

World History Bulletin

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Editor's Note:

This issue of the *World History Bulletin* contains an exciting special feature: a set of essays connected to the theme of “Transnational Vice and Crime in World History.” This section of the *Bulletin* was guest-edited by Elaine Carey of St. John’s University and Andrae Marak of Indiana University-Purdue University Columbus. The fascinating reflections, scholarly essays, literature review, and pedagogical interventions contained in the special section indicate the vitality and significance of this area of world history. I deeply appreciate the thoughtfulness and richness of the section, and I thank the guest editors Elaine and Andrae for their hard work.

As always, the *Bulletin* seeks to publish “short-form” essays on all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, or theory. Topics may include the prehistoric, ancient, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary periods. Articles may include model syllabi or assignments, if applicable. Or, if you would like to guest-edit a selection of essays on a particular theme, please contact me at jpoley@gsu.edu.

With all best wishes,

Jared Poley

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Letter from the Executive Director of the World History Association

Winston Welch

Dear Colleagues,

It was a pleasure to see so many of you in Beijing for our conference—we had almost 600 registrants, (and 60 volunteers) making this conference the largest and most complex the WHA has ever had. Many of you took advantage of the superb day tours of Beijing and post-conference tours in China—memories to last a lifetime. Many thanks to our friends at Capital Normal University for hosting us and for making the conference such a great experience.

If you were not able to attend, please consider joining us at our upcoming symposium in Siem Reap, Cambodia in January 2012, and our annual conference in Albuquerque in June 2012. Siem Reap offers a wonderful opportunity to explore the gateway to the Ankor region. For those in the know, Albuquerque is a superb location to explore the amazing historical, cultural and recreational opportunities that New Mexico offers.

The WHA owes a huge debt of gratitude to President Alfred Andrea, who has also been the Conference Committee Chair since the Morocco Conference in 2005. As most of you know, Al has devoted a tremendous amount of time, talent, travel, and personal financial resources to ensure the success of WHA's conferences, symposia, and overall wellbeing. As Al steps down as Conference Committee Chair, we welcome Paul Jentz, on the LAC for our 2013 Minneapolis Conference, as incoming Chair of this committee. Paul's good nature, common sense, and strong work ethic will serve him well in his new role. We trust Al will remain close to the heart of WHA matters, even as he turns over the presidency to the ever-positive Marc Gilbert. I look forward to working closely with Marc on his own plans for the WHA, and to continue the strides made during Al's tenure as president.

My sincere thanks also goes to the Executive Council Members, WHA-related Publications' Editors, and all the Committee Members who do so much good work for the WHA. I also wish to thank Jackie Wah, our Membership and Conferences Specialist, whose professional and personal abilities we all rely on greatly.

The WHA has embarked on a sustained financial stewardship campaign, and we need your help in transforming the organization to become one with a firm and stable financial base. The WHA cannot survive on membership and conference income alone. The WHA represents the field of world history and the livelihood of its members—please ensure its continued success by renewing your membership early, making a significant and meaningful extra gift to the Annual Fund, and placing the WHA in your estate planning. It is only through your generosity that we can thrive as an organization and guarantee its future.

Thank you again for
your support of the
WHA and for making
my work a pleasure.

Winston Welch
Executive Director



Letter from the President of the World History Association

Alfred J. Andrea, University of Vermont



Meet and Greet at the 20th Annual WHA Conference

Dear WHA colleagues,

This is the last formal message that I will send you as president. Three months from now Marc Jason Gilbert will take over the presidency, and although I will offer him any and all help and counsel that he might ask of me, it is time to play a less public role in the WHA. To that end, I have also tendered my resignation from the Conferences Committee chair, effective 6 January 2012, and asked Paul Jentz to serve as co-chair until then. Having served in the role as conferences chair since late 2004, it is time for me to step aside. But before leaving these two offices, much remains for me to do. Before outlining some of those planned activities, allow me to bring you up to date on what the WHA has done since my last report.

The most significant development of the past 6 months was our learning in May that the WHA had been admitted to membership in the American Council of Learned Societies. As I have said so often, this is truly our academic coming of age. The ACLS has asked the WHA's assistance in compiling for its Humanities E-Book (HEB) online collection a list of several hundred or more significant monographs that represent the best of world history scholarship, and we shall respond positively to that request. Currently I am looking to put together a committee to compile that list.

Earlier in May, I represented the WHA in Istanbul at the Democracy Forum of the Doğa Colleges, a fairly new K-12 private school system that enrolls tens of

thousands of Turkish students and plans to expand to 100,000 students by the end of the decade. As noted on several occasions, one of the two primary objec-



WHA members and museum officials at the Great Tang Western Market Museum

tives during my tenure in office has been to foster the international presence of the WHA, and it was with that in mind that I accepted this invitation. The talk I gave before the school's teachers and students, as well as the Turkish media, is printed elsewhere in these pages. Those who are conversant with medieval European history will find nothing new therein.

While in Turkey, I traveled to Trabzon on the Black Sea to meet with Dr. Semih Aktekin, an associate professor of Education at Karadeniz Technical University and a member of the EUROCLIO Executive Council.

During the week of 1-7 April 2012, the European Association of History Educators, also known as EUROCLIO, will hold its 19th annual meeting in the seaside (and historically significant) town of Antalya, Turkey, and EUROCLIO requests the WHA's presence at this meeting on in order to present on 6 April a roundtable on world history pedagogy.

I pledged that our Teaching Committee would work to find persons who can attend this important meeting of history and social science educators, who represent nations from England to Kazakhstan.

(The association's definition of "Europe" is a broad one.) You can find out more about this conference and EUROCLIO simply by googling EUROCLIO 2012.

Persons interested in attending and representing the WHA should contact Jim Diskant at <james.diskant@verizon.net>, who serves as the Teaching Committee's co-chair.

Speaking of conferences, this past July witnessed the largest and most successful WHA conference in the 20-year history of these events, and you can read about it in a future issue of the *Bulletin*.

Following this Beijing experience, Past-president Ralph Crozier led a group of art historians who had delivered papers at conference sessions that he had organized, and one decidedly non-art historian, me, to Xi'an, an ancient capital of imperial China.

The Great Tang Western Market Museum, which is dedicated to Silk Road treasures especially from the Tang Era (618-906), funded the conference, "Merging Cultures between East and West: From the Silk Road to the World," to celebrate its first-anniversary,



Past-President Crozier, museum staff members, and Andrea toast a successful conference in Xi'an. Crozier and Andrea were exhausted after eight continuous days of conference activities, but contented that both conferences had gone so well.

and the WHA was asked to serve as co-sponsor, at no expense whatsoever to the association. On Monday, 11 July, it was my honor to welcome conferees in the

name of the WHA and later, along with the art historians, to deliver a short paper (on a non-art historical topic—“China in the New World History”). As the accompanying photos demonstrate, this small gathering was exceedingly collegial.

The directors of the museum are eager to establish a permanent relationship with the WHA, and to that end, Winston Welch and I will travel to Xi'an on 22 September to participate in a conference on Cultural Tourism as guests of the museum. At that time, we will continue to explore avenues of mutual cooperation—possibly a major Silk Road symposium in 2014.

In 2013, the University of Notre Dame in Fremantle, Australia will host the third in a series of international academic symposia co-sponsored by the WHA (our second, as you know, is coming up in January 2012 in Siem Reap, Cambodia). Winston and I will travel from China to Fremantle in early October to talk with the Local Arrangements Committee, survey the scene, and make preliminary arrangements. Our travel and stay will be funded by Fremantle's Tourism Board. Further details about this symposium will be forthcoming toward the end of this year.

Well before these words are printed, the WHA will be posting further information regarding its 2012 Annual Conference at Albuquerque High School. I can assure you that it will be a special time for all participants, and I urge you to begin making your plans to attend right now. One thing I do want to bring to your attention is the fact that we will break with tradition and begin the conference on Wednesday afternoon, 27 June, and run it through Saturday, the 30th, ending with a conference banquet that evening. This has many benefits for conferees and the WHA alike, including giving us an extra half-day for sessions and other activities. Put Sunday aside for travel about the Land of Enchantment. Indeed, plan at least several days to visit New Mexico's historical sites and natural wonders.

In addition to trying to further the international presence of the WHA, a second goal of my presidency has

been to encourage volunteerism. The response from new and not-so-new members has been heartening. With one exception, I will not single out individuals, for fear of inadvertently leaving someone out. That one exception is Mark Welter, whom I have already thanked for his generosity in a previous issue of the Bulletin. Once again, Mark has come through and on his own initiative created and funded two new WHA teaching awards: “The Mark Welter Challenge Awards for Innovative Pedagogical Activities for K-12 and Community College Teachers,” which consist of two \$500 prizes. As a proud resident of the People’s Republic of Vermont, allow me to note that the initial K-12 recipient, Fran Brock, teaches at Burlington High School, in Burlington, Vermont—my fair city. I assure you that no nepotism was involved in making that award. Due to the relatively late creation and, thus, promotion of the award, submissions from community college instructors were not received this year, something that we know will not be the case next year. Please join with the WHA’s Executive Committee in applauding Mark Welter for continuing to advance the field in this meaningful way by sponsoring these awards for excellence in teaching.

Finally, as long as I am discussing funds and volunteerism in the same metaphorical breath, I want to note that I will be making a special effort in these final months of my tenure in office to advance a WHA Fund Raising Initiative. The WHA is a special organization that deserves our moral and financial support. I ask each of you to make a concerted effort to recruit just one new member and also to consider a generous donation to the association. Economic times are hard for us all, but the WHA needs all of us to step forward with our gifts of time, talent, and resources.

Thank you all for your support of the WHA and also for your support of my efforts, such as they have been, over the past two years.

Ave et vale.

al

We want to be able to reach you, and we never send spam.
Be sure to add thewha@hawaii.edu to your email “safe list”

Twentieth-Annual World History Conference in Beijing

The WHA held its Twentieth Annual Conference at the Global History Center of Capital Normal University (CNU), Beijing, China from Thursday afternoon, 7 July 2011, through the early afternoon of Sunday, 11 July. The conference themes, "China in World History" and "World History from the Center and the Periphery," drew 600 conferees from 36

nations, including 200 scholars and teachers from the People's Republic of China. English and Chinese were the official languages of the conference, with English translation provided for papers delivered in Chinese. Simultaneous translation service over wireless headsets was provided for the conference's three plenary sessions, namely the Opening Ceremonies and the two Keynote Addresses.

Four sets of pre-conference tours to sites of historical interest in and near Beijing were offered to conferees, Monday through Thursday afternoon, as well as various cultural events on the evenings of Monday through Wednesday. The conference got underway Thursday afternoon with a three-hour meeting of the WHA's Executive Council, the distribution of conference badges and packets (all in a handsome tote bag provided by CNU), a conference orientation for first-time attendees (made possible by the generous contribution of time and effort by numerous conference mentors) and a gala opening reception of two and one-half hours at the nearby Golden Mountain Restaurant (*Jinshancheng*) that was co-hosted by ABC-Clio Publishing of Santa Barbara, California and the WHA. The reception's foods, beer, wine, and soft drink was sufficient dinner for most attendees. On this first day, conferees had the delightful experience of meeting and being assisted by



the conference's 60 volunteer ambassadors—all bilingual students at CNU—each attired in a handsome t-shirt emblazoned with the conference logo—a logo that also graced the conference tote bags.

Opening Ceremonies on Friday morning

consisted of addresses by Professor Emeritus of History Qi Shirong, past-president of Capital Normal University and founder of CNU's Global History Center, the Honorable Hao Ping, the PRC's Deputy Minister of Education, and Alfred J. Andrea, president of the WHA.

In his opening address, President Andrea noted that:

A short distance from this meeting hall stands a stone inscribed with Capital Normal University's 8-character motto. I am told its English translation is "As a teacher, learning for learning's sake; seeking truth and innovation." These are wonderful words and a magnificent sentiment. Each part of that motto inspires us, but allow me to focus on the latter part: "seeking truth and innovation."

This, the 20th Annual World History Association Conference, so generously hosted by Capital Normal University, is dedicated to seeking truth and fostering innovation within the context of world history studies. As we all know, the New World History, or Global History as it is called in China, is itself an innovation that reflects the perspectives and realities of the 21st century.

The truths and innovations that we will share over the next two and one-half days have great moral and civic, as well as intellectual, value. As scholars,

teachers, and students—and each of us is all three wrapped into one—we seek to learn how we might more fully make the study of history relevant to this age of global interaction. When we bring into the global history classroom what we have shared and learned during this conference, we will be participating in a noble enterprise, namely helping our students to prepare to assume their places as informed citizens in an age of global interconnectedness. I cannot think of any greater calling.

He then presented a memorial plaque to President Liu with the words:

On this plaque, which expresses the deep gratitude of the World History Association, are engraved the logo of this conference, which was designed here at CNU, and four Chinese characters that one of CNU's graduate students, Ms. Tian Jing, wrote in classical calligraphy: you yi chang ching.

友谊长青

They can be translated into English as "Friendship that never ends." For truly, as long as larch trees grace the slopes of Wutai Shan, Capital Normal University and the WHA will be locked in a bond of true friendship.

After a short break, President Liu Xincheng offered the conference's initial keynote address, "Global History in China." Inasmuch as Dr. Liu's talk was the first William H. McNeill Keynote Address to be given at a WHA conference, Karen Christiansen, CEO of Berkshire Publishing Co, the sponsor of the address, spoke briefly about the distinguished career of Professor McNeill, a pioneer of world history. Following her brief remarks, Jerry Bentley of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and a Distinguished Visiting Professor at CNU, introduced President Liu, whose address focused on the manner in which global history is becoming part of the educational curriculum in China.

The keynote address was followed by a refreshment break (plentiful food and drink are necessary components of any successful

conference), which in turn was followed by the first of the 8 sessions dedicated over the next several days to panels and roundtables. In all 103 panels, consisting of the contributions of more than 500 persons, were offered from within the compass of 2 ½ days. A sample of just five panels suggests the range: "The Internationalization of Chinese Art"; "China and the World Trade System in Historical Perspective"; "Using Primary Sources to Teach China in the Twentieth Century"; "Silver, Silk and Things: Connecting Commodities beyond Centers and Peripheries"; and "Beyond the Edge of Empires: Locating Edges and Centres in Eastern Eurasia." One of the more exciting elements in the program was a series of several roundtable discussions at which US and Chinese teachers exchanged views on world history pedagogy. The entire program, with abstracts of the papers, is available at the WHA's electronic site www.thewha.org.

After a long day of academic and pedagogical discourse, conferees enjoyed another gala reception that turned into a second dinner for all, three hours of food and drink sponsored by Capital Normal University and held at the restaurant in CNU's International Cultural Plaza.

Saturday began with more of the same—stimulating panels interspersed with refreshment



Jackie Wah, the WHA's Administrative Assistant, with Student Ambassadors "Spring" and Dai Lisha

breaks—and it ended with three treats. In a plenary session, the WHA recognized two "Pioneers of

World History” for their long-standing contributions to world history scholarship and pedagogy. Liu Xincheng was honored for his pioneering work in promoting and serving as an exemplar of first-rate global history studies in China, and Jerry Bentley was recognized for his 21-years as editor of the *Journal of World History*, the WHA’s flagship academic publication that under Bentley has become recognized as the leading journal in the field.

Following this brief ceremony, Craig Benjamin of Grand Valley State University in Michigan, USA, presented the second keynote address: “Considerable Hordes of Nomads Were Approaching: The Conquest of Greco-Bactria—The First ‘Event’ in World History.” Following this academic repast, conferees walked to the Golden Mountain Restaurant where they enjoyed a third dinner masquerading

as a reception, this time hosted solely by the WHA. Conferees were again offered more than the normal person can eat or drink.

Sunday morning’s final two sessions were followed by farewells but also by the start of several different post-conference tours of historical and cultural sites in China arranged by the WHA for conferees who wanted more. The most popular of the tours was a Silk Road excursion that included trips to Xi’an and Dunhuang’s Mogao Caves.

The next Annual WHA Conference will be held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Wednesday, 27 June through Saturday 30 June. Its dual themes will be “Frontiers and Borders in World History” and “Indigenous Peoples in World History.” Further information regarding this conference can be found at the WHA website [www.thewha.org](http://thewha.org).



Howard Spodek in Beijing



Special Section: Transnational Crime and Vice in World History¹

**Elaine Carey, St. John's University
Andrae Marak, Indiana University-Purdue University Columbus**

The study of transnationalism has become increasingly popular among historians and for good reason. Tracing the flow of goods, peoples, services, cultural practices, and ideas across national borders can serve as an excellent means of examining globalization, international relations, and the nation-building process. In addition, the study of borders – their porosity, their place in the popular (and political) imagination, and their role in buttressing (or undermining) claims of sovereignty – borderlands, and borderlanders (i.e., the people who inhabit borderlands) allows historians to adopt ‘bottom up’, ‘from within’, ‘non-state’, and ‘denationalized’ in addition to the standard ‘from above’ perspectives.² Complicating state-centric explanations by bringing in other perspectives does not mean that historians must reject the importance of nation-states. To the contrary, as Tyler Stovall has recently argued in a recent *World History Bulletin*, “The essence of transnational and global history is not the absence of the nation, but rather a critical interrogation of its relationship to other levels of the human experience.”³ A critical interrogation of the nation-state leads us to the conclusion they “are not the totalities that they claim to be,” but rather they are “incomplete, disunited, [and] fractured.”⁴ It is at their edges, in borderlands regions, that states are most fragmented. These contested spaces divide people leading to the social construction of seemingly distinct races, nationalities, genders, and cultural practices. They also serve as barriers that manifest inequalities which, in turn, create opportunities for those with the necessary political, cultural, social and economic capital; hence, drawing people to them and, for those lucky or powerful enough, across them.⁵

Rulers of empires and nation-states demonstrated their concerns over crime and vice especially when these manifested themselves at the edges of their sovereignty. Narratives about the increasing threats of transnational crime and vice and the nation-state’s valiant struggle against criminals,

degenerates, and enemies of the state often serve as public relations tales to buttress sovereignty claims, to construct “an image of state authority” and communicate “moral resolve,” or as a means of seeking increased bureaucratic or financial support.⁶ Of course, nation-states and crime and vice are not natural opposites, even if their spokespeople would claim otherwise. At one level, nation-states create illegality through the simple act of creating laws.⁷ But laws are not *a priori* moral and are not necessarily supported by all segments (or even the majority) of society. To avoid this dichotomy some historians adopt an approach that differentiates between what nation-states deem to be legitimate (i.e., legal) and what different groups of people think is legitimate (i.e., licit).⁸ By applying this analysis to the past, they move beyond the assumption that only those things that are legal are licit and that those that are illegal are illicit. Furthermore, even nation-states are not so clearly on the side of the legal (let alone the licit). Sometimes they fail to uphold the law (or actively undermine it);⁹ other times their relationship with illegality is symbiotic. An example of the latter is the case of illegal drugs. The illegality of drugs creates demand and in turn creates a lucrative black market. The demand and the market create the need for agencies to fight against those who seek and take advantage of the black market. Actually winning the war on drugs would put numerous policing agencies out of business. Those engaged in production, trafficking, distribution and selling of drugs would also find their economic activities hindered. Hence, the state and those engaged in illegal actions need each other.¹⁰

Questioning the state as well as the contrabandista leads to the conclusion that goods, peoples, and ideas do not naturally fall into one category. For example, a good or commodity may be legal in two separate jurisdictions, but become illegal when crossing from the first to the second such as smuggling of cigarettes, the most smuggled

commodity.¹¹ Perhaps the most important advantage of the study of transnational flows is that it allows historians to avoid adopting the norms that hegemonic powers try, often with some success, to foist on others while ignoring the fact that they (and their citizens) engage in the same practices.¹² This brings us back to the importance of the study of borderlanders and the necessity of including their voices in our historical narratives. As Abraham and van Schendel argue, individuals and social groups that systematically contest or bypass state controls do not simply flout the letter of the law; with repeated transgressions over time, they bring into question the legitimacy of the state itself by questioning the state's ability to control its own territory.”¹³

This special edition of the *World History Bulletin* includes illustrations of scholarship on transnational crime and vice as well as a few examples about how to bring these topics into your world history classes. In the first essay, Raymond Pun’s “When Reading Becomes a Crime: Book Trafficking in Mao’s China,” the transnationality of the crime – saving, sharing, and/or selling western literary classics (as well as historical Chinese works) during Mao’s Cultural Revolution - is only implied. As Mao tried to modernize China and its culture by banning the “four olds” – traditional ideas, culture, customs, and habits – he found it necessary to rid China of these books and the ideas that they contained. Interestingly, these books and ideas had entered China prior to their being made illegal. The state’s move to make them illegal, which was often undertaken with high levels of brutality, turned many everyday Chinese people, those who engaged in book trafficking and illegal reading groups, into borderlanders of sorts. In fact, the illegality of these works, especially those with erotic passages, became more popular as a result. Hence, it was the members of these groups, and the government officials who abetted them (for reasons of personal conviction or profit through corruption), that undermined the state’s authority and claims of sovereignty. Only after Mao’s death and a de-emphasis on eradicating the “four olds” did the government regain its authority among a broad swath of Chinese society.

Joseph Garcia’s “Draft Dodging and Bootlegging on the Rio Grande Frontera (Laredo, Texas 1910-1930),” provides us with the voice of an actual borderlander, his grandfather Nicolas Ramirez.

Nicolas’s life demonstrates that, for certain people, the border and its inequalities can create opportunities and can be leveraged to advance one’s own agenda. For example, Nicolas used the border to avoid military service and took advantage of his family connections during Prohibition to successfully smuggle alcohol. Nicolas’s life as remembered by the Garcia family provides evidence that borderlanders often have different ideas about what is legitimate than nation-states do.

Froylan Enciso’s “Narcocultural Dialogue with the Literature on Drugs in Mexico,” argues that both academics and journalists, by focusing on popular culture, have inadvertently buttressed the claims of transnational elites. In other words, they have strengthened state authority by reinforcing the claims of hegemonic powers, even when these claims ignore the ways in which nation-states have been major players in creating and maintaining the trade in illegal drugs by promoting a global prohibition regime and by ensuring major profits to those engaged in the trade through interdiction.

Elaine Carey’s “Streams and Banks: Teaching Mexico’s Drug War Using Film,” picks up where Enciso’s article leaves off by providing us with advice about how to use film to take this nuanced approach into the classroom. Carey purposely selects movies – *Morenita: el escándalo*, *Amar a morir*, and *El infierno* - that avoid depicting the nation-state’s fight against illegal drugs as heroic. Instead, these films lay bare the costs borne by everyday people, rich and poor alike, as the trafficking of illegal drugs, coupled with increased globalization, undermines the social and cultural fabric of Mexico (and the United States).

In “Teaching the Political Economy of Smuggling in a (Modern) World History Course,” Alan L. Karras argues that modern world history is about transnational crime. Karras argues that our students are naturally drawn to bandits, pirates, and outlaws and that we should use their (both these historical actors and our students) transgression of laws (and nation-state’s uneven application of the law) to gain a deeper understanding about the nature of nation-states, empires, consumers, and citizens. Specifically, Karras notes that smuggling is “sabotage of the state” and calls into question the state’s legitimacy but is also a means by which individuals (often through their consumption of illegal or untaxed goods) negotiate with the state. Importantly, he argues

that students (often unknowingly) negotiate with the state in this manner even as they see themselves as unconnected to politics and the state. It is this last connection that is most timely as it allows students to use the study of history to also interrogate their place in the world as both individuals and citizens.

Finally, Laura Tuenneman and Andrae Marak's "The Urbanization of the Tohono O'odham: Using Vice, Crime and Sexuality to Explore Cultural Interaction and Assimilation," provide a modern world history lesson plan focusing on urbanization, modernization, and cultural assimilation, major trends in the last half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Although the case study focuses on the members of the Tohono O'odham Nation living in the U.S. southwest, the authors argue that this case can be used as a comparative example with other colonial and imperial modernization efforts during the same time period from around the globe. Specifically, the lesson plan - which uses excerpts of primary sources from NARA and provides a series of objectives, discussion questions, and suggested readings - explores the ways that vice, crime, and sexuality served as central planks in nation-states' attempts to modernize people they viewed as backward and uncivilized.

We have enjoyed editing this volume of the *World History Bulletin*. We want to thank the authors for working with us and responding to our suggestions. More importantly, we want to thank the authors for the impact that their contributions have made in our conceptualization of transnational crime and vice in world history. It is our contention that transnational crime and vice is not only a viable, but also a critically important, lens through which to gain a better understanding of our past and present.

1 Some portions of this essay are based on the introduction of our edited volume *Smugglers, Brothels, and Twine: Historical Perspectives on Contraband and Vice in North America's Borderlands* from the University of Arizona Press.

2 We borrow the concept of "borderlanders" from Willem Van Schendel. See Willem Van Schendel, "Spaces of Engagement: How Borderlands, Illegal Flows, and Territorial States Interlock," in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization*, ed. van Schendel and Itty Abraham (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 55, and from Oscar J. Martínez, "Border Interaction: New Approaches to Border Analysis," in *Global Boundaries*, ed. Clive H. Schofield (London: Routledge Press, 1994), 1-15, and Martínez, *Border People: Life and Society in U.S.-Mexico*

Borderlands (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).

3 Tyler Stovall, "Civil Rights Meets Decolonization: Transnational Visions of the Struggle for Racial Equality in France and America," *World History Bulletin* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 27.

4 Josiah McC. Heyman and Alan Smart, "Stats and Illegal Practices: An Overview," in *States and Illegal Practices*, ed. Heyman (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 10.

5 Sam Truett and Elliot Young, "Introduction: Making Transnational History: Nations, Regions, and Borderlands," in *Continental Crossroads*, ed. Truett and Young (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 6; Roger Rouse, "Mexican Migration and the Social Spaces of Postmodernism," in *Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States*, ed. David Gutiérrez (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1996), 247-65; Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 211-42; Karl Jacoby, "Between North and South: The Alternative Borderlands of William H. Ellis and the African American Colony of 1895," in *Continental Crossroads*, ed. Truett and Young, 230; Kimberly L. Thachuk, "An Introduction to Transnational Threats," in *Transnational Threats: Smuggling and Trafficking in Arms, Drugs, and Human Life* (Westport, CN: Praeger Security International, 2007), 3-20. Alejandro Lugo reminds us that not all people can cross borders, usually on account of their race, class, and/or ethnicity. See Alejandro Lugo, *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts: Culture, Capitalism, and Conquest at the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 117.

6 See, for example, Glenn Greenwald, "The Decade's Biggest Scam," *Salon.com*, August 29, 2011, (<http://www.salon.com/news/terrorism/?story=opinion/greenwald/2011/08/29/terrorism>), accessed August 30, 2011; Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 9; and H. Richard Friman, "Crime and Globalization," in *Crime and the Global Political Economy*, ed. Friman (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009), 2-5.

7 Petrus van Duyne, "Medieval Thinking and Organized Crime Economy," in *Transnational Organized Crime: Myth, Power, and Profit*, ed. Emilio C. Viano, José Magallanes, and Laurent Bridel (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2003), 12.

8 Itty Abraham and Willem van Schendel, "Introduction: The Making of Illicitness," in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things*, ed. van Schendel and Abraham, 4-25; David Kyle and Christina A. Siracusa, "Seeing the State Like a Migrant: Why So Many Non-Criminals Break Immigration Laws," in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things*, ed. van Schendel and Abraham, 153.

9 Here are just two examples: David Nugent, "State and Shadow State in Northern Peru circa 1900: Illegal Political Networks and the Problem of State Boundaries," in *States and Illegal Practices*, ed. Heyman (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 63-98; and Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider, "Is Transparency Possible? The Political-Economic and Epistemological Implications of Cold War Conspiracies and Subterfuge in Italy," in *States and Illegal Practices*, ed. Heyman (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 169-198.

10 Michael Kenney, *From Pablo to Osama: Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies, and*

Competitive Adaptation (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 217-219.

11 Moisés Naím, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy* (New York: Bantam, 2005), 239-42.

12 Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International*

Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), vi-viii.

13 Van Schendel and Abraham, "Introduction: The Making of Illicitness," in *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things*, ed. van Schendel and Abraham, 14.

When Reading Becomes a Crime: Book Trafficking in Mao's China

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What do the works of Shakespeare, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Ibsen and other literary classics have in common? From 1966 to 1976, they were all banned by the Chinese government which was undergoing a drastic political reform known as the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Mao Zedong. It was a punishable crime to read these Western classics as well as works by Confucius, Chiang Kai-Shek and Sun Yat-Sen because they were perceived as a threat to Mao and his national campaign to revive the country's plight from the "four olds." The "four olds" were ideas, culture, customs and habits that had stifled the country's economic and political success. They encompassed religious customs, wedding and funeral practices and superstitions; the ancient foot-binding was also banned during the Revolution. One of the major initiatives to transform the country was the creation and dissemination of a little red book called *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*. For nearly a decade, it was circulated to all levels of society and became standard reading material for every sector in China. Thus, non-Maoist, foreign and Chinese literary traditions were labeled "poisonous weeds" and were banned by the government.¹ In this essay, I briefly examine how the political atmosphere of the Revolution drove people into defying the law of censorship by participating in book trafficking activities and underground reading movements.

From academics to rural farmers, every Chinese person was forced to read, memorize and praise Mao's gospel. This tiny book contains four hundred and twenty seven famous quotes from Mao which range from Mao's great speeches in rural communities to his views on Chinese educational

systems and western ideologies such as democracy and capitalism. From 1964 to 1976, there were over six billion copies printed which makes *Quotations* one of the most printed books in human history.² The book was more than a propaganda tool; it was perceived as the Bible and exemplified the way to righteous living for every Chinese person. Millions of people studied, recited and obeyed the creeds in this iconic book. People who did not read the book were labeled as traitors or capitalists, and were persecuted by the government. Reading could no longer be a leisure activity since it was politically regulated and scrutinized. The spreading of Mao's gospel also gave birth to multiple cults such as the famous Red Guards that were entirely devoted to disseminating the little red book, destroying non-Marxist books, preventing people from reading anything else and persecuting any members of the intellectual community who might pose a political threat to Maoism or the Revolution itself.

During the height of the revolution, Mao encouraged the masses to eliminate any materials, records and traditions, specifically books that were contrary to his beliefs. As a result, books that "challenged" the legitimacy of the Communist regime were often tossed into a blazing flame. Many public and university libraries closed down to prevent their collections from being destroyed. Libraries that remained open were often inundated with little red books, propaganda materials and works of Marx and Lenin. In some libraries, there were special guides called the 'reader's catalogue' that contained books "selected in compliance with the party policy or those chosen by the Chinese Communists for reading by the general public to achieve a certain

political purpose.”³ Bookshops could no longer sell classical and foreign literatures as well. Prior to the Revolution, these books were available for purchasing or borrowing. In the publishing industry, Chinese fiction frequently contained Mao’s quotes: “this may be regarded as an ideological stylistic component because Mao’s speeches were quoted as the most authoritative ideological norm to highlight speeches and conversations.”⁴ It was inevitable to read any other story in the public that was not endorsed by the regime.

The suppression of many publications, and the right to read non-Maoist books drove some people to black markets specializing in books, and underground reading clubs where people smuggled, purchased, circulated and read banned books in secrecy. Those who challenged the censorship law were often caught and persecuted by the government or the loyal Red Guards. In order to ensure that people were not reading illicit materials, the government encouraged and approved house and library raiding by the guards; most of the books were burned but some were stolen and resold to the black markets. According to Jung Chang’s memoir *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, during the Revolution, people including her own brother profited from the black market. Like other book smugglers, Chang’s brother traded and purchased banned books from one black market and resold it to another at a higher price in Chengdu, a major city in China. Chang recalls that “Novels with erotic passages commanded the highest prices and also carried the greatest danger. Stendhal’s *Le Rouge et Le Noir*, considered erotic, cost two week’s wages for an average person.”⁵ University libraries were also targeted and vandalized; thieves read these stolen books for enlightenment and to escape from the dreary propaganda of Maoism.⁶

As the censorship and house raids progressed, people formed underground reading groups where they “eagerly started to seek, read, and circulate such so-called ‘feudalistic, bourgeois, and revisionist trash [that were labeled by the government.]’”⁷ The constant exposure to Maoism made these underground readers curious about the ‘forbidden’ literatures: “it was significant that the disastrous consequences of the Cultural Revolution drove these young explorers to purposely seek out truth through the writings of the ‘enemies of the revolution’, such as those

famous counterrevolutionaries they once attacked.”⁸ These underground reading movements took place in major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. In Shanghai’s Fudan University, students and scholars secretly gathered to read and discuss other political works. One student remarked, “It provided a great opportunity to compare Mao’s socialism with Hitler’s fascism in terms of government systems. We quickly found striking similarities between the two and woke up from Mao’s utopian dreams.”⁹ In addition, underground dissident literature in the forms of novels, short stories, poems and songs circulated during the Revolution. Written by former Red Guards, scholars and students, these works criticized Mao and the Revolution by creatively expressing their despair and daily struggles in China.¹⁰

The aftermath of the Revolution was a period of recovery for the people of China. The production of the little red book slowly ceased publication; Mao’s death on September 9, 1976 also deemphasized *Quotations*. The reading of the little red book faded away as people were permitted to acquire and read foreign and classical literatures again. The censorship law was no longer strictly enforced by the government; people’s reading activities were also no longer scrutinized. Bookshops and libraries began to restock their shelves with “newly published books, some of them translations of European works and others original Chinese texts.”¹¹ Within a decade, *Quotations* was widely read and praised by millions but was intellectually unsatisfying for some. The Cultural Revolution increased the demand of non-Maoist works: those who wanted to know the “truth,” sought, read and circulated illicit materials while others profited from selling them in secrecy.

1 The list included works of Confucius, Chiang Kai-Shek, Sun Yat-Sen, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Dickens, Shelley, Shaw, Montesquieu, Kant, Smith and many others. See Burns, John, “Peking Lifts Ban on a Dozen Books,” *New York Times*, February 15, 1972, p. 25.

2 By August 1976, there had been “1,820 state-owned printing factories that printed 6.5 billion volumes of *Quotations*, 840 million sets of Selections of Mao Zedong’s Works, 400 million volumes of Chairman Mao’s Poems, and 2.2 billion sheets of Mao’s standard photo portraits” scattered throughout China. *Zhengyuan Fu, Autocratic Tradition and Chinese Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993), 186.

3 Ling Wang, “The Library on the Chinese Mainland: Its Past and Present,” *Issues and Studies* 13 (January 1977): 100.

- 4 Lan Yang, *Chinese Fiction of the Cultural Revolution* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), 162.
- 5 Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 368.
- 6 Song Yongyi, "A Glance at the Underground Reading Movement during the Cultural Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary China* 16 (2007): 329.
- 7 Ibid. 325.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Qtd in Yongyi, 328.
- 10 See Fox Butterfield, "Literature of Dissent Rises in China," *New York Times*, December 13, 1977.
- 11 John Burns, "Peking Lifts Ban on a Dozen Books," *New York Times*, February 15, 1972.
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Draft Dodging and Bootlegging on the Rio Grande Frontera (Laredo, Texas 1910-30)

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The following essay describes the experience, as handed down to me through oral history by my mother and aunt, of my grandfather Nicolas Ramirez, who was born in Laredo, Texas in 1895. As a young man Nicolas lived in the U.S. and Mexico, depending on opportunities. For most of his life, he owned and operated trucks for a living and transported agricultural (and other) products, taking his family from the Texas border to places as far north as Michigan following the annual harvests. As a U.S. born Mexican – American, he maintained relations with his extended family in Mexico. His father, for example, was born and raised in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

My grandfather dodged the “draft” twice. In the early 1910s, when he was living in northern Mexico, Nicolas returned to the U.S. when one of Mexico’s revolutionary armies tried to force him into service. Around 1917, with U.S. government officials pushing Laredo locals to register for the draft for World War I, Nicolas made his way back across the border to Mexico. Some members of his family did not take advantage of the refuge offered by the border. His uncle Eugenio, for example, was drafted and served.

Nicolas’ story took a serious turn in the 1920s when he became a bootlegger, running liquor to Texas during Prohibition. His sister Maria’s husband, John Ramsey, was a Texas Ranger. Family history suggests that Ramsey would look the other way when Nicolas moved goods across the border. When “Mexican bandits” killed Ramsey, however, Maria blamed Nicolas for his death, creating a major rift in the family.

After Prohibition, Nicolas left the border and moved on to Taft, Texas, near Corpus Christi. He continued to transport goods but for the rest of his life also worked as a migrant farm laborer with his family, traveling from south Texas to Michigan each year with the harvest. This was an extension of the work he engaged in on the Frontera, but in this case, it was the transporting of laborers (instead of alcohol) across state lines that was deemed “illegal.” And as with his earlier ventures, there was great demand for his product, even if it served to make others rich while only allowing him to earn enough just to get by.



Narcocultural Dialogue with the Literature on Drugs in Mexico

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Richard Nixon's unilateral closure of the United States-Mexico border known as Operation Intercept in 1969 was the starting signal for a new literature about drugs in Mexico. After the operation, Gordon Liddy, co-chair of Nixon's task force on drugs, disputed criticism in his memoirs. He argued that Operation Intercept I had been called a failure by the ones who did not know its real objectives: "It was actually a great success. For diplomatic reasons the true purpose of the exercise was never revealed. Operation Intercept, with its massive economic and social disruption, could be sustained far longer by the United States than by Mexico. It was an exercise in international extortion, pure, simple, and effective, designed to bend Mexico to our will."¹

In Mexico and Latin America scholars sought to engage, analyze, and interpret American policies on drugs by renewing interest on the study of state-centered phenomena. These approaches developed due to a sense of urgency for stopping suffering due to unintended consequences. Starting in the late 1970s and developing in the 1980s, the main ideas put forth in this literature could be summarized in four points: 1) The actions of the states have painful social consequences such as human rights violations and other abuses of power.² 2) The studies of narcotrafficking between Mexico and the United States should take into account the unevenness of power relation, and its interdependence and inequalities.³ 3) State agents—predominantly police and military—employed the criminalization of narcotrafficking to access, negotiate or modify the structures of state power.⁴ 4) The "War on Drugs" is based in hypocritical and manipulative narratives and policies, which hide the complicities and failures of the states, the real profiteers, and the dangers of the drug trades in (and for) the United States or Mexico for the advancement of legality, democracy and free trade.⁵

Many scholars who work in the area of drug studies in Mexico have warned how the state-centered

approaches distract us from the fact that the drug trade also works following market logic. These warnings articulated diverse reactions to American international actions to attack the supply of drugs. The continued lack of success of anti-drug policies and increased growth of the trade evidenced a clear sign of failure of the "War on Drugs". Some researchers called attention to the "narcotization" of America or what David Musto called the "American disease".⁶ In a classic article on drug addicts' creative and energetic ways to obtain their substance, Preble and Casey argued convincingly that illicit drugs reach consumers through multilevel distribution networks.⁷ The idea of multilevel distribution networks, or commodity chains, unveils unequal relationships between production, transportation and international commerce zones, but also within the distributional structures where illicit products are consumed.⁸

The economic activities of narcotraffickers deviate from conventional business practices in the restriction on information flows, the inability to enforce contracts in courts, and the presence of great degrees of risks. In 1986, Reuter and Kleiman proposed a model to understand the structure of prices, the role of state inflation, and competitive "risks" in the market of illegal drugs. In the same line of reasoning, some studies, for example, show that the increase in police and military prosecution has not and probably never will have any beneficial consequences for the decline in consumption. Scholars have also shown that the effect of policing escalation on price increase is small (15-20%). There are also studies that have explained why the police intervention and criminalization encourages, rather than prevents, spirals of violence. According to Mark Kleiman, the inelastic demand for drugs results in an increase of profits for successful dealers, i.e., it gives incentives for criminalized agents with a greater organizational capacity to employ corruption and violence.⁹

The economic literature refutes the argument that supply reduction will end the drug trade. Supply

reduction arguments sustained by the United States and other governments never explain why prices have not increased and demand decreased. This price maintenance has been explained by a relative increase in the price differential between point of exportation and importation of drugs. For example, the price differential from the point of exportation of a drug from Mexico to its point of reception in the United States has given incentive for organizations to seek new criminalized strategies to break new barriers imposed on them by the state. These organizations, strengthened through the acquisition of arms and the corruption of officials, are creating new access routes into the United States. In short, the prohibitionist policies and strategies only ensured higher returns to risk-loving criminalized agents in Mexico.¹⁰

These groups benefit from the new cultural expressions that glorify their exploits in confronting the state, creating international and local pacts among drug-dealing organizations, and stirring up communitarian pride in drug production. The strengthening of criminalized organization on an ideological (or systemic-cultural) level depends upon the protection against social stigma imposed over certain substances and social rejection of violent procedures for their production, trade, and consumption. There are also economic incentives to use narcocultural expression to prepare the participants of the trade to confront the risk of this peculiar market. Reuter and Kleiman call this the “cost of labor” by the retribution for risk.¹¹ Given the way in which price differentials works, one could say that the narcocultural expressions are not just a form of labor control for participants of the drug market, but also a subsidy to the maintenance of high prices in the countries where drugs are consumed.

It is not surprising that in the 1990s Mexican intellectuals and scholars initiated a new trend in the literature arguing for the existence of a “narcocultura”.¹² Although the definition of this word has been rather vague, essays, journalistic articles and scholarly works that study or mention narcoculture converge in one idea: narcoculture is constituted by the different expressions resulting from the experience of trafficking illegal drugs. Probably fed with ideological connections with the literatures of counterculture, sociological deviance and criminology, narcoculture has been better defined in relation with a dominant culture as the subculture of narcotrafficking, illegal drugs, and related violence.

Because of its marginality and transgression, it is argued that narcotrafficking has institutionalized its own language.¹³

In its well-intended focus on popular culture (or a markedly illegal part of it), the academic studies and journalistic usage of narcoculture have established a non-intended complicity with the drug-related cultural expressions of the upper classes, bourgeoisies, power elites or participants of the “dominant” culture.¹⁴ Empirical studies of narcoculture have focused on popular music, ways of dressing, funerary and housing architecture, axiological or ethical codes, usage of cars, religious beliefs, and the interventions on social networks on the Internet by drug dealers and their admirers, and many others.¹⁵ They usually disengage from the discussion of the upper classes’ negotiations of the interstices between the law and its structured practices, and its relation within the uneven structures of power and economic interchange in which narcotrafficking is conducted.

On an epistemological level, a finer conceptualization of narcoculture must localize it as a constitutive consequence of the way in which narcotrafficking is structured, instead of a parallel or subordinated system of interchanges of meaning. My concrete proposal is to link and differentiate between high and low narcoculture based in the specific and dialogic engagement of the social interactions mediated by narcoculture with 1) the spread of the global prohibition regime of drugs pushed by the United States during the 20th century, and 2) the political economy of narcotrafficking, whose business is conducted and structured around the manipulation of risk-inflated and nationally-differentiated prices produced by the intervention of states and competition in the market of drugs. Conceptually, I propose to define high narcoculture as the public expression of the negotiation of the space of impunity between the law and its practices, including the discussion of alternative drug-related legal regimes. Low narcoculture denotes interchanges of meaning and markers of power that allows recruitment, organizational strengthening, ideological protection against stigmatizations, and psychological management of the risk-related fear in the market of illegal drugs.

1 G. G. Liddy, *Will: The Autobiography of G. Gordon Liddy* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 135.

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- 3 L. Rodríguez Manzanera, *Los estupefacientes y el estado mexicano*, 2a ed. (México: Botas, 1974). B. M. Bagley, “Interdependence and U.S. Policy toward Mexico,” in *Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship*, ed. R. Roett (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), 223-242. G. Gonzalez and M. Tienda, *The Drug Connection in U.S.-Mexican Relations* (San Diego, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1989). M.C. Toro, *Mexico’s War on Drugs* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1995). M.C. Toro, “Estrategias de negociación mexicanas: el caso del narcotráfico,” in *México ante el fin de la Guerra Fría*, ed. I Bizberg (México: El Colegio de México, 1998). G. Lemus, “Dancing with the Devil: The Politics of Drug Control in United States-Mexico Relations, 1980-1998” (PhD diss., University of Miami, 1998). L. Astorga, *Drogas sin fronteras. Los expedientes de una guerra permanente* (México: Grijalbo, 2003). F. Enciso, “Los fracasos del chantaje. Régimen de prohibición de drogas y narcotráfico en México,” in *Los grandes problemas de México, vol. XV, Seguridad nacional y seguridad pública*, ed. Arturo Alvarado et al. (México: El Colegio de México, 2010) 61-104.
- 4 M. Ruiz Massieu, *El marco jurídico para el combate al narcotráfico* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994). J. Heyman, ed., *States and Illegal Practices* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1999). L. Astorga, *Seguridad, traficantes y militares. El poder y la sombra* (México: Tusquets, 2007). Jorge Fernández Menéndez, *Narcotráfico y poder* (México: Rayuela, 1999). J.A. Andrade Bojorges, *La historia secreta del narco. Desde Navolato vengo* (México: Océano, 1999). R. Ravelo, *Herencia maldita. El reto de Calderón y el nuevo mapa del narcotráfico* (México: Random House Mondadori, 2008). M. Serrano, “El pacto cívico-militar y la transición a la democracia en México,” in *Una historia contemporánea de México*, t. 3, Los actores, ed. I. Bizberg et al. (México: Océano-El Colegio de México, 2009), 219-236. D.E. Osorno, *El Cartel de Sinaloa: Una historia del uso político del narco* (México: Grijalbo, 2009), chap. 14. Anabel Hernández, *Los señores del narco*. (México: Grijalbo, 2010).
- 5 Samuel del Villar, “La narcotización de la cultura en Estados Unidos y su impacto en México,” in *México-Estados Unidos 1985*, ed. Gabriel Székely (México: El Colegio de México, 1986). Samuel del Villar, “The Illicit U.S.-Mexico Drug Market: Failure of Policy and an Alternative,” in *Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship*, ed. R. Roett (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), 173-190. P. Reuter and D. Ronfeldt, “Quest for Integrity: The Mexican-U.S. Drug Issue in the 1980s,” in “Drug Trafficking Research Update (otoño),” special issue, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 34, no. 3 (1992): 89-153. E. Shannon, *Desperados: Latin Drug Lords, U.S. Lawmen, and the War America Can’t Win* (New York: Viking, 1988). G. Treverton, “Narcotics in U.S.-Mexican Relations,” in *Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship*, ed. R. Roett (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), 209-222. Michael Massing, *The Fix: Under the Nixon Administration, America Had an Effective Drug Policy. We Should Restore It. (Nixon Was Right)* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998). T. G. Carpenter, *Bad Neighbor Policy: Washington’s Futile War on Drugs in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). C. A. Youngers and E. Rosin, eds., *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005). F. Enciso, “Drogas, narcotráfico y política en México: protocolo de hipocresía, 1969-2000,” in *Una historia contemporánea de México*, t. 4, *Las políticas*, ed. I. Bizberg et al. (México: Océano-El Colegio de México, 2009), 183-246. F. Enciso, “Los fracasos del chantaje. Régimen de prohibición de drogas y narcotráfico en México,” in *Los grandes problemas de México, vol. XV, Seguridad nacional y seguridad pública*, ed. Arturo Alvarado et al. (México: El Colegio de México, 2010), 61-104.
- 6 Samuel del Villar, “La narcotización de la cultura en Estados Unidos y su impacto en México,” in *México-Estados Unidos 1985*, ed. Gabriel Székely (México: El Colegio de México, 1986). Samuel del Villar, “The Illicit U.S.-Mexico Drug Market: Failure of Policy and an Alternative,” in *Mexico and the United States: Managing the Relationship*, ed. R.

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- 10 P. Reuter and D. Ronfeldt, "Quest for Integrity: The Mexican-U.S. Drug Issue in the 1980s," in "Drug Trafficking Research Update (otoño)," special issue, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 34, no. 3 (1992): 95.
- 11 P. Reuter and M.A.R. Kleiman, "Risks and Prices: An Economic Analysis of Drug Enforcement," *Crime and Justice* 7 (1986): 303.
- 12 This has been synthetically defined by Friedric Jameson in his 1991 book as the "cultural logic of late capitalism." "The relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms" (Harvey, 1989: p. 156).
- 13 N. Córdova, *Narcocultura: simbología de la transgresión, el poder y la muerte. Sinaloa y la leyenda negra*. (Culiacán, Sinaloa: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, 2011), 52, 85, 351. M. Valenzuela, *Jefe de jefes: corridos y narcocultura en México* (Barcelona and México: Raya en el Agua-Plaza y Janés, 2002). J.A. Sánchez Godoy, "Procesos de institucionalización de la narcocultura en Sinaloa," *Frontera Norte* 21, no. 41 (2009): 77-103.
- 14 L. Astorga, "Los corridos de traficantes de drogas en México y Colombia," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 59, no. 4 (1997): 245-261. L. Astorga, "La cocaína en el corrido," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 62, no. 2 (2000): 151-173. L. Astorga, "Corridos de traficantes y censura," *Región y Sociedad* 17, no. 32 (2005b): 145-165. H. Vargas, "Placeres y prohibición," *Letras Libres* 2, no. 15 (2000): 22-24. D. Sada, "Cada piedra es un deseo," *Letras Libres*, 2, no. 11 (2000): 18-21. Sam Quiñones, *Antonio's Gun and Delfino's Dream: True Tales of Mexican Migration* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001). H. Simonett, "Narcocorridos: An Emerging Micromusic of Nuevo L.A.," *Ethnomusicology* 45, no. 2 (2001): 315-337. E. Wald, *Narcocorrido: Un viaje al mundo de la música de las drogas, armas, y guerrilleros* (New York: Rayo, 2001). Reed Johnson, "Art in a Ganster's Paradise," *Los Angeles Times*, March, 2, 2003. M. C. Edberg, *El Narcotraficante: Narcocorridos and the Construction of a Cultural Persona on the U.S.-Mexican Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). A. Moncada Cota, *Las mujeres también pueden. Género y narcocorrido*. (Culiacán: Universidad de Occidente, 2004). R. Tinajero Medina and M. Hernández Iznaga, *El narcocorrido: tradición o mercado* (Chihuahua: Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua, 2004). J. Ramírez Pimienta, *De El Periquillo al pericazo: Ensayos sobre literatura y cultura mexicana* (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 2006). A. Guillermoprieto, "Days of the Dead: The New Narcocultura," *The New Yorker*, November 10, 2008. D. E. Osorno, "Las narcotumbas de Sinaloa," *Milenio Semanal*, no. 554 (2008): 8-9.



Streams and Banks: Teaching Mexico's Drug War Using Film¹

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With the increasing violence in Mexico and along the border, artists and filmmakers document the impact of everyday violence. For example, in Lenin Marquez's painting *Aparecidos*, a young boy wearing a cap with Sylvester chasing Tweety Bird smiles to the viewer before a bound body murdered execution style. The child's innocence is blighted by the images of death that surround him in a dreamlike state. At first glance, he appears unaware, but on closer inspection he appears years older, as he holds the viewers gaze with an uneasy smirk. Is he the assassin or unwitting victim of a narco drama? In *Paisaje*, the beauty of the landscape is tarnished by the bound and murdered bodies that mar it, but these images of violence are just as integral as the trees, mountains, and sky. Marquez conveys that death and bodies are now fixtures of the natural state that intersect with all aspects of Mexican life.

Marquez's work as that of countless other authors, musicians, filmmakers, journalists, and scholars construct the basis of what scholar Hermann Herlinghaus designated narconarratives. Herlinghaus argues that these narratives designate a multiplicity of dramas expressed in antagonistic languages and articulated along the border through fantasies that revolve around the depravity and deterritorialization of individual and communitarian life.² As a historian who has focused on the history of drugs and narcotics, I struggle to interpret Mexico's contemporary drug war. The country has long played a key role in drug trafficking from its site of production of marijuana and poppy to its role in the transshipment of cocaine.³ Here, I wish to use the theory of narconarratives and its complexities and mediums to offer tools to demonstrate changing cultural manifestations and criticism of power, politics, economy, and society, not simply in Mexico but in North America as a whole. Here, I analyze three films as evidence that may be incorporated in the classroom to develop knowledge that seeks to engage the symbolic and metaphorical transference of information about everyday life during a national crisis that flows across borders altering how

we study Mexico but also how we study the United States.

Herlinghaus argues that the rise of narconarratives is a cultural outcome caused by various factors such as deterioration of traditional, social, and democratic relationships due to the impact of globalization, incomplete democratic reform and transnational narcotics. In Mexico, the informal and illicit economy has long flourished. Those unique economic structures, combined with the historical incomplete democratic reforms that broke the gentleman's agreement between the drug traffickers and the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (Party of the Institutional Revolution, PRI), again reasserted Mexico's role in the transnational flow of narcotics. Narconarratives in the United States, Mexico, and Canada coexist on the border evolving into sites of violence, but also as sites of profit, legitimate business, and even socio-economic advancement for those on the margins. These narratives are what Rosemary Hennessy has termed an "open secret," a cultural dynamic where much is known but little publicly acknowledged except in certain periods of time.⁴ For years, drugs have—borrowing from Avery Gordon—haunted all three nations exhibiting "a seething presence, acting on and meddling with the taken for granted realities."⁵ For Mexico, that presence always existed but recently resurfaced.

Three recent films, *Morenita: el escándalo*, *Amar a morir*, and *El infierno*, depict these secrets in subtle and challenging ways. In 2009, both *Amar a morir*, directed by Fernando Lebrija, and *Morenita: el escándalo*, directed by Alan Jonsson Gavica, premiered. *El infierno*, directed by Luis Estrada, came out the following year. The latter films are available with subtitles; the former is not. However, due to their transnational focus, all have portions in English which permit a greater audience. Clips and trailers may be found on Youtube. These films differ from the low-budget B movies that create hagiographies of narcos similar to the much analyzed narcocorridos.⁶ Emerging in the 1970s, these low budget films drew

a large following and later generated considerable profits through VHS and DVD sales.⁷ The three films above more subtly dramatize the horrors of everyday life in the midst of a societal crisis. The films depict class tensions, corruption, moral panic, and the valiant attempts of survival among people who can no longer distinguish between friend and foe.

Amar a morir, written by Lebrija and Harrison Reiner, opens with a scene of elite Mexicans at a sumptuous engagement party. A group of juniors (young elite men) leave the party and race on Reforma Avenue, Mexico City's Champs Élysées. The protagonist Alejandro Vizcaina accidentally kills a pedestrian. His family buys off the family of the dead boy to ensure that no problems undermine Alejandro's gilded life. After visiting their humble home during the wake, Alejandro enters into a psychological crisis and leaves for Michoacán. There he falls in with a surfing community, and falls in love with Rosa, the young lover of the local boss, El Tigre. In this tragedy, Vizcaina's wealth and elite contacts are no match for the power of the local boss and his thirst for revenge and violence.

In the drama, *Morenita*, Mateo is an expert at raising carrier pigeons, a hobby that he pursues with his grandfather Santiago. Santiago works as a guard at the Basilica of Guadalupe that houses one of Mexico's sacred treasures, the cloak of the Virgin of Guadalupe. When Santiago falls ill and needs emergency surgery, Mateo asks the bishop at the Basilica for help in paying the hospital expenses. Denied assistance, Mateo discovers that his grandfather is simply a volunteer. With few resources, Mateo is forced to borrow money from a drug trafficker El Pinto who he met while in prison. Although trying to turn his life around by living with his grandfather and taking care of his pregnant wife, Mateo must comply with El Pinto's request to use his courier pigeons to fly cocaine to Los Angeles. Mateo goes to Tijuana with his pigeons but has little time to train them. The pigeons and the cocaine end up back in Mexico City triggering El Pinto's demand for repayment leading to the theft of the icon and a catastrophic encounter between the narco, Santiago, and Mateo.

In the dark comedy, *El infierno*, Benny García returns to Mexico after he is deported from the United States twenty years after he took up residence. On the bus home, he is robbed of what little money he has and returns home penniless. He finds his mother still impoverished, and his younger brother dead and

buried. However, he discovers that his brother, El Diablo, had been a successful narco and local boss. Despite his godfather's warning, Benny steps into the life of his dead brother becoming an assassin for hire for the local bosses Don and Doña Reyes. He adapts to killing people and enjoys the money, the cocaine, and his new life until he makes a fatal error to protect his nephew. The son of El Diablo hopes to grow up to be like his father a *mero mero*, boss of bosses.

All the films exhibit how Mexico's drug war touches the lives of average Mexicans from elite young men, to lower middle class urbanites such as Mateo, or to deported workers such as Benny. In all the films, corruption remains a common feature. *El infierno* satirically dramatizes narco culture and political involvement that mimics the B films with disturbing hilarity. Vizcaina's family, due to their wealth, is able to ensure that their reckless son is not responsible for the death of another. He easily falls into a global surfing community and befriends an Australian surfer, Nick, played by Craig McLachlan. Vizcaina's life has consisted of privilege and travel, and he has a keen sense to entitlement to all that he desires, particularly Rosa. The ability of elites to do and act as they have in the past is undermined by the emergence of a new elite who serve as a disturbing allegory of Mexico's *nouveau riche* who no longer aspire to have their lives structured around cultural expectations of the ruling class. Instead, they have more money, more arms, and the ability to dictate a new culture with new rules.

Once the cloak is stolen in *Morenita*, the police interview all those associated with the Basilica including Santiago. The police chief recognizes Santiago's previous life as an enforcer for the Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and Luis Echeverría governments that orchestrated Mexico's dirty war. In this scene, Johnsson Gavica takes past state violence and juxtaposes it with the present. The police chief argues that the new Mexico does not torture or throw people into the sea. Mexico is modern, democratic, and respects human rights. He sees Santiago as a disturbing relic of the past. Yet, once Mateo steals the icon with his grandfather's assistance, the same police chief quietly offers Mateo assistance in the selling of the icon. It is far more valuable than the two million that El Pinto demanded in repayment. Corruption and graft continue, and it is business as usual.

Benny, like Mateo, is driven to work for a drug lord due to lack of opportunity. When his nephew

is arrested, he asks his old friend, Cochiloco, to help. Cochiloco recognizes that Benny's experience in the United States has made him soft. He thinks the police will arrest them when they are detained with countless keys of coke and marijuana as well as numerous vials of pills. Instead, Cochiloco simply pays off the police. Their boss, Don Reyes, is a psychotic who also happens to be the municipal president, owns the police, and even the attorney general's office. His favored guards are Zapotecos from Oaxaca rumored to be trained by the Central Intelligence Agency. This is a nod to the Zetas; the founders of los Zetas came from the Airborne Special Forces Groups (GAFES). This elite Army unit has extensive training in the United States and Europe.

These new narconarratives are the cultural outcomes caused by various factors such as deterioration of traditional, social, and democratic relationships due to the impact of globalization. This is echoed by social scientists such as Moisés Naím who argue that government in transitions leave open the potential for the growth of informal or illicit economy.⁸ Countries in times of crisis or with incomplete democratic reforms yield political vacuums that those involved in illicit trade actually use to their advantage whether in trafficking of cigarettes, drugs, guns, or people.⁹ Thus, the incomplete reforms and ever-present demand for drugs from the north ensure that those tied to one of the most lucrative components of the market will become powerful. If challenged, they violently respond. Both *Amar a morir* and *El infierno* demonstrate that violent response

All the directors offer visual depictions of the crisis that moves beyond simple statistics. It is not as if the assassinations and violence simply began with President Felipe Calderón's declaration of war against the drug traffickers. It is that now that the level of violence has increased to such a degree that the world is paying attention. A century-old open secret of drug trafficking, corruption, and political complicity has captured global attention. With the rise of drug violence, scholars and students routinely consume these narratives and dramas on a daily basis in newspapers, television, and blogs. The numbers of 40,000 dead and 40,000 who have fled and requested asylum document an unfolding tragedy. Mexican businessmen and politicians who have the resources live on the U.S. side from which they manage their businesses or their local governments.

The films situate the thresholds through which people cross into the world of the narcos and violence. At times, it is simply by accident as in the case of Vizcaina who happens to fall in love with the wrong woman. For Mateo, it is a life he hoped to leave behind but lack of social services, healthcare access, and financial reward ensure that he will have to work with a narco if he wishes to save his grandfather's life. For Benny, he encounters a Mexico still impoverished but with another safety valve for economic prosperity. Rather than heading north like countless men and women have done in the past, Benny's friend Cochiloco tells him, "In this country, there are plenty of opportunities to make money."

The irony of Cochiloco's statement reflects a rupture of the past. If Mexicans can no longer flee north due to the U.S. economic downturn and the heightened anti-immigrant stance in the United States and much of Europe, what are the other options? In turn, Mexico's drug war becomes a lens to view a range of contemporary topics about the shifting global economy that displaced traditional industries such as legal agricultural products to the emerging new power brokers. The United States remains intimately connected to Mexico. In *El infierno*, Cochiloco and Benny buy a cadre of weapons from a U.S. arms dealer. That purchase will allow them to take on Don Reyes' key competitor, his brother. In *Morenita*, the drug demand in the United States is responsible for the violence inflicted upon Mateo and Santiago.

These films expand upon Will Durant's reckoning of historical inquiry. He wrote, "Civilization is a stream with banks. The stream is sometimes filled with blood from people killing, stealing, shouting and doing the things historians usually record, while on the banks, unnoticed, people build homes, make love, raise children, sing songs, write poetry and even whittle statues. The story of civilization is what happened on the banks."¹⁰ These films demonstrate the interaction between the stream and the banks in Mexico, but also how the United States remains central. The directors show the quotidian lives of many Mexicans from diverse backgrounds. People continue to fall in love, have children, build homes, dream for a better life, and try to survive. At times, they inadvertently step into a situation that alters their lives to a horrifying level. All three directors dramatize that terror and fear of encountering the public secret of the stream and how it touches the lives of those who live on its banks.

1 This is a revised version of comments given at the Roundtable on Violence, Mexican Studies Committee, Congress on Latin American History, San Diego, CA, January 2010.

2 Herman Herlinghaus, *Violence without Guilt: Ethical Narratives from the Global South* (Palgrave, 2009), 4. Also, my thoughts are influenced by the conference "Narcoepics Unbound: New Narrative Territories, Affective Aesthetics, and Ethical Paradox," April 5-8, University of Pittsburgh.

3 For example, see Isaac Campos, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs* (forthcoming University of North Carolina Press), and Paul Gootenberg, *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

4 Rosemary Hennessy, "Open Secrets: the Affective Cultures of Organizing on Mexico's Northern Border," *Feminist Theory* 10, no. 3 (December 2009): 309-322.

5 Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 8.

6 Elijah Wald, *Narcocorrido: A Journey into the Music of Drugs, Guns, and Guerrillas* (New York: Rayo, HarperCollins, 2001) and Mark Edberg, "Drug Traffickers as Social Bandits," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 17, no. 3 (Aug. 2001): 259-277.

7 See Rafael Romo, "Real Life Inspires Mexico's Narco Films," CNN, (July 29, 2011), <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/americas/07/29/mexico.narco.movies/index.html> accessed on August 4, 2011.

8 Moisés Naím, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005).

9 See Carolyn Nordstrom, *Global Outlaws: Crime, Money, and Power in the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

10 Quoted in Jim Hicks, "Spry Old Team Does It Again," *Life*, October 18, 1963, 92.

Teaching the Political Economy of Smuggling in a (Modern) World History Course

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Modern World History is, in a very real sense, about Transnational Crime. Perhaps that last sentence needs some explanation. Teaching modern world history requires teaching about many things, but three of the most important are (1) the development of the state, (2) the individual's relationship to the government under whose authority s/he lives, and (3) the state's relationship to economic life, sometimes referred to as "the economy." As it happens, these are also the core themes of political economy. Also, as it happens, transnational crime allows students to explore these issues in a very accessible way. In other words, many students can better understand the rise of the state and its relationship to the economy not by memorizing the names of statutes or rulers, but by thinking about why some laws are enforced and others are not. Or why some laws are enforced selectively with regard to place and time. Our students are interested in bandits, outlaws, and especially pirates—for reasons best

known to them. Importantly, students are frequently able to historicize their own experiences with legal transgressions by studying past crimes. Doing so allows them to ascribe some sort of meaning to what laws they might have broken, without being fully cognizant of the ramifications of their actions.

Let me explain what I mean by this last comment. When teaching smuggling—for me the subject fits nicely into the period of Atlantic Revolutions in the late eighteenth century, but there are other places where it could also go, depending on each instructor's strengths—I begin by asking my class (which, coincidentally, often is close to 200 students) how many of them smuggle. No one, usually, raises their hand. But then, if I rephrase the question to ask how many of them have been completely honest with the customs declaration form that they fill out upon entering the US (or other countries to which they might travel), many of them start to giggle, and

many more admit that they don't take these forms seriously. I tell them that by not reporting what they have acquired abroad they are effectively smuggling. They begin to blush and laugh. But their discomfort is palpable.

The lesson then continues. I ask the class how many of them exceed the posted speed limit when driving a car. Many hands are raised; in some classes, it is unanimous. I ask them how many have a fake ID (but don't ask for a show of hands). I ask them how many have ever had a drink at a party, despite being underage. I ask them how many have puffed an illegal substance, whether they inhaled or not. The tension in the room becomes even more visible. The reason, of course, is that students *know* this behavior because they engage in it. They think it is normal. And then, I explain, that they are sabotaging the state. And that they don't like to hear, because they still believe government has something to offer.

Smuggling is a kind of sabotage of the state; those who smuggle subvert the state's laws. (And historically, many of the laws that were subverted were once championed by those who later subverted them.) This goes hand in hand with mercantilism in the early modern world, but it also goes hand in hand with many economic systems that come later in world history. Those who make the laws, or those who lobby for certain statutes, are often among the very first to discover loopholes in their legal creations so that they can either ignore them or comply with the legal letter, but not the spirit of the laws. In short, there is a kind of unanimity of interests when it comes to avoiding laws that are inconvenient at a particular place and time.

What do I mean by this? I mean that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (as mentioned earlier, you can choose your own period to address this concept), European states formed alliances with their merchants. The states needed the money that the merchants had in order to wage war and the merchants needed protected market places from which they could make their money. A symbiotic relationship developed—but then merchants decided that they could make MORE money if they only selectively obeyed the laws. So they ignored those parts of the laws that interfered with their businesses. They did, in fact, become *free traders*. And those who were *fair traders* objected. The *free traders* were all about exchanging one good for another. The *fair traders* were only willing to do so if they could do it from within the laws of the state under whose authority they lived.

But, of course, both *free* and *fair* traders required customers. Without customers for smuggled products, consumers, the law and the state that created it, would have prevailed unchallenged.

This idea then allows me to talk about how much authority, or *legitimacy*, any given state has. Does government have legitimacy if people violate its laws with impunity? The answer, surprisingly, might well be "yes." A state that selectively enforces its own laws might well do so because not to do so, to enforce every law on the statute books, would result in a diminution of state authority. And, because for much of world history, states were negotiating with their publics about the limits of state authority, it might make sense for a state to appear, *de jure*, to be bound by statute but, *de facto*, be much more flexible than first appearance. Of course, the fact that states were expanding in the early modern world, and colonizing territories that were quite removed from the metropoles, only made the establishment of state authority that much harder. Why not, then, articulate what the official government policy was while simultaneously indicating that the state lacked the resources to insist upon exact compliance in every circumstance? It seems to me that in so doing, governments made territories that were coming under their control much more docile towards the idea of colonization and imperialism. It also allowed consumers access to products that were legally unobtainable, but easy to get through more *informal* channels.

The very idea of individuals, members of the public, negotiating with their own governments seems preposterous to many students. Breaking the law, any law, and getting away unpunished is, in fact, a negotiation. Most students have been oddly trained—conditioned may be a better word here—to think of democracy somehow being devoid of, well, individuals. They have learned about the government, or observed it in the media, without seeing that they themselves are connected to it. (And the same could be said for other forms of government than democracy, though those forms were perhaps a bit trickier with which to negotiate, given their sometimes authoritarian excesses.) The legitimacy of any government derives from the support of its people—though *which* people may vary from state to state, and time to time and place to place. And smuggling, breaking the laws of importing and exporting, was a way for one individual, or group of individuals, to

gain control over their own lives. They could consume whatever they wanted. And isn't that, we are told, what economic life is all about? Consumption, that is.

The desire of a group of individuals to gain control over what they consumed and when they consumed it ought not to be underestimated. The American Revolution (or War for Independence) had a large contingent of people supporting it because they thought that freedom meant the freedom to consume (or dump tea into, say, Boston Harbor) what they wanted without fear of government monopoly or trading restrictions. Getting a good bargain—and not having to buy what your government tells you to buy from sellers who are guaranteed a certain rate of profit—ought not be dismissed as a cause for historical action; look at the fall of eastern European states in the late twentieth century. Consumer demand could not be satisfied, especially given all those pesky import restrictions and manufacturing controls. The authoritarian laws could no longer be subverted through smuggling and corruption (which is the flip side of smuggling; someone can always be bought off, at least according to the smugglers.). The regimes that generated such policies, therefore, had to be toppled; they just could not guarantee adequate supplies to their subjects, even through thriving informal economies.

Our students intuitively know this, especially the more cynical among them. They are willing to break certain laws because they want to consume something in the place that they choose to consume it, and which their own government has told them that they are not able to do. But our students are not revolutionary, because they expect that they can get away with it. And, in many respects, they can get away with it. Those who get caught now, as in history, were the unlucky ones, the ones who showed us what the limits to state enforcement (or lack thereof) were. Or to put it another way, why start a revolution if you really can get what you want without having to resort to all that bloodshed? It's easier to smuggle, and pay a fine if you are caught, than it is to change a law.

Transnational crime, then, is the way that people connected with others, those with whom their governments told them they could not communicate or engage. Such illegality showed, and indeed it still does, the permeability of legal frontiers. Moreover, it shows, as if we needed more showing, that people lived their lives and were not necessarily *respectful* of legal and geographical boundaries.

In the case of smuggling, one more thing has

to be said, especially for the times in which we live. There is no way around the fact that smuggling is tax avoidance or even fraud. And yet, taxes are the price, to paraphrase Oliver Wendell Holmes, of civilized society. In short, taxes are required to pay for essential services—of which there are now more than there were in the past. Smuggling then, to maximize an individual consumer's desire, directly takes money out of the fire department, or the police department (which is seen as necessary only so long as the police are stopping "real" crime, and not busting people for speeding), or the schools, or the courts, or the military.

In other words, those who smuggle are undermining the government in much more profound ways than it might seem at first glance. In denying government the revenue it needs to carry out its essential functions, smuggling undermines that government's ability to be seen as legitimate. Some smuggling is okay then, so long as it is not too much and so long as that revenue gets replaced in some other way. When people lose sight of the fact that government does something good, we come very close to the state of contemporary American politics, where the individual's desire is never allowed to be questioned, even by the state that must protect that individual.

Of course, that is the risk of any crime, but it seems all the more poignant because transnational crime broadly lends itself to international cooperation. Scholars used to think that it was states that cooperated to eradicate crime that plagued one state disproportionately. But now we know that criminals also cooperate transnationally. Global governance (or harmonization of the laws across legal frontiers) seems the obvious answer to this state of affairs. But on this point the historical record is relatively silent, except, of course, if one considers the modern world's empires to be examples of global governance. I doubt that any readers of this brief piece would consider a resurrection of empires the way for states to save themselves. Nor would their students. Transnational transgression requires transnational responses.

There has been all too little of this in the modern world, in a very real sense. Perhaps this will change when people get tired of consuming and can think of nothing else to consume or, conversely, when the supply of products able to be consumed runs out. But that may not be imminent, as new products are created that cause new demands to arise. And that changes patterns of smuggling. But one thing remains

constant: the state, as evidenced through its law, engages in a negotiation with its population, about which laws get placed on the statute books and which ones will be selectively enforced. The result is also clear: the state ensures its own continuation so long

as the public is not driven to rise up and challenge it. Government will therefore prevail, though in a weakened sense. How weak, and how long remain yet to be determined.

THE URBANIZATION OF THE TOHONO O'ODHAM: Using Vice, Crime and Sexuality to Explore Cultural Interaction and Assimilation¹

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INTRODUCTION

Urbanization, modernization and cultural assimilation are major themes in modern world history. Depending on the location and the society, the transition from traditional to “modern,” from rural to urban can date anywhere over a span of several centuries. Individual experiences varied widely. However societies undergoing this transition shared some common challenges as capitalist economies and the institutions of modern nation-states penetrated traditional societies based on systems of reciprocity.² In response, rural people elected to, or were enticed and/or coerced to, move into an increasingly urban world.

In this lesson we provide an early twentieth century Native American-based case study, focused on the experiences of members of the Tohono O’odham Nation living in the U.S. southwest. This lesson should be highly accessible to advanced high school and college students. The experiences of the O’odham were representative of those taking place in American cities and colonies as reformers tried to urbanize wave after wave of recent immigrants, southern migrants, and colonial and colonized peoples. They engaged in similar conflicts and negotiations to those taking place around the world. As such it is our hope this case will serve as a point of entry into discussions of issues of vice, crime and sexuality globally as nation-states and empires sought to extend their reach to previously unsubjugated peoples.

BACKGROUND

The Tohono O’odham, or the “Desert People”, are members of the Uto-Aztecan language group and have inhabited the largely arid Papaguería for thousands of years. The Papaguería spans from just north of Phoenix, Arizona south into Sonora, Mexico and from the Gulf of California to the San Pedro River in the east. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the 17th century, the Tohono O’odham practiced a modified “Two-Village” subsistence pattern through seasonal migration between winter villages located near mountain springs and temporary summer desert settlements located near the deltas of washes.³ The extended family was the basis of Tohono O’odham society and kinship networks relied on a system of reciprocal gift exchange that served to assist families in need and promote solidarity. Governance occurred at the village level, ranging in population from 20 to 300, where a headman and a council ruled based on “group discussion and consensus.”⁴ Men worked together to build ponds in summer settlements and they hunted. Women gathered wild plants and processed domesticated plants.⁵ After the arrival of Europeans, the Two-Village system was supplemented through wage labor and cattle raising.

For the O’odham and federal agents under the auspices of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), cities such as Tucson offered the promise of employment in the cash economy – a necessary step if the tribe

was to be assimilated into the larger United States society. However, as government workers pushed to assimilate the Tohono O'odham into the larger American society, they expressed real concerns about the impacts of the larger society on the natives. As an OIA Superintendent wrote in 1923, "Morally these Indians compare with any white people. This has not come to them through civilization. In earlier times any one found guilty of adultery was put to death. Our greatest trouble now is with the girls who leave the reservation and work out in towns as domestics."⁶ In other words prior to the civilizing efforts of whites, he recognized that the Tohono O'odham had their own moral order. However, officials believed that lower class whites, especially males, and members of less laudable races, such as Chinese and Mexicans, posed a real threat to the Tohono O'odham. The use of laws and moral suasion, under the guise of "supervision," were the tools available to authorities trying to contain crime and vice among tribal members in urban centers. While they were not stereotyped as dangerously sexual, as was often the view of dark-skinned women at the time, O'odham women were viewed as weak and corruptible and in need of protection from men of all races, who were seen, in the best cases, as base and in need of "female" influence and, in the worst cases, as dangerous and even criminal.

The OIA view that vice was rampant in Tucson was also reflective of a shift to a more "fluid definition of respectability" by working-class women in the early 20th century that coincided with the rise in industrialization and urbanization nationally. It centered on newly arisen social settings such as co-ed high schools, dance halls, cars, movie theaters, and amusement parks, less parental supervision, and new depictions of sexuality in media and publications. Though middle-class ideas of respectability had not changed, the new working-class norms were accepting of some female sexual self-expression and assertiveness. Many adults felt that this new popular culture was creating confusion in the moral order and would result in eventual ruination.⁷ Exposure then to the "lower" classes was exceptionally risky for the Tohono O'odham as they moved into closer contact with the majority society.

OIA officials felt that it was incumbent upon them either to prevent Tohono O'odham women, and to an extent men, from taking advantage of such social milieus or to chaperone them if they did. Laws against statutory rape were often the legal tool used to control

sexuality. Where those failed, the moral suasion and education offered by white chaperones such as Field Matrons was the intervention of choice.

LESSON OBJECTIVES

In this lesson we ask students to identify and evaluate three common themes that appear in primary documents about the Tohono O'odham; themes that are common in historical literature on urbanization, acculturation and modernization.

- 1) The view of rural and traditional societies as free of vice and illicit sexuality vs. the view of urban and modern ones as vice ridden because of a lack of family and community supervision, available free time and available cash.
- 2) The creation and use of laws to define and contain vice and illicit sexuality.
- 3) The use of moral suasion and civil institutions such as marriage to contain vice and illicit sexuality.

PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Prior to engaging in this exercise, students should be exposed to a couple of different themes through lecture and discussion:

- 1) a historical overview of the federal government's interactions with Native Americans as the U.S. expanded into the West; Chapter 4 of Richard White's "*It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*": *A History of the American West* works well for this.
- 2) a general discussion of the Progressive Era, sexuality and reform; Part Three of John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman's *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* provides concise materials on this topic; several of the essays in Noralee Frankel and Nancy Dye, eds. *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era* would also work well for this task.
- 3) an introduction to the culture and history of the Tohono O'odham focusing especially on traditional marriage practices; Ruth Underhill's *Papago Woman*, especially pages 31-34 and 62-66, is an excellent choice here.

Next, students should engage in an examination and

discussion of the sets of primary documents in appendix A, guided by discussion questions provided in appendix B.

Finally, students should be encouraged in some way to explore further the ideas raised in this lesson, focusing on other regions of the world and/or other time periods, through the resources suggested in our suggested readings list (appendix C). For example:

- 1) use the works of Oscar Lewis and Mary Kay Vaughan to use Mexico's modernization program as a comparison.
- 2) use chapters 25 and 26 of Felipe Fernández-Armesto's *The World: A Brief History* (or similar chapters on Imperialism and 19th century urban/social change in another world history textbook) as the basis for global comparisons of these issues.
- 3) use primary documents from other parts of the world, such as those in 'Part 3: The World in the Age of Western Dominance' of Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield's *The Human Record: Sources of Global History* to continue the discussion.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

Traditional, Rural Life vs. Urban Life

- 1) Jewell D. Martin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 23, 1917; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Subject Files of the Superintendent, Jewell D. Martin; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June-Sept. 1917, Jewell D. Martin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, NARA/PR/LN.

"Effort has been and is being made to abate the condition among the outing girls, or rather the returned students both boys and girls in and around Tucson. The field matron, Mrs. Woodruff, exercises care in selecting homes for the girls. None but good homes are chosen by her for them but it is not always possible for the lady of the house even in these best homes of Tucson to keep a sufficiently close watch over these girls so as always to avoid disaster."

"This arises in part from the fact that at nearly

all of the better class of homes there is a servant's house in the back yard in which the girl is required to sleep. The Indian young men sneak into these servant rooms unknown either to the owner of the premises or to the field matron, in cases where the girl welcomes such intrusion, and it has not been possible for the field matron to avoid all of it."

"The simple fact is that Tucson, nor any other city, for that matter, is not a fit place for Indian girls to work after returning from boarding schools. The girls make good wages, \$8.00 per week, often, but the more they make the more they frequent the shows and places of amusement and many of them do not have the moral stamina to withstand the temptations to which they are subjected. \$8.00 per week with the best of board, good quarters, short hours and light work is a good wage for the girls, and at first thought one might think that is the very thing toward which to urge the girls; but it would be immeasurably better even for the girls to be sent back to the Papago desert to become wives on the desert farms and ranches than to run the risk of falling prey to the half-educated young Indian men who are in and around Tucson and who are working in carpenter, paint shops, tailor shops, laundries, truck-driving and other work as helpers and who do not as a rule wish to marry because they can have more spending money without a family to support. As soon as such young men get a few dollars and a few hours ahead they make for the pool halls or picture shows and then at night for the servant girls."

"The best real solution to the servant girl problem in Tucson therefore is in my opinion to have the girls met at the station by their parents when they return from school and have them taken and kept with their parents rather than have them get jobs in Tucson as they pass through. This will of course do those no good who are there. Some others also will be allured by the wages paid and will join the ranks – enough to perpetuate the problem. I hope though to minimize it as much as possible. Then for the girls who do and must work there, we will continue to exercise as close supervision as possible, and seek to punish all culprits who can be caught."

- 2) E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner, to Mr. Jewell D. Martin, July 18, 1917; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Subject Files of the Superintendent, Jewell D. Martin; Commissioner

of Indian Affairs, June-Sept. 1917, Jewell D. Martin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, NARA/PR/LN.

"... the moral condition among the reservation Papagos are superior to those of the whites living in the same section, but that the outing system in Tucson is not what it should be, three girls having recently been found to be in a delicate condition, and that through the co-operation of the military authorities at Nogales a marriage was effected in one case."

"... it is believed that the conviction in one or two cases would result in breaking up the debauchery of Indian girls."

3) Unknown [but probably McQuigg] to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 13, 1913; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron, Lydia A. Gibbs, 1911-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

"There are a number of Papago young women who are becoming loose in their morals and a scandal to the other girls. Lately I have sent some home and talked with others but a capable woman should be sent to do this. Supt. F.A. Thackery informs me that two Indian girls have recently had illegitimate babies there whose father was either white or Mexican living in Tucson. So far, the Papago girls have stood off the temptation in Tucson better but there are many of these beginning to succumb."

"It was necessary to send two girls who fortunately or unfortunately were under 17 years of age to the State Reform School at Benson about two months ago . . . These girls commenced to work around Tucson as domestics for awhile after returning from a non-reservation school but soon fell into such evil company and ways that their only salvation was a commitment to the reformatory. It pained me exceedingly to be forced to do this as I am afraid that even this will not benefit them any and as I believe that a competent outing matron could have saved these intelligent Indian girls in time."

"There are about 30 girls and about 35 married women working around Tucson in housework. This number varies especially with the girls as they change and go back and forth from their homes in the Papago Country and there are often more working than this number."

"This subject of an outing matron here is a subject I feel deeply about lately on account of having the conduct of these girls brought to my attention and the knowledge of the good an outing matron can do. The girls working around town so far as I can find out never save a cent and send very little of it to their people, but squander and waste it on silk hose, millinery, pleasure resorts, etc. to the scandal of the white people."

4) Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 16, 1913; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron, Lydia A. Gibbs, 1911-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

About the two girls who got pregnant:

"These girls went to the Phoenix school for 5 and 9 years each and came home to their parents here about two years ago. Their names are Minnie Pablo and Clara Antone, aged about 17 years each. I believe they are first cousins. Their homes are about 65 miles west in Papago country. They soon came back to Tucson and worked around there as domestics for awhile, but soon got going in such bad company that their people came after them and brought them home, after being notified by the employees here. They only stayed home a short time and were back to Tucson, one girl walking in nearly the entire distance of 65 miles. They were sent home to the country at different times but would not stay there, and upon returning to Tucson behaved themselves worse than before."

"They were in the city jail three times for being drunk, and once they broke out of the city jail. They were also confined in the agency jail here for a time and broke out from there very cleverly. One of the times they were arrested a shot gun was taken from them as they were creating a disturbance along with some low Mexicans."

"It was being plainly shown that nothing could be done with these Indian girls to have them lead a good example and life other than to send them to Benson. My success in finally disposing of these girls is largely due to the assistance rendered by the officers of this county."

5) Annual Report, Narrative and Statistical, 1923; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago);

Subject Files of the Superintendent, Thomas F. McCormick, NARA/PR/LN.

"The State marriage licenses are issued at the agency office and practically all comply with the state law in getting the license."

"Morally these Indians compare with any white people. This has not come to them through civilization. In earlier times any one found guilty of adultery was put to death. Our greatest trouble now is with the girls who leave the reservation and work out in towns as domestics."

LEGAL APPROACHES TO CONTAINING OR NORMALIZING VICE

- 1) George O. Hilzinger, County Attorney, to H.J. McQuigg, September 14, 1913; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron, Lydia A. Gibbs, 1911-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

About Ada Santiago and James Pynes:

"Owing to the age of the said Ada Santiago, we cannot proceed against Pynes for Statutory Rape, Seduction or Contributing to the Delinquency and Dependency of a Minor; as the legal relation of Parent and Child does not exist between Pynes and the child, we cannot proceed against him for Non-Support of Child; and as we have no Bastardy law in Arizona, he cannot be proceeded along this line. It does not appear from the facts disclosed that he arranged for any transportation for the woman for any immoral purposes, and therefore could not be prosecuted under our White Slave law."

- 2) Superintendent to Mrs. J.J. Anderson [from the Crescent Ranch, nee Miss Regna Hendrickson], February 15, 1917; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Subject Files of the Superintendent, Jewell D. Martin; Law and Order, 1916-1917, NARA/PR/LN.

In response to your complaint that Jose Morris has been having a criminal relationship with a woman other than his wife Florence:

"Jose stoutly denies criminal relationships with any other woman though personally I am inclined to doubt his word. There is anything but a desirable

condition existing among those young returned students who find work in Tucson. This is not strange. The surroundings are not different there from those to be found in any other city of Tucson's size, but there has been much vice rampant there, and it is quite natural that many of the young Indians should yield to its influence. I think I am right in affirming that there is less illicit carnal intercourse among the Indians even in Tucson, per capita, than among either of the three other races there, but of course this is no excuse for laxness on our part so long as there are preventable cases existing among the Indians."

"As you are probably aware, there is no law against adultery among Indians. They are under United States law, and there is no federal statute touching the point, so it is not possible to haul [haul] one into state or federal court and mete out summary justice as in the case of a citizen. There is however a regulation which will permit us to handle such cases in the Court of Indian Offenses, and this it is my custom to do, where evidence is sufficient to warrant one's being held is obtainable."

"I can and will arrest Jose and have him imprisoned and fined if either my employees or myself or others can get sufficient evidence against him to sustain a case; and we will make special effort to do so, in view of your statement as to the probability of his having criminal association with another woman. But while I think I can keep him from open flagrant adulterous living and shall undertake to do so, still I doubt if any but moral suasion can be used to extract alimony or separate maintenance funds from him. If would be ever so much better if he and Florence could be reconciled and could live together in peace."

MORAL SUASION, SUPERVISION AND MARRIAGE

- 1) Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 19, 1913; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron, Lydia A. Gibbs, 1911-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

"... I am more convinced each day that there should be a capable woman to look after the material and spiritual interests of the Papago young women working around Tucson. There are many worthless Mexicans and Whites who drift in here for a time; and

with pleasure resorts, the wide-open policy of Tucson, etc. the temptations in the way of the Indian girls are pronounced. The Indian girls, as a very general rule, wish to do right but as the white families in many cases are careless there should be some one to confer and advise them and look after their interests."

- 2) Superintendent to M.M. Estabrook, May 22, 1915; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron Correspondence, Minnie M. Estabrook, 1914-1916, NARA/PR/LN.

"With reference to prior letters regarding games for the returned students, etc., I would like to receive a report from you as to what has been accomplished in the line of furnishing amusements and social pleasures to the young people under your care."

- 3) E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner, to Mr. Henry J. McQuigg, January 2, 1915; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron Correspondence, Minnie M. Estabrook, 1914-1916, NARA/PR/LN.

"It appears that there are thirty-five or forty Indian girls working in the city of Tucson and that Mrs. Estabrook's duties are to care for these girls and to teach the women sewing, sanitation and the care of babies. It appears further that the articles of food and the kitchen utensils are to be used in the subsistence of these Indian girls as well as for teaching them the proper use of same."

- 4) Minnie M. Estabrook to Honorable Cato Sells, October 13, 1914; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; Field Matron Correspondence, Minnie M. Estabrook, 1914-1916, NARA/PR/LN.

"... relative to the lack of provision for the maintenance of Indian girls who stay at my house for various reasons . . . I agree that keeping the girls as boarders would be a very bad thing from every point of view, but there are cases which it is necessary to care for in some way. If the morals of the outing girls are to be bettered the girls cannot be allowed to

stay on the streets when changing from one place to another; they must be cared for when they arrive in Tucson without money, and there has been one case where a girl was saved from a jail sentence by my being willing to keep her here until other arrangements could be made . . .

The original plan of having a tennis court and place for relay games in the yard, and a reading-room in the house, to provide safe and sane amusement for the Indian young people was both excellent and necessary. These Indians have never had any good influence in Tucson, and were thrown entirely with the Mexican and railroad elements, with bad results already well known in Washington.

I have been well supported in my work by the county officials and the ladies of Tucson who realize that better morals means better maids; and one, Mrs. Soloman, has recently offered me the use of her beautiful home in which to entertain the young Indians, saying at the same time that she thinks other ladies will follow her lead. I hope this may be true, as under the present conditions this house cannot afford amusement in any form, nor can I even keep a girl over night as I have no government bedding, even for my own use, that which I am using having been loaned to me by a Tucson housewife."

- 5) Mary Doyle to T.F. McCormick, July 9, 1921; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; -Field Matron's Weekly Reports, Mary Doyle, 1916-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

"The dissemination of good literature plays so important a part in the work of our people, that I use no opportunity of distributing reading matter, especially to our young men, several of whom received quite a quantity this past week."

- 6) Mary Doyle to T.F. McCormick, August 21, 1920; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; -Field Matron's Weekly Reports, Mary Doyle, 1916-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

"At a recent meeting of the young men, they were instructed on the manner of properly caring for the musical instruments, books, and all things they have

in use. Very greatly to their credit is it, that they pass their evenings in innocent amusements in the new hall instead of frequenting resorts of dissipation in town."

- 7) Mary Doyle to T.F. McCormick, July 3, 1920; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Sells Indian Agency (Papago); Reports of the Field Matrons, 1910-1932; -Field Matron's Weekly Reports, Mary Doyle, 1916-1919, NARA/PR/LN.

"Among the week's events there is probably none more worthy of note than the distribution of reading matter among our young men, as you are well aware the cultivation of literary taste in the young serves not only to instruct and amuse, but proves an effective moral agent as well."

APPENDIX B

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Traditional Rural Life vs. Urban Life Questions

- 1) How did OIA officials characterize boarding/reform schools, the city (Tucson or Phoenix), and the desert?
- 2) How did officials' understanding of race, ethnicity, and social class impact their understanding of Tohono O'odham vice?
- 3) According to OIA officials, what were the perceived trade-offs of placing Tohono O'odham girls in the homes of middle class Tucson families? How do you think Tohono O'odham girls and their families perceived these trade-offs?
- 4) What advantages and disadvantages did separate servant's quarters pose for Tohono O'odham girls?

Legal Approaches to Containing or Moralizing Vice

- 1) What might a Bastardy Law and White Slave Law be aimed at preventing? Why were authorities unable to apply these laws to the case of Ada and James?
- 2) What do these cases suggest about the differences between conceptions of what is illicit (disapproved of but legal) and what is illegal (against the law)? Do you think that James Pynes and Jose Morris believed that what they were accused of doing was

illicit? Why or why not?

- 3) How did OIA officials make use of different legal jurisdictions to combat vice?

Moral Suasion, Supervision, and Marriage

- 1) Why did OIA officials think that they needed to supervise the Tohono O'odham's assimilation into the modern world? What does this suggest about their view of the Tohono O'odham? Working class Mexicans and Whites?
- 2) For what sorts of activities and experiences did OIA officials want to prepare Tohono O'odham youth? How did gender norms impact what sorts of activities were made available to boys and girls? How receptive do you think these youths were to these activities? Why?
- 3) Why do you think OIA officials feared "keeping the girls as boarders" given that one of their goals was to place girls in the homes of white middle class families?
- 4) What does Minnie M. Estabrook mean when she says that "better morals make better maids"?

APPENDIX C

SUGGESTED READING LIST

Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History* (Beverly, MA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2004).

John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The World: A Brief History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008).

Bernard Fontana, *Of Earth and Little Rain: The Papago Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990).

Noralee Frankel and Nancy Dye, eds., *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1994).

Thomas Gallant, "Brigandage, Piracy, Capitalism and State-Formation: Transnational Crime in an Historical

World-systems Perspective," *States and Illegal Practices*, ed. Josiah Heyman (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 23-61.

John E. Kicza, *The Indian in Latin American History: Resistance, Resilience, and Acculturation* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1999).

David Rich Lewis, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

_____, *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

_____, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty – San Juan and New York* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968).

Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

Ruth M. Underhill, *Papago Woman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979).

Mary Kay Vaughan, "Modernizing Patriarchy: State Policies, Rural Households, and Women in Mexico, 1930-1940," in *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, ed. Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 194-214.

Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": *A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), especially Chapter 4.

Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), especially 33-36.

Notes:

1 Materials for this lesson plan were primarily drawn from our forthcoming monograph, *Gendering the Periphery of the Empire: The Tohono O'odham, Gender and Assimilation, 1880-1934* which is under contract with University of Arizona Press.

2 Josiah McC. Heyman and Howard Campbell, "Afterword: Crime on and across Borders," *Smugglers, Brothels, and Twine: Historical Perspectives on Contraband and Vice in North America's Borderlands*, ed. Elaine Carey and Andrae Marak, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 178.

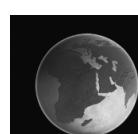
3 Thomas E. Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud: Mission Tumacácori, the Baca Float, and the Betrayal of the O'odham* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 34-38.

4 Citation in David Rich Lewis, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 128-29. See also Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 134-36.

5 Lewis, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog*, 123-24.

6 Annual Report, Narrative and Statistical, 1923, Subject Files of the Superintendent, Thomas F. McCormick; SIA-RG75, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, Laguna Nigel (hereafter NARA / PR / LN) .

7 Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 57-8; Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 93; and John D'Emilio and Estelle Friedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper-Row, 1988). For a similar discussion in a different imperial setting see Philippa Levine, "Sexuality and Empire," in *At Home with The Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2006), 130.



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Our second official hotel, the **Embassy Suites**, is located adjacent to the conference venue and includes free breakfast and a daily Manager's Reception for attendees staying at the hotel. Ideal for those who may be traveling with families.

For more information about the WHA and to register for the conference, visit: www.thewha.org.

WHY SHOULD YOU ATTEND?

- Cutting edge pedagogy
- Excellent keynote speakers
- A wide variety of panels, roundtables, and individual presentations
- Top scholars in the field will be in attendance
- Bridges the gap between K-12 teaching and scholarly work
- An opportunity to meet world history teachers and scholars from around the globe
- Low conference registration rates
- Lunches, refreshment breaks, and evening receptions included with registration
- CE graduate credit available
- Outstanding historical sites, diverse cultural offerings, and recreational opportunities await before, during and after the conference



World History Association

World History Association Thanks Board Members Craig Benjamin, Marnie Hughes, and Joel Tishken

Craig Benjamin: I have had the pleasure of serving as a member of the Executive Council of the World History Association for the past three years, from January 2009 to January 2012. It has been an honor to work with so many dedicated colleagues, and to serve under the outstanding leadership of outgoing WHA President Al Andrea. I have been deeply impressed by the professional way in which the Executive Council goes about its work, and how seriously all members take the responsibility of caring for the Association's finances, mission, and direction. A significant part of the reason that the world history movement continues to increase its global profile and reputation is because of the dedication and work of the WHA Executive Council, and I am proud to have played my part in this. I have also enjoyed the responsibility of being Chair of the Membership Committee for the past three years, and want to thank the many colleagues who have served with me on this most important committee. It has been no easy challenge to maintain a healthy membership in a difficult economic environment, but the fact that we have been able to consistently keep membership around the 1200 mark is a tribute to the work of those colleagues, and further evidence of the ongoing health of the world history movement. Thank you to Winston Welch and Jackie Wah for their hard work and dedication; to Al Andrea again for his friendship and superb leadership; and to my fellow EC members for their collegiality and commitment. I remain committed to the world history movement, and look forward to the continuing success of the World History Association under the careful stewardship of the new Executive Council, and incoming President Marc Gilbert.

5 September 2011



Craig Benjamin



Marnie Hughes

Marnie Hughes-Warrington is Pro Vice-Chancellor (Learning and Teaching) and Adjunct Professor of History at Monash University, Australia. A historiographer by training, Marnie has published books and articles on past, present and future visions of the nature and purposes of world and global history, with her most recent publication being an examination of Hester Thrale Piozzi's self annotation of her 1801 world history 'Retrospection'. Her contributions to world history education have also been recognised with the award of the 2008 Prime Minister's Award for Australian University Teacher of the Year.

In her term for the WHA, she has most enjoyed working to forge connections between scholars working on world history across the globe, particularly in world history research.

We also say thank you for three years of serving on the WHA Executive Council to Joel Tishken, who has been very active in the affairs of the organization. Joel exemplifies a true spirit of giving to this organization and for that we owe him our sincere thanks.

Joel has served on the Conferences Committee since 2003, and suggested to Paul Jentz to explore a future conference venue in Minneapolis, site of our 2013 conference. Indeed, one of Joel's points in running for the EC was to get Community Colleges more involved in the WHA, and in two years we will have our first conference at one at North Hennepin Community College. Joel served on the the Phi Alpha Theta/WHA Paper Prize Competition in 2008 and 2009, being the chair in

2008--always a difficult task to select a winner when there are excellent submissions. Joel helped worked

through the applications for the World Scholar Travel Grant in 2009 to select our recipients in Salem. He also pioneered the Speakers' Bureau page, gathering and organizing the initial information on volunteers for that. In addition, Joel has worked diligently on putting together co-sponsored panels at the AHA for WHA members.

Joel is active in the Northwest WHA and the planning and execution of their conferences, and did much more at the national WHA prior to being elected to the EC, like being on the Conference Program Committee from 2003-2007, including being the chair in 2004--no easy task as anyone knows who has done this. Prior to moving to the Great Northwest, Joel was active in SEWHA, as treasurer from 2004-2008.

Thank you Joel for your years of service in all your capacities and roles.



Joel Tishken

WHA Life-, Sustaining, and Contributing Members

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The World History Association's Mark Welter Challenge Awards for Innovative Pedagogical Activities for K-12 Teachers

Understanding 20th Century Genocides

Frances Brock

Burlington High School (Burlington, VT)

The 20th century has been scarred by a rash of genocides. There are few areas of Earth not affected by the willful effort to persecute and annihilate groups of people because of their race, religion, creed or nationality. Within the study of world history, the study of these genocides gives students an opportunity to consider development and interactions between and among cultures, as well as issues connected to conflict. Fundamentally, students are given the opportunity to consider two essential questions: How can a genocide happen? How can genocides be stopped?

These lessons on 20th genocides were developed for a course titled, 20th Century World and US History, the last in a three-year sequence of required history courses. The goal of the lessons is to have students analyze and evaluate factors that lead to genocide, and to postulate how future genocides could be avoided. Key to the discussions regarding an end to genocides is the role of citizens in the U.S. and in other nations. A goal is to have students begin to own the idea that as citizens of the United States and the world, they can step forward and make demands on governments to take action. Students also are required to create a painting, sculpture, poem, or piece of music that demonstrates analysis and evaluation skills through artistic expression.

The genocide topic is included in a year-long course designed for high school juniors and was created to be flexible, so students of all skill levels could succeed. The assortment of readings and class-led discussion questions also were designed to meet the needs of an extensive number of English Learning Language students, many of whom are refugees from genocide-related regions. For example, honors-level students were expected to be able to read the United Nations genocide conventions on their own and come to class prepared to discuss the document. These students also were required to go online to read and prepare summaries of assorted articles on genocide

at the History Place site. Separately, other students received a handout based on the UN conventions for in-class review. All students accessed readings from the same world history textbook (*World History: Patterns of Interaction*), and both groups watched *Worse than War*, a PBS document that examines the genocides of the 20th century. However, some students benefited from a guided note-taking handout for the video. The readings were supported by in-class short, focused lectures; directed discussions; and a quiz to confirm basic understanding of information.

The final artistic projects produced by the students required each student to think about and come to terms with the horrors of genocide, but also to consider ways to avoid future genocides. (An art teacher aided in designing the rubric for grading the project.) Students were asked to consider the violence against peoples of Armenia, Germany (and Eastern Europe), Russia (under Stalin), Guatemala, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and the Sudan. Students mapped out and developed annotated timelines of the events in order to become aware of the global reach of genocides, across time. As reasons for genocides, or ethnic cleansing, were considered, students explored the ideas connected to human diversity and cultural interaction. Students explored the efforts – and avoidance – of nations asked to stop genocides, providing students with another way to consider what can happen without interdependence and cultural interaction.

In anticipation of creating an artistic final project, students read a series of genocide-related poems written by different people affected by genocides in different parts of the world, and studied Picasso's *Guernica* as a model for creating an artistic piece that depicts violence. Students were asked to think about why leaders choose the strategy of genocide; why their nations allow the strategy to be applied; and why other nations, capable of stopping

genocide too often have turned a blind eye. These questions gave students the opportunity to consider an issue that affects the whole world and all the peoples on planet Earth.

As world history teachers, the goal should be to get students to think about the world as it has developed and as it is now. Students need to begin to understand that there may be absolute wrong answers, but there also, often, is no single one right answer. The study of world history is the study of humans making decisions – some planned, some not – and coming up with plausible stories that explain how things occur, and how we can change the story to improve our lives and the lives of others. These lessons on genocide got students thinking about the power of fear, got them looking at the world in which they live, and got them looking for ways to stop the violence.

Frances Brock
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RESOURCES

Beck, Roger B. et al. *World History: Patterns of Interaction*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell. 1999.

Goldhagen, Daniel J. ***Worse Than War***. A co-production of Daniel Jonah Goldhagen and WNET.org and JTN Productions. PBS. 2010

History Place. historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide

International Criminal Court. www.un.org/icc

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/p_genoci.htm

United Nations. Search under topics, “genocide,” and “ethnic cleansing.” www.un.org

Assignment: **Genocide: How Do Make Sense of It?**

Here is what we must consider:

Imagine the hate. Is the cause of genocide based just on hatred?

Imagine the cruelty. Can we really conjure an image?

Imagine the evil. What do we mean if we say there is evil in the world?

How do we answer these questions?

What must we know and understand in order to recognize genocide?

What causes leaders to target other humans for eradication?

What causes people to stand by and let the eradication happen?

Assignment

Try to answer any or all of these question through art. Create a piece of art. Create a poem, a piece of music. Create a computer-generated piece of media art – but not a power-point!

SIZE: Keep physical art objects to ~ 24” x 18”; certainly do not exceed 36” x 24”!

Whatever you create, you must try to capture your understanding and your viewpoint of one of these questions connected to genocide.

Grading Criteria

Annotated Bibliography:

- List of sources in proper Source Listed format
- With one-paragraph summaries of each source to demonstrate appropriate research on the subject.

Originality/Creativity:

- Work demonstrates inventive, insightful and/or independent thinking
- Work demonstrates inventive and/or unique use of materials
- Work demonstrates fundamental understanding of the key elements of the chosen art form

Message:

- ✓ Finished project reflects a clear understanding of the issues and/or questions raised by genocide
- ✓ Finished project includes elements that reveal an insightful interpretation of the issues and/or questions raised by genocide
- ✓ Finished project offers viewers an opportunity to think about their own understanding and interpretation of those issues and/or questions connected to genocide

Craftsmanship, Appearance, Effort:

- ✓ Care and concern for work is evidenced by the attention given to the details and finished look of the final product
- ✓ Clearly took time to plan out the work as evidenced by the organization, format and creativity of the final product
- ✓ Efficient use of time as evidenced by completing the work on time

Assessment/Reflection:

Genocide: Getting Away With Murder?

Short Answers. Respond to each question. Keep your answers short, but clear and informative; use examples to help make your points. Avoid vagueness!

1. What are the two elements that must exist for the action of mass murder to be considered a genocide under the United Nations' Convention?
2. What are the four group protected by the UN Convention against genocide?
3. In the video, what does Professor Gold argue are the three components necessary for genocides to occur?
4. What reason(s) are offered for why genocides occur?
5. What reason(s) are offered for why genocides are not stopped?
6. Based on the video and readings, what must happen for genocides to be stopped? (No absolute right answer so I am looking for insightful thinking.)

Assignment:

20th Century Genocides

We are currently exploring the genocides of the 20th century with the goal of sorting out responses to the following questions:

- What is “genocide?” Consider how the international community defines the term and decide if it works for you.
- What is – or are – the cause(s) of genocide? Are there similarities and/or differences among

examples of genocide?

- What is the responsibility – if any – of any one nation or the international community – to stop genocides?

Assignment

Choose a Place: I have divided up the case studies each of you will share the information found about one of these particular genocides:

Armenia:

Bosnia:

Rwanda:

Cambodia:

Source of Information: Each student must go on-line and go to the following internet site:

The History Place – Genocides in the 20th Century

Read, then Write: Find your country in the list on the site; read the article and write a summary of the information.

Prepare a summary of the article you have read on The History Place site.

Content: The summary – just the facts, no opinion – must include

- ✓ the author's name
- ✓ the location of the genocide
- ✓ the key players in the genocide
- ✓ specific facts that prove it was a genocide
- ✓ the outcome, if any, of the genocide

Style: The summary must

- ✓ be typed, double-spaced, 12-font font
- ✓ be about 1-2 PARAGRAPHS – not pages!
- ✓ be written in proper academic format – no personal pronouns or contractions
- ✓ include your name/class/date at the top of the page

Resources for Reflection: **Poetry That Reflects on Genocides**

SHEMA

by Primo Levi

Translated by Ruth Feldman And Brian Swann

You who live secure
In your warm houses
Who return at evening to find
Hot food and friendly faces:
Consider whether this is a man,
Who labours in the mud
Who knows no peace
Who fights for a crust of bread
Who dies at a yes or a no.

Consider whether this is a woman,
Without hair or name
With no more strength to remember
Eyes empty and womb cold
As a frog in winter.

Consider that this has been:
I command these words to you.
Engrave them on your hearts
When you are in your house, when you walk on your way,
When you go to bed, when you rise.
Repeat them to your children.
Or may your house crumble,
Disease render you powerless,
Your offspring avert their faces from you.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

by Emtithal Mahmoud

Rwanda Genocide

What would you do if
your town was bombed
And everything near it was gone?
What would you do if
you were cold and alone,
And cast to the streets without a home?
What would you do if
someone killed your mom and dad?
And you had lost everything you had?
What would you do if
you were shattered and broken
Because you have witnessed
the unspoken?
If you run, where would you go?
If you died, would anyone know?
I myself would pray
And hope for a better day.

BABI YAR

By Yevgeni Yevtushenko

Translated by Benjamin Okopnik, 10/96

No monument stands over Babi Yar.
A steep cliff only, like the rudest headstone.
I am afraid.
Today, I am as old
As the entire Jewish race itself.
I see myself an ancient Israelite.
I wander o'er the roads of ancient Egypt
And here, upon the cross, I perish, tortured
And even now, I bear the marks of nails.
It seems to me that Dreyfus is myself. *1*
The Philistines betrayed me - and now judge.
I'm in a cage. Surrounded and trapped,
I'm persecuted, spat on, slandered, and
The dainty dollies in their Brussels frills
Squeal, as they stab umbrellas at my face.
I see myself a boy in Belostok *2*
Blood spills, and runs upon the floors,
The chiefs of bar and pub rage unimpeded
And reek of vodka and of onion, half and half.
I'm thrown back by a boot, I have no strength left,
In vain I beg the rabble of pogrom,
To jeers of "Kill the Jews, and save our Russia!"
My mother's being beaten by a clerk.
O, Russia of my heart, I know that you
Are international, by inner nature.
But often those whose hands are steeped in filth
Abused your purest name, in name of hatred.
I know the kindness of my native land.
How vile, that without the slightest quiver
The antisemites have proclaimed themselves
The "Union of the Russian People!"
It seems to me that I am Anna Frank,
Transparent, as the thinnest branch in April,
And I'm in love, and have no need of phrases,
But only that we gaze into each other's eyes.
How little one can see, or even sense!
Leaves are forbidden, so is sky,
But much is still allowed - very gently
In darkened rooms each other to embrace.
- "They come!"
- "No, fear not - those are sounds
Of spring itself. She's coming soon.
Quickly, your lips!"
- "They break the door!"
- "No, river ice is breaking..."
Wild grasses rustle over Babi Yar,
The trees look sternly, as if passing judgment.
Here, silently, all screams, and, hat in hand,
I feel my hair changing shade to gray.

And I myself, like one long soundless scream
Above the thousands of thousands interred,
I'm every old man executed here,
As I am every child murdered here.
No fiber of my body will forget this.
May "Internationale" thunder and ring *3*
When, for all time, is buried and forgotten
The last of antisemites on this earth.
There is no Jewish blood that's blood of mine,
But, hated with a passion that's corrosive
Am I by antisemites like a Jew.
And that is why I call myself a Russian!

NOTES

- 1 - Alfred Dreyfus was a French officer, unfairly dismissed from service in 1894 due to trumped-up charges prompted by anti- Semitism.
2 - Belostok: the site of the first and most violent pogroms, the Russian version of KristallNacht.
3 - "Internationale": The Soviet national anthem.

MOTTO

Bertolt Brecht (1898 – 1956)
Born in Augsburg, capital of Bavarian Swabia; a committed Marxist, criticized corruption of Weimar Republic; marked by Nazis for execution in 1921; escaped, eventually to US. Returned to East Berlin in 1949; a poet and playwright.

This, then, is all. It's not enough, I know.
At least I'm still alive, as you may see.
I'm like the man who took a brick to show
How beautiful his house used once to be.

GRIEF

Siamanto (1878-1915); born Adom Yarjanian in Turkish Armenia, education in Istanbul and at the Sorbonne, in Paris.

tr: Peter Balakian & Nevart Yaghlian

You, strange, soul-mate,
who leaves behind the road of joy,
listen to me.
I know your innocent feet are still wet
with the blood of yours.
Foreign hands have come and yanked out
the sublime rose of freedom,
which finally bloomed from the pains of your race.
Let its divine scent intoxicate everyone,
Let everyone – those faraway, your neighbor, the
ungrateful,
come and burn incense
before the goddess of Justice
that you carved from stone with your hammer.

Proud sowers, let others reap with your scythes
the wheat that ripens in the gold heart you ploughed.
Because if you are chased down by raw Evil,
don't forget that you are born to bring forth the fruitful Good.

Walk down the avenues of merriment,
and don't let the happy ones see in your eyes
that image of corpse and ash.
Spare the passerby, whether a good man or a criminal.
Because Armenian pain
rises up in the eyes visage.
As you walk through the cross-road of merriment,
don't let a speck of gladness on a tear
stain grief's majesty.
Because for the vanquished tears are cowardly
and for the victors, the smile is frivolous, a wrinkle.

Armenian woman, with veils darkening you like death.
You, young man with native anguish
running down your face,
walk down the roads without rage or hate
and exclaim: what a bright day,
what a sarcastic grave-digger . . .
what a mob, what dances, what joy
and what feasts everywhere . . .
Our red shrouds are victory flags.
The bones of our pure brothers are flutes . . .
with them others are making strange music.
But don't shudder unknown sister,
or brother of fate.
As you study the stars
take heart, go on.
The law of life stays the same . . .
human beings can't understand each other

And this evening before sunset
all of you will go back to your houses,
whether they are mud or marble,
and calmly close the treacherous
shutters of your windows.
Shut them from the wicked Capital,
shut them to the face of humanity,
and to the face of your god . . .
Even the lamp on your table
will be extinguished
by your soul's clear whispers.

REQUIEM

Anna Akhmatova (1889-1966): Born near St. Petersburg; first husband, the poet Nikolai Gumilyov, executed from anti-Bolshevik activities in 1921; 3rd husband, Nikolai Punin, died in prison; son was in jail; her work was banned in USSR from 1925-1940.

No foreign sky protected me,
no stranger's wing shield my face.
I stand as witness to the common lot,
survivor of that time, that place.

FIRST THEY CAME ...

Martin Niemöller (1892-1984)

An ardent nationalist and prominent Protestant pastor who emerged as an outspoken public foe of Adolf Hitler and spent the last 7 years of Nazi rule in concentration camps. Niemöller is perhaps best remembered for the quotation:

First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out --
Because I was not a Socialist.

Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out --

Because I was not a Trade Unionist.
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out --
Because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for me -- and there was no one left to speak for me.

Niemöller believed the leaders of the Protestant churches had been complicit through their silence in the Nazi imprisonment, persecution, and murder of millions of people. At the same time, however, Niemöller, like most of his compatriots, was largely silent about the persecution and mass murder of the European Jews. Only in 1963, in a West German television interview, did Niemöller acknowledge and make a statement of regret about his own antisemitism (Gerlach, 2000, p. 47).

The WHA Teaching Prize ENDLESS CLOTH: LESSONS FROM INDIA FOR A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH TO WORLD HISTORY Michael A. Marcus, Ph.D; Berlin High School (Retired), Berlin, CT

INTENDED LEARNERS: High school students of World History, World Civilizations, and World Cultures

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS:

- Does what we wear matter?
- How does “the global” become “local”?
- In what visible ways is World History “here and now”, as well as being “far away and long ago”?

PURPOSE OF THESE LESSONS

Students will be asked to engage in a process of inquiry and analysis in order to identify, describe, explain, interpret, and assess ways in which people both **are** and **are not** “what we wear.” They will consider (1) what clothing and appearance mean to themselves and their peers, and (2) what clothing and appearance mean or have meant to people in

India or to people of Indian origin now living in the United States. Students will show that they have accomplished these objectives through the proficient use of research, writing, and presentation skills, generating responses to the essential questions.

HOW TO KNOW THAT STUDENTS HAVE “GOTTEN IT”

-Differentiate instructional content and activities according to results of a survey of specific student interests and abilities, thereby increasing internal motivation to learn and the likelihood of enduring outcomes.

-Match students into pairs and trios according to survey results and have them collaborate for the purposes of decision-making, dividing the work, and creating the final product(s). This makes the in-class learning activities / assignments a social activity that students themselves own, further increasing the likelihood of enduring outcomes.

-Have students present the results of their work to the whole class, as pairs or trios, for peer-critique and evaluation using a rubric designed to assess the quality of presentation and communication skills according to specific expectations and criteria. This will instill discipline and habits of mind that are also likely to transfer / endure.

-Assign a culminating, independently written essay and score it using a rubric focusing on idea development and critical support, but also assessing qualities of focus and unity, organization, style, word choice, and mechanics. This provides a means to measure the extent to which key concepts, vocabulary, and events have been understood and retained.

MATERIALS:

- Primary and secondary source readings (provided herein, or cited / linked)
- DVDs or VHS copies of specified films
- TV with DVD and / or VHS player
- Overhead projector connected to either stand-alone VHS/DVD player
- Computer-installed DVD player.

Most opportunities for student response emphasize writing. The lessons, however, privilege visuality and other aspects of textiles as effective vehicles for conveying meaningful content. The degree to which different types of writing can be incorporated into student performance and assessment, and how these lessons can be adapted using new technologies, depends on resources available to school and students alike. Possible resources include:

- Digital cameras
- Desktop and / or laptop computers
- Tablet devices with WiFi / Internet access, word processing and presentation software, photo organization tools, DVD drives, and video streaming applications.
- “Smartboards
- Virtual course websites
- Blogs
- Podcasts

INTRODUCTION

World History scholarship and instruction are inherently ambitious, interdisciplinary efforts to convey enduring understandings about the encounters of peoples and cultures across time and overlapping webs of human interaction. Taken-for-granted notions about

the way things are or were are often subverted. India “virtually clothed the world by the 18th century”, and “Southernization” was what “catapulted [Europe] into a position of global dominance,” controlling natural resources, movements of labor and capital, and eventually the industrialized means for mass producing and distributing much of what “the rest” of the world desired or could afford to eat and wear.¹

These lessons suggest the value of an instructional approach that occasionally switches the wide-angle lens through which “Big History” is typically viewed to a more powerful zoom, reorients students’ geographical perceptions, and deploys a holistic, more genuinely anthropological approach to culture. A preliminary task is to turn a globe or a large map centered on the eastern hemisphere upside-down, changing what is north and south, making Europe “the East” and China “the West.” Students will see the world as the *Catalan Atlas* represented what Europeans knew of it in 1375. The Asian subcontinent, Indian Ocean, and its East Asian and East African peripheries--sources of desired goods--appear where they belong: at the center of World History over the long term. Subsequent activities and assignments will ask students to consider why goods are “good” at all. Clothing is a topic of unending interest to most adolescents and also bears great historical, social, and cultural significance. Lessons about what people wear can make the magic and meaning of what William H. McNeill calls “mythhistory” accessible to students of all ability levels.² A clichéd “Incredible India”, with its bewildering and overwhelming diversity, can become a somewhat more “Understandable India.” These lessons include a modest attempt to “cast light on locality and temporality by putting it in the context of the big story”, elsewhere referred to by McNeill as a major goal of World History scholarship and instruction.³

Students may find it difficult to see themselves as the inheritors of a shared global heritage in conventional course syllabi or textbook tables of contents, but they are, knowingly or not, well-acquainted with indigo-tinted denim or *dungri*, pajamas, bandannas, khaki, cashmere, *madras*, paisley, cummerbunds (at prom time), and perhaps even seersucker, all of which reflect India’s major role as a producer and supplier of cloth. It is universally evident that what we wear “communicates,” but, except for such impossible

to ignore topics as the *swadesi* movement, begun to protest the partition of Bengal in 1905 and followed later by Gandhi's call for the spinning and wearing of *khadi* as a sign of self-reliance and non-cooperation with British rule, the use of clothing for constructing culturally meaningful self and social identities remain largely outside of World History curricula.⁴ Textbooks and supplementary readers acknowledge that works of art can be "read" as texts, like written primary sources, yet art still seems relegated to "take it or leave it" sidebars, marginal to core, linear, textual narratives about the past. I have implemented most of the following lessons in non-AP classes of Grade 9 World History. Students appreciated having opportunities to connect aspects of their own lives to Indian material, to respond about issues that are inherently motivating, and to have visual learning combined with conventional reading and writing tasks.

RELATION OF LESSONS TO LARGER CURRICULUM / INSTRUCTIONAL ISSUES

Public school policy and decision makers seem little concerned with increasing students' opportunities to consider how "here" is not really so far from "there", "then" is not really so long ago from "now", or to connect the lived experience of "others" with their own. Mandated to improve pupils' basic skills, teachers' opportunities for expanding their own knowledge base are also shrinking. It is tempting to remain within comfort zones of ethnocentric and supposedly discrete categories of historical time and space: ancient, medieval, modern, civilization, country, and nation-state. Even well-conceived approaches to Asia in World History, such as those that take students across the "Silk Road," downplay the *multiple* land and maritime routes that turned the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean's shores into a vast "multicultural bazaar" (such as those linking Sichuan and Yunnan to India) due to sheer necessity. Other factors, such as the Chinese and Islamic dominance of the lands north of the subcontinent reinforce India's *apparent* geographic isolation.⁵ The unfortunate result is that the knowledge students "get" of India often consists of fundamentally misconstrued caricatures, which they are then asked to compare and contrast with what they know of other of the world's diverse forms of social organization, social action, and thought. Standardized testing requires teachers to function as if universally applicable definitions of

religion, power, and authority actually exist. Basic Hindu concepts of reincarnation, duty (*dharma*), and *karma* are typically conveyed by positing the existence of a fixed "Hindu caste system" that never existed as such.

While the better-known China trade made the fortunes of America's first millionaires and stimulated the age of the Yankee Clipper, trade with India was more important to the economy of the early United States, offering a cheap and diverse inventory of fabrics and apparel.⁶ It made "Brahmins" of Boston's commercial elite and transcendentalists of American writers who were introduced to Indian thought as translated by British Orientalists. East Indian Row and India Street still lead from what was once India Wharf to Boston harbor's Faneuil Market. Every schoolchild in the U.S. is told about the dumping of tea into Boston harbor as a revolutionary act of colonial defiance to unfair taxation, but it was merely the prelude to the States' liberation from the British East India Company's global dominance of overseas trade and ports, a goal later shared by Indian nationalists. Shawls of pashmina or cashmere, along with blue "guinea cloth" for slaves, madras handkerchiefs and other square cloths for neckerchiefs, head coverings, and bundle wraps (most likely *dupattas*, *odhanis*, and *chunaris*) were acquired and traded in countless numbers. Designs known in English as "paisley" after the Scottish mill town that reproduced them on mass-produced garments are still ubiquitous, appearing on cloth bags, bandannas (*bandhani*, or *bandhej*), neckties and even boxer shorts. We sleep on sheets of *percale*. A "preppy" appearance including the use of khaki, madras and seersucker, formerly associated with a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite, remains the sartorial hallmark of America's privileged classes. Teachers of United States history may be aware of the influence of India's non-violent Freedom Struggle upon the leadership of the American Civil Rights movement, but when students are shown photographs or footage of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, are they asked to notice that the men on both sides of Dr. King are wearing "Gandhi caps"?⁷ Sometimes, all it takes to awaken a young person's mind and self-awareness as the inheritor of a shared, world cultural heritage is to ask them to look more closely at objects of history that are right in front of their eyes.

Teachers and curriculum specialists at the primary and secondary levels are steeped in Bloom's Taxonomy of cognitive behavior, but hardly aware that Bloom gave equal importance to the emotional and affective dimensions of learning. At their worst, young people passively pay attention, their bodies disciplined for compliance, their minds numbed by compulsion rather than interest. At their best, students show that they care about new learning and give it value. Hooked emotionally by subject matter that is inherently motivating, thematically rich and intrinsically engaging, the likelihood for investing in their own learning and possibly changing their view of the world and themselves in it vastly increases. The struggle to understand Hindu philosophy and the *Bhagavad-Gita* is eased by viewing relevant portions of Peter Brooke's play and film adaptation. Students of Hindu Indian origin, whether named after characters from Sanskrit epics or not, appreciated being represented in a curriculum that ostensibly covers the world. Even so, in the towns where I grew up, presently live, and teach, the world, as experienced inside and outside the classroom, is grossly discrepant. While we teach about peoples and cultures formerly marginalized, misapprehended, belittled, or entirely ignored, students remain unaware that major Hindu festivals like *Navaratri* or *Diwali* are often celebrated in rented school gyms nationwide.⁸ Unlike the secularized and ubiquitous green of St. Patrick's Day, the intensity of color, music, dance, and emotion associated with an American minority remains on the multicultural periphery, despite the increased visibility of health-care professionals, engineers, information technology specialists, fellow students, teachers, co-workers, dealers of jewelry and precious stones, purveyors of gasoline, fast food, tobacco, liquor and motel or hotel owners of Indian or other South Asian origin.

PREPARATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

1. For homework, assign students the task of going through their own clothing at home, looking closely at the labels of their shirts / tops, pants / skirts, shoes, etc. Have them record this information in the form of a table or chart.

2. In class, ask students to share the results of their clothing inventory. Use the board to make visible the apparel industry's globalization (China is likely to manufacture half of what they wear). Then ask

students to write one full paragraph (5-8 sentences) in response to all of the following prompts, separately and not in essay form:

-*Does it matter where your clothes come from? Does it make a difference to ourselves and to others? If so, how and why? If not, why not?*

-*Does the style of clothing mean anything? If so, what?*

-*Do your clothes express your identity? Do they "tell" who you are, and what you stand for? If so, how? If not, why not?*

3. Ask students to check their clothing inventory again to see if they have garments representing any of the following, and to count the number of items: indigo-colored blue jeans (*dungri*), khaki, madras, and paisley. Have them conduct library and web-based research on these and other India-related textiles, or English-language words derived from Indian languages for clothing.

I. DOES WHAT WE WEAR MATTER?

1. Ask students to read the following excerpt from *Manusmriti* (*The Laws of Manu*), an ancient Brahmanical codification of *dharma*, or the "rules of caste" conduct / duty / obligation:

Women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husband and brothers-in-law ... men who seek their own welfare should always honor women ... with ornaments, clothes, and food.

2. Depending on ability level, ask students to write one full paragraph (6-8 sentences) or a five-paragraph expository essay in response to one or all of the following prompts:

-*What is dignity?*

-*How is dignity reflected in the clothing that we wear? Support your response with specific examples.*

-*Are men responsible for preserving or upholding the dignity of women? Agree or disagree, supporting your response with specific examples.*

II. ENRICHING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE *MAHABHARATA* AND THE *BHAGAVAD-GITA*

Students are now invited to explore aspects of the epic *Mahabharata* and its core, sacred *Bhagavad-Gita* portion in ways that enable them to get directly at the

“magic and meaning” of McNeill’s “mythhistory.” As indicated, teachers may assume that it is possible to teach the basic concepts of Hinduism by using English-language terms and categories whose meanings are presumed to be universal. Still, they are all that we have for the purposes of instruction at pre-collegiate levels, corresponding with what most adolescents already know or are capable of conceptualizing. They should be informed that the diversity of beliefs and practices that English renders as a monolithic “Hinduism” are more correctly labeled using the Sanskrit words *Sanatana Dharma* (“Eternal Law”), just as what Muslims think and do is best conveyed by the Arabic word *Islam* (“Submission to the Will of God”) rather than the egregious misnomer “Muhammadanism.”

Arjuna’s “refusal to fight” and Krishna’s revealing of himself as a manifestation of God in the *Bhagavad-Gita* are staples of World History / World Civilizations / World Cultures curricula for conveying concepts that English renders as soul, reincarnation, duty, and fate. The ideal learning outcome is a reasonably accurate grasp of what *dharma*, *karma*, *atman*, and *moksha* mean, how these terms are related, and how the *Mahabharata*’s standing as the *historical* text faithful Hindus consider it to be is compromised by turning Arjuna’s dilemma and his dialogue with Krishna into a male-centered lesson about a battlefield and a warrior’s duty to kill or be killed. A creative teacher may find it tempting to consider the conflict between the related *Kshatriya*-caste clans as thematically comparable to Herodotus’ recording of Leonidas and “The 300” Spartans at Thermopylae.⁹ But doing so would remove both ancient stories from the social contexts that made or continue to make them meaningful. In this case, students could easily conclude (wrongly) that in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, the highest form of obedience or devotion was given because one has been persuaded to do so by specific circumstances, rather than because humans are obliged to do what is right without hesitation or thought. Teachers may uncritically further assume that Hinduism’s eternal texts underpin and validate an equally timeless social order --- “the caste system” and the duties associated with it --- when the origins of caste are highly debatable; it is not just a “Hindu” phenomenon, and its nature or function has been quite variable.

It may be tempting also to regard Thermopylae as more genuinely historical than the “mythhistory” recorded in the *Mahabharata* or the other great Sanskrit epic, *Ramayana*, because Herodotus was the “Father of History” in a supposedly more rational West. Moreover, unlike the Greek case, Hindu holidays and rituals keep some of the stories alive in the social contexts that matter most: family and local community. The Sanskrit epics are not only books; they are also dance, painting, sculpture, and textile traditions. Any suggestion in the classroom that the most notable thing about the *Mahabharata* is its status as the world’s longest poem in any written language exemplifies the shallow pointlessness of the “Jeopardy”-like instruction that a curriculum, devoid of rich content, “delivers.” It is easy to forget how few people in the world were literate before relatively recent times. It is common in the West to speak of a shared “Judeo-Christian” heritage as if one religion doesn’t negate the other, and perhaps even to assume that all who identify with this heritage could explain it if called upon to do so. How often is the affinity of Islam to this heritage acknowledged? How many Christians or Muslims know that Jews organize Passover *Seders* in order to retell and teach about ancient events not only as if they really happened, but as if they happened yesterday, and that they are “obligated in every generation to regard as having happened to themselves”?¹⁰ It is little wonder that *Navaratri*, *Dussehra*, *Diwali*, *Raksha-Bandhan* and so many other Hindu practices remain hidden in plain sight.

1. Have students conduct library and web-based research in order to produce a general overview of what the *Mahabharata* is about, especially the *Bhagavad-Gita* section that is at its core. Less well-known in the West, but crucial to understanding the texts, are episodes involving the heroine Draupadi: beloved “sister” of Krishna during his cow-herding years among the *gopis*, inadvertently the wife of five men, and a woman who stood up to her exploiters. She was the last of the Pandava’s treasures to be staked and lost in the famous “Game of Dice” episode that is causal to their forced exile by the Kauravas and the subsequent war. That she was wagered at all shows the offense that even the “good” commit. Her unhesitating act of self-sacrifice on behalf of Krishna and criticism of her husbands are rich points for open-ended discussion, debate, and writing. Why teach

about Arjuna's battlefield dilemma without informing students about why there was a war at all? The attempt by the Kauravas to humiliate Draupadi by stripping her naked (*vastraharan*, or *cheerharan*) is the first recorded reference to the Indian *sari*, typically consisting of between five and nine yards of unstitched cloth that is worn by being folded, tucked, and draped. But because of good *karma* resulting from an act of self-sacrifice related in folklore and commentaries on the *Mahabharata*, Krishna makes Draupadi's *sari* endless. This episode, known to all in India, resonates deeply with (Krishna-centered) Vaishnava Hindu philosophy and portrayals of Draupadi as a role model of *dharma* (duty) and devotion (*bhakti*). It is also incidentally the basis for *raksha-bandhan*, the custom of gifting string bracelets symbolizing a protective bond between sisters and brothers.

2. Ask students to research aspects of what Hindus believe about Krishna's incarnation in human form and youthful "sporting" with the *gopis* (female cow-herders) at Vrindavran / Vraj, to examine images (paintings) of *rasleela* / *ras lila*, and analyze the spiritual meaning of supreme love for Krishna. Then, ask them to read the following abridgement (by myself) of what in fact is a wealth of extraordinarily dense and rich material. An excellent visual representation appears in the "Krishna's Birthday" scene of the Oscar-nominated "Bollywood" film *Lagaan* (2001; I have yet to experience a class that did not ask to view this scene more than once).

PRIMARY SOURCE: FROM THE MAHABHARATA

One day, the Gopis offered Krishna some freshly harvested sugarcane to eat. When he cut the cane to get at the sweet juice, he accidentally cut his finger. His wife ordered the Gopis to get some cloth for a bandage, but before they could do so, Draupadi immediately tore a piece of cloth from her sari, and used it bind the wound. Impressed and moved by Draupadi's compassion and swift action, Krishna made Draupadi his most beloved friend and "sister." He promised her that, someday, each thread of cloth from the sari that she had sacrificed would be multiplied many times.

Arjuna, the "perfect warrior" of the Pandava clan of Kshatriyas, won the right to marry Draupadi because

his archery skills were greater than those of all the others who competed for her hand. Unaware that her son's prize was a woman to be his wife, Arjuna's mother told him that he must share it with his four brothers. It was thus that Draupadi became the wife of five men.

The kingdom was divided into two parts in order to avoid conflicts between the men of the rival Pandava and Kaurava clans. Although they had grown up and learned to become warriors together, and shared the right to rule, the Kauravas were very jealous of the Pandavas. The Pandavas built their own capital at Indraprastha, where their palace included a Hall of Illusions. They invited their Kaurava cousins to visit. Duryodhana, of the Kauravas, entered the Hall. In one room, he saw what he thought was a highly polished floor, but it was actually a pool of water and he fell into it. In another room, he saw what really was a highly polished floor, and he lifted his clothes to avoid getting them wet. Both times, Draupadi and the Pandavas laughed at him. Deeply insulted, Duryodhana grew even more angry at the Pandavas and about how they seemed to show off their wealth. Knowing that one of Draupadi's five husbands, Yudhishtira, loved to gamble, he proposed a game of dice. But Shakuni, a member of the Kaurava clan, was not only an expert player, Duryodhana also "fixed" the dice so that the Kauravas would win by cheating. And indeed, when the rival clans played dice, Yudhishtira kept losing. The Pandavas bet their chariots, horses, elephants and eventually their right to rule the kingdom, and lost them all. Finally, Yudhishtira bet Draupadi and lost her as well.

Duryodhana ordered that Draupadi be dragged by her hair into the court. The Pandavas bent their heads in shame. But Draupadi resisted: she brazenly asked if Yudhishtira had bet himself before betting her. If he had not done so, she argued that he had no right to stake her, since by losing himself he had become a slave of the Kauravas. She also argued that Duryodhana had not matched Yudhishtira's bet by offering his own wife as a prize. But Duryodhana would hear none of this. His goal now was not only to force the Pandavas into exile, but also to publicly shame Draupadi as a loose woman, the wife of five men. He ordered Dusshasana to disrobe her. Draupadi prayed to Krishna for help. Remembering that she had once sacrificed her sari for his sake,

Krishna made the cloth of Draupadi's sari endless. The more that Dusshasana pulled at it, the more of it there was.

3. Ask students to respond in writing, length determined by ability level, to the following questions:
-Why did the Kauravas seek to humiliate Draupadi? What do you think was their reasoning?
-Why was Draupadi spared the humiliation?
Explain using relevant vocabulary based on your understanding of Hindu philosophy and its core terms.
-Is it possible for a “hero” or a “good” character to commit a bad deed? Explain your response.

III. THE MAHATMA

Students are likely to next encounter the *Gita* as a text that Gandhi regularly read for inspiration and insight, even as he was inspired by non-Indian sources of faith. Despite its lacunae and flaws, it is worthwhile to show students the multiple Oscar-winning film *Gandhi* (1982), either in whole or in part. Gandhi interpreted history in Hindu terms, stressing themes that recur again and again in human affairs, rather than a series of discrete, linear occurrences that textbook timelines of Indian history or modern nationalism suggest. Can Gandhi be properly understood without also referring to the second of the great, ancient Sanskrit epics, the *Ramayana*, and Gandhi’s belief in the advent of a period of “just rule” (*rajaram*)? Hindus other than peasant *shudras* and the so-called “Untouchables” are called “twice-born.” The second birth is a rite of passage at puberty, marking the beginning of learning, responsibility, and the young person’s acceptance of his caste *varna* (“color”) or spiritual identity. A ceremony is held during which the initiate receives a “sacred thread” that he will wear for the rest of his life. Some sects now initiate girls, although they usually do not receive the sacred thread.

1. Ask students to conduct library and web-based research, collectively producing a mini-biography or timeline of Gandhi’s life and work. Different periods can be assigned to different pairs or trios. When they have concluded this work, class time should be devoted to presenting the results, an activity that will serve well for providing the necessarily linear, chronological background for their subsequent viewing of the film.

2. FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS: Ask strong readers / writers to read the following excerpt from Gandhi’s autobiography, and to write a five-paragraph persuasive essay, agreeing or disagreeing with Gandhi’s reasons for rejecting aspects of his faith that others insisted were necessary and correct. The assignment assumes an excellent grasp of vocabulary and the essentials of *Sanatana Dharma*.

AN EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH: GANDHI REJECTS THE SACRED THREAD The following excerpt is an abridgement of a selection from Gandhi’s autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments With Truth* (1915), available at: <http://nalandanitc.ac.in/resources/english/etext-project/Biography/gandhi/part5.chapter8.html> The entire text must be consulted, as the portion presented here only hints at issues for student thought and discussion.

Many sanyasis [“holy persons”] called on me... We had discussions about religion and [one of them] ... saw me bare-headed and shirtless as I returned from my bath in the Ganges. He was pained to miss the shikha (tuft of hair) on my head and the sacred thread about my neck and said... “These are the two external symbols of Hinduism and every Hindu ought to wear them”... As I grew up several well-meaning attempts were made both in India and South Africa to re-invest me with the sacred thread, but with little success. If the shudras [low caste farmers and workers] may not wear it, I argued, what right have the other varnas [castes] to do so ? ... On the eve of my going to England, ... I got rid of the shikha, lest when I was bare-headed it should expose me to ridicule and make me look, as I then thought, a barbarian in the eyes of the Englishmen ... I therefore made a clean breast of the whole matter to the Swami and said : “I will not wear the sacred thread, for I see no necessity for it, when countless Hindus can go without it and yet remain Hindus. Moreover, the sacred thread should be a symbol of spiritual regeneration, presupposing a deliberate attempt on the part of the wearer at a higher and purer life. I doubt whether in the present state of Hinduism and of India, Hindus can vindicate the right to wear a symbol charged with such a meaning. That right can come only after Hinduism has purged itself of untouchability, has removed all distinctions of superiority and inferiority, and shed a host of other evils and shames that have become rampant in it”... The Swami did not appreciate my position with regard to the sacred thread. The very

reasons that seemed to me to point to not wearing it appeared to him to favour its wearing... So long as there are different religions, every one of them may need some outward distinctive symbol. But when the symbol is made into a fetish and an instrument of proving one religion's superiority over others, it is fit only to be discarded.

3. KHADI & THE BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

Perhaps Gandhi's greatest contribution to Indian and world history was his shrewd deployment of *satyagraha* ("force of truth") to fight against injustice using non-violent tactics of civil disobedience and passive resistance. Still revered by many in India as "*Bapu*" ("Father of the Nation"), Gandhi was despised both during and after his lifetime by the openly intolerant ideologues of so-called "Hindu" nationalism, by the so-called "Untouchables" whose cause he tried to champion, and by Muslim and Sikh separatists. Still, the element of Gandhi's "Constructive Program" encouraging homespun (*khadi*) and the boycott of English-manufactured clothing provides an excellent opportunity to introduce or reinforce essential political vocabulary (*power, authority, revolutionary, conservative, liberal, reform, status quo, boycott, etc.*) and to allow students to reflect on the political potency of something as simple as what one wears or does not wear.

1. Ask students if they know the meaning of the word *boycott*. Ask students if they know of any examples of boycotts (recent: sweatshop clothing, child-labor soccer balls, prison-made goods, Arabs vs. Israel, etc.; historical: busses in Montgomery, Alabama, school in South Africa under the racialist *apartheid* regime, etc.). Provide students with a definition of the word boycott that stresses its use by the powerless to gain power by doing economic harm to their opponent.

2. The remainder of this activity assumes that students are already familiar with how India became part of the British Empire, India's impoverishment and the destruction of its artisanal textile industries to benefit England's industrial production, the growth of the nationalist movement and freedom struggle, and the leadership role of Mohandas K. Gandhi. Obtain a DVD copy of *Gandhi*. Show the scene beginning at approximately 1 hour 36 minutes, in which Gandhi and his wife address a crowd, urging them to boycott clothing manufactured by British industries:

KASTURBA GANDHI: When Gandhiji and I were growing up, women wove their own clothes. But now there are millions who have no work because those who can, buy all they need from England. I say, with Gandhiji, there is no beauty in the finest cloth if it makes hunger and unhappiness.

GANDHI: ... English factories make the cloth that makes our poverty. All those who wish to make the English see, bring me the cloth from Manchester and Leeds that you wear today, and we will light a fire that will be seen in Delhi and in London. And if, like me, you are left with only one piece of homespun, wear it with dignity.

Ask students to write a three paragraph (minimum) essay in response to the following prompt:

Do you agree with the statement that "there is no beauty in the finest cloth if it makes hunger and happiness"? Why or why not? Explain your response in detail.

3. Show students photographs of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. from the 1963 "March on Washington," at which he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Ask them to look for details of gesture and dress of both Dr. King and those near him. Point out that the men on both sides of Dr. King are wearing caps made of *khadi*, headgear that was designed by Gandhi himself. Ask students to speculate on reasons why African-Americans, in the years following World War II, would be interested in Gandhi. Explain to them that the movement for Civil Rights led by Dr. King was essentially peaceful and non-violent, taking much of its philosophy and methods from the tactics that were successfully used during the struggle for India's independence prior to World War II.

4. Secondary Source Reading: Ask all students to read the following excerpt from Mira Kamdar's book, *Motiba's Tattoos* (2000; pp. 50-51), and to summarize the author's message in their own words:

... Gandhi had made the wearing of khadi, crude cotton cloth hand woven in India, central to his Independence movement. In his 1909 Hind Swaraj, he attributed India's impoverishment under British rule to the economics of cloth... When he returned to India in 1915 from South Africa, he did so in the dress of a Kathiawari peasant, and he made spinning cotton

and weaving cloth a centerpiece of life at Sabarmarti ashram. All through the 1920's, Gandhi exhorted India's people to wear khadi as a patriotic act. Gandhi described the "khadi spirit" as one of "self-sacrifice" and "fellow feeling with every human being on earth." According to Gandhi, it was a national and even a religious duty to wear khadi. Foreign cloth was synonymous with temptation, evil, luxury, and sin. To wear imported, machine-made cloth was to sell out your (Indian) self.

IV. "MY HEART IS HINDUSTANI"

In India the body visibly marks one's affiliations to faith, sect, clan, spouse, locality, and caste, as well as social status or role. It is also true that elsewhere much can be deduced about a person by what that person wears, but we rarely call explicit attention to this sociological commonplace. For the poor of India, the body is all they have "to work with": even the female ragpickers of Mumbai make a point of wearing their best saris and ornaments as they dig for recyclables amidst heaps of municipal trash.¹¹ More generally, and despite the popularization after Indian independence in 1947 of the idea that one's attire mattered less than whether or not "one's heart is still Indian," films from India, shown widely throughout the world, routinely use clothing to show the interaction of "globalization past" and "globalization present ... highlight[ing] issues of caste, class, region and religion" and differentiat[ing] ... ethnicity and Westernization."¹²

After Indian independence in 1947, it was alright if what male citizens of the newly-independent, modernizing nation had to wear was a global patchwork of industrialized, machine-made cloth as long as one's heart remained "Hindustani." The classical expression of this sentiment is Raj Kapoor's 1955 "picturisation" of the song "*Mera Joota Hai Japoni*" in the film *Shri 420*. He states: "My shoes are Japanese / My pants are English-style / My hat is Russian / But my heart is Hindustani." Significantly, males in Indian films (as in India itself and outside of India) regularly appear in Western clothing, whereas females almost never do. Exceptions reflect relatively recent changes among members of a younger urban middle-class. This iconic scene / song has been quoted in films by Mira Nair (*Mississippi Masala*, 1991) and Piyush Pandya (*American Desi*, 2001). It reflects

the confidence of a young, independent India which, like the clothing of actor / director Raj Kapoor's Chaplinesque "Everyman," is a patchwork of many pieces. The hero is shown leaving the countryside, behind him a panorama of village girls carrying water and tribals with camels and elephants.

1. Obtain a DVD copy of the film *Shree 420* (legal and inexpensive copies are available at Indian groceries or otherwise obtained through Netflix or online retailers).

2. Ask students to write one full paragraph (5-8 sentences) or essay **again** in response to the following prompt:

Does it matter where our clothing comes from and who makes it? If so, why? If not, why not? Support your response with specific examples.

3. Ask students to write one full paragraph (5-8 sentences) in response to the following prompt:
Does change necessarily mean that we must reject the past? Why or why not? Support your response with specific examples.

4. Ask students to share their responses by reading them aloud. Prepare students to view the scene / song (the film's first four minutes) by handing out the lyrics and reading them aloud:

Mera Joota Hai Japani, from *Shree 420*, "The Gentleman Cheat," or "Mr. 420"), 1955. Music: Shankar-Jaikishen. Lyrics: Shaileendra and Hasrat Jaipur Actor: Raj Kapoor. Playback Singer: Mukesh. © Shemaroo Entertainment Pvt. Ltd.
*My shoes are Japanese, my pants are English-style
The cap on my head is Russian, but my heart is Indian.
I go out into the big wide world, I walk with my head held high*

Where does my destination lie? Where will I ever settle?

The Creator up above us only knows

Like true soldiers, we forge ahead

My shoes are Japanese...

*The cap on my head is Russian, but my heart is Indian.
Up and down, round and round, flow the eternal waves of life*

Foolish are those who sit on the sidelines, with little care for their country's fate

To forge ahead is like life, to stop still is like death

*The cap on my head is Russian, but my heart is Indian
My shoes are Japanese, my pants are English-style,
The cap on my head is Russian, but my heart is Indian.*

5. Ask students to write a three-paragraph essay in response to the following prompt:

Using your own words, explain what you think the “message” of this song is. Do you agree with it? If so, why? If not, why not?

V. BEING HINDU / INDIAN IN AMERICA

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, photo studios in the United States thrived by dressing immigrant customers in fashionable, borrowed American formal attire so that others could see that their relatives or a potential marriage prospect had shed undesirable old-country ways and were being remade in a promising new world. Pressures to Americanize made the clothes and overall appearance of immigrants an “important symbol of cultural transformation,” perhaps most crucially for Jews whose minority religious status reinforced their vulnerability and sense of being outsiders.¹³ Conversely, in India, and for persons of Indian origin now living in the United States (who bear minority religious statuses of Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh that are, to varying degrees, problematic for the majority population), clothing remains a potent vehicle for cultural preservation, especially with regard to issues related to religion, gender, and marriage. Moreover, among the major duties of a Hindu priest is to see to it that idols of deities (*murtis*), representing human incarnations of God, are appropriately dressed. The body is a microcosm of a universe that is sustained by *dharma* (duty).

In the United States, Hindu or Muslim women wearing *saris*, *dupattas*, *salwar kameez*, *hijabs*, *burqas*, head-scarfs or veils in public are susceptible to negative attention and even overt expressions of discrimination. During the Gulf War of 1990-91, white owners of motels along secondary roads all across the United States (a “hospitality” industry dominated by Indian Hindus from Gujarat) put up signs informing the public that their properties were “American owned,” implying that there would be no strangely-clad women producing strange smells of curry permeating the premises. After 9/11, male Sikhs who were conspicuously turbaned and bearded were harassed and even murdered

(Sikh grievances with Muslim rulers pre-date current crises in the Middle East by centuries). These are but three indications of how, when globally dispersed persons of Indian origin choose to wear traditional Indian clothing far from their homeland, the meaning of what they wear is transformed by the new social-cultural system of which they have become a part.

1. Ask students to conduct library and web-based research on the history of Indian immigration to the United States. Ask them to collaborate in the preparation of responses to the following prompts:

-What have been the “push” and “pull” factors, i.e., what forces led people to leave India, and what forces attracted people to come to the U.S.?

-What is life in an American “Little India” like (ex: Iselin and Jersey City, New Jersey; Jackson Heights, Queens, New York City; Artesia, California?)

-Where do most immigrants come from?

-Compare and contrast past immigration streams and trends with those of the present. To what extent are the immigrants and their children “Americanized”? What is “Americanization”? What does it consist of? How does one “know it when one sees it”?

1. Download and save the short video clip on Iselin, New Jersey’s “Little India,” available at: <http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2005-05/2005-05-04-voa71.cfm> The transcript of the news item that appeared on “Voice of America” website is also available. Information about Jackson Heights, N.Y., is available at http://queens.about.com/cs/neighborhoods/a/jackson_heights_5.htm and associated links.

2. Prepare students to view the video clip about Iselin’s “Little India” by asking them if they or their parents or grandparents came to the United States from another country. If students do not know, assign them the task of finding out. As students watch the clip, ask them to:

-Compile a short “bulleted” list of the specific things about “Little India” that the people who shop there look for and like the most.

-Look for whether or not people are wearing traditional Indian clothing. Who is and who isn’t?

-Do those who are older appear to have clothing preferences that differ from those who are younger?

-Does there seem to be any difference in how older and younger people feel more generally about their Indian heritage and cultural identity?

-The man (non-Indian father) who grew up in Iselin:

what is his attitude about the changes that have taken place over the years? Why do you think he feels as he does?

3. Ask students to read the short piece by Shoba Narayan, “*I Wonder: Was It Me or Was It My Sari?*” appearing in *Newsweek Magazine*, March 13, 2000; available online from InfoTrac as Thomson Gale Document Number A59819917. Award-winning writer Shoba Narayan came to America at age 20 to study at Mount Holyoke College, despite having already graduated from a college in India. She eventually earned a Masters degree, and became a housewife after an arranged marriage to an Indian investment banker in Connecticut. After ten years of wearing American-style clothes, she experimented with a *sari* for a month and wrote about it in the magazine. Assign any one or all of the following questions for students to answer, either as they read and / or after they read the short article:

-*Have you, your parents, grandparents, or other relatives ever had a similar experience of “culture conflict”?*

-*Shoba Narayan has returned to India, and lives in Bangalore with her family. Based on what you have read about her “sari-wearing experiment,” does this surprise you? Why or why not?*

4. Have students read the description of *Navratri Utsav* (festival) at <http://www.indialife.com/Festivals/navratri.htm>, paying special attention to the descriptions of the dance and clothing traditions.

5. Ask students to conduct further research using both web-based and print reference materials on the topics listed below, all having to do with the dance, song, clothing, and “romantic” traditions associated with the celebration of *Navaratri Utsav*. If possible, ask them to collaborate in the preparation of Power Point presentations or museum-type poster exhibits on topics including the music and dance.

1 Lynda Shaffer, “Southernization,” *Journal of World History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 1-21; *ibid*, p. 6, citing the work of a textile scholar.

2 William H. McNeill, “Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians,” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (February 1986): 1-10.

3 Youtube, “An Introduction to ‘Big History’ with David Christian and William H. McNeill,” Youtube Web site, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lBCvplK7g8U> (uploaded by Karen S. Christensen 12/30/08).

4 *Swadesi* literally means “our own country”; in this case it refers to “buy Indian” boycotts of English cloth.

5 “Multicultural bazaar” is the felicitous phrase used by the late Clifford Geertz in his review of *In an Antique Land*, by Amitav Ghosh, *The New Republic*, August 23, 1993, 38f.

6 Susan S. Bean, *Yankee India: American Commercial and Cultural Encounters with India in the Age of Sail, 1784-1860*. (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2001), 74-77.

7 King and his wife visited India for one month in 1959. He noted the color and “picturesque” quality of turbans and saris even among the masses of the poor. He added that “many Indians wear part native and part western dress.” Martin Luther King, Jr., “My Trip to the Land of Gandhi,” *Ebony*, July, 1959, 84-92, in the King Online Encyclopedia, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/590701_my_trip_to_the_land_of_gandhi (accessed ?).

8 This occurs in hundreds of places in the U.S. and around the world where local communities have not (yet) constructed or purchased a cultural center or temple to call their own.

9 Many adolescents are familiar with the graphic novel *300* that appeared as a film in 2007. It garnered 90% audience approval rating on rottentomatoes.com. Despite criticism and controversy regarding visualization and suspected subtexts, academics considered its rendering of history to be remarkably accurate. World History instruction in the West would clearly benefit from similar treatments of episodes from the ancient Sanskrit epics. Comic book versions that are popular throughout India are easy to find online. Versions produced for Indian television or cinema, however, are unlikely to satisfy the graphic and production value expectations of younger, non-Hindu, media-savvy teens.

10 In Hebrew: “be-khol dor va-dor khayyav adam lir ‘ot et atzmo ke-ilu sheh yatzah mi-mitzrayim”; from the *Haggadah*, or “telling” of the Exodus of slaves from Egypt.

11 Tina Schmidt (film director, *Ragpickers of Bombay: Scavengers of a Different Graveyard*), interview by author, [need place and date of interview].

12 Rachel Dwyer and Divia Patel, *Cinema India: The Visual Culture of Hindi Film* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 11.

13 Andrew R. Heinze, “The Clothing of an American,” in *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 89-90.



World History Association

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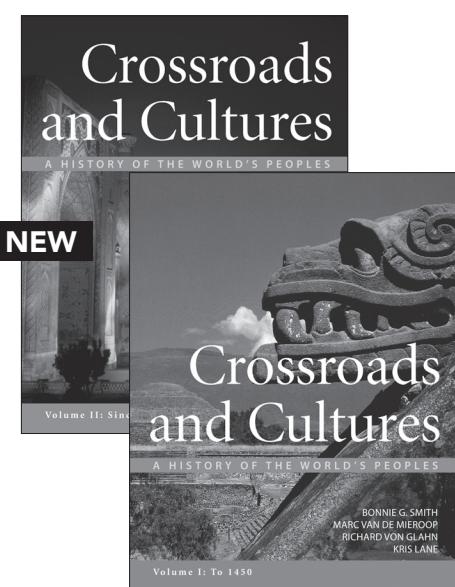
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Your Planned Giving for the WHA

How do I include the WHA in my estate planning?

As a supporter and member of the World History Association, you realize the importance of the organization and its mission. You also realize the importance of a stable financial foundation and may have already considered placing the WHA in your planned giving so that you may have a continuing impact on world history education and research.

We currently rely on your help to sustain the WHA through your membership and contributions in the short term, but we also need your help to ensure the long-term viability of the WHA. You have the significant ability to accomplish this through your estate planning as an expression of your vision and your commitment to world history. While your bequest will not affect your financial situation during your lifetime, your gift will provide an important legacy to ensure the continued success of the WHA.

Some common ways to include the WHA in your planned giving in your will or trust include a gift as a percentage of your total estate, a specific dollar amount, or specific gifts (cash, stocks, bonds, IRAs, life insurance, royalty income, charitable gift annuity, charitable trust annuity, remainder annuity, remainder trust, or property).

Unrestricted gifts are the most flexible for the WHA. Most choose to name the WHA as a direct beneficiary in a bequest, but some may name the WHA as a residual estate beneficiary or as a contingency beneficiary, after other specific desires

are provided for. Certain gifts have more significant tax advantages, while others can provide a lifetime of retirement income for you, which then continue on to the WHA in the future. Consulting your estate attorney and letting him or her know your wishes is the first step—the vehicle chosen will depend upon your individual desires.

Many sample bequest forms can be easily found online or at your local library, but your financial advisor or attorney is best equipped to assist you in the specific planning of any gifts and to ensure your wishes are correctly carried out. If you have already prepared your will or trust, you may simply add to it to make a gift to the WHA through a codicil or an amendment.

When you do put us in your planned giving, kindly notify us of your intentions for our confidential records, and include our full legal name and address in your documents, which is: World History Association, a 501 (c)3 non-profit organization, headquartered at 2530 Dole Street, Sakamaki Hall A-203, Honolulu, HI 96822. Our Federal Tax ID number is 22-2464092.

With your permission, the WHA would also like to add your name (but not details of your gifts) to its publicly acknowledged benefactors. Please understand that any bequest, no matter its size, will be a thoughtful legacy that will have a positive impact for many years to come.

World History Association Events at the AHA/Chicago

World History Association Executive Council Meeting

Friday, January 6, 2012: 3:00 PM-6:00 PM: McHenry Room (Chicago Marriott Downtown)

World History Association Affiliates' Meeting

Saturday, January 7, 2012: 12:30 PM-2:00 PM: O'Hare Room (Chicago Marriott Downtown)

World History Association Business Meeting

Saturday, January 7, 2012: 5:00 PM-6:00 PM: Belmont Room (Chicago Marriott Downtown)

World History Association Reception

Saturday, January 7, 2012: 6:00 PM-7:30 PM: Clark Room (Chicago Marriott Downtown)

World History Association Executive Council Meeting Minutes

Capital Normal University, Beijing

June 28, 2011 3:00 PM

Meeting called to order.

Present: Alfred J. Andrea, Winston Welch, Jerry Bentley, Marc Gilbert, Howard Spodek, James Diskant, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Alan L. Karras, Candice Goucher, Anand Yang, Craig Benjamin, Paul Jentz

Absent: Kerry Ward, Marnie Hughes-Warrington, Joel Tishkin, Connie Hudgeons, Rick Warner

Opening Remarks

As the first order of business, President Alfred J. Andrea asked meeting attendees to introduce themselves. After introductions were completed, he called for a review of the minutes from the January 2011 Executive Council meeting that had been e-mailed to EC members. President Andrea asked for a motion to approve the minutes. Motion made by Craig Benjamin to approve minutes, motion seconded by Candice Goucher. Vote to approve unanimous.

President Andrea announced that the WHA has been admitted to membership in the American Council of Learned Societies and noted that this indicated the academic coming of age of the Association. He provided an update regarding the efforts of the WHA to establish an affiliate in Turkey by working with the world history faculty of Istanbul Şehir University, site of the inaugural WHA symposium in October 2010. President Andrea said that he had been asked by his Turkish colleagues to write an article addressing the reasons why Turkish scholars would benefit from association with the WHA, and this article has now been published in Turkish translation through Şehir University. President Andrea further noted the ongoing efforts by the WHA to make its presence felt in Turkey, efforts that began with the October 2010 symposium. The university rector (president) and the director of the World History program at the university want to establish an affiliate, and the history faculty is also very supportive. The head of the history department is continuing to take the proposal under

advicement. His support is essential for the success of the affiliate. The history faculty of Şehir University has promised the WHA to move on this issue soon.

President Andrea explained that while in Trabzon, Turkey he had the opportunity to talk with Dr. Semih Aktekin, a member of the Executive Council of the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO). Dr. Aktekin strongly indicated a desire for the furtherance of K-12 studies in world history throughout Europe and beyond and noted that this would be greatly assisted by a WHA presence at the April 2012 meeting in Antalya, Turkey. President Andrea is hopeful that the WHA will have world history teachers present at the meeting. Regarding financial support for travel EUROCLIO officers have suggested that the WHA contact the US State Department for possible grants. Andrea noted that this is a long shot but worth pursuing.

President Andrea then addressed issues regarding the current WHA conference in Beijing, saying that this is the culmination of three and a half years of hard work. He expressed a special thank you to Jerry Bentley, noting that it is because of his efforts that we are here in the first place due to his long-established connections with CNU.

Howard Spodek extended a thank you to Winston Welch and Jackie Wah, stating that Beijing conference was made possible through their amazing amount of work, and he asked to please convey a thank you to Mary Ann Rhett for her great work as well.

Treasurer's Report

Submitted by Howard Spodek with the assistance of Winston Welch

Executive Director Winston Welch noted that the job of the treasurer is now much easier with the presence of a bookkeeper. He noted the need to stabilize finances in both short term and in the long term. The World History Bulletin will be asking for members to consider making a bequest to the WHA.

Executive Director Welch stated the need for a more forceful revenue campaign. Expenses are up, and the endowment is about the same. Sponsorship revenue has gone down for the Beijing conference because publishers are generally unwilling to support international conferences held outside of the USA. However, our revenue is trending gradually upward. The rates charged by the WHA conferences are low when compared to similar organizations. There is room for growth here. Changes in membership fees are more sensitive.

Howard Spodek asked for the WHA to extend a thank you to Carter Finley for his work regarding the endowment. Spodek noted Carter has been doing an excellent job for many years. Spodek also noted that the Executive Council should congratulate itself for raising the salaries from 50% time to 75% time for both Winston Welch and Jackie Wah. These two paid positions have made the professionalization of the WHA possible, and this in turn has made the Beijing conference and all future conferences possible.

Executive Director Winston Welch explained the need to launch a Financial Stewardship campaign in the fall of 2011 as well as to continue the promotion of Planned Giving. The WHA needs to raise \$25,000 just to break even this year. The avenues we probably need to take in in order to achieve this goal involve some combination of increased membership fees and increased conference fees. Currently, the Annual Campaign is not actively used as a means of fund raising. Welch proposed a campaign by targeted e-mailing either at mid-season or end of season. He is hoping to raise approximately \$20,000 with the campaign.

A point raised during the ensuing discussion was that this figure seemed overly optimistic. Executive Director Welch agreed but thought that it was important to aim high with the risk of falling short instead of low-balling and achieving only modest or relatively insignificant gains.

Executive Director Welch also pointed out that people may not be taking advantage of some of the existing revenue streams that can assist WHA income. For instance, members should take advantage of the WHA branded Visa credit card, the use of which automatically provides WHA with a revenue stream.

The credit card is available through the WHA website homepage. Also, using the Amazon.com link on the WHA homepage automatically provides an income stream for WHA. One does not need to go the WHA homepage each time it is used. Simply bookmark the page after opening it from the WHA homepage, and the bookmark will then always automatically link through WHA.

President Andrea noted that no professional academic association can depend on membership alone. We need to build financial capacity. The Financial Campaign needs to be taken very seriously. "As Winston pointed out, the WHA cannot be run out of a shoebox. As our finances now stand, a few bad years could wipe us out. The WHA cannot simply survive; it must thrive."

Marc Gilbert noted that we are under-utilizing WHA affiliates: although many affiliate members also belong to the WHA, we need to find ways to increase this number.

Howard Spodek noted that we had begun a process to secure a line of credit from the Bank of Hawaii for \$50,000 in case of need due to cash flow cycles and as a matter of good practices.

Executive Director's Report

Executive Director Winston Welch summarized his report.

Teaching Committee Report

James Diskant, chair of the WHA teaching committee, explained that the goals of the committee are to enhance, re-invigorate, and coordinate world history teaching at all grade levels; furthermore, he wants the committee to establish connections with relevant organizations, societies, and foundations as well as with the WHA Membership Committee to expand K-12 and community college membership. He seeks advice on how best to proceed with these goals. For example, should WHA members be surveyed to ask what do teachers want from the committee? How can we best serve pedagogical concerns?

Some Executive Council members suggested that the goals are very general, and perhaps they should be broken up into more specific component parts. Another suggestion was to establish world history teacher workshops.

Jerry Bentley thanked James Diskant for reinvigorating the Teaching Committee, and many others pointed out the committee is a great idea.

Conference committee report

President Andrea thanked the Capital Normal University Local Arrangements Committee Professors Xia, Chen, and Sun. He also recognized the hard work of Winston Welch, Jackie Wah, and the Program Committee.

Albuquerque, 27-30 June 2012: “Borders and Frontiers in World History” and “Indigenous Peoples in World History.” The Local Arrangements Committee, headed by Connie Hudgeons, a member of the Executive Council and a faculty member at Albuquerque High School, our host institution, has already begun work on the details of the 2012 conference—a conference whose themes reflect the special historical circumstances of our host venue. Connie reports that she has made some important connections with New Mexico State University and the New Mexico Public Education Department. She will meet with several of their representatives in late June. The New Mexico Humanities Council and the state’s Art Association are also interested in being involved with the conference. Should they become involved, each would potentially assist in advertising the conference in a substantial way. The 2012 conference will begin on Wednesday afternoon, 27 June, and the following three days, namely Thursday through Saturday, will be devoted to conference sessions, addresses, and other traditional activities.

The WHA will begin advertising the 2012 conference in late July or early August, and the Call for Papers should be ready for publication by September at the latest. As in the past, periodic updates will follow as plans and the program become more fixed.

Minneapolis, 26-29 June 2013

2013 sees our first conference at a community college, North Hennepin Community College (NHCC). Paul Jentz, a faculty member at NHCC and a member of this Executive Council, heads up the LAC.

The themes for the conference have not yet been established. The Committee has sent a draft of the formal Letter of Agreement to the president of NHCC

and awaits his office’s response.

Costa Rica, 2014

Due totally to the initiative of Winston Welch, the Committee has secured an invitation from the Universidad de Costa Rica in San Pedro (University of Costa Rica or UCR), and will present a proposed set of dates in the near future. Further information will be passed on as it becomes available.

WHA at the AHA

It is absolutely imperative for the WHA to sponsor panels at the annual AHA meetings. For the past several years, Joel Tishken coordinated this activity with great success. With his stepping down from the Committee, that duty has been assumed by Carolyn Neel, who was recruited specifically for this function. Unhappily, the WHA will not be sponsoring any panels at the 2012 meeting in Chicago, but Carolyn will be actively soliciting proposals for the 2013 AHA meeting well in advance of the deadline.

Changing the Dates and Modifying the Structure of WHA Conferences

As of 3:30 PM EDT, 16 June 2011, 12 of the 13 voting members voted in the affirmative for the following motion, under the proviso that it be tried and monitored as an experiment for two years, 2012 and 2013. Therefore the motion, which was sent out to the EC listserv on 13 June, passes:

MOTION:

Be it moved that beginning in 2012, WHA conferences begin on Wednesday afternoon, which will be devoted to registration, the opening of the book exhibit, a reception, and the meeting of the Executive Council, and extend thereafter for three full days, namely Thursday through Saturday, which will be devoted to panels and all other conference activities. This, of course, in no way affects the program of the Beijing conference.

President Andrea proposed the following three motions:

MOTION

Whereas the Department of History of the University of Costa Rica has invited the WHA to hold its 2014 conference on its campus, the Executive Council accepts and instructs the Conferences Committee

and the Secretariat to set proposed dates (subject to Council approval) and to undertake all necessary and usual arrangements related to holding a conference.

MOTION

Be it moved that the World History Association express its sincere gratitude to the administration and faculty of Capital Normal University, and in particular to President Liu Xincheng and the Local Arrangements Committee of Professors Xia Jiguo, Chen Zhijian, and Sun Yue, for their hospitality. Without their committed support, the 20th Annual WHA Conference would not have been possible.

MOTION

Be it moved that the World History Association express its sincere gratitude to the Program Committee and especially its chair, Maryanne Rhett, for work that is of the highest professional standards.

All three motions passed unanimously.

Membership Committee Report

Committee Chair: Craig Benjamin

The committee is focused on working closely with Executive Director Winston Welch, current President Al Andrea, and future president Marc Gilbert on maintaining current membership levels, and considering ways to increase our membership through a variety of strategies.

Current goals: To keep membership above 1100, and push it to 1200 by the end of 2011.

Accomplishments: Membership data as of 6 June 10 2011 (*i.e. not including those signed up at the 2011 APWH Reading*):

- Adjunct/Part-time: 32
- Contributing: 3
- Student: 110
- Istanbul: 51
- Library: 14
- Lifetime: 33
- New Professional: 35
- One year special: 4
- One year: 512
- Two year: 103
- Three year: 112
- Retired/non-employed: 51

- SEWHA Intro 2
- Sustaining: 1
- UH Faculty: 1 Total: 1074

Demographic Breakdown (*not including recent APWH signees*):

500 identify as College or University (60%)

31 as Community College (4%) 124 High School (15%) 2 Independent Scholar 2 K- Middle School 13 Libraries (2%) 45 Other (5%) 29 retired 4% 82 Student 10%

AP World History 2011 Reading Membership Data

- 24 new members were added at the AP world history reading in Colorado

- 22 members renewed (including one 2-year renewal)

This means a total membership as of June 8 is: 1140

CONCERNS: Maintaining and increasing these membership levels despite a continuingly difficult economic climate; and encouraging greater membership from high school and community college professors in particular.

Winston Welch noted in his report to the committee that numbers are down a little from last year, but the revenue from memberships is down more, since we had offered a special two and three year membership last year, which about 200 people took advantage of. Those people will all re-up at the slightly higher rate next and the following year. The Adjunct, New Professionals, and Retired Categories have siphoned off about 110 people from regular memberships, but that's okay. We don't seem to be able to break out of the 1100 - 1200 barrier. We feel there are many more out there, but in order to reach them to reach them, we need to offer benefits that are tangible.

Angela Lee, K-12 Membership Coordinator, noted in her report to the committee that fees are too high for school teachers in this economic environment. WHA needs to consider a sliding scale for K-12 educators, although she understands that it would be a logistical nightmare. Many may sign up during the AP reading, but won't renew their membership in subsequent years. The *Journal of World History* isn't as much of a selling point for teachers, although the *World History Bulletin* is helpful. *World History Connected* provides

a lot of what teachers are looking for, and since it's provided for free, that lowers the incentive for teachers to become WHA members. Conferences are great, and she is glad to save the money by taking advantage of the reduced conference fee for members, but in the last few years, some of the academic panels offered just aren't very attractive to teachers. Furthermore, the ones focused on pedagogy are clustered and scheduled during the same time so teachers who attend cannot go to many of them. Her colleague Jim Diskant (on the Teaching Committee) has also observed this in the last few conferences he has attended.

Should we consider institutional memberships for high schools and community colleges, where the entire history or social studies department joins at a special institutional rate? We need only send one copy of the *JWH* and *Bulletin* to each school and college. It remains very difficult to convince school and CC teachers that \$75 a year is worth their while, to receive the two publications and discounted rates at our conferences (which relatively few of them attend).

Should we consider having an Associate Membership category, where for say \$15 or \$20 per year, teachers can have access via the WHA website to recent articles from the *JWH*, along with lesson plans or other pedagogical ideas that would allow them to apply the ideas in the article directly to classroom instruction? Teachers don't see any significant value in regular membership; this might be attractive to them.

We need continuing focus on building up a CC world history teachers' database, and communicating the benefits of membership to these colleagues.

Book Prize Committee

Merry Wiesner-Hanks reported that the committee had 30 books submitted and the winner selected was Burbank, Jane & Frederic Cooper, *Empires in World History* (Princeton)

The committee has no recommendations for changes in procedure. Publishers are doing better at not sending items that are not world history at all, and more publishers are sending books to consider for the prize.

If anyone would like to see the list of books considered, please ask Winston for a copy.

WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize Committee Report

Merry Wiesner-Hanks

To advertise the prize, she posted an announcement on H-Net, which was cross-posted by several area H-Net editors, and in the World History Bulletin, sent it to all the coordinators of regional WHA affiliates to post to their lists, announced it at the AP World History Reading and made copies available there, and made personal appeals to college faculty who were at the Reading.

***World History Connected* Report**

Marc Jason Gilbert

High school teachers want the articles deconstructed with lesson plans, as they are asking, how can we use *WHC* articles in a classroom? We are looking into ideas to make this possible.

We are beginning to generate advertising revenue from *WHC*.

NO NEW BUSINESS

MEETING ADJOURNED – 4:32 PM

Respectfully Submitted,
Paul Jentz



World History Association Business Meeting Minutes

Capital Normal University, Beijing

Saturday July 9, 2011

8:00 AM

Present: Alfred J. Andrea, Winston Welch, Paul Jentz, Jerry Bentley, Craig Benjamin, Angela Lee, Candice Goucher, Mary Ann Rhett, Craig Lockard, Marc Gilbert, Jackie Wah, Zhang Weiwei, Howard Lee, Jon Davidian, Nancy Jorcak, Paul Adams, Xining Duan, Alan Kramar, Michael Tarver, David Northrop, Howard Spodek, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Alan Karras, Linda Black

President Andrea expressed dismay at the poor turnout. The WHA business meeting provides the opportunity for members to hear from their elected officers and, in turn, to express their concerns and ideas. He stated that next year we would make every effort possible to place it at a more accommodating time. For instance, the business meeting next year might be scheduled before the Saturday night banquet.

President Andrea summarized the proceedings from the Executive Council meeting.

Executive Director Winston Welch explained that he projects for WHA a \$25,000 shortfall overall for 2011. While revenue is up on the conference registration and the conference will make a healthy new profit overall, similar to the last few years, there was a lack of exhibitors because of the location in China. Revenue was bolstered by conference-related tours and insurance referrals. Membership revenue is also down due to the economy, and because of the addition of some new categories of lower fees. In addition, many members took advantage of a multi-year membership two years ago, so he is hopeful that membership revenue will bounce back by the end of the year. The endowment has not changed since the last meeting. Increases in expenses were mainly for staff salaries moving to 75 %FTE, and this needs to be supported by increased revenues on a consistent basis. As we know from fund raising, many leave this conference with a renewed sense of the need to financially support the WHA, and it is important to find ways to tap into this enthusiasm.

Merry Wiesner-Hanks reported that the WHA innovation this year of conference welcoming tables went well. Each table was set up with a mentor who had six or seven mentees. The mentor asked why their mentees came to the conference and what they expected from the conference; also, the mentors responded to questions. The tables were especially good for grad students who may be attending a conference for the first time.

Winston Welch noted the use of welcoming tables is modeled on the AHA as well as on many other professional associations.

Craig Benjamin suggested that the welcoming tables could provide a good opportunity for membership promotion.

President Andrea also supports the idea.

Jerry Bentley said it would be a good idea to have welcoming tables set up before the opening reception as well.

Angela Lee continues to improve WHA Facebook presence. President Andrea suggested that Facebook could be used as a medium for fundraising.

President Andrea noted the interest expressed in the purchase of conference t-shirts such as those worn by the WHA's CNU student volunteers. He suggested that perhaps starting with next year's conference in Albuquerque that registration forms could include a check box for anyone interested in purchasing conference t-shirts.

Craig Benjamin summarized the WHA membership report.

Jerry Bentley mentioned the need to develop a membership welcome package that would clearly explain what new members receive from the WHA. Winston Welch said that this is what is currently done in a welcome letter.

Howard Spodek suggested another membership area that WHA could look into is that of Indian

reservation colleges. It might be relevant to the WHA, for instance, in terms of the ongoing effort by these colleges.

Regarding the Siem Reap Symposium, January 2-4, 2012

Marc Gilbert requested that it is very important for those planning to attend to please e-mail him so that

he can get a better sense of the number of rooms that the WHA needs to reserve. hallgilbert@earthlink.net

The meeting adjourned at 8:58 AM

Respectfully Submitted,
Paul Jentz

Book Reviews

Peter Dykema, Arkansas Tech

Edmund Burke III, David Christian, and Ross E. Dunn. *World History: The Big Eras – A Compact History of Humankind for Teachers and Students.* National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 2009. 92 pp. \$15.

Georgia Afxendiou

Sachem High School North, Long Island, New York

Edmund Burke III, David Christian and Ross E. Dunn have successfully created an easy to read and understand manual for teaching and learning world history and geography on “a big scale.” Their intent was to create a guide to holistic historical study, a guide that leads students to the examination of the importance of historical connections and relationships among the peoples of various geographic regions and societies, a guide that, as they say, allows students to “think the world,” that is, to see history as the story of human beings inhabiting a single globe that is interconnected and mutually influencing. Using “big history,” looking at historical events beginning with the creation of the universe and coming all the way to the present, and “big geography,” focusing on the largest scale features of the earth’s environment, the authors build a historical manual that leads students to comparisons of human beings through different periods of time – from decades to millennia – and space – from the local to the regional to the global. Amazingly they are able to accomplish this in a mere 90 pages of well organized chapters each covering a distinct historical era while examining the same three basic themes: Humans and the Environment, Humans

and Other Humans, and Humans and Ideas.

The book’s nine chapters are based on nine Big Eras. Beginning 13.7 billion years ago, Big Era 1 encompasses the origins of the universe, addresses the rise of life and the laws of evolution. The rise of humans in Africa and the migrations that led to them to populate the surrounding continents as homo sapiens is the focus of Big Era 2 (200,000 to 10,000 years ago). Major breakthroughs in communications allowed these early humans to accumulate and pass knowledge down the generations allowing for “collective learning” that fed technological advances that made possible the transition into the 3rd Big Era, 10,000 to 1000 BCE, with its agricultural revolution. The changes are presented in terms of a positive feedback system that drives history through the interrelationship of population growth and agricultural productivity that lead to ever larger societies and increasingly complex technologies and systems of organization that we come to label complex civilizations. Big Era 4, from 1200 BCE to 500 CE is a continuation of the developments of Big Era 3 just at a faster pace – more cities, bigger and more complex states that are now empires, more efficient tax collection, new belief systems and intensification in the networks of exchange that connect cities over long distances. Big Era 5, 300 – 1500 CE, continues the rise of empires that engage in long distance trade and warfare, aiding the diffusion of ideas and technologies. In this Era, however, we have distinct regional developments such as the rise of the Indian Ocean basin as the dominant economic center. “The Great Global Convergence, 1400 – 1800” takes place in Big

Era 6. Every region of the globe becomes connected with the discovery of the Americas and is part of a truly global economy that benefits European powers and wipes out the empires of the Americas. Big Era 7, 1750 to 1914, is characterized by what the authors call “autocatalytic” change: change that itself creates the need for other kinds of changes, at the center of which is industrialization. History is now driven by new forms of energy, new technologies, new ways of distributing wealth that lead to new economic, social and political ideas. Big Era 8, a tiny sliver of time between 1900 and 1945, deals with huge crises – two world wars, a major economic downturn and increased environmental degradation. In this minute era the authors turn back to “big” ideas such as humans becoming the single most important force in changing not only their local environments but the biosphere, and their intellectual developments allow them to see not only their world but the universe in new ways through the theory of relativity and quantum physics. All topics and themes expanded in the previous chapters are brought together in Big Era 9, 1945 to the present, discussing continuities and changes along with warnings against certain political, economic and environmental trends.

As a high school teacher of AP World History, my first concern when picking up this book was how it related to the AP curriculum. I was worried about the fact that the College Board’s six time periods were here nine Eras and this would confuse students who seek consistency and clear cut answers. These concerns are unfounded, however, as this difference can be an advantage. In teaching that periodization is specific to historians’ ideas and the criteria they choose to use, this book provides a second example of how and why historians divide time. Another benefit of this book is its organization of each chapter and era around the three central topics mentioned in the introduction. This is invaluable to AP World History teachers in that these themes provide a concise and clear way to show continuity and change from one period to the next all the way to the present. At any point a teacher may devise activities and exercises to teach this valuable analytical skill tested on the College Board’s AP Exam based on a few paragraphs or pages of reading that would not overwhelm the students. Similarly, the regional information could be used as the foundation of comparisons of developments in the three topics in different areas of the globe.

Besides the teaching of individual concepts and essay and analysis skills, the text as a whole could benefit students as an introduction to or a review of World History. Most teachers introduce students to the rigors of the course with a summer assignment. This text presents a wonderful overview of world history that would provide students with previous knowledge on which to build on throughout the year. Each chapter is concluded with a number of clear essay style study questions that can guide students to evaluate and reflect on their reading. Alternatively, the book could be useful at the end of the course as a quick overview of important concepts before the AP Exam.

Espousing the broadest view of history from the creation of the universe and coming down to local historical circumstances, *World History: The Big Eras* is, as the authors declare, “a compact history of humankind” that is accessible to young high school students and is a highly recommended teaching tool for their instructors.

Trevor R. Getz, Richard J. Hoffman, and Jarbel Rodriguez, eds. *Exchanges: A Global History Reader*. Volume I, to 1500. 365 pp. \$56.20. Volume II, from 1450. 344 pp. \$54.40. Both volumes: Pearson Education, 2009.

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Exchanges: A Global History Reader is a recent entry into the expanding market of readers available for use in the world history survey, but *Exchanges* is set apart from similar texts by its approach to document selection and its focus on teaching students to do the work of historians. The selected documents include both primary and secondary sources organized in nine parts across the two volumes with each part devoted to “a global inquiry investigated and debated by historians.” (Vol. 1/2, xiv) Each part is further subdivided into chapters that address issues and approaches within the broader field of inquiry. Organized in this fashion, the authors successfully communicate the major themes and controversies of the still developing field of world history while making a significant contribution to the teaching materials available for the world history survey course.

The idea for *Exchanges* emerged from the instructional experiences of its authors at San Francisco State University where they perceived the need to move students beyond the standard textbook world history narrative in order to engage students in understanding “history as debate” rather than “history as fact.” (Vol. 1/2, xii) It is the debate that drives the selection of materials rather than adherence to a “canon” of primary sources organized chronologically by region. For example, an inquiry into migration during the first millennium is linked to a broader discussion of world systems with primary source excerpts from Ammianus Marcellinus and Bede as well as secondary source excerpts from Romila Thapar, Michael Coe, Christopher Ehret, and Lester Little. Taken together the sources encourage students to think not only about migration in terms of the relationship between the imperial core and periphery but also about the construction of a master narrative. Similarly, students reading in Volume 2 of *Exchanges* are asked not to read from a list of primary documents related to the early development of the Atlantic world but to consider selected primary sources that inform the historical debate inspired by Jared Diamond in *Guns, Germs, and Steel* and David Landes in *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* among others. Questions at the end of each part and each chapter assist students in mastery of the material and in making connections between the various sources as they participate in the historical debate.

While the text’s approach to source organization is refreshing, it is not without its drawbacks and does require some innovative thinking on the part of instructors. The correlation of the debates to the narratives found in most world history survey texts can be complicated. While chronological in nature, it is theme that drives the organization of documents in *Exchanges* resulting in collections of documents that range across different regions and over longer periods of time than is characteristic of chapters in most world history textbooks. For example, a chapter on threats to cities and civilizations in the ancient world includes excerpts ranging from ancient Sumeria and Egypt to the Mayans and Zhou China to Plato’s Greece. The authors caution against assigning the documents individually and rightly so given that the documents were chosen to illustrate specific historical debates and have limited instructional utility if assigned separately. It is fitting that a collection

such as this would require rethinking of a traditional world history survey syllabus. Indeed, instructors might consider taking advantage of the clear and concise narratives and document descriptions to use *Exchanges* as the main text for the world history survey with supplemental readings assigned from a brief version of a survey text or readings from other sources.

Readers will surely point to omissions or biases evident in this global reader. For example, the authors have not included a unified debate on slavery and the slave trade but related issues are covered through other debates, and the debate presented on global wars of the early twentieth-century is narrowly constructed around western sources missing the opportunity to address the truly global nature of the conflict. Perceived disadvantages such as these are easily remedied in the classroom and do not outweigh the advantage of introducing undergraduates to the important work of the new world history.

Xinru Liu. *The Silk Road in World History. The New Oxford World History.* Oxford University Press, 2010. 168 pp. \$19.95.

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Liu’s work on the Silk Road is a carefully constructed narrative and analysis of the movement of goods and peoples across Central Asia organized by region, period, and dominant group into a very useful textbook for non-specialist college level readers. Her clarity of presentation is complemented by just the right amount of historical and illustrative detail, in my judgment, so that students will neither be overwhelmed by minutiae nor left with a simplistic rendition without nuance or argumentation. The author and editors have thought through, it appears, the needs of students and professors for addressing a period and place in world history that is not well known. In short this is an excellent text that will be useful for orienting students and introducing them to the sources and interpretive problems of ancient and medieval Central Asian history.

The text is organized into six chapters by region beginning with Han China, conflicts with northern tribes, and its ‘look West’; moving on to

Rome looking eastward, including trade across the Arabian desert and Indian Ocean. It then turns to India, and the formation of Buddhist networks and their religious and material character reaching through current day Afghanistan and up to Western China. In the fifth through the eighth centuries “A Golden Age Emerges,” first with the Persian Sassanid Empire and then the later dominance of the Sogdian cities of modern day Uzbekistan. Next the text turns to the Abbasid Caliphate and cosmopolitan Tang China and their military exchange on the Talas River. Finally the text moves to changes in the circulation of goods and peoples brought about by Mongol devastation and regional Khanates. Much in the six chapters of the text will be new to students. However the focus of the narrative on goods and peoples on the Road encourages grasping the larger picture of historical continuity and change.

Throughout the chapters we see the movement of goods, the different products that shaped trade networks, who engaged in trade, who produced and purchased, and how various products and artistic forms influenced multiple peoples in different social strata. In addition at several points Liu offers detailed reading of documentary or archeological evidence, for example, the Tariff of Palmyra, Buddhist teaching on wealth, and the uses and appeal of silks in various cultures across the region and time. This in turn will help students understand the interpretive process, how historical judgments can be made and the limits of our knowledge.

Curiously, there is no conclusion to the volume. With the end of Mongol dominance the text ends rather poetically – caravan towns were “... gradually covered by desert sands and disappeared from the landscape forever.” A few paragraphs on the importance of the Silk Road for the development and diffusion of material culture, and the influence and intermingling of civilizations, both the extent and limitations of contact, might have been appropriate. But perhaps what appears to be an omission provides an opportunity for an extensive classroom discussion and/or an exam topic. The maps are not detailed enough, especially for a North American audience which will probably be unfamiliar with many of the names and places mentioned. Included are a useful timeline and elementary bibliography, as well as an annotated selection of very good websites, some of

which provide additional maps and illustrations. This will be a very useful text for a variety of courses – highly recommended.

Carter Vaughn Findley. *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007*. Yale University Press, 2010. 544 pp. \$40.00, hardcover.

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Lasell College

Carter Findley, a past president of the WHA, has been a beacon in the field of Turkish studies for four decades. This magisterial monograph follows his 2004 text *The Turks in World History* and represents what may be his most cogent contribution yet to his chosen specialty. One of the first points to note is the readability of the author’s prose. His style is clear and inviting in a way that will entice the non-specialist to continue reading.

The book consists of an introduction, seven substantial chapters, and a conclusion. Findlay opens with a succinct yet accurate portrayal of the fruitlessness of teleological studies from the 1960s that were based on modernization theory and applied to Turkey, among other countries. Those of us trained in “Area Studies” at the time were exposed to the many variants of “modernization” and encouraged to accept the notion that each new work in this field that came from the various social science disciplines possessed some sort of magic elixir that would explain change in the region of one’s interest, which in my case was the Middle East. The author takes up the challenge of moving beyond Western notions of “modernity,” while acknowledging gently what I perceive as the general bankruptcy of social science efforts from the time period at explaining the phenomenon. One positive aspect of social science work of the day is the need to explain one’s methodology at the outset of one’s work. Findley explains the reason for his title and then follows that title in his text that includes an analysis of ten writers from 1789 to 2000.

Following a brief description of Islam for those who may be new to the field, he moves on to highlight differences between Muslim and Christian women with regard to property rights. As he continues to set out the course for his work, Findley notes

the challenge of Europe to Islamic societies, i.e., secularism. When he turns to the matter of the modern, he demonstrates he is no Luddite in attitude toward the concept, but rather is receptive to some more contemporary investigations of the term, e.g., the philosopher Charles Taylor and his examination of the idea of the self.

To explain his central thesis, the author begins with Zia Gökarp in whose work he finds a more than viable basis for examining developments in Turkey over the past two centuries. What attracts him to Gökarp is what he describes as that author's combination of ethnolinguistic with religious identity with a commitment to the modern, all of which culminates in what Findley explains as both a radical secularism and a conservatively Islamic tendency. He tells the reader that his study will break new ground by way of its use of the dialectical approach as he describes Turkey's history in light of cultural, social, economic, and political focus (acknowledging his intellectual debt to Fernand Braudel). Successively he delves into Selim III, Mahmud II, Tanzimat, Abdülhamid, imperialism and nationalism, the young Republic, Turkey's expanding political involvement, and finally Turkey's place in the world.

The text is interdisciplinary, especially in the author's use of literary figures and their writings to enhance the reader's understanding of political, social, and religious developments. The final paragraph of the main body of the text offers a brilliant comparative example of this point. There, Findley offers an exquisite comparative summary statement concerning the work of the contemporary Turkish religious thinker Fethullah Gülen and the novelist Adalet Agaoglu, in which he notes similarities for prosecution by the government of these two individuals for their beliefs and ideas. He argues that it was the government that seemed to have difficulty adapting to the changing world positioning of Turkey, rather than the two thinkers being out of step with shifting realities.

In his conclusion, the author notes that by the outset of the Twenty-first Century, the forces of globalization and localization had risen to become a challenge to both the ideas of the 1960s and even potentially to his own notion of dialectic that he describes as having been at work in Turkey over the past two-hundred years. Again he turns to a work of literature, *Kar* by Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk, to strengthen his point as he describes in exquisite

fashion how this novel, in all of its complexities of examination of identity, religion, and secularism, should be read as reflecting a microcosm of today's Turkey.

This fine contribution to the literature on contemporary Turkey should be understood primarily as an innovative perspective on Turkey's past and present. The book can be read with benefit by anyone interested in the country, the contemporary world, or both. Advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and most especially specialists in the field would benefit from a close reading of this noteworthy work.

Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, eds. *The Global Lincoln*. Oxford University Press, 2011. 344 pp. \$29.95, hardcover.

Clif Stratton

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Carwardine and Sexton begin with a bold statement: that Abraham Lincoln has "towered over the global landscape" more than any other U.S. historical figure. While scholars may certainly debate the rankings here, the editors have succeeded in collecting essays that provide a range of historically "imagined, debated, and appropriated" Lincolns mostly from scholars working outside the field of U.S. history. The editors' introductory essay charts the myriad trajectories and appropriations of Lincoln, the least audible of which, they argue, was Lincoln's role as emancipator. However, several of the essays suggest otherwise. The collection employs no chronological or geographic organization, which makes charting a clear evolution of the global Lincoln a bit cumbersome.

In the second essay, Carwardine asks how we might reconcile Lincoln's virulent nationalism with outsiders' claims of Lincoln's universalism. In doing so, he reveals Lincoln's global outlook to be one in which American exceptionalism guided his foreign policy. The subsequent seven essays address Lincoln's many representations in Europe. Harold Holzer examines visuals of Lincoln in European prints ranging from European-inspired gentlemanly portraits to cartoons depicting Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as "twins" of the American civil conflict. Holzer makes a strong case for European interest in the American president and the Civil War by reminding readers that

lithographers created images for economic gain and not at the behest of governments.

Eugenio Biagini argues that Italian and German reformers mapped Lincoln and events in the United States onto their own desires for national unification, liberty, and socio-political reform. While Italians Carlo Cattaneo, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Giuseppe Garibaldi appropriated Lincoln's defense of the Union for their own nationalist cause, Heinrich von Treitschke translated Lincoln's impending victory in the Civil War as a boon for conservative German nationalists whose conceptions of democracy were less-than-egalitarian. On the other hand, Karl Marx saw Lincoln's election as the confirmation that conflict between free labor and slavery could not and should not be avoided.

Michael Vorenberg examines how French republicans understood Lincoln's presidency, the Civil War, and emancipation as decisive blows against Louis Napoleon's imperial desires on Mexico, the continuation of racialized French colonialism in the Caribbean, and political repression at home, even as the Confederacy resembled for other French onlookers their own revolution against tyranny. But Vorenberg rightly notes that despite Lincoln's influence on French republicans, the radicalism of French intellectuals and the establishment of the Paris Commune in 1871 recast Lincoln as an anti-radical and as "a poor symbol of universal citizenship."

Lawrence Goldman contends boldly that British responses to Lincoln's political decisions, particularly what British liberals regarded as a hesitant and unfinished Emancipation Proclamation, were ill informed. Since *The Times* maintained hegemony over the 1860s British media, its view of Lincoln as a despot ignored the nuances with which Lincoln the politician navigated his nation's civil conflict. Adam I. P. Smith provides contrast to Goldman, contending that from the late nineteenth century through World War II, Britons rehabilitated Lincoln. A contingent of "Lincolnophiles" emerged to herald the sixteenth president as a symbol of working-class righteousness, heroic statesmanship, and global emancipation from Nazi tyranny. Kenneth Morgan reveals Lincoln's appeal in Wales, where his humble upbringing, non-conformity, and self-made life narrative connected with Welsh libertarian values, even if after 1918, the Welsh Labour Party came to see the United States not as the "last best hope of democracy but as the lynchpin

of capitalism." Kevin Kenny uncovers the myriad ways in which opposing sides in the Irish nationalist fight invoked Lincoln as a symbol of their causes.

Vinay Lal's essay begins a series that weave European interpretations with voices from the colonial world. Lal argues that Lincoln's reception among South Asians has been undeniably one of admiration and inspiration. Tamil biographers stressed Lincoln's perseverance. Dalit activists recognized commonalities between their own place in Indian society and the slaves for which Lincoln proclaimed emancipation, and Nehru recognized Lincoln and Gandhi as kindred spirits. Carolyn Boyd asserts that Spanish abolitionists, initially disappointed by Lincoln's first inaugural, became deeply vested in his veneration after he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. But after 1898, Spanish leftists tempered their veneration of foreign icons when they fell under increasing suspicion of sedition from Catholic traditionalists. Nicola Miller identifies three Lincolns that have emerged in Latin American political discourse: Lincoln the nation-builder in the 1860s, Lincoln the "natural man" in the 1890s, and Lincoln the *americanista*, or champion of modern republicanism, in the 1930s and 1940s.

De-min Tao illuminates Lincoln's real impact on East Asia during his presidency, his reception as a symbol of industriousness, democracy and later as a target of criticism of American foreign policy. Jörg Nagler charts Lincoln's reception across distinctive German political epochs. After 1871, Wilhelm Liebknecht cast Lincoln as a Social Democratic martyr. For his preservation of the German republic after World War I, Weimar president Friedrich Ebert was touted in death as Lincoln's German equivalent. After a hiatus under Nazi rule, Willy Brandt exhumed Lincoln as a unifier and as the forbearer of human rights in the post-war era. Kevin Gaines's essay charts Lincoln's influence on pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah and others, who identified their own struggles against colonialism as kindred to those of African-Americans during the Civil Rights Era.

Final essays depart from Lincoln's reception abroad to examine Lincoln's projections by Americans themselves. David Blight's supposition that both Americans and foreigners alike have considered the U.S. South the nation's most distinctive region grounds an essay that investigates the many Lincolns that have colored Southern perceptions of the president and of the South's relationship to the rest

of the United States. For black Southerners, Blight notes, Lincoln's image as the emancipator served to legitimize a citizenship historically suppressed or denied by white America. Jay Sexton's concluding essay contends that U.S. statesmen, including Barack Obama and George W. Bush, and the United States Information Agency (USIA) have evoked Lincoln as the preeminent American statesman in order to shape intended U.S. foreign policy messages.

While this volume is both geographically and chronologically disjointed, it nevertheless has value not only for scholars of Lincoln but also for U.S. and world history teachers. Americanists will find opportunities with selected essays to help students understand the global implications of the U.S. Civil War, emancipation, and American nationalism. However, teachers will want to take care not to simply overstate Lincoln's impact or repeat the American exceptionalist rhetoric espoused by current and aspiring U.S. statesmen and women who like to evoke Lincoln. As several of these essays demonstrate, Lincoln's global reception was anything but blind admiration for the American statesman or the American political system. Rather it was the promise of American ideals that some saw in Lincoln.

World history teachers will also find some essays appropriate for themes including anti-colonialism, nationalism, global emancipation movements, and globalization more broadly, though none will likely serve as centerpieces of thematic discussions. The real utility of this volume lies not in the classroom but as a potential model for future collections that examine the reception of singular historical figures who have "towered over the global landscape" like Lincoln. The Global Gandhi, the Global L'Ouverture, or the Global Guevara might prove equally powerful assessments of the adaptability and myriad receptions of historical actors in the collective global imagination.

Jack Goldstone. *Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History, 1500-1850. Explorations in World History*. McGraw-Hill, 2009. 184 pp.

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Arkansas Tech University

Jack Goldstone begins his investigation with a few simple observations about global inequality followed

by a question. A small percentage of people today are rich. Many more are poor. Most of the wealthy live in only a few regions of the world. How did this state of affairs come about? The author notes how previous generations of students were taught that modern inequality is linked to the rise of the West, a two-millenia-long process whereby Mediterranean and European peoples (and their descendants around the world) leveraged their values, creativity, and ingenuity to build eventually the powerful western societies of the twentieth century. In this slim, readable, and very useful volume, Goldstone challenges this traditional Eurocentric narrative by summarizing and synthesizing recent findings of economic and social historians who come to a very different conclusion: up to about 1500 CE, Europe was behind the rest of the world in every category and only caught up by about 1800. Even then, Europe's rise was based "to a large degree on the achievements of other civilizations" (viii). The eight chapters and conclusion that follow fall into three blocks. Chapters 1 and 2 show that Asia was wealthier and more developed than Europe ca. 1500 but also that no society anywhere on the planet had achieved a "modern" degree of prosperity and power by 1800: all were still caught in cyclical patterns of growth and decline. Chapters 3 through 6 raise several common explanations for Europe's rise (and presumed superiority) but Goldstone rejects each in turn as insufficient, flawed, or simply false. In chapters 7, 8, and the conclusion, the author argues that a "culture of innovation" developed in Europe (especially in Britain) between the Renaissance and about 1800 and thereafter allowed Europe, the West, and more recently, the Rest of the world to break out of cyclical patterns and achieve sustained, accelerated growth.

Chapter 1 argues that circa 1500 "riches were in the East" because Asian societies engaged in more extensive and more intensive trade, as well as reaped the benefits of higher agricultural productivity. Higher productivity allowed Asian societies to support more elites and more craftspeople, who, in turn, produced more specialized products. In chapter 2, Goldstone acknowledges that Europe, that is, *parts* of Europe, did grow and advance between 1500 and 1800 and achieved a basic parity with wealthier regions in Asia, but that such development was sporadic, geographically isolated, and ultimately of little consequence. Indeed the author goes still

farther by arguing that no region of the world was capable of sustained cumulative growth by 1800. Humans were still at the mercy of climate and disease. So far it is clear that Goldstone rejects not only a traditional Western Civ narrative of gradual European development but even the arguments of those, like John Wills, who postulate an “early-modern world,” or others who argue for an Asian model of development in which Indian or Chinese societies could have, eventually, pulled the world into modernity. Simply put, in 1800, neither Europe nor Asia was poised at the threshold of modernity; the entire world was still stuck in age-old cyclical patterns of growth and decline.

In chapters 3 through 6, Goldstone raises and rejects several arguments for the rise of the West. Was religion a key factor? No. European Christianity did shape the continent’s politics and culture but not its economy to any significant degree. What about the colonial and commercial empires built by Europeans after 1500? Yes, Europeans did conquer the Americas but they were aided greatly by native allies and virulent diseases. Europeans did not, however, conquer large swaths of Africa or Asia until after 1800. In the realm of commerce, Europeans did enslave millions of Africans but slavery produced neither great wealth nor modern industry and, at the same time, Europeans continued to desire greatly the products of Asia. Europeans were successful at inserting themselves into global commerce by 1800 but they neither dominated it nor did their conquests or commercial contributions create a breakthrough to modern, sustained development.

What about standards of living and population dynamics? Did Europeans, between 1500 and 1800, learn to control birth rates and poverty through conscious efforts? Goldstone concludes that some parts of Europe, notably England and Holland, achieved standards of living similar to the wealthiest regions of Asia but that, in the end, there was glorious wealth and grinding poverty in both Europe and Asia. The real divergence, prior to 1800, was not between Europe and Asia but between the rich and the poor in both regions. Finally, what about the politics and policies of European states? Did they somehow contribute to European success? Goldstone rejects the typical argument that a splintered Europe created more competition between nations while Asia was dominated by monolithic empires (100) and he notes that countries in both Asia and Europe were autocratic,

faced and suppressed many revolts, and collected both high tariffs and taxes; indeed, England had the highest taxes and tariffs “in Europe, and probably the world!” (111) Alleged competition, citizen movements, and calls for free trade were not driving forces in European development prior to 1800.

At this point, any reader would recognize that Goldstone has made it abundantly clear that “the West” had not yet risen by 1800, that Asia was still ahead in most categories of wealth, development, and complexity, and that Europe did not hold a strong hand that would predict future success. However, in my reading, the trajectory of the book turns on page 123, where three times in one paragraph Goldstone argues that real change occurred “from about 1850 onward.” This change was not driven by the beginnings of industrialization but by its spread throughout England and across Europe. This spread, in turn, was based on a “culture of innovation” (120) that began in England in the seventeenth century, spread and accelerated throughout Europe by the mid-nineteenth century, and was bringing about massive societal change by the late nineteenth century. How and why did this culture of innovation develop? Goldstone argues that Britain enjoyed a unique social environment in which the ideas of research scientists, the skills of craftsmen and tinkerers, and the goals of entrepreneurs and industrialists overlapped and energized one another (133-34). While Britain, and later the rest of Europe, embraced this new culture of invention, many Asian societies suppressed learning and innovation, promoting instead rigid orthodox traditions. Europeans, however, beginning already in the Renaissance, came to question their ancient authorities and sought new systems of knowledge. The empirical tradition, promoted in England by Francis Bacon (perhaps the individual star of Goldstone’s narrative), combined scientific research with practical engineering to create advances in technology that fascinated the public and attracted the interest of entrepreneurs. The result was the birth of both modern industry and the modern world.

Jack Goldstone has provided students and teachers of world history a complex yet well-organized and very readable explanation of the rise of the modern world. Each chapter is packed with data, graphs, charts, and historical details but all are presented in a step-by-step argument that unfolds clearly. The almost catechetical rhetoric of chapters 3

through 6, with its rhythm of questions and answers, is especially effective at presenting a host of information within a clear framework. Goldstone's point of departure, that in 1500 Asia had the goods and the cards, is not new for scholars and teachers of world history. But, even for these groups, his book offers a welcome and useful summary of the state of the question: why Europe? It must be stressed that his book is written primarily for students and I believe it will prove useful to them. Each chapter opens with a summary "preview" and then unfolds with several sections, each given a clear and explicit title to help the reader along. Each chapter closes with a summary and a transition that introduces the next topic.

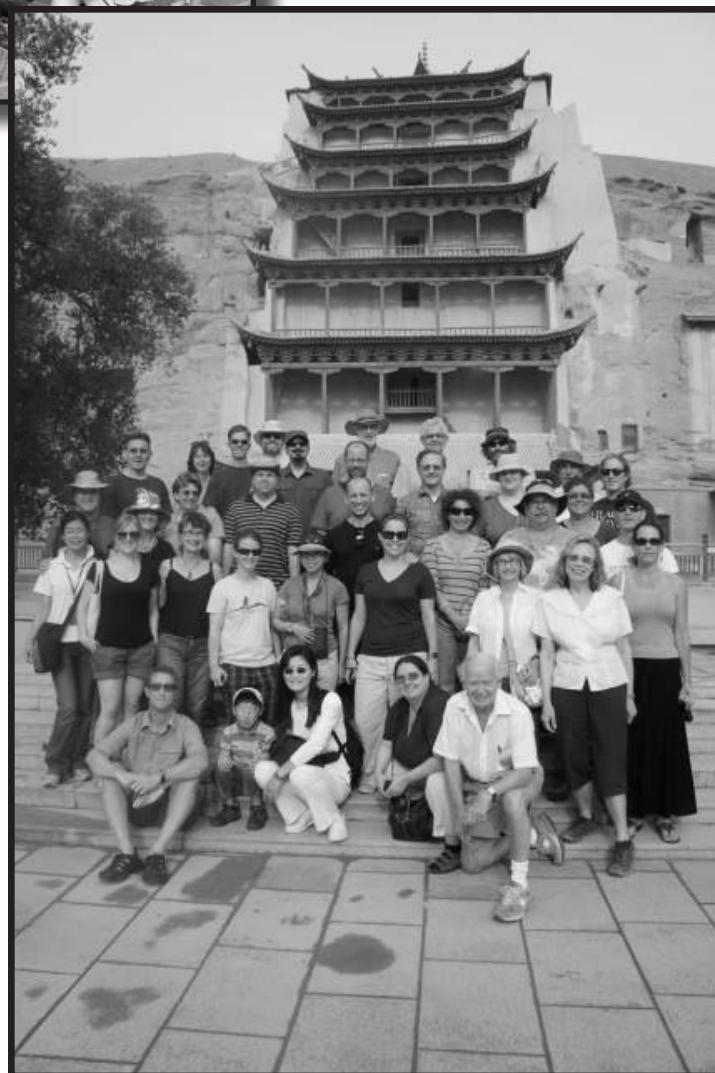
One could question the title of the book and its explicit time-frame, given that much of the analysis Goldstone presents in fact stresses why the West did *not* rise between 1500 and 1800 and why Europe was *not* the dominant world region until "from about 1850 onwards" (123). Such a point of critique is perhaps a quibble but it does raise two further points. As noted above, Goldstone clearly rejects any notion of an "early-modern" Europe and even an "early-modern world," stressing the cyclical confines and biological restraints of pre-modern societies. He makes a strong case but it is not ironclad. As earnings rose, so did prices, thus cancelling each other out (graphs on pages 23 and 25). Life expectancy did not show any significant rise until the 20th century. These points support his argument. But the table on page 104 that shows a doubling or tripling of the population in England, France and China can't so easily be explained away. In comparison to what came later on, changes during the period 1500-1800 may seem insignificant, but in comparison to what came earlier, early-modernists can still make an argument for fundamental change. A second example of change over the timeframe of 1500-1800 comes with Goldstone's explanation of the "culture of innovation," the key to his argument. In the first six chapters, Goldstone shows how Europe was behind Asia and that none of the following – not European religion nor Europe's global empires, joint-stock companies, social demographics, or political traditions – can explain or could have predicted the surprising turn of events that occurred after 1850. Then Goldstone introduces the culture of innovation and leads the reader *backward* to its beginnings, first to the period from 1700-1850 (133-35) and then all the way back to the Renaissance

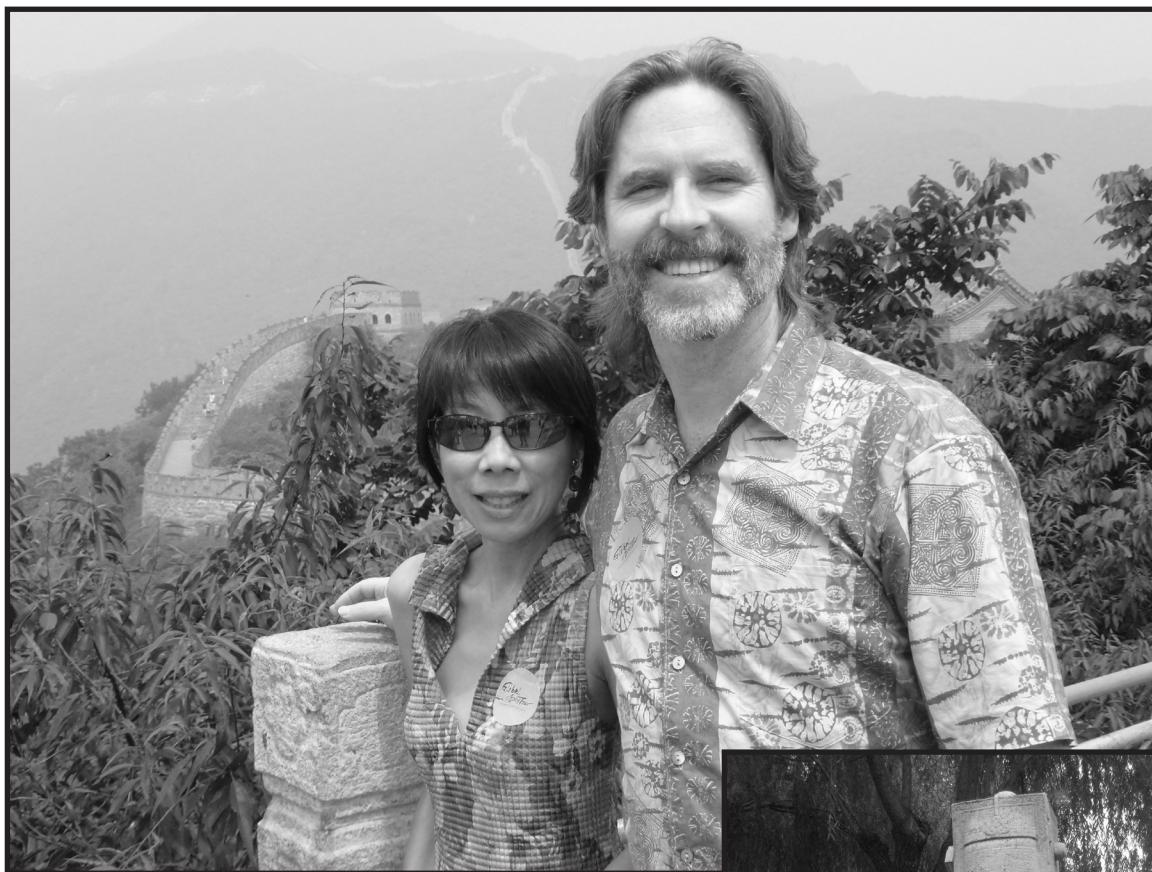
(147-50). From there the narrative turns around and goes forward again, through the scientific revolution (150-55) and the "Age of Ingenuity" between 1700 and 1800 (155-61). I bring this up not to accuse the author of some rhetorical sleight-of-hand (was there or wasn't there something going on in Europe 1500-1800?) but to point out how, perhaps ironically, Goldstone's conclusion puts us in territory not so far away from the old Western Civ narrative. Europe, at least in one category, was perhaps exceptional. Beginning in the Renaissance, some European elites were willing to set aside tradition, seek out and embrace new ideas, and forge a new culture that led to the modern world. What prevents Goldstone's argument from falling backwards into Eurocentrism is that he explicitly points out how the Renaissance and the scientific revolution were built upon global intellectual and commercial traditions. Stated in shorthand: Muslim math, Chinese gunpowder, and Indian spices.

Finally, it is beneficial to compare the findings of Goldstone with the thesis of another recent book that also addresses the rise of the West with a student audience in mind: Robert Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World* (2002; 2nd ed., 2006). Both books begin by asking questions about inequality, both explicitly seek to move away from Eurocentric explanations, both seek to compare Europe and Asia, thus placing the question in a global context, both see China and India as the real centers of wealth ca. 1500, both stress global biological constraints prior to 1800, and both see Europe's rise as a late event. Beyond these points of agreement, their analyses diverge. For Goldstone, the answer to the question "Why Europe?" lies in the culture of technological innovation. For Marks, the answer is to be found in Europe's conquering empires and commercial successes. Marks argues that exploration and conquest gave Europeans access to resources: silver and slaves, cotton and tea. Eventually, Europeans (specifically the English) were able to use their control over resources to weaken Asian economies at the same time that the geographic happenstance of plentiful coal gave them the power to enhance their control even more. Two other differences between the two works are that Marks accepts the notion of an "early-modern world" while deemphasizing the links between pure science and industrialization. Fundamentally, Goldstone differs from Marks in his argument that resources

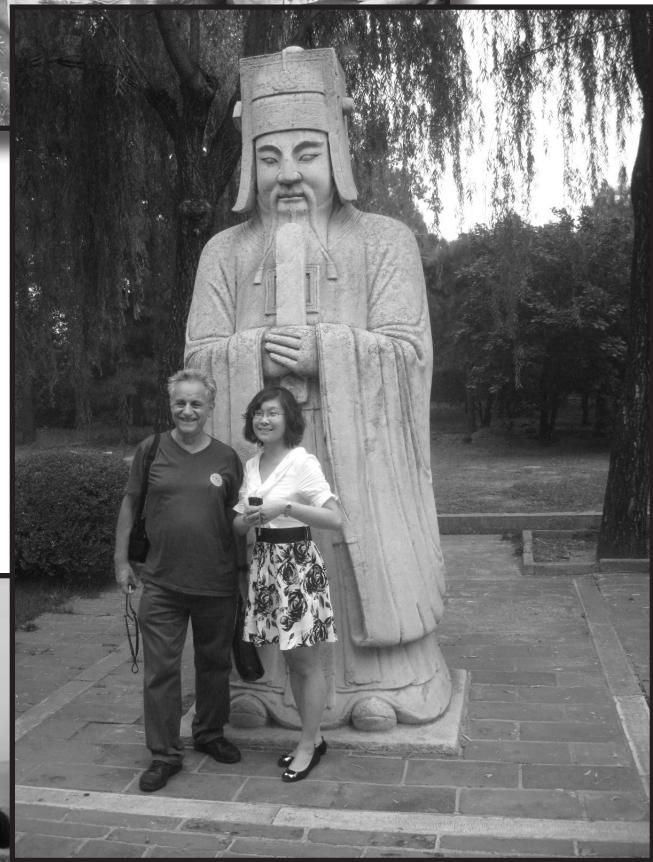
alone are not enough to make the shift to sustained and accelerated modern growth. Technology is necessary to make use of resources. Technological innovation was thus the critical element that jump started the modern world (for the current status of this debate, see the February 2011 supplement to *The Economic History Review*, vol. 64). Certainly, teachers of

world history as well as students can benefit from a comparative reading of these two excellent syntheses of recent research. Whether alongside Marks, or standing alone, Goldstone's brilliant book is a welcome addition to the long and fascinating debate on the question: Why Europe?





Scenes from the WHA in China



World History Bulletin

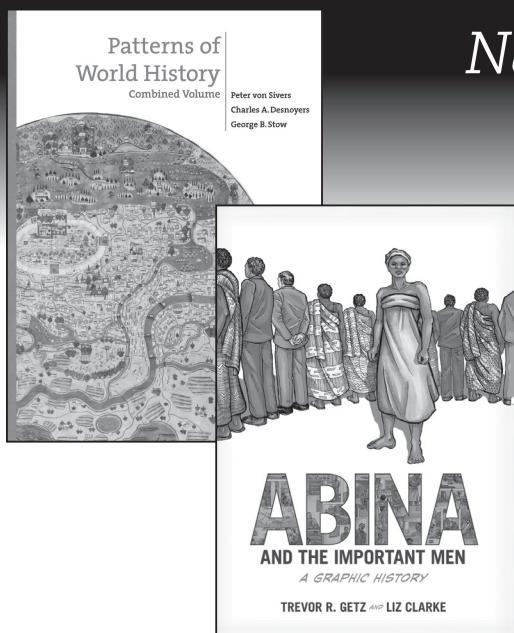
Special Issue on Teaching and Learning World History, Spring 2012 Call For Papers

As historians and teachers, we are all too aware of the notion held by students, policy-makers, and the public that history is something that has little bearing on the present or the future. And while we know these perceptions hold little value, connecting the immediate present and future to the past is something easily lost in our daily classroom interactions. In an effort to shed light on the opportunities to expose vital connections between past and present, the *World History Bulletin* invites essays (3,000-4,000 words) and lesson plans centered on how we might better and more directly integrate the historical origins of contemporary global issues into our classrooms.

Contributions might focus on the historical origins of global events or processes such as popular uprisings, genocide, global capitalism and economic recession, or climate change. Other possibilities include some of the more cumbersome subjects to broach with high school and undergraduate students, such as how religious, Orientalist, or exceptionalist systems of knowledge and perceptions shape media and popular representations of other cultures and global events. Still others might reconcile how to best integrate contemporary global issues with the standard chronological approach to history. We also invite contributions from the “learning” side of world history: what do a knowledge of world history and an ability to connect it to the present do in terms of student outcomes? How do we teach world history, and how do we measure in meaningful ways the extent of student learning? Do competing systems of knowledge (from Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs) produce different ways of teaching and learning the global past?

If relevant, contributors are encouraged to include in their narratives examples of critical thinking questions, primary source documents, readings, films, news sources, assignments, or any other means of instruction that might further the goal of more closely linking the past and present and assessing students’ understanding of these connections. Please send submissions along with a C.V. to Clif Stratton at clif.stratton@wsu.edu by December 15, 2011.

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