as the United States. George Balanchine, Natalia Makarova, and Mikael Baryshnikov were three artists who defected to the United States at different times, but they all left lasting impacts on American ballet. Elizabeth Kendall looks at the displacement of Russian dancers and examines the potential impact their art had on other places:

“taking their art all over the world
putting down roots in places where

dance had never existed, trying again and again to capture, in the corporeal power of this wordless medium, some of the savagery and the beautiful physical longings of the century that gave them birth.”³³

To go from a country where dance had such a vibrant history to a country where the history was nonexistent gave each artist the opportunity to leave their footprint on the development of the art form. All three of the artists listed above also had an excellent accumulation of interviews or biographies and autobiographies that gave insight into their personal artistic journey from Russia to the United States. Bergman said that “defector memoirs can tell us much about defectors and about the society they repudiated.”³⁴ Though this is true, they also can give important insight into the effects they have on the societies they enter after their defection. Looking closely at Balanchine, Makarova, and Baryshnikov will show the drastic impact they had on American ballet and how their Russian background put them in an invaluable position to have such an extreme influence.

Balanchine is one of the most well-known dancers from the 20th century. In 1924, Balanchine, while on tour in Germany, fled to Paris and thereby defected from the Soviet Union.³⁵ Unlike many other defectors who struggled with their decision, Balanchine “never doubted, [he] always knew: if [he] ever had the chance, [he would] go!”³⁶ His enthusiasm was clear in many statements that he made, and he believed that the Soviet Union

²⁹ *Ibid*, 1.

³⁰ Rudolf Nureyev, *Nureyev: An Autobiography with Pictures* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1963), 14.

³¹ Ezrahi, *Swans of the Kremlin*, 84.

³² Aria, *Misha*, 2.

³³ Elizabeth Kendall, “A Doorway to Revolution: The Revolution in dance that was underway in 1900 mirrored the upheavals to come in this century,” *Dance Magazine*, January,

1999. 80, Accessed October 8, 2015.

<http://www.dancemagazine.com/>

³⁴ Bergman, “The Memoirs of Soviet Defectors,” 23.

³⁵ Robert Gottlieb, *George Balanchine* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 163.

³⁶ Solomon Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky: Interviews with George Balanchine* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 98.

was a completely different place than the Russia of his childhood before the revolution, so he did not leave his home; instead he left a developing system he did not agree with.³⁷ This was an important aspect of his dancing, because unlike other Russian defectors, he did not feel a need to incorporate his Russian roots into his choreography. It is also important to consider that Balanchine was trained in the Imperial Russian ballet technique and the Saint Petersburg Imperial Theatre School and grew up performing story ballets.³⁸ He moved around Europe with his mentor, Sergei Diaghilev, for the ten years before receiving an invitation to travel to America to start a dance school. Balanchine “wanted to go to America; [he] thought it would be more interesting there, something would happen, something different.”³⁹ So on October 18, 1933 he traveled to New York City on board the Olympic and started his journey of changing American ballet.⁴⁰ His early career in the United States, however, took time to build momentum and included many hurdles.

During Balanchine’s first year in America, his main role was supplying choreography for donors, and teaching the youth that attended his new school, which would go on to become one of the most prestigious ballet schools in the country. He opened his academy, School of American Ballet, in Chicago three months after arriving in America.⁴¹ He believed that he needed to train dancers in a specific way in order for them to be able to perform his choreography to its fullest potential.⁴² Through

multiple jobs with different companies, he quickly earned himself a reputation of being highly professional and motivated.⁴³ Although he appreciated his outside work, his real focus was dedicated to his ballet school. By the end of 1948, his full attention was focused on the School of American Ballet as well as Ballet Society.⁴⁴ Ballet Society was a dance company that Balanchine established in 1945, and was based on subscription instead of ticketing to the general public.⁴⁵ This made it more prestigious and sparked the curiosity of the press because only subscribers could go to the performances, and therefore the press had to subscribe in order to gain entry.⁴⁶ Later in Balanchine’s career, in 1964, Ballet Society would go on to become the New York City Ballet.⁴⁷ This was a momentous achievement for Balanchine, because along with a new name the company received a permanent location and finally gave him a true home, which he had lacked since his defection from Russia.

While Balanchine is well known for the school and company that he started, he is better known for the technique and the pedagogy that he brought to America. One part of Balanchine’s choreography was the lack of a story in many of his ballets. Although, “[he was] not against story in ballet,” he wanted to explore musicality on a deeper level.⁴⁸ This is especially contradictory to his Russian training because, as Balanchine describes, “plain dancing, without a story, is not approved in Russia now; it’s given the strange name “formalism.”⁴⁹ This formalism is what went on

³⁷ *Ibid*, 165.

³⁸ Kendall, “A Doorway to Revolution,” 80. A story ballet is a ballet that follows a story line. Most of these revolve around one primary character that must face a set of obstacles in order to achieve a goal. Most story ballets revolve around a love story.

³⁹ Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky*, 107. Sergei Diaghilev was an important ballet patron in Russia who was responsible for finding and sponsoring many young choreographers during the late 19th century and early 20th century. George Balanchine was the last artist he sponsored before his death in 1929.

⁴⁰ Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, 75.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 80.

⁴² *Ibid*.

⁴³ Don McDonagh, *George Balanchine* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 79.

⁴⁴ Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, 149.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 108-109.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 113.

⁴⁸ Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky*, 113.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 160.

to become neoclassical ballet in America. It also got people talking about ballet because non-story ballets had rarely been seen anywhere in the world before. His style has also been described by Don McDonough, a writer of one of Balanchine's many biographies, as "simply denser and faster, thus music has dictated virtually every aspect of his art: it changed the technique of dancers to be used and determines the length of the works, and sets the tone of the ballets, which accounts for their truly astonishing variety."⁵⁰ Through his choreography, the audience could see the music through movement. It is this tie with the music that made it possible for Balanchine to veer away from story ballets.

Balanchine had a different way of understanding music, and it was through unique musical interpretations that some of his best works were produced. He explained the way he choreographed to music: "So you sit and think, how do you make the movement go with the musical line and not with the accents within a bar? If in the music there is a strong accent, the dance doesn't have to have one."⁵¹ One of his first famous non-story based ballets was called *Serenade*; it was performed at an estate party for a patron in 1935.⁵² This piece would later become one of the most popular pieces in Balanchine's repertoire because of its exceptional musicality and visual aesthetics. It was also considered very abstract, especially for the time at which it was being performed. Abstraction goes completely against the Soviet principles of straight forward propaganda and Balanchine's continual progression towards the abstract signified complete break from the Soviet system.

Forty-six years after Balanchine, another famous Russian dancer decided to defect from the Soviet Union and would later end up in America, where she would leave her mark. Natalia Makarova, in September 1970, decided to ask for asylum while on tour in England with the help of some of her foreign friends.⁵³ Unlike Balanchine, Makarova struggled with her decision to defect even though she said that the West's "variety in everything, starting with balletic styles and ending with material goods, was always very tempting for [her]."⁵⁴ For many artists, seeing the outside world while on tour often swayed them in their decision to leave the Soviet Union. Makarova was also growing steadily more frustrated with the Soviet system and how it was affecting her dancing; she explained that "frantic boredom and weariness were building up inside [her]. [She] felt like starting over again with everything, but [she] didn't know where or how to begin and struggled to drive away [her] gloomy thought."⁵⁵ It is somewhat spectacular that she did not have a plan devised when she defected but her attempt was successful.

Shortly after her defection, Makarova decided to journey to America in order to move forward and begin the next phase of her dance career. Her first step was to accept a job as a principle at the American Ballet Theater.⁵⁶ Makarova believed that her real first job in America was "simply to survive; there was no time even to think about whether [she] liked it or not."⁵⁷ Like many defectors, the transition to the West had changed Makarova and it reflected in her dance performances. When she was on stage she brought a performance quality that had never been seen before in America

⁵⁰ McDonough, *George Balanchine*, 15.

⁵¹ Volkov, *Balanchine's Tchaikovsky*, 140.

⁵² Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, 56.

⁵³ Richard Austin, *Natalia Makarova: Ballerina* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1978), 54.

⁵⁴ Markarova, *A Dance Autobiography*, 85.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁶ Austin, *Natalia Makarova*, 57. A principle dancer is the highest position a dancer can achieve within a dance company. A principle dancer only dances lead roles and is paid much more per performance than other dancers in the company.

⁵⁷ Makarova, *A Dance Autobiography*, 93.

and crowds were fascinated by this different kind of stage presence. Richard Austin, described the crowd at her first performance of *Giselle*; “the house was crammed, and the tension on both sides of the curtain enormous: but at the end the audience rose to her, and the press was equally enthusiastic.”⁵⁸ A new Russian star had entered the American ballet dance scene and she would make her own mark on American ballet.

Unlike Balanchine, Makarova’s main contribution to shaping American ballet was her stage presence, one that many performers after her tried to emulate. Makarova believed the openness of creativity in the West made it possible to explore new levels of emotion on stage.⁵⁹ Her performance emulated many American qualities such as individuality, passion, and the ability to show emotion, which helped audiences connect with her dancing. She also brought a new influence to the way dancers worked with choreographers; she wanted to work with the choreographer, not just for them.⁶⁰ She wanted a choreographer to use her own personality as a way to shape the movement that she would perform. She believed that if a choreographer could do this they would portray a fresh vision every time they choreographed.⁶¹ Of course, it is easier for a Prima Ballerina to ask this of a choreographer, but by doing so she was able to further her performance and capture the hearts of American audiences.

Four years after Makarova’s defection, the Soviet Union lost the last major artist who would choose to defect to the West. Mikael Baryshnikov was a child prodigy who grew up in the Soviet system. However, he was

rambunctious and had caused problems early in his career by trying to expand his dancing past Soviet boundaries. As a result, he was not normally permitted to leave the country on tour for fear that he might defect. The Soviet Union decided, in 1974, to send him to Toronto, Canada on a short tour supervised by KGB bodyguards. Baryshnikov was able to plan a clever escape with the help of western allies at the end of one of his performances, and then he quickly crossed the American border where they were waiting to offer him asylum.⁶² After his defection, Baryshnikov said that “change in any person’s life is propelled by an almost primal need to explore, to test boundaries. [He] just [followed] that urge.”⁶³ He believed he needed the challenge of the unfamiliar in order to expand his own art, and he so desperately wanted to explore what the West had to offer.⁶⁴ Baryshnikov’s defection was more highly publicized than any of the artists of the past, so he quickly rose to the top of the American ballet world in New York City.

Since the establishment of Balanchine’s New York City Ballet Company, as well as the establishment of American Ballet Theater, New York City became the place for young dancers to become stars. In the case of Baryshnikov, he was already a star, but he wanted a stage to show off all that he could do. It took Baryshnikov more time than he originally expected to adapt to life in the West.⁶⁵ Baryshnikov first found a safe haven at the New York City ballet under Balanchine himself. He worked on Balanchine’s repertoire and performed in several of their productions before he decided to leave for the American Ballet Theatre (ABT).⁶⁶ As he became more

⁵⁸ Austin, *Natalia Makarova*, 57.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 56-57.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 73.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁶² Aria, *Misha*, 2.

⁶³ Alison Beard, “Life’s Work: An Interview with Mikhail Baryshnikov,” *Harvard Business Review*, May, 2011. Accessed

October 8, 2015. <https://hbr.org/2011/05/lifes-work-mikhail-baryshnikov>.

⁶⁴ Aria, *Misha*, 57.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 96.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 94.

comfortable his lively personality started to influence his decisions, and his new freedom was reflected in his overconfidence and his ability to take risks, such as leaving New York City Ballet. While at ABT, Baryshnikov became the turning point for the company by increasing ticket sales and giving them their best box office season ever in 1968.⁶⁷ He thrived on the idea that his performance created such a drastic turn for an American ballet company additionally, he loved how he pushed ballet into the entertainment industry.⁶⁸ His popularity not only stemmed from his dance performances, but also his constant appearances in popular media, including movie productions. He branched out into movies because it was a sphere that had previously been off limits to him; his movie career helped elevate his dancing career.⁶⁹ Starting in the early 1980s, Baryshnikov began to reach for more by balancing jobs as a dancer, director, and on occasion choreographer.

Many believe Baryshnikov to be one of the greatest dancers ever in American ballet. Baryshnikov managed to bring ballet into the popular media and, by doing so, he created a wider audience base for American ballet, an audience base that would stick with ballet for decades. Baryshnikov finally did what others before him had attempted: “he had given ballet a place in the American heartland.”⁷⁰ Baryshnikov also played another pivotal role in transforming American ballet. Once he came on as the artistic director at ABT, he introduced many different types of choreographers to the company. He made it acceptable for a company to produce dancers that could perform many different styles on a whim, making the company and the dancers more diverse. He did not want his dancers to feel restricted, so he offered them a variety of

dance styles and choreographers in order to challenge them. Baryshnikov believes that “whatever new craft you learn has to go through your own psychology, your own body and mind, in order to come out as something revealing and interesting for the audience.”⁷¹ This philosophy helped ABT succeed and become one of the most dynamic American ballet companies of its time. He didn’t want ballet be defined by strict boundaries and American ballet became open to the idea of contemporary choreographers that now shape the ballet world in the 21st century. His previous oppression in an inflexible Soviet system led to such an open stance for his dance company. Baryshnikov’s open mindedness and creative genius helped foster this transition and kept ballet viable in a time of artistic competition.

All three artists took steps to shape different aspects of a new American ballet. Balanchine created a pedagogy and technique that America could claim as its own. Makarova demonstrated stage presence that enthralled audiences and brought a new depth to American performance quality. Lastly, Baryshnikov brought American ballet into the popular light, giving it an audience that could support a large American ballet community, as well as helping American ballet transition into a new time of contemporary ballet. Before Balanchine, Markova, and Baryshnikov, American ballet was nothing more than a shell of other nation’s ballets thrown onto American dancers. After their influence, American ballet reflected the culture of America; it gave American ballet companies the ability to tour because other nations wanted to see what America had to offer. Other nations wanted to commission American choreography for their own companies. Russian artists brought a

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 100.

⁶⁸ *Aria, Misha*, 141.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 160.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 205.

⁷¹ Beard, “Lifes Work.”

freedom to American ballet that would be emulated by other ballet companies across the globe.

Although Balanchine, Makarova, and Baryshnikov's accomplishments in American ballet can stand alone, together they cover every aspect of ballet, which is what makes them impressive as a whole. It is important to look at how their contribution worked together to shape American ballet. Balanchine started to lay the groundwork for the acceptance of American ballet in the 1930s and 40s when he opened his school and his company.⁷² Once Balanchine planted the seed in American minds that ballet could be an American art form, Baryshnikov helped ballet really capture the influence of new audience members and raised tickets sales three times from what they had been before his defection.⁷³ Makarova brought mystery into ballet, creating an intrigue that American audiences had not seen before; Austin believes that "if art were no longer a mystery, it would no longer be relevant to us, and I know when I watch [Makarova] dance that the secret remains, hidden behind her watchful eye."⁷⁴ Even though Baryshnikov is attributed to the creation of a larger audience base in ballet, all three of the defectors played their role in making the expansion of the audience base possible.

Balanchine is known for his teaching ability and the growth of ballet schools across America, but he was not the only defector who changed how ballet was taught in America. Balanchine believed that he would be remembered for his teaching not his choreography.⁷⁵ In hindsight, it is clear that he will be remembered and praised for both. Balanchine's teaching is remembered so prominently because, according to Aria, he

"was a Russian who had managed to tap the American dream by defining a form of ballet inspired by American tastes."⁷⁶ Every student is intrigued by the idea of learning a dance style that is strictly their own culture. It reflects national pride, which is a staple of American society. Balanchine created the teaching method, but Baryshnikov made it popular. His admirable career inspired many young people to want to dance, and attendance at dance schools increased after his defection, especially among male dancers.⁷⁷ It takes time for anything to develop, and it took time for Balanchine's teaching to spread. Baryshnikov helped it spread quicker and further than Balanchine was able to do alone. The two men worked together to create a situation where young students everywhere wanted to study American ballet and become ballet dancers.

The Soviet defectors were given a unique advantage when it came to media attention. At the height of the Cold War anything that made the Soviet Union look bad and the United States look good showed up all over newspapers, news stations, and other forms of popular media. Defectors were given multiple interviews, because everyone wanted to hear about why they left the Soviet Union. However, some artists, like Makarova, did not want to talk about the Soviet Union in a negative light; she said "almost everyone expected me to abuse the Soviet Union, but I had no desire to criticize my country, since I harbored no ill will against it. My personality was reflected in these interviews incompletely and tangentially, and I didn't make use of the chance I was given as a Russian defector to speak out."⁷⁸ She regretted not using her status as a defector to help her career and to explain why, although she loved Russia, she could not

⁷² McDonagh, *George Balanchine*, 95.

⁷³ Aria, *Misha*, 132.

⁷⁴ Austin, *Natalia Makarova*, 90.

⁷⁵ Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, 194.

⁷⁶ Aria, *Misha*, 141-142.

⁷⁷ Regina Zarhina, "Russian Invasion: The Third World," *Dance Magazine*, January, 1998. 76.

⁷⁸ Makarova, *A Dance Autobiography*, 94.

tolerate its oppression of artistic creativity. Her defection, in particular, caused a lot of news attention because it was not clear why she had chosen to defect. According to the Chicago Tribune, “the questions of critics seemed to be more concerned with her attitude towards the West and her homeland than her art.”⁷⁹ Makarova was bombarded with questions about her Russian counterparts and what they were facing at home instead of what her future artistic plans might be. Fantastical stories explaining her defection were made up about romantic affairs and even mental illness.⁸⁰ This helped create her fan base, because people thought she was mysterious and wanted to see her perform in hopes of figuring out her secrets.

Unlike Makarova, Baryshnikov reveled in the media attention and intentionally used it to benefit his career. Aria thought that the reason the press was so fascinated with Baryshnikov is because “not only had a major personality just landed on the doorsteps of America, but that he was causing huge upheavals in the world of dance.”⁸¹ He did this by creating romances with ballerinas and communicating with the press on a regular basis. He also was attractive and straight, so the nation quickly fell in love. Two years after his defection, he started to participate in Hollywood films that also let him reach out to another audience and deepen his fan base. The media gave all defectors an opportunity to be viewed on the same level as American movie stars, which was a status no other American dancer had received before.⁸² Balanchine did not use the media as much to his advantage. His defection was also not

viewed as a victory for the West at the time, because it was before World War II and the Cold War had not yet begun. This is an example of how American culture also grew throughout the 20th century. The media began to be a primary component of culture, especially as televisions and news became a normal fixture in the homes of Americans.⁸³ As news networks grew, so did the coverage on events, such as defections, and therefore the later defections drew an abundance of media attention. The media also started to cover “fluff pieces,” like celebrity drama, which the public craved and defectors had drama written all over them.⁸⁴ The media has gained an increasingly important role in all aspects of American life and influences the popularity of things such as ballet, when it brought attention to those who perform it.

The change in American ballet was apparent within America, but more importantly, it was also apparent abroad. When the international stage recognizes a nation for its contribution to an old and respected art form, it is clear that the new art will make a substantial impact in the future. It is also important for a new art form to get international credit in order for it to be cultivated and grow. Balanchine’s New York City Ballet Company was the first American ballet company to have a recognized international tour in 1955.⁸⁵ His work confused and excited foreign audiences and it even toured within the Soviet Union. Nancy Reynolds, a writer for *Dance Magazine* wrote an article describing the reception of the tour within Russia: “Aside from a possible lack of

⁷⁹ Yates, “Russ Ballarina,” 2.

⁸⁰ Austin, *Natalia Makarova*, 54.

⁸¹ Aria, *Misha*, 88.

⁸² Zarhina, “Russian Invasion,” 76.

⁸³ David Abrahamion, “The Visible Hand: Money, Markets, and Media Evolution,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75.1: 18, accessed December 4, 2015.

<http://search.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/216926300?accountid=14556>

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 17.

⁸⁵ Nancy Reynolds, “Cultural Revelation: in 1962 George Balanchine returned to the Soviet Union after an absence of thirty eight years, bringing his New York City Ballet and a handful of his works to audiences that had been cut off from Western culture for decades,” *Dance Magazine*, January, 1994. 88.

background with which to approach his work, they dared not show excessive enthusiasm for Balanchine—or anything else that was foreign—for this might imply that the analogous Soviet product was inferior.”⁸⁶ Although the international attention made it possible for American ballet to make its stamp globally, it was still considered a child who just now was beginning to sit at the big kids table. As A.H. Frank described in her book about ballet throughout the 20th century, America “is able to take considerable part in the healthy exchange of art and artists which is now taking place all over the world, and that, in doing so, she can offer ballet which bears the unmistakable stamp of the country of its origin.”⁸⁷ Even with international recognition, and American repertoire being performed by some of the oldest, most prestigious dance companies around the globe, America is still working to prove itself on an international stage. The process of earning international respect has followed the United States into the 21st century.

Today, American ballet still looks much like it did at the closing of the 20th century. Russian dancers are still widely respected among American dance companies and there is a greater abundance of Russian-trained dancers who now have the ability to come to the United States for dance opportunities.⁸⁸ In the present society, ballet dancers are being recognized more and more as role models and inspirations for the up and coming generation. For example, Misty Copland, the first African American ballet dancer to become a principle dancer for American Ballet Theater, has a contract with Under Armor alongside some of the most famous athletes of our time.⁸⁹ Accomplishments like this were made possible

by bringing the dance world into the spotlight during the Cold War, and providing it a place among popular culture. Frank described the American ballet technique as an “incorporation of certain American physical qualities of clean, cool, buoyant athleticism.”⁹⁰ These attributes resemble some of the same qualities looked for in athletes of highly recognized American sports culture. This helps American ballet compete, on some level, with other multi-billion dollar sports industries. None of this would be possible were it not for the contributions of Soviet defectors.

American ballet has been drastically affected by prominent Soviet defectors who came to America during the 20th century. The rigid Soviet system fashioned an environment that produced dancers that longed to expand their artistry, and eventually led to their defections. They came to a society that offered them the freedom they needed, but which lacked the means of producing the creativity required to mold a unique American ballet technique. It took both environments to create what is now known as American ballet, and Balanchine, Makarova, and Baryshnikov are largely responsible for it. Without these three artists, dance in America would not look the same way and would not hold the same respect and influence that it does today on a national and international level.

Even though American ballet is one art form that many Americans still look at as a boring show that the wealthy may attend on a Sunday afternoon, its history gives important insight into the culture of the Cold War. Not only does it illustrate the individual cultures of both the Soviet Union and the United States, but also how their cultures interacted with each other. The Soviet defectors represented a

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Franks, *A Decade of Endeavor*, 48.

⁸⁸ Zahrina, “Russian Invasion,” 76.

⁸⁹ Michael Cooper, “Misty Copland Is Promoted to Principal Dancer at American Ballet Theater,” *The New York Times*,

June 30, 2015. Accessed November 20, 2015,

http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/01/arts/dance/misty-copland-is-promoted-to-principal-dancer-at-american-ballet-theater.html?_r=0

⁹⁰ Frank, *A Decade of Endeavor*, 52.

discipline and structure which were both important qualities in the Soviet system. On the other hand, American dancers are seen as free and rebellious, which reflected the youth culture in America during the Cold War, and is seen in most of the American youth culture in the 20th century. The government of both nations greatly revealed the values of the individuals that are brought up under their wings. By looking at a specific group, such as ballet dancers, one can see the influence of their government and their upbringing through the art they produce.

America has always been known for taking the culture of other places and creating its own version. It is natural for a country that is relatively new and has so many unique heritages to practice this sort of cultural borrowing. Balanchine is an example of this because he took his Russian heritage and combined all of Russian technique with American cultural practices and created a new sort of ballet that is a mixture of both systems.⁹¹ Elizabeth Kendal explains that “dance is usually seen by historians (when it is noticed at all) as a decoration on the face of

serious events. But a dancing human body can become, in a way that’s utterly mysterious, emblematic of the deepest forces stirring within any given historical moment.”⁹² In the case of this paper it shows that American ballet is in fact a reflection of the Cold War. It is a combination of two cultures who believed they had nothing in common and that one must prove they are better than the other. When in hindsight one can see that it took the combination of both cultures to bring a dance form that is technical, beautiful, and distinctive to America. The Cold War brought about many changes for people in both the Soviet Union and the United States, and fear and competition were often looked at as restricting instead of inspiring. It is because of this that good things that developed as a result of the Cold War are overlooked. American ballet is just one example of a gift that came out of the Cold War, and makes one wonder if there are more cultural gems from the time period waiting to be explored by scholars that could generate a different cultural history than the one that is understood today.

⁹¹ Zarhina, “Russian Invasion,” 76.

⁹² Kendal, “A Doorway to Revolution,” 80.

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Religious Liberty in Xinjiang: Terrorism, Repression, and Identity

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Abstract:

Xinjiang Province, the far western province of China, has noted an increase in domestic terrorism as a result Uighurs that are radicalized through feelings of religious and ethnic oppression. China is also not evenly implementing its laws on religious protections. This paper suggests a change in Beijing's policy towards Xinjiang that promotes religious liberty for Uighur Muslims, which will be more conducive to Beijing's ultimate goals for peace, stability, and unity in the region.

Xinjiang province is the westernmost province in China and shares a border with much of Central Asia. It is the home province of China's Uighur population, the majority of which are Muslim, and is a province of strategic and economic interest to China because of the region's immense natural wealth of resources - such as coal, natural gas, and rare metals - and position as a link to the rest of Asia.¹ The region connects China to Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Russia, India, and even Afghanistan, which makes it a critical hub in China's 'New Silk Road' plan. This economic plan would increase the flow of trade between China, other central Asian countries, and the Middle East, similar to the ancient Silk Road. However, despite an increased military presence, reshuffling of Chinese policy towards Xinjiang, and government investing, from radicalized Uighur Muslims who have begun making targeted terrorist strikes, the region has faced an increased number of terrorist attacks over the past several years.² Religious oppression and erasure of ethnic identity among Xinjiang's Uighur Muslims has led to an increase in the radicalization and subsequent terrorist attacks. Adopting a policy of religious liberty and tolerance towards this

ethnic minority in Xinjiang will bring stability and unity that the Chinese central government is aiming for in the region, and will allow the government to better address other issues that contribute to tensions in Xinjiang, such as economic development. Extending religious freedoms to the Uighur Muslims will bring the stability that the Chinese government seeks in the region.

A Brief History of Xinjiang

Xinjiang, as a region, has been a part of numerous empires throughout history, even serving its own brief stint as an independent country from 1944-1949. It is home to the Uighur ethnic minority, where they constitute approximately ten million of a population of about twenty-two million, who are culturally and linguistically distinct from the rest of China. This has led to a sense of identity, critically constructed around their language, culture, and religion, that supersedes their Chinese national identity. The Uighur language is Turkic in origin, the culture is closer to Central Asian rather than East Asian/Chinese, and the people are ethnically distinct on a genomic level – closer to European than East

¹ Katie Hunt, "Xinjiang Violence: Does China have a terrorist problem?" *CNN*, Last date modified: December 3, 2015.

² William Wan, "5 questions on Xinjiang Separatists, Uighurs, and knife attacks at Chinese train station." *Washington Post*, Last date modified: March 2, 2014.

Asian.³ The region has been a part of China since the 18th century as a result of Qing Dynasty expansion, pushing out the previous ruling empire.⁴ The region has since been administered by the Chinese government under the Qing dynasty, the Republic of China, and the People's Republic of China, although the region has, throughout the change in administration, maintained the ethnic identity and resisted governance from Beijing.⁵

During the political instability of the Chinese Revolution, rebels in Xinjiang, supported by surrounding countries and the Soviet Union, declared a brief period of independence and renamed the area East Turkestan in 1944. They had been driven by nationalism to attempt to establish an independent socialist Uighur-state, an ambition that the People's Republic of China stifled when the region was brought back underneath Chinese rule in 1949. However, while large, powerful, and organized voices for Uighur independence were shut down following the reunification, nationalistic sentiment persists to today. Under leader Mao Zedong, China utilized a policy of pluralism and cultural tolerance which kept cohesion and stability in Xinjiang, with some peaceful protests breaking out intermittently, and the Chinese Communist Party "between the mid-1980s and 1996[...] attained a grudging tolerance for its Xinjiang policies by a significant portion of the Uighur elites."⁶ This is because the party allowed the Uighurs to maintain their own language and practice their religion with limited interference. The mid-1990s saw a change of China's Xinjiang policy, towards the 'Strike Hard'

policy and a rollback on linguistic pluralism in the region. Since then, the Uighur population has seen the government begin to implement a policy promoting mono-culturalism and mono-lingualism in Xinjiang by repressing Islam and Uighur language instruction.⁷ Subsequently, the Chinese government has begun to take action against the growing unrest, an increase in riots, and terrorist attacks in the region. However, the heavy handed response has adversely affected peaceful Uighurs who do not participate in the protests or violent altercations.

The Current Issue

Lately, China has seen an increasing trend among terrorist attacks executed by radicalized Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang province. They are fueled by curtailing of religious rights, rollback of Uighur-language instruction in schools, and perceptions that the ethnic group is being discriminated against by not only the government, but also the Han Chinese that are moving into the region. CNN notes that:

Uyghur exile groups and human rights activists say repressive religious policies and economic marginalization have provoked much of the recent unrest. They add the education system undermines use of the Uyghur language.⁸

Religious oppression, cultural erosion, and economic disparity are leading to radicalization among China's Uighur ethnic group in Xinjiang.⁹ Economic development in the

³ Shuhua Xu and Jin Li, "A Genome-Wide Analysis of Admixture in Uyghurs and a High-Density Admixture Map for Disease-Gene Discovery." *American Journal of Human Genetics* 83.3 (2008): 322–336. PMC.

⁴ James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, Columbia University Press. 98

⁵ Arienne M. Dwyer, "Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse", *East-West Center, Policy Studies* 15. 91.

⁶ Dwyer 63

⁷ Dwyer 63

⁸ Hunt. "Xinjiang Violence: Does China have a terrorist problem?"

⁹ Tong Zhao, "Social Cohesion and Islamic Radicalization: Implications from the Uighur Insurgency," *Journal of Strategic Security* 3, 3, 40.

region has disproportionately benefitted larger corporations and increased the wealth gap, particularly between the Uighurs and Han Chinese.¹⁰ Beyond that, migrant workers and the Han Chinese immigration that has constantly increased in recent years have led to the feeling among Uighurs that they are being marginalized in their own province.¹¹ The current political climate has seen targeted terrorist attacks committed by radicalized Uighur Muslims increase in recent years, a break from historical academic and peaceful protests. Such attacks have taken place in Kunming and Beijing. The global political climate has also contributed to the tensions, though not as much as domestic issues, with imported militant Islam radicalizing some Uighurs and leading them to join Daesh and to fight for the Taliban in Afghanistan. Daesh is the terrorist organization operating in Iraq and Syria otherwise known as ISIS or ISIL.¹² As Xinjiang becomes increasingly unstable with unrest and protests, the government increases the heavy-handedness of its response. This response is in-line with the ‘Strike Hard’ policy towards Xinjiang, which simply feeds back into the problem.

Current Chinese Policy

On a holistic level, the Chinese government has a policy that promotes mono-lingualism and mono-culturalism among its ethnic groups in an effort to promote national unity with China and a singular Chinese identity. In pursuit of this, local dialect instruction is scaled back in favor of teaching Mandarin in schools, and integration with Han

ethnicity is actively promoted. This is the unofficial policy of China, while the on-paper policy is egalitarian and accommodationist.¹³ This split policy – unofficial and official – can be seen in Tibet in regard to its culture and language as well. In 2014, Chinese President Xi Jinping discussed a revitalized Xinjiang policy that would have three main elements: “Fighting terrorism with an iron hand, implementing development to benefit the common people, and strengthening military presence in the region.”¹⁴ This is not a new policy and has been implemented for years, but only refers to Xinjiang as a whole rather than addressing the plights of the Uighur minority in any meaningful capacity. Currently, the Chinese government and state media characterize any sort of Xinjiang independence protest as terrorist in nature, be it peaceful or not.¹⁵ Separatist elements within the region are subject to either harsh prison sentences or execution, and even academics not in the region are subject to harsh punishments and sentencing. In 2014, Illham Tohti, an Uighur academic who taught at Minzu University in Beijing, was accused of fermenting separatist sentiments in Xinjiang and was sentenced to life in prison, despite his peaceful and academic approach to discussing ‘the Xinjiang issue’. He had discussed the issue in his classes at Minzu University, hosted an online forum for discussion, and promoted brainstorming for answers. His family’s assets were frozen despite the fact that his wife and two young sons relied on those savings.¹⁶

The state is also heavily involved in the way that Muslims practice their religion in the

¹⁰ Shannon Tiezzi, “China Doubles Down on Economic Development in Troubled Xinjiang,” *The Diplomat*, Last date modified: May 7, 2014.

¹¹ Zhao 44

¹² Jack Moore, “Xinjiang’s Uighur Muslims Receiving ‘Terrorist Training’ From Isis Fighters for Attacks in China”, *International Business Times*, Last Date modified: September 22, 2014.

¹³ Dwyer 2

¹⁴ Tiezzi “China Doubles Down on Economic Development in Xinjiang,”

¹⁵ David Volodzko, “China’s Own Double Standard on Terrorism.” *The Diplomat*. Last Date modified: November 23, 2015.

¹⁶Edward Wong. “China Sentences Uighur Scholar to Life.” *New York Times*. Last date modified: September 23, 2014.

region, through the means of state-approved Qurans, state controlled mosques, and laws against certain displays of religion.¹⁷ Muslims living in certain areas of Xinjiang or hold government positions, they may not have their traditional beards and there are restrictions on the hijab and burka. These restrictions have been enforced under the idea that they disrupt the public order, and current Chinese religious policy upholds that “[displays of religion] should not be used as tools to disrupt the public.”¹⁸ In an effort to ensure that religion is prevented from being used in ways that may disrupt the public, the government controls religious bodies and organization through the administration of the registration of religious bodies such as church groups and religious societies.¹⁹ China does allow for mosques to be built and for individuals to practice their religion without interference, but the state has power over organized religion. The exact language of China’s policy towards religious protections can be found in article 36 of their constitution, which states:

No State organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion. The State protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the State.²⁰

The wording in the constitution suggests that all religions in China are protected, but the policy is not implemented evenly, as seen in the previous examples of government intervention in the growing of beards and wearing of certain religious clothing.

The government has also taken the stance that the key to stability in the region lies in the economic development of Xinjiang and providing income development and social mobility to the Uighur population.²¹ To this end, the government has put Xinjiang at the center of one of the most important economic development policies that it has crafted, the ‘New Silk Road’ development project, which is intended to bring a large amount of trade and financial assets through the region. The use of military force in accordance with the ‘Strike Hard’ policy is also utilized by the local and central government, and the option of increasing military and police presence is always a possibility for those in power. Collectively, all of these policies aim towards fighting the ‘three evils’ that China faces in Xinjiang: violent terrorism, ethnic separatism, and religious extremism.²²

Evaluation of Current Chinese Policy

On a macro-level, the current Chinese policy towards Xinjiang has failed in its goals and has only led to further development of the issues. The radicalization of Uighurs especially revolves around two particular aspects that are the result of Chinese policy: the oppression of religious rights and the loss of language. Dwyer, a professor of Linguistic Anthropology at the University of Kansas, summed up the situation:

¹⁷ Wan “5 questions on Xinjiang Separatists, Uighurs, and knife attacks at Chinese train station.”

¹⁸ Ping Xiong, “Freedom of Religion in China Under the Current Legal Framework and Foreign Religious Bodies,” *Brigham Young University Law Review*, vol. 2013, issue 3, 610.

¹⁹ Xiong 610.

²⁰ Xiong 605

²¹ Tiezzi “China Doubles Down on Economic Development in Xinjiang,”

²² Julia Famularo, “Chinese Religious Regulations in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: A Veiled Threat to Turkic Muslims?” *Project 2024*, 2015.

In targeting these core markers of Uyghur culture, previously slumbering sensitivities were inflamed. For language and religion are valued by most ordinary Uyghurs as central aspects of their identity. As both are considered inviolable and semi-private, significant encroachment by a dominant Chinese culture is perceived as an attack on identity.²³

The promotion of Mandarin instruction and religious oppression have only fostered resistance among the Uighurs and pushed them towards radicalization, as they believe it to be the only option left to express their religion and culture, given that their peaceful protest attempts have been suppressed. This is a particularly dangerous situation when the global political climate is facing jihad from extremists in the Middle East, which has drawn some of these elements out of Xinjiang to Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. While the region has seen economic development from government investment and the development of the New Silk Road, it has been imbalanced and the groups that would benefit the most from it have not been positively affected. In this regard, the government investment has only exacerbated the income inequality and driven the Uighur population to desperate measures. The Chinese government, in its attempts to bring Xinjiang closer to China and foster a Chinese identity among the Uighurs, has only pushed the region's ethnic minority further away. A key example of this is seen with the government changing Kashgar, which was a hub of Uighur culture, into a special economic zone in an attempt to bring greater prosperity

to Uighurs. Instead, the economic change destroyed “not only old buildings, but communities and traditions as well.”²⁴

Suggestion for New Policy

The policy suggested in this paper follows the concept of ‘winning the hearts and minds of the people’. This is a concept in the theory of war, where rather than attempting to resolve a conflict through the use of superior military force, an actor instead uses intellectual and emotional connections to rally the people behind a certain cause. This policy promotes the ultimate goal of defeating the opposite force in the theater of public opinion, operating on the premise that if the people do not support your endeavor, then victory is unattainable and the situation will ultimately result in favor of the other side.²⁵ The Chinese government should move back to a policy similar to the one under Deng Xiaoping, as the Uighur public was more receptive to those policies than they are to current ones.

As it stands, the Uighur population in Xinjiang believe themselves to be mitigated, discriminated, and oppressed in their own home province, and the central Chinese government has recognized that there is evidence that leads the population to come to these conclusions. One large contributing factor to this perception of oppression among the Uighur population is the current religious policy, explored previously. This paper puts forward a policy of religious tolerance and religious liberty for Xinjiang's ethnic Uighur population by implementing the actual wording of the religious protections in the Chinese constitution. This language of religious protection must be equally enforced in Xinjiang. Currently, the Uighurs are seeing

²³ Dwyer 63

²⁴ Colin Mackerras, “Xinjiang in China’s Foreign Relations: Part of a New Silk Road Plan or Central Asian Zone of Conflict?” *East Asia* vol. 32, issue 1. 28.

²⁵ Adrian Lewis, *American Culture of War* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas), 2013.

their religion repressed more strongly than others. By enforcing the religious protections guaranteed in the constitution, Xinjiang will see the religious liberty that the Uighurs are largely clamoring for. This liberty would allow the Uighurs, who practice a form of moderate Islam, to follow the demands of Islam, observe religious practices, and celebrate religious holidays. Given that one of the main issues between the Uighurs and the Chinese government is religious expression, this policy will ease those tensions. Furthermore, this policy aims at utilizing religious freedoms to diminish the rate of radicalization among Uighurs by allowing them to pursue their religion, turning them away from roads to radicalization and feelings of isolation and martyrdom. Beyond this allowance of worship, this will allow the Uighurs to maintain a sense of cultural and personal identity while improving their relationship with the central government in Beijing. This safe expression of religion coupled with sufficient cultural autonomy will prevent imported militant Islam in the area from taking hold.²⁶

With the mitigation of the threat of further radicalization and subsequent terrorist attacks from Uighurs, the Chinese government can then focus on addressing economic development within the region, addressing the economic disparity between the local population and the eight million Han Chinese who have immigrated to Xinjiang. Beyond this, the government will also be able to explore the issue as to how the revenue from the economic development in Xinjiang has largely gone to larger corporations, rather than the smaller businesses, which exacerbate the economic difficulties that the ethnic minorities face in the region.

Conclusion

In recent history, it has become evident how policies similar to China's 'Strike Hard' policy towards terrorism ultimately do nothing but exacerbate the problem. Two critical examples can be seen with the United States during the Vietnam War and again during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. During both wars, the United States failed at effectively winning the 'hearts and minds of the people,' pushing more civilians towards joining the enemy and communism. The United States failed at undercutting the actual reasons for civilians joining the Viet Cong and Al-Qaeda, and China is currently following a similar path in regards to the Uighurs. As China continues to constrict Xinjiang religious liberty, language, and identity, the Uighur population will grow increasingly desperate and the terrorist strikes will continue in the current upward trend.

The policy in this paper would bring religious tolerance to Xinjiang, allowing the Uighur minority to maintain their religion, and by extension their language and identity. This will undercut the biggest reasons for radicalization and protest among Uighurs, and allow the Chinese government to focus less on military presence in the region. Some of the military's actions attract international criticism for the degree of force that the government responds with. A change in policy will allow China to focus more on economic development of the region in preparation for the New Silk Road and the general improvement of the ethnic minorities and Han population that are in the region. The Chinese government could do this by promoting trustworthy local Uighur Communist Party officials to positions of power, so that the Uighur population sees itself as being represented in the government. The government could also use the same precedent of giving special rights to certain minorities in

²⁶ Dwyer 3

order to justify extending religious liberty and language opportunity to the Uighurs. These actions would boost the stability in Xinjiang in

ways beneficial to the government, and bring the country closer to national unity that Beijing pursues.

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A Comparative Study of Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg: Urbanization and Social Class

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Abstract:

In the early twentieth century, two cities exhibited social unrest and social conflict. In Johannesburg, South Africa, the seeds for apartheid were sewn as an influx of workers came to nourish the country's mines. In Rio de Janeiro, the rise of a global economy fostered immigrant communities. This paper analyzes the causes of early twentieth century social unrest as a result of the urbanization of both of these cities, and compares and contrasts both spatial and economic factors. It also investigates the labor landscapes in both cities as a supplement to these changes.

The development of both Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg at the turn of the twentieth century follows a dual path of social instability. At a moment when apartheid was beginning to solidify into a century long institution, a South African working class culture was developing. In Rio, the globalization of a newly transformed economy was exhibiting unstable patterns, worrying the already impoverished working class. Current scholarship places both cities in their own rights as polycentric cities undergoing urbanization through segregationist and cosmopolitan cultures. While scholars have thoroughly introduced each city's respective metropolitan culture, there is little in the way of an ethnographic comparison between the two. This paper attempts to connect space and geography through the rise of racially and economically induced characterizations. Social unrest in both cities manifested in the urbanization of each city as a driving force of culture. Beyond the reach of the elite upper strata, the rising urban poor and separated classes molded the cityscape, and built a platform on which social protests were enacted. For the cities, the architecture and

people determined the physical city, the strength of a cosmopolitan urban society, and the socio-political mobility of their respective inhabitants. Although separated by their geographic positions, both Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro benefited from the changing urban and labor landscapes of the early twentieth century.

Rio de Janeiro emerged from the nineteenth century in a neo-colonial age as the establishment of the First Republic of Brazil deposed Emperor Dom Pedro II and instituted a new order of nominal democracy. The rise of the commercial city brought urbanization, increasing globalization, and social transformations to a population divided by wealth and poverty. As the capital of the Brazilian Republic, Rio extended its social strife and political tensions beyond its neighborhoods. Class division cut through cultural and economic policies, as the elite pursued commercial agendas, pushing for the increase of urban manufacturing, while poor wage workers demanded self-determination and improved labor laws.¹ It was a modernizing city within an agricultural nation, where

¹ Meade, 5

commercial interests were growing to replace the colonial order of the nineteenth century.²

As a much younger city, Johannesburg emerged from the clutches of colonialism as Rio de Janeiro sought to escape it. Johannesburg was founded in the late nineteenth century as gold and diamond minerals beckoned settlement and the establishment of a migrant system of labor. Electricity was quickly implemented due to mining businesses, prompting urbanization and early ethnic-regional exclusivity. Much like Rio, which thrived on the backbone of wage laborers and “freed” slaves, Johannesburg progressed as a center of labor. The town attempted to mimic the English—not the French as Rio sought—and emerged an African-European city, an industrialist with interest in the capitalization of people and land.³ As the city grew on immigrated labor, its racial divide blossomed, feeding a similar dialectic as did Rio. Modernization claimed the progress of the poor and socially subjugated classes while pursuing the agenda of the rich, and coloring the city with an economic divide.⁴ It was a dual nation with a dual class of citizens. Where Rio suffered an elitist oppressor, Johannesburg fell to its racial discriminator.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Rio experienced a steep population growth due to European immigration which coincided with the increase of freed slaves. Despite the abolition of slavery in 1888, many former slaves could not afford to abandon their positions. Instead, they remained as sharecroppers or debtors to their former rural plantation owners. There thus was a barrier between the country and its rural outskirts, where elite culture and European influence

stopped along a wall of debt and traditional agrarian values.⁵ Brazil’s increasing interest and position in the global market fostered a necessarily mutual relationship between the country and city, between production, agriculture, and industry. Since trade exports, and especially British capital interests, relied on the work of planters and coffee traders, the wealthy would visit the city in “urban residences” to absorb the imported European civilization, while the working poor failed to grasp even a marginally cosmopolitan lifestyle.⁶

The Brazilian bourgeoisie claimed France as their cultural archetype, modelling fashion and artistic endeavors for their belle époque, which lasted from 1894 to 1914.⁷ In 1902, Mayor Pereira Passos revitalized the city under infrastructural reforms, earning the name “the Tropical Haussmann.”⁸ Improving public transportation by creating new avenues and establishing ports, Pereira Passos sought to characterize the city as a modern, international capital. European dress styles were mandatory, en vogue. Newly erected architecture followed a strict Parisian ideal to symbolize the “model of a Europeanized bourgeois civility.”⁹ Working closely with Pereira Passos was the new president of the Brazilian republic, Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906), who initiated sanitation programs, public works, and careful socio-economic measures to aid urbanization.¹⁰

In 1922, the International Exhibit of the Centenary of Brazil’s Independence was celebrated with the building of illustrious halls and pavilions. Beatriz Jaguaribe, a contemporary Brazilian scholar, describes the grandiose and imported architectural styles as a “feral illumination, [the] novelties and imposing buildings deemed to be both a

² Jaguaribe, 17

³ Nutall, 38

⁴ Nutall, 46

⁵ Meade, 19.

⁶ Meade, 22

⁷ Meade, 23

⁸ Meade, 24

⁹ Jaguaribe, 17

¹⁰ Needell, 86

‘Bazaar of Marvels’ and the ‘Antechamber of Paradise.’”¹¹ Rio served to highlight Brazilian progress and prosperity, merging its still tangible neo-colonialism with a tropical modernity. Tourists arriving in the city could purchase postcards that displayed national monuments and the scenes of passing trolley cars, loaded with passengers on a day trip through the city’s welcoming avenues. Old buildings reminiscent of colonial wealth were replaced with sprawling walkways and lavish monuments to praise the new republic.¹² The ornamentation of Rio’s imitative landscape was evident in attempts to preserve the French opulence; photographer Carlos Bippus captured the luminescent International Exhibit in 1922, illuminating the nocturnal sweeping lights of the pavilions that held nearly three million people from various European countries, and even Japan.¹³

The development of Johannesburg followed a less opulent and illustrious path, though equally as rapid as the Brazilian capital. Population soon rose after the Mineral Revolution of the 1860’s, prompting the need for housing areas and marketplaces to satisfy the growing commercialism of the mining city. Labor gathered workers across Africa to put to work in mines, but other immigrants from India, China, Britain, and other European countries came to satisfy industrial demands. The markets thus became open places for immigrant communities to interact in and accordingly, for urbanization to occur.

As in Rio, the streets became central urban paths; horse-drawn trams careened down public squares and marketplaces, surrounded by banks and various commercial endeavors. A market square in Johannesburg in 1900 was a crowded space, encased by the English, neo-

gothic architecture and various shops. Patrons and merchants alike would scatter among the lively square, as wagons crisscrossed wares. As the foundations for apartheid began quite early in the city, there was little physical separation as Africans, Asians, and whites inadvertently mingled among the large spaces afforded by the city. As an initially smaller city than Rio, with tempting wage levels, Johannesburg could foster many of the poor by employing a large workforce to supplant many demanded domestic services such as cooking, cleaning, and washing. Prostitution naturally became a by-product of the population rise in response to these services. In 1903, about twenty-two percent of the Rand’s population were women.¹⁴ As with other sparse ‘commodities,’ women were in demand and could profit from fulfilling sexual services.

Prostitution in Rio was an open and almost begrudgingly accepted vice along with vagrancy and gambling. Propositions were common in respectable districts and were expected in barely hidden, brothel-lined streets.¹⁵ Both Rio and Johannesburg exhibited a racism evident in prostitution—darker skinned Brazilian women and African women were in the lower class of prostitutes, while French women were desired in Rio, and ‘imported’ white European women were favored in Johannesburg.¹⁶ Both cities harbored gambling and alcohol as solutions to the dreary lifestyles of the overworked and the impoverished. In Johannesburg, boredom and a search for pleasure outside of the dangerous mines created a culture of drinking that officials attempted to control. Leisure activities were regulated by a government “concerned that leisure time for the working class...was constructive and healthy.”¹⁷ Entertainment in

¹¹ Jaguaribe, 22

¹² Jaguaribe, 53

¹³ “Centenario Da Independencia Do Brasil.”

¹⁴ Callinicos, 12

¹⁵ Meade, 38

¹⁶ Callinicos, 42

¹⁷ Kallaway, 38

Rio was readily available for the wealthy. In the richer and spacious south, efficient trolley lines, sewage systems, and electricity exemplified Rio's attempt at tropical modernity while in the north, more crowded streets were dark and damp, subject to disease and corrosive poverty.¹⁸ Companies and districts were in cohorts, building along lines of wealth rather than need. Cafés and restaurants modeled after the styles of boêmios were exorbitantly French, "a tropical contingent of the avant-garde."¹⁹ The Carioca elite, the Brazilian flaneurs, consciously emulated Paris as the highest form of modern intellectual and artistic progress—but one afforded by willful disregard of poverty.

As both cities began evolving, new media of protest arose that simultaneously fulfilled the desires of a cosmopolitan elite and offered a voice for the dissenting misfortunate. French importation of culture manifested into Rio's Rua do Ouvidor, an echo of Parisian arcades in its collection of shops and theatres.²⁰ Films were at first a novelty, a method by which citizens could access the world as if they were on a "global journey."²¹ After film popularity increased, cinematic productions from Rio followed along with the rise of electricity, contributed to a vibrant film culture that celebrated and protested many aspects of the "modern" city. Maite Conde suggests that because of Rio's obsession with physical worldliness, an attempt to thrust itself into modernity, it blossomed into a great "word city." The proliferation of displays in photographs, postcards, magazines, and of course films, highlighted its new image, or protested its façade.²² The introduction of films into South Africa followed the same course,

importing French and English films into theatres across Johannesburg. One film magazine article from 1912 assures readers that films arriving in London take only a week to reach Johannesburg, and are shown twice a day to an eager audience.²³ It notes however, that no films were produced in South Africa, unlike in the domestic Brazilian film industry. In early twentieth century Johannesburg, the film industry remained an imported one, offering little means for the African voice to be heard; instead, dancing and street music were taken up as protest. Jazz and African hymns blended to create a uniquely African culture in response to the oppressive urban environment.²⁴ Johannesburg nightclubs offered an escape from the confining passbook laws and white oppression that wore at daily life.

As Johannesburg existed as a physically fluid social cesspool, out of urban necessity where whites, blacks, and other immigrants interacted, Rio's extravagant city reforms relegated the poor and the wealthy to separate avenues. On the periphery of the city were favelas, the slums and shadow towns rejected by the luminescence of Rio's tropical citadel. Along the hills of downtown Rio, the favelas expanded as neglected urban poor and rural peasants joined the settlement.²⁵ Similar space in Johannesburg separated living areas for whites and blacks, as many townships were created outside of the city and were the only spaces available for blacks to purchase freehold land.²⁶ Johannesburg still maintained an interactive and impoverished public space, lacking the same infrastructure and sanitation afforded to the brighter metropolis of Rio, and that which did not as easily separate people physically.

¹⁸ Meade, 80

¹⁹ Needell, 90

²⁰ Conde, 190

²¹ Conde, 193

²² Conde, 196

²³ "South Africa's Picture Shows"

²⁴ Coplan, 140

²⁵ Jaguaribe, 175

²⁶ Kallaway, 35

In Johannesburg, discrimination was establishing its foothold while Rio began transforming into a social mine of protest. Abolition had transformed Rio's social strata into an environment ripe for reform—as the city explored an international identity, an organic neo-colonial dialectic developed. More than doubling its population from 1890 to 1920, Rio crowded people of different languages and cultures into a city on the verge of erupting into riots.²⁷ Whereas in Johannesburg, immigrants created the foundation for the capital economy, Rio's immigrants contributed to a well-established export market. In both cities, however, white immigrants lived in superiority to blacks, earning higher wages and living in better conditions beyond that of the freed slaves in Rio, and Africans in Johannesburg. For both cities, the situation was endemic to labor disputes. Rio's economic situation was unbalanced, troubling the poor with taxes. A lack of the Republic's economic control also meant higher prices and unstable wages, leading to protests and strikes. Johannesburg's increasing ethnic repression pushed demonstrators to protest, but were swiftly crushed by police forces. Rio's environment, the push for modernity and urban technology, was used by demonstrators who took

advantage of the new streets to protest. Unwittingly, Rio, in its attempts to become the South American Paris, inherited the European city's history of social instability and proclivity for violence.

The environments of both Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg were filled with social tensions in the early twentieth century. For Rio it was a natural result of economic unrest and in Johannesburg, the mining economy and culture created racial dissent and repression. Yet, both cities still displayed a spectacle about them, with lively cultures that bred out of an immigrant base. The Mineral Revolution in Johannesburg, however, did not create the desperate Europeanisation that Rio's urbanization did, thus creating a less visual culture. The creation of public space, in the marketplaces of Johannesburg, and the avenues of Rio, fostered a natural modernity that heralded a cosmopolitan framework. Beyond the elite culture of Rio's cariocas and the white power of Johannesburg, the working classes of Africans and Brazilians managed to impact the development of the city across riots and strikes. For both, the portrait of social classes furthered their evolution into the global stage, and thrust a conflicting social landscape upon their physical boundaries.

²⁷ Meade, 49

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Disaster's Face: What Human Bodies Reveal about Catastrophe

Trent Sanders is a senior majoring in English. He is from Anchorage, Alaska. He wrote this paper for an English honors seminar titled "Disaster and the Environmental Imagination" under the direction of Dr. Phillip Drake.

Abstract:

The global mass media in general depicts disasters as a spectacle for an audience of consumers. As a result, the individuals depicted effectively become generic victims, not fully developed human beings with distinct needs and interests (Drake, Tierney). In Sinha's novel, however, the chemical plant explosion, though drastically noxious to Khaufpuri citizens, is not restricted to harming only Khaufpuris. In fact, *Animal's* narrative conveys visual punctual violence on a Western audience, as well as the Khaufpuris. He reminds his Western audience that there are exposed human bodies in specific geographic locations. This essay investigates the corporeal experience *Animal's* audience has with disaster because of his narrative style. I argue that *Animal's People* rhetorically constructs a Western audience, and in doing so, reorients the Western audience's relationship with disaster and disaster victims. Put another way, this essay argues that Sinha's novel discloses both non-Western *and* Western human beings amidst catastrophe by deconstructing the fantasy that Westerners are far removed and invincible from disaster.

Bangladesh...formerly India...generations wiped out as regularly as clockwork...and they are coolly aware that when you talk about apocalypse...they are leading the way in that particular field. The facts of disaster are the facts of their lives. (Smith 176)

Introduction

Do Westerners feel as if they are "leading the way" in accruing casualties because of disasters (176)? Westerners can believe that they are relatively invulnerable from disasters. The Westerners experience with disaster is not the same relationship that Indians faced because of unnatural reasons. On the night of December 2, 1984, forty thousand tons of methyl cyanide spewed from a chemical tank over the Indian city of Bhopal, flooding the city with chemicals denser than air, and now, thirty-one years later, over 600,000 Bhopali citizens suffer from both physical and mental illnesses (Mukherjee 37). Indra Sinha's novel *Animal's People* depicts a fictional town called Khaufpur that is closely based on the actual events that took place in Bhopal, India. A nineteen year

old boy named Animal narrates the entire story. In the novel *Animal's People*, these toxic chemicals corrode Animal's back, and because of this, he must walk on his hands and feet. This essay investigates the corporal experience *Animal's* audience has with disaster because of his narrative style. I argue that *Animal's People* rhetorically constructs a Western audience, and in doing so, reorients the Western audience's relationship with disaster and disaster victims. Put another way, this essay argues that Sinha's novel discloses both non-Western *and* Western human beings amidst catastrophe by deconstructing the fantasy that Westerners are far removed and invincible from disaster.

The chemical disaster that *Animal's People* displays showcases the ways in which the Khaufpuri citizens are vulnerable politically, economically, and environmentally. In contrast, the global mass media depicts disasters as a spectacle for an audience of consumers. Phillip Drake and Kathleen Tierney argue, first, that mass media frames

vulnerable people groups as generic victims for Western audiences to observe, and second, that it does not depict disaster survivors as fully developed human beings with distinct needs and interests (Drake 84, Tierney 57). In Sinha's novel, however, the chemical plant explosion, though drastically noxious to Khaufpuri citizens, is not restricted to harming only Khaufpuris. In fact, *Animal's* narrative conveys visual punctual violence on a Western audience, as well as the Khaufpuris. He reminds his Western audience that there are exposed human bodies in specific geographic locations. He includes the reader (primarily a Western audience) in the text by calling the reader "Eyes," and speaks to the reader, constructing the spatial environment the reader fills (Sinha 7, 13, 27). In this paper, punctual violence¹ refers to harm manifested on individual human bodies (Eisenzweig 34-35, Favret 618-619, Moudelino 35). Punctual violence in *Animal's People* draws attention to personal and unique hardships and trauma faced by disaster victims.

A margin of the field of disaster studies primarily addresses questions of cultures' function in rendering human populations vulnerable to disaster. Cultural analysis is a fringe movement within disaster studies with respect to other approaches grounded in sociology and in the physical sciences. In the past, those who suffered from the effects of disasters were understood to be made vulnerable by chance, accident, or divine will, whereas today there is a sense that vulnerability is determined by social dynamics, even exploitation. Ulrich Beck charts this shift in modern society's conception of disaster in his article *Living in the World Risk Society*. His research stakes territory for new questions to emerge about the threats human beings face living in modern society, and contains theoretical models to conceptualize disaster.

A Brief History for Disaster Studies and its Implications in *Animal's People*

Recent scholarship in disaster studies tends to address broader concerns about populations rendered vulnerable because of socio-political exploitation. Of this trend in contemporary disaster studies, Beck writes, "The principle of deliberately exploiting the vulnerability of modern civil society replaces the principle of chance and accident" (329). Beck contrasts contemporary conceptions of disaster and risk with religiously affiliated ideology held before the Enlightenment Era. Beck is not alone in observing transformations in the ways people conceptualize disaster over time; rather, he falls within a critical tradition of Enlightenment thinkers who lambaste the idea that the wrath of God caused the disaster. For example, the destruction from the Lisbon earthquake on November 1, 1755 fueled Enlightenment thinkers' opposition in part because it ironically fell on All Saint's Day, and more importantly, because the city of Lisbon symbolized cultural strength and stability. Yet, in under ten minutes the city fell, and its rubble crushed thirty thousand people (Fleming 183). Voltaire responds to this catastrophe by scrutinizing the axiom, "Whatever is, is Right." His opposition to chance, accident, and divine cause is most clearly seen when he writes,

And can you then impute a sinful deed
To babes who on their mothers'
bosoms bleed?
Was then more vice in fallen Lisbon
found,
Than Paris, where voluptuous joys
abound? (Voltaire 186)

Religious elements such as "sinful" and "impute" set the tone for the lines that follow. Voltaire calls dramatic attention to religious zealots who interpret the disaster as divine judgment. The helpless object of imputation

shocks and horrifies because it is not a criminal damaged by falling edifices, but a babe dying and bleeding, cradled in its mother's arms. A critique of religious rhetoric pervades the poem as Voltaire construes a comparison of two great cities into a question. Upon asking, is there more vice in Lisbon than in Paris, the answer is clearly no, and Voltaire hints at his conclusion; attributing divinity, chance, and accident to disaster is unsatisfyingly obtuse. From Enlightenment thinkers' posture of doubt to contemporary research like Beck's inquiry into power and vulnerability, new questions emerge about the threats human beings face living in modern society.

Sinha's *Animal's People* raises a question of great importance concerning any disaster in the contemporary world: will those in power recognize the guilty parties and hold them accountable, while also giving victims appropriate assistance? The Khaufpuri citizens wait for justice for nearly twenty years (Sinha 152). As an educated leader of the Khaufpuris, Zafar organizes the citizens and advances their pleas for justice. He challenges the multinational corporation called Kampani that released methyl cyanide throughout their city to finally make amends to those devastated by the chemical disaster. In a non-violent protest against the Khampani, he abstains from food and water during Nautapa, a time when "heat is so fierce it fries any part of you that touches the ground" (278). After seeing Zafar transported away, the entire Khaufpuri community believes he died from starvation. Animal links Zafar's possible death to the oppressive presence of the Khampani. He then returns to the factory (the site that began their suffering) and ruminates on the unobservable cause of Zafar's possible death. Of course food would be the most pertinent cause, but a process of violence inflicts itself on the Khaufpuris in silent and out of sight ways. The question of who or what is to blame dictates

much of the discourse that takes place in *Animal's People*.

Though Animal can certainly identify and touch the origin from which all noxious chemicals spewed, the people responsible are evanescent; Animal cannot definitively describe them because they are part of a corporation. Rob Nixon explains the bewilderment that Animal faces in trying to identify them because of "leakages," and goes on to describe their fluid identity as "porous border[s] and permeable membranes, the living who are semi-dead and the dead who are living specters" (458). Attempting to give an account of this experience, Animal says, "[I] put my ear to [the pipe's] rough surface and listen. Inside are voices and it's like they are screaming" (274). The voice Animal makes distinct in this scene is not his own, but represents the moans from victims of the chemical disaster. Although Animal's encounter with the victims complicates whose thoughts are voiced, it suggests that the victims are acutely aware of a guilty party. Animal evokes incinerated somatic images before speaking on their behalf: "It's their bones and ashes crying out in rage against their murderers" (274). Animal speaks of their sense for deserved justice by interpreting that "Once the earth has tasted blood it craves more, now the killers must be killed" (274). But what remains veiled is who exactly they seek to kill. Put another way, who are the killers? Bernard Adeney-Risakotta, studies the comparable and divergent attitudes and actions of Indonesian Muslims and Christians in response to a tsunami and earthquake that hit Yogyakarta in 2006. His study isolated five common questions raised by disaster victims. The two most pressing questions for individuals are, "Who did this? Who is to blame?" (Adeney-Risakotta 230). The short answer is that blame is distributed across political, economic, and environmental lines. *Animal's People* conveys these spheres of

tension through the chemical factory (274), corrupt local governments (284), and poisoned ground water (107); all of them inadvertently damage Animal's body and dehumanize him.

Before scholars like Rob Nixon began exploring disaster as a process, the ways of systemic injustices within society had limited investigation, and did not clearly reveal the actors that extort populations. He recently developed a concept called "slow violence" which helped to reconceive and reconstruct disaster (Nixon 2). Slow violence removed event-based conceptualization of disaster towards a political-processual orientation, and is neatly articulated as "delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space" (2). For example, slow violence was occurring in Khaufpur before the night of the chemical plant explosion because the factory's presence made the Khaufpuris vulnerable. Living within a stone's throw of a methyl cyanide production plant can never be done without risk. The chemical plant explosion acutely represents picturesque damage of the Khaufpuri citizens. But they experience some of the more troubling health effects years later. Khaufpuri citizens collect polluted water, drink it, and the poisons coalesce in their bodies (Sinha 108). Meanwhile, individual signs of still born births (237), asthma (230), shorter life expectancies (108), and body deformity (5) can indicate that chemical exposure persists up to twenty years after the chemical explosion. These bodily signs, however, exist across a broad sample of humans, span great lengths of time, and obscure cause-effect relationships. But *Animal's People* interprets for the reader the processual harm being done to the subjugated Khaupuris by a multinational corporation with the assistance of corrupt local politicians. Because of this, the answers to questions such as how the hazardous conditions from chemical exposure persistently inflict the impoverished Khaufpuris, or why the

multinational corporation must pay amends for the Khaufpuri health issues years after its chemical plant disaster are clear to the reader. *Animal's People* attempts to debunk the myth of the vulnerable non-Western poor which Gregory Bankoff describes as "a paradigm for framing the world in such a way that it effectively divides it into two, between a zone where disasters occur regularly and one where they occur infrequently" (25-26). Thus, *Animal's People* challenges the idea that the poor in India are naturally more at risk than Westerners.

In addition, *Animal's People* contains a plethora of encounters with human bodies that experience punctual violence in various manifestations, places, and times. Punctual violence focuses on the uncomfortably strange nuances disaster entails that individuals recognize because of the damage inflicting their bodies and minds. Punctual violence depends on slow violence's conceptualization of disaster as a process, spanning geographical, temporal, physical, and testimonial lines. In other words, punctual violence might be referenced as a stage within slow violence. For instance, once the chemical plant exploded, thousands of human bodies experienced punctual violence in a multitude of ways, in a variety of locations, and at various times. The toxic chemicals mutilated Animal's spine which forced his torso toward the ground and his rear end upward (15). Even as a baby, however, Animal was not the youngest harmed. Fetuses experienced severe trauma to the point of death. One child's body, once delivered from its mother's womb, showed deformity because a cyclops-like eyeball grew in the middle of its head (236). While some spawned extra limbs, others did not develop vital sensory body parts like noses and mouths (236). In the days and months following the chemical plant explosion, initially unharmed mothers unknowingly gathered poisoned water to drink.

They noticed that their children suffered birth defects, and that their neighbor's babies also had physical or mental disabilities (108). Some survivors lost their voices, while others developed schizophrenia (220, 57). Punctual violence is the trauma that the Western audience of *Animal* undergoes because his narrative implicates them in the disaster.

Geographical Exposure

Every particular geographical location is seen because *Animal* includes a spectator intermittently throughout the telling of his story, a projected Western audience he calls "Eyes" (14). As *Animal* begins telling his story in the second of twenty-three tapes, he explains his own recognition that his story will be edited and printed by a publisher. He correctly predicts the journalist is not the only Westerner to imbibe his particular accounts of the chemical disaster in Khaufpur and the hardships that followed. Rather, *Animal* clearly understands the productive aim for his story the journalist has in mind: to print translated copies of *Animal's* account for a Western audience to read. *Animal* declares the intended audience of his story:

I am no longer talking to my friend the
Kakadu Jarnalis, names Phuoc, I am
talking to the eyes that are reading
these words
Now I am talking to you [sic]. (12)

Animal inserts Western readers into the story. More importantly, how he includes the Western audience disrupts the privileged scales of power-asymmetries that they can experience toward non-Westerners because they deem them vulnerable. In this way, *Animal* rhetorically presents himself as the storyteller, while the Western audience becomes the one that is objectified.

Animal's People develops how geographical challenges hinder the ability to map harm done to individuals because they generally remain unaccounted for. *Animal's People*, however, warrants the Western audience to see how the disaster still plagues the Khaufpuris. It depicts scenarios which allow the Western audience to see disaster harnessed on particular Khaufpuris' bodies in particular residencies. For example, *Animal* leads Elli, the reader, and a government doctor through a wood-paneled corridor into a courtyard far off the beaten path (106). The courtyard holds a young woman who presses milk from her breasts (107). Although *Animal* routinely walks through the wood-paneled corridor and enters the private lives of suffering Khaufpuris, Elli and the reader would not have entered this closed off space of their own volition. In fact, both the disaster's broader circumstances and potent harm done to the Khaufpuris would have remained closed off to Elli and the reader were it not for *Animal* allowing them to enter into the inner lives of the Khaufpuris. Without the initial guidance of *Animal*, and the interpretation of events he later gives to the voice recorder, the woman's experience with disaster would never be properly understood by both Elli and the reader.

Animal's People, however, confronts a bias in Western aid institutions because they focus on the effects of disasters, and work with mixed agendas. Bankoff argues that Western aid institutions depict the non-West as diseased, underdeveloped, or vulnerable to justify interventions that favor Western political and economic interests (28). As a result, the West initiates funded rehabilitation and recovery projects. *Animal's People* includes the presence of Western aid through Elli, a female doctor. The news of perpetual physical maladies propels her to go and help the Khaufpuris with her medical expertise. *Animal*, however, desires to cast off two of Elli's

assumptions so that he might forecast a broader framework of violence that damages the Khaufpuris. First, he confronts some of Elli's assumptions about the inherent goodness of her work. And second, he probes her idea of how much the Khaufpuris need her help. He wants to widen the horizon of which Elli views the events in Khaufpur in order to give her a stronger understanding of her role as part of a Western aid institution, in particular, and as joined to Western political and economic biases, in general. In order to do so, *Animal* leads her down Paradise Alley as she comes across a disturbing and peculiar sight: a mother pressing milk out of her breasts onto the ground. *Animal* depicts "Elli...standing still like she's hoodwinked by the light. The mother, not looking up, continues to spill her milk to the dust. At last Elli says softly, 'Poor thing. How did she lose her child?'"(107). Elli assumes the Khaufpuri woman lost her child. The assumption behind Elli's question, "How did the woman lose her child?" stems from a subconscious Western bias which informs her interpretation of the evidence. She sees a Khaufpuri woman who lives in the slums, and knows that successful birthrates are low. This leads her to believe that because the child is not immediately within sight, then the child must have died. The child, however, is with their grandmother in another room. And the mother presses the milk from her breasts onto the ground because her milk is poisoned by the ground water. Elli's assumption implicates the gambit of Westerners who look on the uncanny acts of vulnerable people groups and configure a truth from a misinterpretation. On one side, this moment shows how Elli's medical training has a Western bias. The medical knowledge, instead of allowing her to initially address the woman with a series of medical questions, is undermined by relegating the mother within a category of one who experiences child loss. On the other side, this

exemplifies the rhetorical work *Animal's People* performs to combat common narratives about vulnerable people groups by letting us see what is truly happening. The Khaufpuri woman, however, interprets the texture and viscosity of her milk to mean that the disaster, long from being over, still manifests within her body. These observations lead to further examinations of how human bodies touched by disaster create terrifying experiences for others who look on them.

Animal's Rhetorical Creation of and Power Over a Western Audience

Animal's People showcases power-asymmetries: vulnerable communities that are typically objectified become the meaning-makers, while the Western audience is portrayed as deaf, dumb, and paralyzed because *Animal* includes them in his story as merely "Eyes" (14). For example, media's interpretations of events, such as Hurricane Katrina, promote a relation of the viewer with a spectacle; one watches the television while the other is televised. Kathleen Tierney argues that myths about disaster, "looting", "social disorganization", and "deviant behavior," perpetuate because, in general, mass media frames peoples' post-disaster response towards those ends (57). In this way, mass media, and not local citizens experiencing the disaster, have withheld the power to shape the meaning of the disaster (Tierney et. al 57). *Animal* typifies what Michel Foucault calls the "intelligible body" and the "useful body" because his body for a Western audience symbolizes disaster's mayhem (Foucault 136). Because of the appalling curves shaping his body along with his Indian nationality, Western audiences would neither merit him the status of an intellectual, nor credit him the time to speak to them (Butler, Samuels).ⁱⁱ *Animal's* body, to the Western audience, signifies voiceless, visceral, and visual violence. In

Animal's case, however, he not only reorients those who produce knowledge, but also calls attention to the possibility that he is conveyed as a spectacle to his Western audience. Animal grapples the Western audience's framing of disaster victims, like himself, by limiting their voice, and announcing his own. He adamantly maintains that "You are reading my words, you are that person. I've no name for you so I will call you Eyes. My job is to talk, yours is to listen. So now listen" (14). A matrix of Animal's body and his overpowering narrative usurp the Western audience's authority to speak. By interjecting the Western audience as "Eyes", Animal forces them to admit an uncomfortable reality (14). They objectify genres of damaged human bodies and complacently receive interpretation from the media coverage of people like Animal in the global south.

Animal's People demonstrates the narrative authority of Animal over his Western audience as he forces them to face stories they otherwise would avoid. This is clearly seen as he tells a story of a young and sick Indian girl named Aliya who is his close friend. She suffers from an infection in her lungs due to prolonged chemical exposure (150). In addition, Aliya is approximately seven or eight years old when she dies, though she was born twelve or thirteen years after the chemical plant explosion. Without Animal calling attention to her, the harm punctual violence causes her would never be known. Animal first mentions Aliya by including a short memory of her calling to him to play, but his ebullient account quickly falls away into a meditative narrative. He alludes to her phantasmal voice, recounting, "[Aliya's] voice is suddenly faint like it's caught away by wind, or whispered on the moon, or lost in the crackling of a great fire" (21). Animal eloquently describes one troubling issue about Aliya: her trauma dissipates the moment of her death. Animal's

rumination points out the relative weightlessness of Aliya's story as if her story does not matter, and might be "caught away by the wind" (21). No one may discern the quietness of Aliya's whispers coming from the moon. But, however soft Animal believes Aliya's story to be, his Western audience hears her story fully developed. Though Animal sadly conveys Aliya's voice as "faint like it's caught away by wind," because of Animal's narrative authority, each reader accesses intimate depictions of Aliya poisoned (150), her parents' vexation over her (180-82), friends' sacrifice for her (279-81), and Aliya's own thoughts (101, 179, 279). Far from Aliya's story being "lost in the crackling of a great fire," the pervasive damage punctual violence ensued on her can neither be avoided nor forgotten by Animal's Western audience (21).

In a similar fashion, Animal's Western audience observes numerous accounts of the word "twisted" which is used to describe Animal's physical makeup. For example, Animal depicts a history of how the toxic chemicals mangled his back, telling, "Now I could not even stand up straight. Further, further forward I was bent. When the smelting in my spine stopped the bones had twisted like a hairpin, the highest part of me was my arse [sic]" (15). He accounts for the chemicals that melted his spine as one of the physical causes of his deformity. The word "twisted," however, connotes more than a body's physical form. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "twisted" as, "Consisting of two or more threads, strands, or the like twined together" ("twisted"). Twisted does not allow for the possibility of a fundamental change of parts within Animal, as in wood undergoing a molecular transformation while it burns, but more closely resembles the act of stacking, or of adding trauma to the human that Animal is. In the case of Animal, when he speaks of himself as twisted, both mentally and

physically, what becomes clear to the reader is that traumatic pressures from political (284), economic (274), and environmental (107) institutions acted on him. For instance, Animal is subject to live in the chemical factory because the Indian government did not provide adequate measures of recovery for its victimized citizens. In turn, Animal can neither afford to leave Khaufpur, nor pay for another place of residence. Because the Western audience is the creation of Animal, and witnesses these aspects of Animal's life through his own storytelling, they receive a true account of the humans involved in the Khaufpur chemical disaster. They do not receive an account that facilitates any biases of Western mass media.

Because of his twisted body, Animal relates crudeness and disaster, or put another way, he describes the crudeness of human exposure in disaster. Animal's commentary depicts jarring images typically veiled by larger concerns about disaster. On a grand scale, Dennis Miletic argues that disasters entail populations rendered vulnerable by disrupting normal social functions (511). More particularly, *Animal's People* involves vile descriptions of bodily processes because the disaster bounds Animal to walk at the waist level of most humans. He interprets the disaster from waist height. In addition to the level of his head, two of the most private attributes of Animal persistently stand erect; his buttocks (15) and penis (126). While humans typically cover those body parts via pants or long shirts, Animal does not have the option to make those features unpronounced on his own body. On many occasions, Animal expresses discomfort, shame, or insecurity because he cannot control his erect penis. As a result, his erect penis displays itself to those that he encounters. These descriptions of illicit exposure suggest that disasters uncover humans, even the most private of their members.

The Western Audience Facing Disaster

In order to further the extent to which his audience learns about the chemical plant disaster and its aftermath, Animal precisely establishes spatial markers. With his authority to speak, Animal isolates his audience, bidding them to join him while he walks through the site of disaster. Not only does Animal lead his audience, but also orients them in the chemical plant exactly as he wants. He rhetorically constructs the chemical plant for his audience, announcing, "Eyes, I wish you could come with me into the factory" (29). His audience, however, follows him stride for stride. Although the word "wish" presupposes that his audience cannot view the factory in the same way, his use of the word "Eyes" forces the audience to inhabit the chemical plant (29). Animal proceeds to construct the space he walks by appealing to four of his audience's senses – "no bird songs" (sound), "careful hands" (touch), "cobra" (sight), and "chemical stench" (smell) (30). To Animal, the site of the factory represents a storehouse of punctual violence. The factory walls are emblems to the beginning of the Khampani in Khaufpur, and to their placing of little value on the lives of the citizens of Khaufpur because they chose to run their factory below its safety standards. They also are a sign of the Indian government misrepresenting their citizens. The "strange forest" in the factory grounds conveys the end to both the Khaufpuris' hope in receiving economic aid and to the grass-roots movement for justice Zafar cultivates (30). The pipe where toxins spewed out over the city concedes blame for mutilating hundreds of thousands of Khaufpuris' lives, while the Kampani begins to disavow every relation to the disaster (33). The factory, holistically, develops a picture for the death of important social relations, like family, and the beginning of different social relations, such as missionaries rearing orphans (1). Additionally, the factory's decay casts incipient

images of citizens mourning because poison killed their children. Most particularly, the pipe symbolizes, to a degree, the end of Animal's humanity and his new life as an animal. Thus, Animal's use of the word "Eyes" forces the audience to inhabit the chemical plant, and just as Animal does, it forces them to feel the weight of the disaster from all that this locus of Khaufpur is burdened with. In this way, Animal materializes the punctual violence brought to bear upon his body onto his audience.

In *Animal's People*, the manifestation of disaster on Animal's body comes into focus. While guiding his audience through the factory, Animal speaks a verse that portrays the tension between disaster and human form. Animal lyricizes:

*The ghosts will get you, you'll never
escape...
the ghosts run away from my twisted shape
(30).*

The ghosts Animal speaks about are victims of the disaster. Or interpreted another way, the ghosts are the disaster itself. In order to understand these verses, one might ask why the ghosts run away from Animal's twisted shape, even though the logical assumption is that Animal would run from the ghosts. Does Animal, in some way, control the ghosts and/or the disaster? The toxins disfigured Animal's body to such an extent that he no longer resembles a historically conditioned normal human body. The words, "you'll never escape," however, forecast a possibility that his audience could face destruction, much like disaster's devastating effects to the human body (30). Animal clearly positions himself as a "[person] of the Apokalis [sic]," meaning, "we are those who withstood the chemical disaster's plague" (366). Through this category, he identifies a newly coded relation to the

disaster. Where earlier, he understood his body as victimized in relation to the disaster, Animal now separates disaster's punctual effects from himself, and shifts disaster's contact to his rhetorically fashioned Western audience. Animal's twisted body becomes the very presence of disaster's punctual violence. Far from Animal fleeing disaster (the ghosts), disaster produced violently in him strikes fear into the hearts of those who encounter him. Hence, Animal inquires shortly after his lyrical verse, "Eyes, are you with me still?" (31). Animal wonders if his revenant-like audience he calls Eyes "r[a]n away from [his] twisted shape" (29). Punctual violence manifests disaster in Animal in such a way that when the Western audience comes into contact with Animal, they are coming into contact with disaster itself. Animal reorients the reader's understanding of disaster because they are now forced to look at a crippled human disaster, and be reminded of and re-experience the disaster in the flesh on Animal's terms.

Conclusion

This essay argues that Animal rhetorically constructs a Western audience which results in the Western audience's integration into the novel, allowing them to experience disaster and disaster victims in ways that do not objectify the Khaufpuris. The argument begins by developing a historical conceptual framework that marks a re-formation in the study of disasters. The new framing disavowed nature or god as referents for disaster. Instead, concepts such as slow violence created a paradigm that considered political agents' purposefully gradual harm to populations. Further, punctual violence displayed damage enacted by disaster to human bodies. Animal's narrative positions the Western audience into particular geographical, temporal, and physical locales typically closed to Western eyes. The Western audience faces numerous humans

suffering because of disaster. In this way, his narrative re-interprets the Western audience's relation to disaster and disaster victims; when

they observe disaster victims, they perceive disaster itself.

Notes

ⁱ Punctual violence, up until now, has not been developed to add to any particular field of research, nor has it been specifically defined. Rather, scholars such as Lydie Moudelino, Uri Eisenzweig, and Mary Favret use the term to elaborate a point made in a particular paragraph from their articles. Moudelino uses punctual violence once to describe acute damage done to one person in contrast to a war that later develops (35). Eisenzweig employs the term to portray violence done to individuals by individuals (34-35). And Favret utilizes the term

to relate how harmful processes are the source for trauma (618-19).

ⁱⁱ I developed the observations entailing Animal's crippled body, his narration, and his Western audience from Ellen Samuel's argument that disabled bodies historically are relegated to social positions with little to no authority to speak (59). In addition, I drew from Judith Butler's observations about how the human body forms (or deforms) material norms which leads to positions of authority (or silence) (15).

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Conscription, Citizenship, and French Algeria

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Abstract:

This paper questions why the Third Republic of France imposed conscription on Muslim Algerians in 1912. This action is peculiar because conscription was a tenant of French citizenship, which the French thought that Muslim Algerians were too inferior to have. A politician named Adolphe Messimy, the members of the Third Republic in control of the government in 1912, and a group called the Young Algerians convinced France to contradict its laws and beliefs to impose conscription. They did so because the self-interests of all three groups met at one moment in time and wanted conscription. This paper meticulously explains the motives of Adolphe Messimy, the Third Republic, and the Young Algerians to explain why each agreed to conscription. This research fits into the broader schematic of French Algerian history because it argues that Algeria, in part, gained its independence in 1962 due to the imposition of conscription in 1912.

Introduction:

When France invaded and colonized Algeria in 1830, the French government did not intend to immediately make the indigenous Muslim Algerians French citizens. Instead, France made them French subjects governed by both French and Koranic law. The French exempted Muslim Algerians from conscription. Conscription was a duty of French citizenship, and the French thought that Muslim Algerians were too inferior to be French citizens.¹ However, in 1912, the French government imposed conscription on the Muslim Algerians, while still keeping their legal status as subjects of the French Empire. This research focuses on why the French government searched for loopholes in its own laws and contradicted its own beliefs in order to impose conscription.

This paper discusses the way the French government imposed conscription on Muslim Algerians without granting them citizenship. It also examines how France refused to acknowledge the ideology of equality, liberty,

and fraternity for Muslim Algerians. With its colonies, France neglected to uphold the beliefs it had held in high regard since the French Revolution. This research adds to the discussion of colonial history because it demonstrates the contradictions of French colonial thought. France thought Muslim Algerians were too inferior to be citizens, but it conscripted them anyways. This research also explains how France dealt with these contradictory thoughts in order to achieve its aims. Adolphe Messimy (1869-1935), the Third Republic of France (1871-1940), and the Young Algerians (1907-c.1923) convinced France to impose conscription on Muslim Algerians in 1912 because of their respective self-interests.

Historical Background:

Under orders from Charles X of the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830), France invaded Algeria in 1830. Charles X thought that the conquest of new territory would pacify France and prevent revolution, but it

¹ Edward Behr, *The Algerian Problem* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1961), 30; Jacques Bouveresse, *Un parlement colonial? Les Délégations financières algériennes 1898-1945:*

L'institution et les hommes (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), 798.

did not work.² France conquered new territory, but Charles X lost his throne. Later, the French empire annexed Algeria in 1834, and then officially made it a part of the French administrative system in 1881.³ Algerian resistance against the French takeover collapsed after 1860, except for a few major revolts in 1864, 1870, and 1871.⁴ The revolts of the nineteenth century remained in French memory for the remainder of French Algeria's existence, and underpinned every official interaction between the imperial power and its colony after 1871.

France designed Algeria as a settler colony. The French government encouraged European peasants to move there with promises of free grants of land; though, the government neglected to mention that it had taken the land from the indigenous Algerians. The French government ruled in Algeria only to satisfy the desires of the settlers, known as the *colons*.⁵ Thus, it lost any respect from the average Muslim Algerian it may have received otherwise. The government also satisfied the *colons* by restricting Muslim Algerians to work only in the agricultural sector; whereas the *colons* were in charge of the industrial sector.⁶ This policy allowed *colons* to prosper, while Muslim Algerians found themselves restricted economically and politically.

The Ministry of the Interior in Paris appointed, at the top level, a Governor-General, who governed Algeria. France divided the colony into three *départements* which corresponded to the three major cities:

Oran, Algiers, and Constantine. France then divided the *départements* into districts and county councils. The French government used a system of indirect rule, where French officials controlled the tribal chiefs who governed the Muslim Algerians.⁷ Each *département* only had one representative in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. Muslim Algerians occupied about one third of the possible representative seats in their local governmental bodies, while *colon* representation made up the other two thirds.⁸ The lack of representation added to the feeling that France ruled over every aspect of life for the Muslim Algerians. The French-Algerian relationship was one of French dominance over the colonized. This is demonstrated by the French refusal to allow them any right to a say in their own governance. In 1913, Adolphe Messimy, who was the Minister of War at the time, summed up the governance of Algeria with the statement, "We do not govern the indigenous people, we command them."⁹

Being a Muslim in French Algeria:

By the start of World War I, five million Muslims lived in Algeria.¹⁰ Only those Muslim Algerians who had applied for French citizenship were citizens.¹¹ French law governed Muslim Algerians, but they had the right to be tried in Muslim courts for non-criminal cases and the right to be governed by Koranic Law. These rights were known as the

² Ferhat Abbas, *Le Jeune Algérien* (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1981), 11.

³ Peter Dunwoodie, "Assimilation, Cultural Identity, and Permissible Deviance in Francophone Algerian Writing of the Interwar Years," in *Algeria & France, 1800-2000: Identity, Memory, Nostalgia*, ed. Patricia M.E. Lorcin (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 68.

⁴ Anthony Clayton, *The Wars of French Decolonization* (Essex, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1994), 26.

⁵ Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria*, trans. Michael Brett (London: Hurst and Company, 1991), 57 and 81. The settlers were from France, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Cyprus.

⁶ Behr, 34.

⁷ Clayton, 27; Ageron, *Modern*, 29; Behr, 39-40.

⁸ The Third Republic of France, *La Loi du 9 décembre 1884, portant modification aux lois organiques sur l'organisation du Sénat et l'élection des Sénateurs*; Cherif Benhablyès, *L'Algérie française vue par un indigène* (Algiers: Imprimerie Orientale Pontana Frères, 1914), 119.

⁹ Adolphe Messimy, *Le Statut des Indigènes Algériens* (Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1913), 36.

¹⁰ The term "Muslim Algerians" refers to the Arab and Berber populations in Algeria.

¹¹ Bouveresse, 797.

statut personnel.¹² In the *Sénatus-Consulté* of July 14, 1865, the French government decreed that Muslim Algerians were French subjects, and could only obtain French citizenship through an application process. There are important differences between being a subject and being a citizen. A French subject, in Algeria, was governed by both French and Koranic Law, but did not have the right to vote. A French citizen, on the other hand, was governed solely by French law, and all male citizens could vote.

The Decree of October 24, 1870 and the Law of February 4, 1919 defined the application process for citizenship. The former said that the Muslim Algerian applicant must be twenty-one years old and must be able to produce a birth certificate to validate his age. The 1919 Law made the process for citizenship much more difficult. In addition to the 1870 Decree's criteria, the applicant could obtain citizenship if he had never been hostile to France, if he served with distinction in the military, if he had a naturalized-indigenous parent, or if he held a public position in Algeria. The Law of February 4, 1919 also instructed the Governor-General to conduct an investigation to verify the information in the application. If the claims were true, the applicant would become a French citizen. However, the principal condition for obtaining French citizenship was to give up one's right to the *statut personnel*. The average Muslim Algerian did not want to be French, and keeping the *statut personnel* allowed him not to be. Due to this sentiment, only thirteen hundred Muslim Algerians applied for citizenship by 1914, and, by 1936, only

twenty-five hundred had applied out of a population of five million.¹³

Muslim Algerians were the only indigenous group France barred from French citizenship. The French government had granted citizenship to Jewish Algerians, indigenous and *colons*, in 1870. Furthermore, the French *colons* and their descendants, known as *pied-noirs*, were guaranteed French citizenship at birth. France also automatically granted non-French European settlers citizenship. That left Muslim Algerians as the only population in the colony that did not automatically receive French citizenship at birth. They were the only group that had to apply for it individually. In contrast to the other groups, France did not grant Muslim Algerians citizenship because it saw them as inferior. They were inferior because they were not European and Christian.

As part of their governing strategy, the French pursued a policy of assimilation. This was an imperial policy for justifying the occupation of Algeria by claiming that France was civilizing the indigenous population. Assimilation was the French colonial ideology that Muslim Algerians would eventually become culturally French through exposure to French settlers and French schooling. The principal example of assimilation was the city of Algiers where the Arab architecture of the Casbah mixed with the architecture of the French port.¹⁴ The French attempted to assimilate the population by requiring that Muslim children go to Arab-French schools, and by requiring that French be the official language of the colony.¹⁵ In France, children learned that Algeria had been a part of France since 1830 just like Brittany had been part of France since 1491.¹⁶ However, the

¹² Behr, 38.

¹³ Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), 27; Clayton, 27; Behr, 38.

¹⁴ Vincent Duclert, "La France Coloniale," in *La République Imaginée: 1870-1914* (Paris: Belin Littérature et Revues, 2010), 567.

¹⁵ Ageron, *Modern*, 42.

¹⁶ Behr, 38.

assimilation policies only worked on a small population of educated Muslim elite in Algeria. Some members of this elite formed the pro-French group called the Young Algerians.

Despite the ideology of assimilation, the French still treated the Muslim Algerians as inferior subjects. Due to the Muslim Algerian revolts against France in 1870 and 1871, the French government introduced *Le Code de l'indigénat* in 1874, added to it in 1881, and modified it again in 1890.¹⁷ *Le Code de l'indigénat* gave the French officials in Algeria the power to fine or imprison Muslim Algerians without trial if they accused them of subverting law and order.¹⁸ *Le Code* highlights the repressive measures against Muslim Algerians, which affected seven to eight thousand Muslims each year. The Young Algerians made the dissolution of these repressive measures one of their conditions for accepting the imposition of conscription.

Adolphe Messimy and the Third Republic:

From 1871 to 1900, France rebuilt its army because it needed to remain a world power after the “cruel disasters of 1870-1871,” meaning the Franco-Prussian War.¹⁹ France was in the process of reforming its army at the turn of the century because a number of politicians—who were children during the Prussian defeat of France in 1871—began to gain political power and were eyeing Germany with apprehension. Two such politicians were Adolphe Messimy and Raymond Poincaré, who were the

Minister of War and the president of France at the beginning of World War I, respectively.

The Franco-Prussian War resulted in a defeat for France and the loss of the Alsace-Lorraine territory to Germany. After this defeat, many politicians delivered anxious speeches about Germany, worried that it would invade again. Messimy himself wrote that the French military’s *raison d’être* was to be an instrument of vengeance against Germany. He wrote that if the French army was not reformed and another war with Germany occurred, France would lose disastrously.²⁰ Poincaré also reflected this sentiment by writing that a country must be ready to defend itself.²¹ Both gentlemen wanted a strong army to defend France against invasion from Germany. However, Messimy was the more vocal of the two because he had a plan to alleviate this fear.

General Adolphe Messimy began his political career in 1902 as a representative for Paris in the Chamber of Deputies. He ended that same career as the Minister of War at the end of August 1914. He was the Secretary of the Naval Budget in 1903, the Secretary of the War Budget from 1905 to 1906, the Minister of the Colonies from March 1911 to June 1911, and the Minister of War from June 1911 to August 1914.²² Messimy’s work with the war budget and as the Minister of the Colonies persuaded him that Germany was a threat to France, and that Muslim Algerian conscripts could augment the French army.

Imposing conscription on Muslim Algerians was not a new idea. Several generals and a commander had suggested imposing

¹⁷ Jean-Claude Vatin, “L’Algérie des Français,” in *L’Algérie Politique Histoire et Société* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1938), 133.

¹⁸ Ageron, *Modern*, 53.

¹⁹ Joel A. Setzen, “Background to the French Failures of August 1914: Civilian and Military Dimensions,” *Society for Military History* 42, no. 2 (April 1928), 87; Raymond Poincaré, “Military Service,” in *How France is Governed*, trans. Bernard Miall (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913), 359.

²⁰ Adolphe Messimy, “Réorganisation nécessaire de L’Armée: Au Lendemain du Vote de la Loi de Deux Ans,” *La Revue Socialiste* 39, no. 234 (June 1904), 701 and 698.

²¹ Poincaré, 355.

²² “GEN. MESSIMY DIES,” *The New York Times* (New York), September 1, 1935; Charles-Robert Ageron, *Les Algériens Musulmans et la France: Volume 2* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), 1071-1072.

conscription in 1845, in 1857, in 1864, and in 1881, but the government did not consider the idea viable until Messimy began proposing it in 1907.²³ Known as *Le Projet Messimy*, Messimy's plan was to conscript Muslim Algerians because he reasoned that Algeria could supply seventeen thousand soldiers to augment the army.²⁴ Messimy supported his project by writing that France and its colonies could create a robust army, and easily surpass Germany in terms of manpower.²⁵ Messimy's fear of Germany invading again was his incentive for imposing conscription on Muslim Algerians. His fear explains why he continued pursuing the project until it came to fruition in 1912.

In 1909, the Chamber of Deputies, the French legislative branch in France, started earnestly discussing conscription. Once Messimy pointed out that most of the objections to imposing conscription were coming from Germany, the military authority supported the plan.²⁶ The discussion of *Le Projet Messimy* highlights the extent to which Messimy and the Third Republic feared Germany. It also emphasizes how both thought it was in their self-interest to prepare to counter any invasion from next door. In 1911, a month after Messimy became the Minister of War, he attempted to create three battalions out of non-voluntary Muslim Algerians, but, since the Chamber of Deputies did not agree to this plan, the government stopped him.²⁷ About six months later, the Third Republic released the Decree of January 31, 1912, and then the Decree of February 3, 1912.²⁸ Both imposed conscription and specified the method of recruitment for Muslim Algerians. On February 24, 1912, the

Governor-General of Algeria received instructions on how to implement the decrees.²⁹

Just like that, France implemented an idea that had been floating around since 1845 due to its anxiety over the rising, threatening, military presence just across its eastern border. Messimy's and the Third Republic's fear of another defeat if Germany decided to invade was their incentive for imposing conscription. However, the government in Paris did not discuss granting the Muslim Algerians citizenship in return for conscription. It is probable that Messimy and the government thought that the Muslim Algerians would not ask for any sort of compensation. They were wrong.

The Young Algerians:

According to Cherif Benhabylès, a member of the Young Algerians, the Decrees of January 31 and February 3, 1912 "provoked a great emotion in all of Algeria."³⁰ Ferhat Abbas, another Young Algerian, wrote that many resented the imposition of conscription because the French government asked Muslim Algerians to fight for French soil, which, for many, was a place they had never even seen.³¹ After the announcement of the decrees, many Muslim Algerians fled to places such as Syria in order to avoid being drafted.³² The historian does not explain why they chose to go to Syria. It is assumed that they saw Syria as a better place to live than French Algeria. The newspaper, *Le Rachidi*, echoed the anger of those who remained when it wrote, in response to the decrees,

²³ Bouveresse, 797; Messimy, *Le Statut*, 27.

²⁴ Bouveresse, 797.

²⁵ Adolphe Messimy, *Notre Œuvre Coloniale* (Paris: E. Larose, 1910), 49; Messimy, *Réorganisation*, 703.

²⁶ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1069-1070.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1072.

²⁸ Bouveresse, 802; The Third Republic of France, *Le décret du 3 février 1912: Décret relatif au recrutement des indigènes algériens*.

²⁹ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1073.

³⁰ Benhabylès, 117.

³¹ Abbas, 38.

³² Bouveresse, 799.

“No military service without compensation.”³³ The acquisition of political compensation for military service would become the formal occupation of the Young Algerians. This was the root of their incentive to agree to accept conscription.

In 1907, two assimilated Algerians known as Sadek Denden and Khélil Kaid Layoun founded the Young Algerians in Bône, Algeria.³⁴ Soon, the group grew throughout the colony to include other assimilated, culturally French, elite Muslim Algerians, such as Dr. Benthami Ould Hamida. Dr. Benthami studied in Montpellier and had obtained French citizenship in 1906 despite the rigorous bureaucratic application process. He then became a municipal counsellor in Algeria in 1908 and was re-elected in 1913. Lastly, he was the head of the Young Algerians sometime before the group faded out of existence in the 1920s.³⁵

The Young Algerians wanted the right to vote granted to all Muslim Algerians who had a French education. They were also in favor of assimilation. Lastly, they agreed with *Le Projet Messimy* because conscription would help to assimilate Muslim Algerians by making them, at least nominally, equal to their French counterparts.³⁶ The principal goals of the Young Algerians were equality through political reform with the French and assimilation for all Algerians. These goals set the Young Algerians apart from the rest of the population because only French-educated Algerians wanted to become French. However, the rest wanted to remain Arab and wanted freedom from French occupation.

On June 8, 1912, the Financial Delegation of Algeria voted to send a delegation of Young Algerians led by Dr. Benthami to Paris

to demand political compensation for Muslim Algerians peacefully accepting conscription.³⁷ Messimy presented this delegation to a committee headed by Poincaré. The Young Algerians gave their demands, known as the Young Algerian Manifesto, to this delegation. They demanded raising the minimum age of conscription from eighteen to twenty-one, reforming the repressive regime against Muslim Algerians, actual representation for Muslim Algerians in the governments of Algeria and Paris, and equal taxation so that Muslim Algerians did not have to pay more than their French counterparts.³⁸ Lastly, the Young Algerians asked the government to grant Muslim Algerians the rights of citizenship, such as the right to vote, without legally making them French citizens. This was attractive to Muslim Algerians because they were able to keep their *statut personnel* and experience the benefits of citizenship. These demands were given as part of the exchange between the Young Algerians, Messimy, and the Third Republic for Muslim Algerians to peacefully accept conscription.³⁹ Though the Young Algerians did not threaten to revolt against the French, the fear that Algerians would revolt was always present in French minds. The angry reaction from Muslim Algerians to the decrees imposing conscription frightened the French. So, although the Young Algerian delegation never vocally threatened to revolt against the French government, there was a perceived threatening tone.

Messimy made a special report to the Chamber of Deputies on July 2, 1912 asking the Chamber to accept the manifesto, while also insisting to the Young Algerian delegation that they peacefully accept military

³³ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1041.

³⁴ David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 232; Ageron, *Modern*, 77.

³⁵ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1049-1050.

³⁶ Prochaska, 233; Ageron, *Modern*, 77.

³⁷ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1041.

³⁸ Benhabylès, 118.

³⁹ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1042.

service.⁴⁰ The Third Republic then agreed to the Young Algerians' demands. The government issued the Decree of September 19, 1912, which removed the repressive administration measures, such as the *Code de l'indigénat*.⁴¹ It later issued the Law of July 15, 1914 that planned to remove all repressive measures after five years, but it still allowed the French officials in Algeria to watch anyone who they thought were suspicious.⁴² The demands were agreed to, but the government postponed implementing them until after World War I. For example, the government did not implement equal taxation until 1919, but then it ended this reform a year later.⁴³ The Third Republic postponed granting Muslim Algerians the right to vote for over two decades. In 1936, it seemed likely that Muslim Algerian males would be granted the right to vote, but the bill was rejected. They did not secure the right to vote until their independence from France in 1962.

The combined self-interests of Adolphe Messimy, the Third Republic, and the Young Algerians resulted in the imposition of conscription on Muslim Algerians and their acceptance of it. The fear of Germany by those in political power in France created the need to conscript Muslim Algerians, while the Young Algerians used this need to achieve some political reforms. France imposed conscription on Muslim Algerians, but it did not grant them full French citizenship, per the Young Algerians' request. This was because the French thought that Muslim Algerians were inferior and the Young Algerians knew that Muslim Algerians would not accept conscription if they had to give up their *statut personnel*. The decision not to grant full citizenship is extraordinary because the

French government achieved its interest of augmenting the army, and the Muslim Algerians were promised the political rights of French citizenship without being forced to give up their right to be governed by Koranic Law. It is also astonishing that the Young Algerians had equalized, at least on paper, the Muslim Algerians and the French. The imposition of conscription seemed to have benefitted everyone. At least, so it seemed in 1912.

World War I:

According to Messimy, conscription incorporated 2000 Muslim Algerians into the army by 1913 on the contingent that there would be 45,000 young men fit for service each year after.⁴⁴ However, the other sources consulted do not confirm if this occurred. By August 1, 1914, about 4000 conscripts were in the army. They were called *tirailleurs*, meaning infantrymen, in order to differentiate them from the French troops.⁴⁵ When World War I began in August 1914, Germany invaded France and nearly made it to Paris. France managed to hold off Germany, but the price was a standstill on the Western Front with trench lines rarely moving for the next four years.

The sources consulted do not say if any of the Young Algerians served in the war. Even so, Algeria provided a total of 173,000 soldiers, including Muslim Algerians and *Pied-noirs*. However, it is not discernible as to how many died. Charles-Robert Ageron, the premier historian of French Algeria, says that about 25,000 Muslim Algerians died, while Ferhat Abbas, a Young Algerian and an Algerian nationalist, claimed that 80,000 died.⁴⁶ Abbas also claimed that Algeria sent

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1075 and 1045.

⁴¹ Bouveresse, 803.

⁴² Ageron, *Modern*, 78; Bouveresse, 796.

⁴³ Ageron, *Modern*, 73 and 80.

⁴⁴ Messimy, *Le Statut*, 9.

⁴⁵ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1077; Charles-Robert Ageron, *Historie de l'Algérie Contemporaine: Volume II* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979), 256. *Tirailleurs* refer to the infantrymen from the French African colonies.

⁴⁶ Ageron, *Modern*, 78; Abbas, 38.

250,000 men, both Muslim and *pied-noir*, to the war, so his numbers are most likely wrong. Abbas is also probably wrong because his claim came from a political essay that he wrote with the purpose of demonstrating French mistreatment of Muslim Algerians. This bias probably contributed to inaccuracy in his estimations.

Despite the discrepancy in statistics, dying in a war fought to defend France's liberty scarred the Muslim Algerians. France demanded that its colonial troops defend the liberties of the right to vote, the right to equal representation, equality, and fraternity. France and other European powers denied these liberties to their colonial subjects. Forcing colonial troops to fight for liberties that they did not have was one of the reasons for the birth of nationalist and anti-colonial movements in the mid-twentieth century.

Messimy's military career in World War I was short-lived. He was the Minister of War at the start of the war, and tried to speed up the mobilization of colonial troops to counter the rapidly advancing German army.⁴⁷ Unfortunately for him, the Third Republic removed him from office because it made him the scapegoat for the failure of the French strategic plan (Plan XVII) to stop the Germans. As some form of compensation, the government gave him command of the 162nd Infantry Division, which he held until 1919.⁴⁸ He appears to have removed himself from the political sphere after the war because he did not hold an elected office after 1919. Messimy was one of the driving forces for imposing conscription, but his participation in the government diminished after passing the Decrees of January 31 and February 3, 1912.

World War I ended with a victory for the Third Republic over Germany. However, it

ended in a loss for the Young Algerians, who disappeared as a group by 1923. The Young Algerians disappeared because only one demand from their Manifesto was met. The group demonstrated that reform was almost impossible. The group dissolved because Algerians started to become discontented with a French regime that would not reform, despite a colonial delegation asking it diplomatically to through its own imperial language. France attempted equal taxation in 1919, but then terminated the policy in 1920.⁴⁹ The Third Republic reintroduced *Le Code de l'indigénat* in 1920 and made it more repressive in 1922.⁵⁰ This demonstrates the failure of the Young Algerians to make France stop its oppressive measures against Muslim Algerians. The Young Algerians failed to achieve their goals of giving Muslim Algerians the political rights of French citizenship. Even worse, the application process to become a citizen became more restrictive with the introduction of the Law of February 4, 1919. This restriction aided in the dissolution of the Young Algerians because the law dissuaded people from wanting to become French. This was because becoming a French citizen was no longer worth the effort the application process took. It also added to Algerian discontent with the French regime and with the Young Algerians for failing to achieve any sort of reform through nonviolent protest.

"It is evident that the long battle of Messimy had only succeeded in a mediocre result and the conscripts were not yet even a handful," Ageron argues.⁵¹ Ageron claims that *Le Projet Messimy* had a mediocre result because France only conscripted about five thousand Muslim Algerians out of a population of five million. However, I argue that *Le Projet Messimy* did not succeed because

⁴⁷ Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), 149-150.

⁴⁸ "GEN. MESSIMY DIES."

⁴⁹ Ageron, *Modern*, 73 and 80.

⁵⁰ Ageron, *Modern*, 80.

⁵¹ Ageron, *Les Algériens*, 1077.

it cannot be determined if the addition of Muslim Algerians to the French army actually helped France during the war. I think that France and Germany would have been at a near standstill no matter how large their respective armies were. This is because the military commanders did not account for the tactics of trench warfare and modern weaponry to result in mass slaughter, nor did they change their strategies in the face of this killing. The military commanders continued to command their soldiers to charge at the enemy's trench, which responded with machine gun fire. This strategy resulted in massive casualties, but the commanders did not stop making their soldiers charge. It is possible that if both France and Germany had smaller armies, the war would have ended sooner. No one else would have been left to throw at the enemy to die in no man's land.

The Third Republic betrayed both Messimy and the Young Algerians after imposing conscription. Messimy was the scapegoat for the government because Plan XVII did not prevent the German army from besieging Paris in the first few weeks of the war. The Third Republic removed him from political power, and then he retired from politics after 1919. The Young Algerian delegation led by Dr. Benthami left Paris in 1912, assured that its Manifesto's demands would be met. Save for one, they were not. The Third Republic did not seriously implement any of the promised political reforms, except for the trial run of equal taxation, but even that only lasted a year. The Third Republic did not grant the political rights of citizenship to Muslim Algerians. Thus, it seemed that peaceful talks could not bring about reform nor equality.

Nonetheless, the Young Algerian delegation achieved something remarkable. They explained their concerns and demands

to their imperial power by using the legal language of France. Even more extraordinary, the members of the imperial government listened to the delegation, instead of dismissing and ignoring it. However, France did not implement the promised reforms. This failure of the Third Republic to keep promises demonstrated to Algerians that peaceful protests could not create reform, let alone equality for Muslim Algerians.

Military service in World War I profoundly affected the Muslim Algerians. The 1920s saw the creation of anti-colonial and nationalistic movements in nearly all of the colonies that had served in the war, no matter to which empire the colony belonged. The colonies after both world wars changed because they had seen the supposedly-superior and civilized Europeans slaughter each other. Significantly, the imperial powers told the colonial troops that they were fighting to defend the liberties that the powers denied to them. These three things were the basis for the anti-colonial movements and decolonization that occurred in the mid to late-twentieth century. The anti-colonial movement in Algeria, known as the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN), used armed resistance against France starting in the 1950s. This led to the bloodiest instance of decolonization in Africa, known as the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962). In 1958, in the middle of the war, France granted Muslim Algerians, as a whole, unconditional French citizenship. It was too little, too late. In 1962, Algeria achieved its independence from France due to the FLN's effective guerrilla warfare. The FLN owed its creation to the experiences of those who had fought in the world wars, which occurred *en masse* due to Messimy, the Third Republic, and the Young Algerians imposing conscription on Muslim Algerians in 1912.

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Discrepant Oppression: Lesbian Women's Existence during the National Socialist Period in Germany

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Abstract:

This research focuses on the oppression and existence of lesbian women during the National Socialist period of German history. This research also places emphasis on the importance of incorporating a lens of gender and sexuality to the study of history. This research primarily draws upon the life stories of lesbian women collected by Claudia Schoppmann, a historian of German women. This research also draws upon National Socialist propaganda and government documents. Most prior scholarship on gender and sexuality under National Socialism and the Holocaust does not include the experiences and persecution of lesbian women at all. This lack of inclusion undermines the scholarship on gender and sexuality under National Socialism and the Holocaust and also contributes to the delegitimization and erasure of the existence and memory of lesbian women in history.

Introduction

The late nineteenth century brought a wave of developments to scientific research and sexology in Germany, particularly male homosexuality. Since its unification in 1871, the German Empire had had a law criminalizing sexual encounters between two men. This law, called Paragraph 175, was contested from the end of the nineteenth century until the end of the Weimar Period in the early twentieth century. According to Edward Ross Dickinson, author of *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880-1914*, a variety of social and scientific developments contributed to the rise of the homosexual emancipation movement in Germany.¹ Various scientists, doctors, psychiatrists, researchers, and organizers helped lay these foundations. The movement gained further momentum after the First World War, as Germany's first democracy

ushered in a period of sexual liberation, particularly in Berlin.

However, once the National Socialist regime came into power, much of the social prosperity of the Weimar Republic disappeared. Homosexual legal emancipation was ended. Gay men and lesbian women lost their vital social connections as well as their ability to organize and form resistance. The National Socialist Regime spoke out against degenerate and lewd sexuality and enacted restrictive policies, such as adding harsher penalties for gay men in Paragraph 175. The National Socialist Regime's focus was primarily on gay men, while lesbian women's identities and sexual practices were invalidated on the basis that they were not seen as a particular threat. Policies like Paragraph 175 may not have singled out lesbian women in the same way it did gay men, but lesbian women indeed suffered because of their identity.

¹ Edward Ross Dickinson, "Homosexual Rights." In *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany: 1880 - 1914* (New York:

Cambridge U, 2014), 152.

This research primarily seeks to place women, specifically lesbian women, into the narrative of sexuality in German history as a whole. This research is unique because recent scholarship on homosexuality during the National Socialist Period, and German history in general, focuses primarily on gay men. The scholarly literature that exists includes works by Geoffrey Giles and the recent and popular *Gay Berlin* by Robert Beachy. These works completely ignore female homosexuality in the context of the Weimar period and the National Socialist period. Claudia Schoppmann is among the few scholars who focus on lesbian existence, and her work is integral to understanding the position of lesbian sexuality during the National Socialist period. However, my research seeks to place lesbian women in the context of sexuality in German history from the Weimar period up until the National Socialist period. Unlike previous scholarship, my research focuses on the effects and targeting of lesbian women. My research also incorporates the effect that lesbian women's other identities, like race, religion, and class status, had on their experiences. This research seeks to explain why gay men and lesbian women were targeted differently under National Socialist policy. This research also seeks to illuminate how lesbian identity might have affected women's lives during the National Socialist period.

Sexuality, Vocabulary, and Oral History

In her groundbreaking 1984 essay, *Thinking Sex*, Gayle Rubin seeks to explore and revise our understandings of sexuality in the context of history. Following in the footsteps of Michel Foucault and Judith Walkowitz, Rubin argues against essentialist views of sexuality. Sexual

essentialism asserts that sex is a natural, biological force that exists before social interaction and social life, and that shapes and governs institutions. This view argues that sex is static and unchanging, existing inherently in a person's psychology or biology. Rubin argues that sexuality is constituted in social terms, not biologically or psychologically. Rubin writes that sexual politics in history are "as much a human product as are diets, methods of transportation, systems of etiquette, forms of labor, types of entertainment, processes of production, and modes of oppression."² Rubin's argument is key to understanding sexuality in German history because of Germany's exceptionality in the area of sexual politics. Germany is hailed as the birthplace of the homosexual emancipation movement because of the government's relatively relaxed censorship laws under the Weimar government. Policies existed that allowed gay men and lesbian women to come together, organize, and establish a community.³

Germany is also unique because it was one of the first places to have an emerging sexual vocabulary. As early as 1862, a man named Karl Heinrich Ulrichs coined several words and phrases in order to define different sexual orientations.⁴ His research was based in biology and sexology, and was used as a significant basis in the study of psychiatry and sexology, by people like Magnus Hirschfeld. However, this emerging vocabulary evolved and words like "homosexual," "homoerotic," "invert," and more, emerged and were used by gay men to define themselves.⁵ Continuing on the topic of vocabulary, Laurie Marhoefer, author of *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*, says that it is important to use only the terms that

² Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality." In *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (Boston: Routledge, 1984), 277.

³ Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (New York: Knopf, 2014), 85.

⁴ Beachy, 18.

⁵ Beachy, 18.

historical actors used to define themselves, “in order to avoid making unwarranted assumptions about their self-conceptions.”⁶ I have chosen to use the word “lesbian” when referring to women and “gay” when referring to men, because they are the closest English translations to what historical actors used and because homosexual has more of a pejorative meaning today than it did back then. Of course, no translation is perfect. Marhoefer also comments “there is no vocabulary that can relieve a historian of the conflict between making the past legible for one’s readers and not obscuring the meanings that prevailed in the past.”⁷

Similarly, I have chosen to use the term National Socialist instead of Nazi because Nazi evokes a strong emotional response, not conducive to historical inquiry. The word Nazi can therefore be categorized as a form of “loaded language” because it harbors an emotional response, intended to direct views one way or another without providing further information. It is important not to pass moral judgment when investigating historical events because it trivializes experiences of people who lived at time and draws away from the study of the events.

Incorporating studies of gender and sexuality is meant to develop our current understandings and consciousness of the inception, functions, and impacts of the National Socialist Regime in Germany. It is important to understand that not only normative men were victims, bystanders, collaborators, and, perpetrators, but women are also conscious actors in history, as well as other expressions of gender and sexual identity. The experiences of lesbian women in the National Socialist Period are all very different. While they all experienced

persecution on the basis of their lesbian identities, their fates also depended on their other identities, such as race or political involvement.

Furthermore, lesbian existence during the National Socialist Period cannot be looked at under the same lens as we look at gay men’s existence. Women’s history, especially Queer women’s history, is consistently overlooked in historical research and methodology. Traditional research methods do not explore diversity in sexual and gender identity, rather, they adhere to heterosexual and gender normativity. In other words, historical actors are always assumed to be straight and cisgender, unless proven otherwise. Oral histories, which Claudia Schoppmann does an excellent job of capturing and compiling, are important to forming our understanding of the lived experiences of lesbian women during the Third Reich. In his book *Die Grenzen des Sagbaren (The Limits of the Sayable)*, Michael Pollak says:

Despite all the distortions, the gaps in the recollections and the tendency inherent in biographical narratives to improve upon one’s self-portrait, a life story can often tell so much more by the way of its vivid language, can testify more about the past through nuances, that is, details and diversity, than, for example, comprehensive series of statistics, the heuristic value of which is not disputed here. It is the experience, this involvement with the problem, which oral histories trigger in the listener or reader that often makes possible to clearly convey tragic events that can otherwise too easily fall victim

⁶ Laurie Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 220.

⁷ Marhoefer, 220.

to the prevailing tendency to be forgotten and repressed.⁸

Oral history allows people to capture and articulate their own narratives in their own voices. Historians not only gain historical information, we catch a glimpse of the lived experience and personal voices of the people we are studying. They are able to reclaim their own histories, which in some cases can be ultimately life saving. Lutz van Dijk once said, “Someone who does not have access to his own history—biographically and historically—has a much harder time consciously and self-assuredly building his present. Many minorities have been stripped of their history, more than that, their existence has been denied as well.”⁹

Antecedents: The Weimar Republic, Homosexual Emancipation, and Paragraph 175

In the aftermath of World War I and the German Revolution, extending to the later years of the Weimar Republic, German politics and society were undergoing a massive, progressive change. The Weimar Republic brought the first democracy to Germany. German citizens enjoyed rights they had never had before, like freedom of press and universal suffrage. Along with new political changes, many social changes occurred. The Weimar Republic experienced a surge of involvement and visibility of a variety of thriving subcultures. Some of these included homosexual men, lesbian women, transvestites, nudists, as well as a rise in prostitution and circulation of pornography.

It was during the Weimar Period, in 1919, that Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld opened the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* (IFS; Institute for

Sexology/Sexual Science) in Berlin. Hirschfeld, a prominent doctor and sexologist, was one of the primary advocates and founders of the homosexual rights movement in Germany throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In regards to research on sexuality, Hirschfeld outlined three central themes in an 1896 pamphlet called *Sappho and Socrates*, which he cited for years to come. The first was the idea of sexual identity being an intrinsic part of an individual, and that sexual preferences were “rooted in the entire personality” of an individual.¹⁰ Second was the “fundamental hermaphroditism” of all people; he says that people are not necessarily men and women, but are defined as either “primarily masculine or primarily feminine.” This concept is complicated because Hirschfeld also expresses doubt as to how masculinity and femininity are even defined.¹¹ Third, he emphasized the possibility of “endless variety” of sexual variants. He even calculated the possible combinations of sexual variants at 43,046,721; he says, “Love is as varied as people are.”¹² Hirschfeld is also significant because he was a major political and legal advocate for homosexual emancipation, and because he had significant knowledge and access to the developing homosexual subculture in Berlin. He started and led the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee* (WhK; Scientific Humanitarian Committee), which was highly important in connecting gay men and lesbian women, as well as the committees’ political and legal advocacy. Along with Hirschfeld, many other prominent psychiatrists and doctors advocated for homosexual emancipation, mostly on the grounds that sexuality was innate and that Paragraph 175 was unjust and immoral. These

⁸ Michael Pollack, *Die Grenzen Des Sagbaren: Lebensgeschichten Von KZ-Überlebenden Als Augenzeugenberichte und als Identitätsarbeit* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag 1988), 8.

⁹ Lutz van Dijk. “Ein erfülltes Leben—trotzdem: Erinnerungen Homosexueller” 1933-1945 (Hamburg: Rohwohlt, 1992), 139.

¹⁰ Edward Ross Dickinson, “Homosexual Rights.” In *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany: 1880 - 1914* (New York: Cambridge U, 2014), 158.

¹¹ Dickinson, 158-159.

¹² Dickinson, 159.

include Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1860s), Richard von Krafft Ebing (1860s), and Albert Moll (1890s).¹³

The homosexual emancipation movement in the Weimar Period allowed for a freer and more open expression of gender and sexuality. Gay and lesbian organizations, bars, clubs, and publications became more active and visible during the Weimar period.¹⁴ This was due, in part, to lax censorship laws during the Weimar period. In Weimar Germany in the 1920s, achievements in democracy and women's suffrage also gave rise to organized movements of gay men and lesbian women. Clubs and organizations were formed, such as the *Bund für Menschenrechte* (BFM; Human Rights League) in 1923 for both gay men and lesbian women. Ruth Margarete Roellig, author of *Berlins lesbische Frauen* (*Berlin's Lesbian Women*), a pamphlet published in 1928, knew and understood that there were certain places in Berlin for lesbians. In an interview with Claudia Schoppmann, author of *Days of Masquerade: Life Stories of Lesbians During the Third Reich*, Roellig remarked, "Maybe that's why Berlin's Lesbian community only frequents certain places—those in which the women can spend a few hours 'among themselves,' free from social or career considerations."¹⁵ According to Roellig, these bars and clubs were places women could go to "flee the unloved sphere of the bourgeois norm."¹⁶ As seen in the attached photograph, the "Eldorado" Transvestite Bar on Motzstraße in Berlin was a popular German bar and nightclub that catered specifically to gays, lesbians, transvestites, and transsexuals. Gertrude Sandmann, a lesbian artist living in

Berlin during the Third Reich, reminisces about her youth in the 1930s:

The clubs, the 'subculture' so maligned today, represented the first step back then, the first and only and very much appreciated chance to come together with women like yourself and be freed from isolation—such an important beginning . . . It was a great liberating experience to see that there are really so many women like yourself. You walked into the club as if you were 'coming home'—this is where you belonged.¹⁷

Many of these clubs were organized to offer support and entertainment with social and cultural events. Hilde Radusch, a young lesbian woman living in Berlin, recalled memories of the Toppkeller club she frequented, by saying "It was so exciting that women from all walks of life came, even actresses. It was all always so crowded, and on Fridays you could hardly get in at all."¹⁸ Some also organized for political action, specifically to work against Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code, which outlawed certain illicit behaviors between men. In 1919, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, mentioned above, founded the Institute for Sexual Research in Berlin. Dr. Hirschfeld's work contributed to many important theories of sexuality in the early twentieth Century. Hirschfeld is also credited for coining the terms transvestite and transsexual.¹⁹ Lesbian women's experiences, like those of Ruth Margarete Roellig, Hilde Radusch, and many others, as well as the work of Dr. Hirschfeld,

¹³ Dickinson, 152-156.

¹⁴ Marhoefer, 39.

¹⁵ Claudia Schoppmann, *Days of Masquerade: Life Stories of Lesbians during the Third Reich* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1996). Interview with Ruth Margarete Roellig, 134.

¹⁶ Schoppmann. Interview with Roellig, 134.

¹⁷ Schoppmann, Interview with Gertrude Sandmann, 85.

¹⁸ Schoppmann, Interview with Hilde Radusch, 32.

¹⁹ While we understand that terms like transvestite and transsexual are problematic and are not used today, the importance of these early discoveries about gender and sexuality must be understood in context.

are indicative of the social and political atmosphere of Germany for gay and lesbian people during the Weimar period. They are also indicative of the level of importance these places held, especially for gay men and lesbian women.

National Socialist Gender and Sexual Ideology: Articulation, Policies and Objectives

At its very core, the National Socialist Regime was concerned with the survival and continuity of the Aryan racial state. Anything that would inhibit the reproduction of Aryans was seen as degenerate and decadent. From its early years, the National Socialist Regime enacted several policies that sought to isolate and punish gay men specifically. Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code had made homosexual activities criminally punishable since the founding of the German Empire in 1871. However, this law had only explicitly mentioned male relations. In 1927, a parliamentary committee in the Reichstag with members from the Human Rights League (BFM) and the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, brought up a “counter draft” of the sexual criminal code calling for decriminalization of homosexual activity. The rising National Socialist Party (NSDAP) responded to a questionnaire concerning various parties’ opinions towards Paragraph 175 as follows:

Whoever so much as thinks of male-male or female-female love is our enemy. We are opposed to everything that emasculates our people, making it a play-thing of the enemy . . . This is why we oppose all illicit sexual acts, above all male-male

love, because it robs us of our last chance to liberate our people from the chains of slavery under which they now suffer.²⁰

It is clear, even before the National Socialist Regime came into power, that its ideologues detested homosexuality. It was not until after the counter draft had been accepted in 1929 that their homophobia took the form of concrete ideas and action. They issued an imminent threat in the *Nationalist Observer* (*Völkischer Beobachter*) in 1930, that homosexuals would be “punished by hanging or expulsion.”²¹ Then, in 1935, once the NS Regime was in power, Paragraph 175 was revised to more harshly criminalize an even broader range of behavior between men.²² It is important to note that there was not much of an attitudinal or ideological shift among German people in regards to homosexuality once the NS regime came into power, as evidenced in personal accounts collected by Claudia Schoppmann. What changed is the way the NS Regime dealt with it. Gay and lesbian organizations were disbanded and publications were criminalized; basically, the social aspects that seemed to flourish in the Weimar period were struggling to exist due to their new illegality. The destruction of these organized movements was devastating for gay men and lesbian women, as it destroyed their primary modes of connection and communication. Forming coalition and organized resistance were nearly impossible, not to mention the destruction of social and cultural life.

In the debates surrounding Paragraph 175, there were some lawyers who called for the inclusion of lesbian activity. Rudolf Klare, a lawyer and *SS-Scharführer*, asserted female same-sex activities, like male same-sex

²⁰ The NSDAP pamphlet appeared in *Eros*, publicity booklet for the magazine *Der Eigene*, no. 8.

²¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 2, 1930

²² § 175 Strafgesetzbuch (StGB) (Germany). English translation by Warren Johansson and William Perry

activities, were characteristically un-German and claimed that, “Such an activity is despised as immoral.”²³ He also said, “The initial practice, legislative necessity, in assessing homosexuality as racial degeneration is the punishment of female same-sex activities.”²⁴ Ultimately, lesbian activity was not included as a punishable, criminal offense under Paragraph 175. Even though there were differing opinions about whether or not to include lesbian activity in Paragraph 175, the arguments used on all sides were based on sexism and homophobia.

The homophobia perpetuated by the National Socialist Regime is a key factor when looking at the status of women versus men and how that correlates with persecution of lesbians. NS leaders were deeply homophobic, and their policies and actions reflect that, even beyond Paragraph 175. In 1934, Hitler banned NS student groups from living in dorm rooms together because of the dangers of homosexuality if students happened to share bedrooms.²⁵ According to Himmler, homosexuality needed to be eradicated in the SS. So, as head of the SS, Himmler managed to get a formal decree from Hitler that made homosexuality in the SS punishable by death.²⁶ Himmler and many other NS leaders were also greatly concerned with population degeneration. In a speech in 1937, Himmler stated:

We have two million men too few on account of those who fell in the war, then you can well imagine how this imbalance of two million homosexuals and two million war

dead, or in other words a lack of about four million men capable of having sex, has upset the sexual balance sheet of Germany, and will result in a catastrophe.²⁷

National Socialist ideology detested homosexuality because they believed it would affect the propagation of the German race. If men were not having children with women, then the race could not survive. In other words, they were not fulfilling their duties as Germans. It was the belief of some NS ideologues that intimate female friendship could be mistaken for lesbianism, which is another reason they rejected proposals to criminalize lesbian acts.²⁸ Under NS ideology, a woman’s primary duty and responsibility was to support her husband and to reproduce and raise the new generation of Aryans. NS racial ideology established that all other races were subordinate to the German, or Aryan, race. Women’s sexual practices that did not revolve around the reproduction of the Aryan race were considered degenerate and immoral. Population policy under the NS Regime focused on raising birthrates to keep the population steady. This ties in to the NS ideological concept of “the true woman.” This concept was meant to seclude women in the home and postulated that a woman was not whole, in fact, that she suffers if she is not married and has not “answered her calling to motherhood.”²⁹ NS ideologues refused to accept female sexuality as self-assured or even in existence beyond the intentions of producing offspring.³⁰ Josef Meisinger, a criminal police inspector and a member of the

²³ Rudolf Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht* (Hamburg, 1937), 122.

²⁴ Klare, Pg. 13

²⁵ Geoffrey J. Giles. "The Institutionalization of Homosexual Panic in the Third Reich." In *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, Ed. Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (Princeton, New Jersey: University of Princeton Press, 2001), 45.

²⁶ The Führer’s Decree on Preserving the Purity of the SS and the Police (November 15, 1941)

²⁷ Excerpt from Heinrich Himmler’s speech “Question of Homosexuality”, February 18, 1937

²⁸ Schoppmann, 16.

²⁹ *Das Schwarze Korps*, October 21, 1937

³⁰ Schoppmann, 17.

SS, further delegitimized lesbian sexuality during a speech in 1937. He listed a few possible factors causing “lesbian activity;” including a lack of male authority and acquaintance and a lack of stern upbringing.³¹

Lesbian Women’s Experiences

Unlike homosexual men, lesbians were not criminally persecuted under the National Socialist Regime. However, there were many other ways the National Socialist Regime persecuted, erased, and oppressed lesbian women. Lesbian organizations and clubs were disbanded, publications were criminalized, and bars were shut down. Most social aspects that seemed to flourish in the Weimar era vanished. The destruction of organized movements destroyed the basic modes of connection and communication among lesbian women. Forming coalition and organized resistance was nearly impossible, and the destruction of social and cultural life was devastating. As Schoppmann points out, women were forced to hide their lesbian identities in order to fit in and seem inconspicuous.

This is evident in stories such as those of Frieda Belinfante, whose videotaped oral history is recorded on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website. Frieda was born in 1904 in Amsterdam, Netherlands. After participating in underground Dutch resistance movements and discovering her sexuality, she was forced to live in hiding, disguised as a man for three months. She was then able to flee to Switzerland and participate in many other acts of resistance and sabotage with other gay and lesbian refugees living there. She went on to become a renowned orchestra conductor and immigrated to the United States in 1947.³²

The statistics on how many lesbian women were in concentration camps is not available because lesbian women in concentration camps were not directly prosecuted under the law as lesbians. According to William J. Spurlin, author of *Lost Intimacies: Rethinking Homosexuality under National Socialism*, most lesbians were placed in the category of “asocials” in the concentration camps.³³ This group was identified with a black triangle instead of a pink triangle, which was used to categorize homosexual men. “To be labeled as asocial,” Spurlin contends, “was often vaguely and arbitrarily defined in terms of the failure to live up to what the NS Regime considered to be good citizenship and the fulfillment of one’s social obligations.”³⁴ This correlates with NS ideology concerning women’s roles. Recognizing the misogyny prevalent in NS ideology is key to understanding the treatment of lesbians during this time period. But it is also important to think about what the category of “asocial” meant for lesbians. The NS Regime put lesbian women into this category for a number of different reasons. Women who either refused to get married or to bear children, those who stopped working, or, most likely, had sexual or otherwise affectionate relationships with other women, were all lumped into this “asocial” category. This is evidenced by many accounts of women, lesbian or not, who were sent to concentration camps under the label “asocial”. Take Anneliese W. (“Johnny”) for example. She discovered how easy it was to be sent to a concentration camp labeled as an “asocial.” In 1940, Anneliese was involved with a woman named Helene Bartelt who was sent to Ravensbrück for a year for her response to a request that she work in a munitions factory.

³¹ Josef Meisinger on “Combating Homosexuality as a Political Task” (April 5-6, 1937)

³² “Oral History Interview with Frieda Belinfante.” Interview by Klaus Müller. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. USHMM, 31 May 1994.

³³ William J. Spurlin, “The Politics of Gender: Lesbian Existence under the Third Reich.” In *Lost Intimacies: Rethinking Homosexuality under National Socialism* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 57.

³⁴ Spurlin, 57.

She responded negatively, expressing her contempt for Hitler and the regime.³⁵ Schoppmann also cites an example of a woman, Mary Pünjer, sent to Ravensbrück; with the reason for her imprisonment on camp reports being “asocial” and “lesbian.”³⁶ It is also reported that many lesbians would be put to work in camp brothels to help “shape them up.”³⁷ The label of asocial was therefore extremely flexible and could apply to just about anybody who did not fit into NS Ideological standards. Anneliese W. “Johnny,” born in 1916, was introduced to the lesbian subculture of Berlin in 1931 thanks to her first girlfriend, Hilde Berghausen. According to Johnny, “It didn’t last all that long because I was very curious. But it was with her that I realized for the first time where I belong.”³⁸ Johnny was immersed in the lesbian subculture before the National Socialist Regime came into power.

From the very beginning of the Hitler regime, I still kept my hair short, man’s haircut; back then we didn’t wear pants anyway, but I still had a tailored suit. You can’t imagine what people said to us, “Take a look at the gay broads!” and things like that. It was pretty bad. They said it was supposed to be made illegal for women too; it was already for men.³⁹

Johnny continued to live as a lesbian in Germany, without being caught or arrested. After the war, she stayed in Berlin and worked as a clerk until 1972 and lived with her life companion until her death in 1995.

Other women were not as lucky. Faced with a direct threat of deportation and with no other option, Gertrude Sandmann fled her

apartment in the fall of 1942, leaving behind all of her possessions, as well as a false suicide note. While Sandmann was a lesbian, she was persecuted by the NS Regime due to her Jewish identity and ancestry.⁴⁰ With the help of her female partner, Hedwig Koslowski, she was able to hide in a tiny closet of a close family friend in the Treptow district of Berlin. After being forced to move to a few different places, Sandmann survived until the Allies liberated Berlin in 1945.

Another more somber example of lesbian experience during the Holocaust is that of Henny Schermann. Henny lived in Frankfurt with her parents and worked as a shop assistant. In 1940, Henny was arrested and deported to Ravensbrück concentration camp. On the back of her ID card a description of her was written, including the reason for her arrest: “Jenny (sic) Sara Schermann, born February 19, 1912, Frankfurt am Main. Unmarried shop girl in Frankfurt am Main. Licentious lesbian only visited such [lesbian] bars. Avoided the name ‘Sara.’ Stateless Jew.”⁴¹ Henny’s story is a lot less optimistic and bright in comparison to some stories like that of Frieda Belinfante or Anneliese W. “Johnny,” but her story, and the stories of other lesbian victims of the Holocaust, is very important to our understanding of the variance of lesbian experience during the National Socialist Period and the Holocaust.

Conclusion

This research highlights the importance of integrating studies of gender and sexuality to better understand the intersecting identities of historical actors. It is especially pertinent to include these studies of the National Socialist Period in order to understand the power

³⁵ Schoppmann, pg. 52.

³⁶ Schoppmann pg. 22.

³⁷ Schoppmann, Interview with Anneliese W. “Johnny,” 21.

³⁸ Schoppmann, Interview with “Johnny,” 42.

³⁹ Schoppmann. Interview with “Johnny,” 54.

⁴⁰ Schoppmann, Interview with Sandmann, 85.

⁴¹ “Henny Schermann.” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

structure of the regime and how it related to sexual, racial, and social identity. The social and political visibility of gay men and lesbian women under the Weimar Republic was indeed short lived. After the National Socialist Regime came to power, the vital connections that gay and lesbian subcultures in Germany had enjoyed had disappeared. Gay and lesbian bars and clubs, as well as newspapers and magazines and other publications were shut down or banned. The National Socialist Regime was concerned with the survival and continuity of the Aryan racial state. Homosexuality, they argued, was in direct conflict with the ideology that would benefit the population in terms of reproduction. This racial policy was articulated in misogyny and homophobic policies that sought to isolate and reform gay men and lesbian women. This research also shows how

the experience of lesbian women was different from that of gay men. It concludes with the assertion that while men were criminally persecuted for their gay identity, lesbian women were not. However, their identities were delegitimized in the eyes of the regime and essentially erased. This research shows that the experiences of women are all very different; therefore, it is important to recognize the ways in which their other identities shaped their experiences as well. As lesbian women, they suffered the destruction of their social lives and methods of organization and resistance. However many women, like Gertrude Sandmann, Henny Schermann, and Frieda Belinfante, suffered not only due to their lesbian identity, but also due to their racial identities or political affiliations.

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