UC Merced
The Undergraduate Historical Journal at UC Merced

THE

UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

AT UC MERCED

The Undergraduate Historical Journal
At University of California, Merced

The Undergraduate Historical Journal is edited and managed by undergraduate history majors attending UC Merced. Publishing bi-annually, it is organized by The Historical Society at UC Merced and authorized by the School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts.

This spring issue is dedicated to those individuals whose support and guidance made this project possible.

Thank you.

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Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Fellow historians and history enthusiasts,

It is with great pleasure that I reveal for your reading pleasure the second issue to the second volume of the Undergraduate Historical Journal at UC Merced. After months of editing and collaborating with our student authors, we have composed an issue that we believe reflects the sincere passion and dedication that our fellow students have for the field of history. With an interesting array of topics for you to read, from Elizabethan England to the effects of the United States' involvement in Vietnam, we hope you enjoy this latest issue of the Journal, and we hope to have your continued interest and support in the future as we strive to continue publishing the work of UC Merced students.

This is a particularly unique and exciting issue, for it is our first to include the abstracts of historical topics that our universities' history majors have researched in their spring History Capstone class. From a plethora of topics in both world and U.S. history, these abstracts illustrate the constant mission of the historian: to explore and interpret the past while making interesting and essential connections to the present state of our tremendously diverse world. We hope to see this extraordinary addition to the Journal as a new tradition that will remain for years to come, for we believe that it is extremely important to archive the research of the talented students of history at UC Merced. It is also essential that future history students receive guidance and inspiration from reading these abstracts, in hopes that it will inspire them to produce their own historical work in the future. This abstract project has become a tremendous feat for the Journal, and I look forward to see what else the Undergraduate Historical Journal can achieve in the years to come.

I now take this opportunity to personally thank all those who made the completion of this spring issue conceivable. This whole project would not have been made possible without the tireless efforts of the Journal's committed editors, along with the cooperative efforts and guidance from UC Merced's history faculty, including Professors Ruth Mostern and David Torres-Rouff. In addition, I wish to thank the predecessor editors and founders of this journal who have offered their constant aid and experienced guidance to the current editorial board; I truly hope that we have lived up to your standards and dreams for the Journal. And last but certainly not least, I want to thank all friends, family, and loved ones who have offered continuous support and encouragement over the course of this semester. I would not be able to witness this great accomplishment without the help of all you amazing individuals. I am extremely proud of this issue, and I invite audiences from far and wide to come witness the grand efforts of UC Merced's historians.

Most sincerely,

Havilliah J. Malsbury
Editor-in-Chief and fellow historian

Letter from Professor David Torres-Rouff

Fellow Historians,

I am honored to have spent the Spring 2015 semester working with an energetic group of History Majors who are completing their Capstone Essays. The Capstone Essay serves as the culmination of the History major. Students generate an original, analytical, historical narrative based on substantive primary source research and extensive scholarly reading. Participating in the process—helping students find archival materials, narrow their research questions, and engage in round after round of revision—brings me back to my own senior thesis on race and justice at California's Folsom Prison during the 1800s, which I wrote to earn my A.B. from UC Berkeley in 1995. Working at the Bancroft Library three afternoons each week, pouring over the enormous, handwritten ledgers that logged every incoming inmate, his crime, sentence, national origins, distinguishing markers (including complete descriptions of every tattoo) convinced me that I wanted to pursue a career in history.

How delightful, therefore, that your enterprising peers through this outstanding journal have decided to include the abstracts for all History Capstone essays from Spring 2015 forward. As the primary means by which scholars communicate with each other, academic journals play a critical role in the development and exchange of ideas, strategies, and foci. Including the abstracts means that your work will be part of this extended intellectual conversation. Beyond building a collective, institutional memory that helps mark our own identity as historians, having the abstracts in the journal offers an easy way for our alumni to access their own memories of research and writing; to preserve their own history as History majors.

With gratitude to all of the students whose energy makes my work possible,

David Torres-Rouff
Merced, CA
May 2015

Pasta Politics: Politics and Italian food Practice in the Fascist and Post-War Periods

By Nicholas Langer

G*arlic & Oil: Food and Politics in Italy*, by Carol Helstosky, Associate Professor of Modern European, Italian, and Food History at the University of Denver, takes a novel approach to understanding Italian history and politics. [1] Her book is unique in that it examines the effect of political choices on the Italian people through the lenses of food and consumer behavior, an approach to Italian history that before was not systematically examined. The time period which she covers, from the unification of the Italian peninsula through 1960, provides an interesting period through which to view the development of Italian culture into the cohesive and easily recognizable identity—especially food identity—which we see today. It is my contention in the paper that Helstosky's examination of the relationship between food and politics provides a relevant complement to the economic and political themes commonly discussed regarding fascism and the recovery period.

The central problem on which Helstosky's thesis centers is the idea that Italian politics both directly and indirectly shaped Italian food and consumer culture. Thus, "[t]he purpose of [her] book is to chart how government interventions created and sustained new consumption situations for Italians," and she ultimately asserts that "politics shaped the Italian diet." [2] The segment of society on which she focuses is the poor, working, and middle classes, as those are the individuals who were most affected by changes in Italian policy. *Garlic & Oil* qualifies as an authoritative historical account of the evolution of Italian food habits due to the rigorous use of primary sources which track the chronology of the influence of Italian politics on food through its chapters. Helstosky harnessed two main bodies of evidence in her research: first, monographs of economic and dietary scholarship contemporary to the period she examines, and second, popular culinary publications—including cookbooks and women's magazines, also contemporary to the period. From these sources, she also draws many of the statistics that conceptualize nutrition standards in each period. The scholarship allows Helstosky to track the evolution of government food policy while the cookbooks are a reflection of the impact of public policy on the food habits that normal Italians idealized vis-à-vis these publications.

Chapter One begins *Garlic & Oil* by examining the state of Italian nutrition from the time of unification through the beginning of World War One. Helstosky uses this chapter to begin her chronological examination of the political influence of politics on food by "[providing] the context for state intervention in the twentieth century." [3] The chapter opens by "charting the public discourse on food consumption" in the nineteenth century, one which "stressed thrift and renunciation out of necessity." [4] This thrift, Helstosky argues, contributed to the unification of Italians through "a monotonous and inadequate diet" that consisted of polenta or hard bread, whose flour was cut with sawdust or dirt to make supplies stretch farther, and that was devoid of

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[1] Carol Helstosky. *Garlic and Oil: Food and Politics in Italy*. New York: Berg, 2004.
[2] Ibid., 2.
[3] Helstosky, *Garlic & Oil*, 13.
[4] Ibid., 12.

vegetables or animal products. [5] The rest of the chapter goes on to describe the process through which Italians scraped together the bare means of survival and the impact of this on food culture. The take away from the chapter, though, is the lack of state intervention to improve the quality of Italian diet. This lack of intervention wanes with the beginning of direct state intervention in Italian diet which is discussed in Chapter Two.

In Chapter Two Helstosky discusses the origins of state intervention in Italian diet and the impact of that intervention on consumption habits and the future of politics surrounding food. The Liberal government, which was in power during the First World War, initially adopted policies that devolved regulation methods such as price fixing to the local level, but which eventually transformed into a centralized and "complex wartime bureaucracy." [6] This intervention served to "[accustom Italians] to goods like wheat, olive oil, canned tomatoes, and pasta." [7] State intervention had raised the standard of Italian food quality to such a point that it would be difficult for Italians to revert back to a lower quality diet. The broader significance of these policies on Italian history can be seen in the contribution of the discontent surrounding the availability of the above food items to the climate which gave rise to fascism.

Chapters Three and Four of *Garlic & Oil* comprise the section in which Helstosky analyzes the relationship between the fascist regime and food policy. Here we see the systematized politicization of food—deliberate use of food to achieve political aims—under the fascist regime at first as a method "of maintaining public order."[8] The fascist's use of food in this way represents a departure from the previous Liberal government. For the fascists, food was used not only as a means to quell unrest, but as a means to form consent. [9] We can examine the significance of this politicization of food in two important ways.

The first is the degree to which the fascist regime enjoyed the consent of the Italian people. Given that Dylan Riley, in his study of the social foundations of European fascism, argues that "the [Italian] fascist project was concerned with making the modern state more representative of the nation," we encounter the same contradictions with fascist food policy as we do with fascist political legitimacy, mainly that in both cases citizens were responding to state dictated propaganda. [10] One example of the influence of food related propaganda can be found in the "cooking of consent," whereby middle-class Italians were placed under pressure to cook in an austere manner which stressed thrift, not out of necessity but for national self-sufficiency. [11] These cooking methods were encouraged by numerous cooking magazines and other publications, all of which were part of the regime's drive towards economic self-sufficiency. [12] It could reasonably be argued, then, that Italian food culture was just as permeated with fascist propaganda and influence as any other part of society. While we can never prove what middle-class housewives thought of food austerity, we can see that Mussolini had turned food into a political tool to develop consensus and manipulate the population.

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[5] Helstosky, *Garlic & Oil*, 13.
[6] Ibid., 40.
[7] Ibid., 41.
[8] Ibid., 65.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Dylan Riley. *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain, and Romania: 1870-1945*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 11.
[11] Helstosky, *Garlic & Oil*, 82.
[12] Ibid.

The second way that we see the politicization of food under fascism is in the alteration of the discourse of the academic community, for by the time World War II broke out scientific studies were also in line with the dictates of the fascist regime. The manufacture of consensus among the general population can be seen in the publication of consumer magazines and cookbooks, based on the recommendation of the regime's experts, which advocated consumption habits beneficial to the regime. In previous chapters we saw the scientific community advocating a more varied and higher calorie diet. However, under the fascist regime we see that the scientists at the National Research Council had since directed their research to "determine the minimal nutritional needs of the nation in order to survive a lengthy war" as part of a general effort to "redefine the Italian population according to its labor power…and for the sake of military expediency."[13] The results of these studies lead to the perpetual rationing of food supplies in Italy in order to facilitate the drive towards self-sufficiency, in addition to giving a de facto prioritization of food supplies to soldiers. This preoccupation with the allotment of food for war reflects the militarization of society and manipulation of scientific discourse in preparation for Mussolini's ill-fated adventures in building an Italian empire.

Chapter Five concludes Helstosky's examination of the relationship between politics and food with an analysis of the Economic Miracle, the revitalization of Italian industry following World War Two. In this chapter she examines the degree to which Americanization influenced Italian food habits and consumer culture. Similar to Paolo Scrivano's observation that post-war standardized housing models based on American designs still "contained pre-war customs," Helstosky observes a resistance to Americanization in Italian eating habits.[14] In this period the government only intervened in Italian food habits for the prevention of malnutrition through state run programs.[15] Popular food habits, then, reflected a preference for the simple foods which they became accustomed to under fascism.[16] These habits were resistant to Americanization for Italians preferred to experiment with snack foods. For their larger meals, Italians mainly bought more of the foods which had been in short supply and signs of social status in previous decades, rather than alter their meals to incorporate American tastes in the form of canned goods and greater meat consumption.[17] Italian consumption habits were essentially driven by "nostalgia for the simple foods of Italy's past" which "grew interest in the nation's regional heritage" of cuisine.[18] Thus, the forced nationalism of the fascist era transformed into a nationalism based on food and Italian culture; this in turn contributed to the relative resistance of Italy to Americanization.

The study of food habits as a reflection of politics was the analytical focus of *Garlic & Oil*. Through this focus Helstosky examined the impact of politics on Italian consumer and food habits from the time of unification through the period of reconstruction and the Economic Miracle. Her analysis of the fascist period reveals that food was among the many devices through which Mussolini sought to manipulate his population and in the post-war period we see the lasting impact of those fascist policies in the resistance to American style consumer practice. In the end, Helstosky's book provides an interesting and valuable angle to think about Italian economics and politics during fascism and the post-war recovery.

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[13]Helstosky, *Garlic & Oil*, 92.

[14] Scrivano, Paolo. "Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy's Postwar Conversion to Consumerism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40, 2 (2005). 321.

[15] Helstosky, *Garlic & Oil*, 131.

[16] Ibid., 129.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

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The Role of Contagion Theory in Creating Colonial Resistance

By Joshua Lourence[1]

P ublic health was an important part of the colonization project. Public health projects served both to justify colonialism as a source of superior western medicine as well as a way to protect the colonizers from disease. However, while colonial medicine sought to improve health and right disease, it wasn't well received, by native people who often viewed Western medicine as intrusive. These public health projects weren't accepted by the colonized without conflict, because they required that the colonized people adopt a European mindset of disease and accept European intrusion into their space and even their bodies,

At the start of colonization, around the start of the 16th century, Europeans continued to believe the classical Greek notion that miasmas, toxic gases produced by rotting organic matter, caused disease. Then, between the 18th and 20th centuries Europeans slowly transitioned to contagion theory, the idea that diseases could be transmitted from one person to another. The transition from miasma theory to contagion theory, while not smooth and sudden, was instrumental in increasing native resistance to colonialism, because it targeted the body. Whereas miasma theory entailed focus on environment, germ theory required sanitizing not just the environment but the bodies of colonial subjects. Because efforts under this paradigm were forced to focus on the body as the source of disease, they led to the increased state intrusion into the lives of colonial subjects. Several disease eradication efforts that led to increased state intrusion on the body included 19th century campaigns to eradicate smallpox and plague in 19th century India, and venereal disease in early 20th century Puerto Rico. These public health projects led to unprecedented state intrusion in the lives of colonial subjects and inadvertently inspired colonial protest.

One of the first diseases that led to sweeping changes in the role of the state in the private lives of the colonized was venereal disease. One of the first acts that attempted to control the spread of venereal disease was the Contagious Disease Acts. These acts required that prostitutes working close to military installations to be inspected for venereal disease on a weekly basis. Those who failed the invasive inspection were put into what were called "lock" hospitals (hospitals which quarantined women and subjected them to painful treatments) until they were seen as cured[2]. The enforcement of this act demonstrates that in the imperial context, public health was focused on the needs of the colonizer not the colonized. Even though the soldiers could give venereal disease to the prostitutes, it was the prostitutes- not the soldiers- who were forced to undergo inspection and treatment for venereal disease. According to David Arnold, an expert of medicine in British India, the Contagious Disease Acts were repealed because: "This was an area in which state medicine … found itself both powerless to devise effective measures of control and in danger of provoking public outcry"[3] . The repeal of the Contagious Disease Acts reveals that colonial officials were aware of the potential invasive public health policy could have in creating resistance to colonial rule.

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[1] The author, being also an editor, recused himself from the editing process regarding this article. It received no special treatment and was required to conform to all standard requirements.

[2] Laura Briggs. *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex Science and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley, University of California Press 2002) 23.

[3] David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (Berkeley University of California Press 1993) 86.

The Contagious Disease Acts also inspired similar policies in Puerto Rico. In 1918, after the U.S. had already granted Puerto Ricans citizenship, hundreds of Puerto Rican women suspected of being prostitutes were incarcerated and given intensive and painful treatments for gonorrhea and syphilis[4]. So many women were incarcerated that the Attorney General had to feed the women with less than sixteen cents a day in order to keep the project sustainable[5]. These actions also provoked protest from the Puerto Ricans. The most dramatic example of resistance was from the women themselves. Three hundred women rioted. There was also a strong political movement from the islanders that included newspaper articles, local political activism and even a group sent to the capital to demand the release of the women[6]. This demonstrates how a public health policy that was ostensibly designed to improve the health of Puerto Ricans caused social conflict and discontent among the very people it was theoretically protecting. By intruding into the private lives of Puerto Ricans, the U.S. inadvertently produced a strong resistance movement.

Venereal diseases weren't the only diseases that colonizers tried to control. The eradication campaigns for other diseases could also be rendered ineffective by the resistance that they created and a prime example of this effect is the attempt to eradicate smallpox in India. Smallpox in India is unusual because it had a strong religious connotation; according to David Arnold, "smallpox was identified with a goddess known generally as Sitala"[7]. The relationship between the disease and the goddess posed difficulties for secular authorities who attempted to import the "superior" method of smallpox control, vaccination, to replace the traditional method of inoculation. Indian inoculation was viewed as a religious ritual performed by several different castes of the Sutra class.[8] In comparison to the traditional ways of treating smallpox, vaccination violated several religious taboos. In the early days of vaccination, fluid containing cowpox was transferred from one person to another. This was viewed as polluting especially because the donors were often of the lowest castes and the higher castes feared pollution by the lower castes[9]. New improved methods of vaccination also provoked problems with the religious beliefs of Indians as well because they were made from calf's blood, and cows are a sacred animal in Hinduism. [10] These objections bred hostility, which often manifested itself in the form of rumors. These rumors were generally tied to conspiracy theories about British attempts to dominate India. According to Arnold: "Vaccination was construed as a site of conflict between a malevolent British intent and something Indian"[11]. Indians also expressed resistance by refusing to get vaccinated. In this case, the cultural differences between the colonizer and colonized increased the resistance to public health measures the colonizer implemented.

Like smallpox eradication efforts, efforts to eradicate the plague in British India also encountered fierce resistance. The efforts to eradicate the plague also reveal that the transition from a miasmatic perspective of disease origin to a contagion perspective was not smooth but varied from doctor to doctor, resulting in conflicting policies. The old guard continued to focus on the environment as the cause of the plague, which resulted in policies that focused on cleansing, like the expensive program in Bombay which tried to clean every gutter in the city with disinfectant. As Arnold said about Bombay during the plague: "the municipality embarked

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[4]Briggs, 48.
[5] Ibid., 51.
[6] Ibid., 49-55.
[7] Arnold,121.
[8] Ibid.,122.
[9] Ibid., 142.
[10] Ibid., 142.
[11] Ibid., 144.

on a massive, almost comically thorough, campaign of urban cleansing … spending more than Rs 100,000 on disinfectant alone by the end of March 1897"[12]. The fact that a municipal government spent so much on disinfection during a plague indicates that they believed in an environmental origin of disease. This policy also faced little resistance, showing the environmental based policies were less provocative than contagionist projects .   The younger more avant-garde doctors held contagionist beliefs and thus focused on the people as the source of the plague. This led to invasive quarantine policies. An example of these policies was the intrusive inspection of train passengers. Since the signs of infection happened in the groin, the inspections were viewed as a breach of personal privacy or worse. As Arnold writes: "Because most doctors were male… their touch was considered polluting or, worse, as tantamount to sexual molestation"[13]. This policy was bound to provoke unrest, but it was an even more explosive when linked with another policy. Those suspected of plague were forced to go to plague hospitals to be quarantined, this led to resistance because of the view that hospitals were polluting, especially because the upper castes were forced to mix with the lower castes. According to Arnold: "The hospital was to many Indians (not least to the higher castes) a place of pollution" [14]. Normally the upper castes would avoid hospitals at all costs because of the possibility of contamination. The British soon recognized the "impossibility of fighting both the plague and the people."[15] The only way the British were able to implement the quarantine policy was to allow concessions to the local population. For example the "residents of spacious house were allowed to use their upper stories and roofs as 'plague hospitals' "[16] thus demonstrating that the British had to adjust their health policies to adapt to local sensibilities. The difference in policy effects can clearly be seen through efforts to contain the plague. The doctors who focused on miasma convinced the city of Bombay to cleanse its streets, which provoked little resistance, while the efforts to stop the plague via quarantine provoked far more native resistance.

As part of public health policy, colonizers shifted from miasma theory to contagion theory. As seen by the example of venereal diseases, this could lead to local resistance due to increased state intervention on the bodies of the colonized. As seen in the smallpox eradication efforts contagion theory could lead to policies that were also religiously offensive, leading to resistance as well. The plague also provided a study of how a combination of both of those factors led to such resistance that the colonizer had to change its policies, demonstrating the power of local resistance in ending some of the more extremely culturally offensive policies. All of these facts lead to the conclusion that the transition from miasma to contagion theory as a source of disease sparked colonial resistance.

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[12] Arnold, 204.
[13] Ibid., 214.
[14] Ibid., 213.
[15] Ibid., 231.
[16] Ibid., 236.

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Mary and Elizabeth Tudor: Embracing and Manipulating Gender Expectations

By Brenda Zetina

B orn to King Henry VIII during the 16th century, Mary and Elizabeth have both served as the first Queens regnant of England. They now share a tomb together in Westminster Abbey. However, while Mary has been portrayed by historians as a barren, intolerant Catholic queen who had an unpopular marriage to Phillip II of Spain, Elizabeth has been regarded as the Virgin Queen and a symbol of English Protestantism. Mary is remembered as a closed-minded religious persecutor, but Elizabeth's image is held in divinity. Modern historians have condemned Mary as being trapped by her own femininity while Elizabeth has been praised for being more masculine than her sister. Nonetheless, Mary was a pioneer of female rule, as her reign set the precedent that allowed her Elizabeth's later rule to be accepted. Mary provided her sister with various examples and lessons of how to deal with the difficulties of being a female ruler in a male dominated society. The embracement and manipulation of gender expectations, her use of virginal imagery, and her presentation embodying masculine characteristics at different times were all responsible for Elizabeth's success in meeting the challenge of being a female ruler. Mary and Elizabeth Tudor were each presented with the most stringent gender expectations of the Tudor era, and how they chose to meet or ignore those expectations would define their success, or failure, as rulers.

Gender Expectations in the 16th Century

The Tudor queens' plight can be explained by understanding the sixteenth century home and women's place within it. As Susan Amussen has suggested, "we cannot understand politics (as conventionally defined) without understanding the politics of family."[1] The gender hierarchy exhibited an arrangement where "wives were subject to their husbands," and as a result "women were subject to men."[2] The problems associated with female rule had been directly influenced by the patriarchy represented in the home. The family was a powerful socializing agent that provided the basis for social and political order. Likewise, James Daybell, whose work has exposed letter writing as reinforcing subservient nature and obedience, argues "the early modern household was seen as a microcosm for the hierarchy of the state."[3] The superiority of men in was sustained in everyday life informally through "culture, custom, and differences in education, and more formally through the law."[4] Maintaining the subjugation of women was seen as crucial to maintaining an orderly household. In the sixteenth century women were expected to be mothers and wives, and therefore were not work in high level professions. If women did manage to find work outside of the home it was often low paying and menial. Despite their differences, both Mary and Elizabeth had the same problem in that they were women rulers in a male dominated society. The men they governed viewed female rule as a threat to their status and

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[1] Susan Dwyer Amussen. *An Ordered Society Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 2.
[2] Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 3.
[3] James Daybell. "Gender, Obedience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters." Sixteenth Century Journal 41, no. 1 (2010): 49.
[4] Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 3.

place within the Great Chain of Being. According to the societal understanding of the time, everyone had their own place in the natural and divine hierarchy. The Tudor queens were initially expected to be good wives and mothers who would let their men rule for them. However, both sisters took drastically different approaches to these expectations.

Mary the Maid

Femininity has played a large role in historical evaluations of the Tudor female monarchs. Thomas Betteridge identifies the gendered ways in which historians have discussed Mary Tudor.[5] He points out that the maternal imagery and use of the term maiden throughout the Marian Reformation to characterize Mary as a maid, and servant to God who was restoring order and harmony to the kingdom. Although this imagery made her seem more able to restore order and harmony, ultimately it did little to counteract the negative connotations surrounding her gender. "Holinshed's Chronicle" is often utilized in Tudor historiography and has become the principal source of historical writings. Betteridge cites how the "Holinshed's Chronicle," a journal published in 1587, delivered an image of a feeble Mary "unable to carry the weight of her crown."[6] Many historians claim that Mary's rule was a complete failure because of her inability to restore the Catholic faith in England or produce an heir. She adhered to the expectations of her gender, but ultimately it had disastrous consequences for her. She was too rigid and inflexible which restricted her ability adapt in response to new challenges. Unlike Mary, Elizabeth was able to manipulate her identities and successfully played off of them to her advantage. While Elizabeth had a female ruler before her, Mary was forced to set precedents for a female ruler, and had to fight harder to legitimize her position.

The Mary Men

Mary's life revolved around three men; the one who maintained her church, the one she married, and the one she never had. Although both Tudor queens had plans to rule the country in spite of the low expectations of their gender, they each knew that they would need males in the government to lend their administrations legitimacy. Each knew their subjects would have difficulty accepting a government run entirely by women. According to Anna Whitelock, Mary used trusted special agents and "representatives of royal will in the midst of insurrection and threat."[7] Like the intimate political agents of her father's Privy Chamber, Mary's household men served as gatekeepers, passed along requests and acted as representatives of royal authority. In Mary's case, Eamon Duffy determined that Cardinal Reginald Pole was "the single most influential figure in the Marian restoration: put briefly, he was in charge."[8] He played a major part in trying to convert English Protestants to Catholicism. According to Duffy, "Even the realization that the Queen's health was failing and Elizabeth's likely succession did not slow the campaign, for Pole himself was seen as a powerful bulwark against any attempt to restore the

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[5] Thomas Betteridge. "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor." In Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, 138-152. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 138.

[6] Ibid., 139.

[7] Anna Whitelock. "Woman in a Man's World: Mary I and political intimacy, 1553-1558." Women's History Review 16, no. 3 (2007): 329.

[8] Eamon Duffy. *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. 33.

religion of King Edward."[9] However, Pole died mere hours after the death the Mary. There was no one to continue the Counter-Reformation and the progress that the Marian Church had made ceased. It was the loss of both political and religious figures, not the "waning of determination, that halted the Marian project, and the Marian burnings, in their tracks."[10] Mary's short reign and the death of one of her most fervent advisors greatly contributed to the portrayal of her reign as a failure.

In accordance with the established gender expectations of her time, Mary was expected find a king, have children, and be obedient to her husband. However, even though Mary was expected to have a King, nobody could agree on who she should have married. When Mary chose to marry her cousin, King Philip II of Spain, the majority of her council and the English people opposed, calling the match unpatriotic. Philip's strong Catholic religion and foreign citizenship were the main complaints of the opposition. Philip's beliefs, merged with Mary's strong Catholic faith, were perceived as a great threat to the Protestant population of England. The infamous Wyatt's Rebellion arose from a desire to prevent Mary's marriage to Philip. In response to the threats posed by Wyatt's rebellion, she relied particularly upon the loyalty of her "male political intimates" to deal with the uprising.[11] Mary was a traditional woman who believed that a wife should be obedient to her husband, and that Philip should be given every respect and privilege that she was given as the monarch. Despite acting as a dutiful woman, Mary's desire to be a loving wife greatly contributed to her unpopularity.

The third man in Mary's life was the son she failed to produce, though not for lack of trying. She attempted to create a male heir that would be able to continue her mass religious conversion. It was also a crucial requirement for Mary's image as a mother. Unfortunately, Mary was unable to produce a child. She experienced a false pregnancy in 1554, induced by stress stemming from Mary's overwhelming desire to have a child.[12] Mary's insistence on living up the expectations of her gender hindered her reign, and ultimately caused its failure.

Eamon Duffy's Mary

Although historians once saw Mary as plagued by weak qualities, new interpretations claim she was actually courageous and politically determined. Recently, Eamon Duffy asserted that Mary's reign was met with public support when she enacted a systematic intimidation of wayward Protestants. Before Duffy's interpretation, "almost everyone agreed that Mary's church was backward-looking, unimaginative, reactionary, sharing both the Queen's bitter preoccupation with the past and her tragic sterility. Marian Catholicism, it was agreed, was strong on repression, weak on persuasion."[13] Duffy has reexamined the religious agenda of Mary's reign, and argues that much of the Catholic restoration was not only making great strides in reverting England to Catholicism, but was also largely supported by the general public. Mary's reputation as a bloodthirsty tyrant is undeserved, since Elizabeth killed many people during her reign as well. Elizabeth "burned no catholics, but she strangled, disemboweled and dismembered more than 200."[14] While in typical historical interpretations, only Mary's

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[9] Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 187.
[10] Ibid., 187.
[11] Whitelock, "A Woman in a Man's World," 329.
[12] Robert Bucholz, and Newton Key. *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History*. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 114.
[13] Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 1.
[14] Ibid., 82.

executions are discussed, Elizabeth executed just as many, if not more subjects. The only difference between the executions was the labels Elizabeth and Mary assigned to it. Elizabeth called it treason while Mary simply called it heresy. [15] Mary is often accused of religious zealotry for executing 'heretics,' Elizabeth's executions of 'treasonous individuals' seems more justified. The majority of the executions in Mary's reign transgressed without incident as there was nothing to suggest disapproval from the overall public. [16]

Elizabeth's Marriage

Each Tudor monarch dealt with the stereotypes surrounding their positions in different ways. According to Anne McLaren, Mary strove to fulfill her gender role by becoming a wife and attempting to become a mother, whereas Elizabeth merely kept up the appearance that she was trying to find a husband to appease her subjects. While initially the Privy Council could not agree on anyone to marry Elizabeth, she eventually announced that she would not marry because she was devoted to England. [17] Elizabeth knew that she would have to give up control of her kingdom once she married. She was pressured by Parliament to marry, but wrote numerous speeches to Parliament, effectively avoiding the question of her marriage. Carole Levin states that "Elizabeth [was] often carefully crafting her statements for public consumption, and they reveal not so much what she felt about marriage but what she felt she would be politic for her to say about marriage." [18] By doing this, she manipulated her public image. In Elizabeth's "Speech to the House of Commons, January 28, 1563," she addressed their concerns over her marriage and succession. In this speech she stated, "I did send them answer by my Council I would marry, although of mine own disposition I was not inclined thereunto." [19] She evaded the question by saying she would marry when she wanted to and would not be forced to. In the same speech, she said, "A strange thing that the foot should direct the head in so weighty a cause, which cause hath been so diligently weighed by us for that it toucheth us more that them." [20] By using the Great Chain of Being philosophy as her defense, she reasoned that the Queen's subjects should not try to command the Queen to marry. Elizabeth's Privy Council urged her to marry since they believed it was for the best for her to have a strong man by her side. She exposed her fiery and autonomous demeanor when she said, "I will have here but one Mistress, and no Master." [21] She couldn't bear giving up control of her kingdom and becoming powerless. As a result of her sister's experiences, she understood the disadvantages of having a husband. She was still attempting to manipulate gendered expectations, however remaining an unmarried woman created problems. As stated before, an unmarried woman was out of the norm, and was viewed as a threat to men. Once she announced she would not marry because she was devoted to England, it became important to manipulate her image once more.

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[15] Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 82.

[16] Ibid., 83.

[17] Anne McLaren. "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England." Journal of British Studies 41, no. 3 (2002): 265.

[18] Carole Levin. *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 44.

[19] Elizabeth I, Speech to the House of Commons, January 28, 1563. *The Norton Anthology: English Literature*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt. Vol. 8th ed. vol. 1. Ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), 693.

[20] Ibid., 692.

[21] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 47.

Elizabeth the Virgin

According to Dale Hoak, in the sixteenth century, England witness the birth of a cult inspired by the accidents of Queen Elizabeth's femininity, remarkable personality, political longevity, and the calculated maintenance of her virginity.[22] The first known writer to associate Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary was John Aylmer. Aylmer integrated Elizabeth with the qualities of "Mother England, linking in strongly nationalistic terms love of England and obedience to the queen."[23] Elizabeth would take on a motherly image like her sister, but since she did not have a husband or children, it became necessary to link her to Mother England and view her as a mother to her subjects. Aylmer understood the challenges that would come from having an unproven and unmarried woman as a monarch, therefore he associated Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary. God had chosen Elizabeth as queen and therefore those who were against her were also against God. Not only did he link her rule to God, but also to Parliament. Aylmer highlighted that she would not be ruling alone but rather that she would have the "seasoned and wise men of Parliament… [to] give her the sort of advice and counsel she needs."[24] She was not trusted to rule by herself, therefore having men by her side gave her credibility. Elizabeth also came to be associated with the biblical figure Deborah, because "it fitted Aylmer's model of female 'magistrate' whose just, pacifying rule rested on 'her commons consent, and confirmacio(n) of laws."[25] This elevation in status made her rule seem more palatable to those who held strongly to the gender stereotypes.

King and Queen to England

Elizabeth used virginal and angelic personas to convey to the people of England a feminine and motherly figure, however she also played on her more masculine traits to prove her strength. When England faced an invasion from Spain in 1588, Elizabeth appeared before her troops wearing a white gown and a silver breastplate; this demonstration affirms her use of masculine theatrics to manipulate public opinion. Like a general and leader, Elizabeth stood by her troops-and ignored her council's requests for her to leave the scene. She knew her life was in danger, but she admirably would not leave. She explained her refusal to abandon them in her speech "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too – and take foul scorn that Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm."[26] As shown by Retha Warnicke, "Women, as well as men, were socialized to accept and to act on the widespread belief of males as the superior sex."[27] English values dictated that women were to be seen as the 'weaker sex' and therefore not capable of being able to handle power, ultimately Elizabeth recognized that her femininity was a weakness. However, she also recognizes that she is not like other women, and

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[22] Dale Hoak. "A Tudor Deborah? The Coronation of Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the Problem of Female Rule." In John Foxe and His World, edited by Christopher Highley and John N. King, 73-88. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002. 73.

[23] Hoak, "A Tudor Deborah," 77.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 78.

[26] Elizabeth I, Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588, Luminariun: Anthology of English Literature <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/tilbury.htm> (accessed April 30, 2015).

[27] Retha M. Warnicke. Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, Commoners. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012), 146.

reaffirmed her authority as a monarch. She acknowledges that as the Virgin Queen she lacked physical strength but declares that she has the inner fortitude of a powerful king.

Conclusion

Both of the Tudor sisters faced adversity in their reigns, and although they had different responses, it is unfair to categorize either sister as a complete success or a complete failure. Despite being a woman in the sixteenth century and the briefness of her reign, Mary was still a powerful and influential ruler. She secured her throne in a coup d'état against Protestant rival, Lady Jane Grey, extended royal authority in the realm, and managed her parliament well.[28] She also set a precedent as the first female monarch to rule on her own in a deeply patriarchal society. This precedent made it easier for Elizabeth's later rule to be accepted. The reevaluated views of Mary help to highlight how Elizabeth learned from Mary's examples (and mistakes), while Elizabeth learned how to deal with the difficulties of being a woman in what was traditionally a male role. Elizabeth took up examples and precedents set by her sister and tailored them to fit her circumstances. The fact that the two queens reigned for such drastically different lengths—Mary's five years against Elizabeth's forty-five—has also contributed to the polarity of opinions regarding the success or failure of each reign. Mary was making progress, but since her reign was cut short, we will never know the full effect of her policies. Both queens exceeded the expectations and limitations of their gender and successfully exploited their femininity; Elizabeth was just able to do it better.

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[28] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key. *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History*. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 108.

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Friend or Foe: Failings of the United States' Modernization Theory in Vietnam

By Emily Vega

B efore the United States government employed full-scale military intervention in Vietnam in the 1960s, policy makers sought counterinsurgent means of preventing a revolution and the anticipated communist takeover of the southern region. These strategies were aimed at stabilizing South Vietnam while crafting it into a new nation-state that would be an ally to the United States. Political and economic theorists during the Eisenhower (1953-1961) and Kennedy (1961-1963) administrations formulated that the key to stopping the revolution was to cultivate the modernization of Vietnam. What "modernization" meant will be further examined in the following pages. In collaboration with Ngo Dinh Diem's South Vietnam regime, the United States implemented a number of strategic programs and poured monetary aid into South Vietnam in an aggressive effort to stabilize the region, pacify and gain the loyalty of local populations, and ultimately prevent communist influence from affecting the people living in the countryside. Efforts made by the United States ultimately proved futile as the National Liberation Front, known to the United States as the Viet Cong, gained control over South Vietnam.[1] Under inadequate theoretical assumptions about development, contradictions in the translation of American ideals into real-world policy, and a lack of cultural understanding, the United States and its modernization strategy clashed with the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination as it reproduced former colonial structures, political conflict and resistance, and South Vietnam's unwanted dependency on resources from the United States.

Contextualizing the Problem: Modernization Theory Defined

Although "modernization theory" can be traced back as far as the eighteenth century's Enlightenment period, along with notions of progress and humanism, ideas on modernization eventually combined in the mid-twentieth century as a compendium for the United States on which leaders based strategies to combat communist expansion on the world stage. One of the best-known enthusiasts of the concept was Walt Whitman Rostow (1916-2003), an economist and political theorist from Yale University who advised several United States presidents on national security from the 1950s through the 1970s and helped shape American foreign diplomacy for Southeast Asia.[2] In his work *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Rostow draws from the course of world history to redefine modernization theory as a series of periods by which a society moves from an economy marked by limited productivity and an agricultural emphasis to one that features an increase in disposable income and durable consumer goods. Rostow names these five periods traditional, transitional, take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass-consumption.[3] An evaluation of how the United States government applied this theory to its foreign relations in Vietnam under Cold War objectives is

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[1] The National Liberation Front (NLF) was a Vietnamese political organization with a military arm that was made of both Vietnamese Communist Party members and noncommunist members and sought to reunify North and South Vietnam.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Walt Whitman Rostow," last accessed April 13, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/510297/Walt-Whitman-Rostow.

[3] Walt Whitman Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 4.

the main focus of this paper.

To begin, the application of modernization theory in Vietnam began with the United States assuming the role of an external force that would help precipitate South Vietnam's transition to a "developed" society, which the United States determined to be vital to preventing revolution in the country. In his introduction of the preconditions for take-off, Rostow articulates that in the course of history, an invasive outside source was likely to spawn the conditions for take-off for the society in question, explaining that an oftentimes advanced external society "shocked the traditional society and began or hastened its undoing." Rostow continues, "But they also set in motion ideas and sentiments which initiated the process by which a modern alternative to the traditional society was constructed out of the old culture."[4] Based upon these statements, it can be argued that the United States met Rostow's preconditions. Although the former French colonial activities and control served as the start of this particular set of historical changes in Vietnamese society, the United States acted as an intentional instigator of that progression.

The formulation of strategic programs purposed to modernize South Vietnam derived from a Cold War-minded understanding of what was unfolding in Vietnam in this time. In *The Vietnam Wars 1945-1990*, Marilyn B. Young, New York University Professor of History, explains the line of thinking used by academic experts that aided President John F. Kennedy on Southeast Asian matters. She explains that communist insurgents operated as "the toxic byproduct of the disruptive process of modernization, in the course of which a small band of ruthless outside agitators were able to exploit the poverty and confusion of a passive population through propaganda and intimidation in order to seize state power on behalf of communism."[5] Under this perception of the social and political workings of the Vietnamese society, the United States government formed their tactics to modernize South Vietnam while simultaneously gaining support from the population and separating civilians from alleged insurgents. The best example of this plan is found in the Strategic Hamlet Program, a form of counterinsurgency, much like the Agroville scheme which preceded it and moved the peasantry into villages where they were guarded and separated from the National Liberation Front.

Literature Review

A considerable amount of books and scholarly articles center on early United States involvement in Vietnam and focus on foreign aid policies and counterinsurgent strategies. Indeed, scholars have explored the shortcomings of modernization theories and programs in South Vietnam, and most rely on presidential archives to research the topic. Many have critiqued the works and policies of Walt Whitman Rostow and other influential social scientists of the 1950s to 1970s as they trace the development of modernization theory and study its implementations. Other works devote attention to specific counterinsurgency programs to examine the subject. Of the substantial material available for research, historians Michael E. Latham, Phillip E. Catton, and David Biggs present the most compelling evaluations of the impact of modernization programs in South Vietnam because each scholar delivers crucial emphases on different facets of modernization theory as the United States government applied it to South Vietnam. Although the works touch upon or encompass various dimensions of the development strategies used in the Southeast Asian country, they contain considerable attention to a specific point of interest—the social, political, and environmental dimensions of

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[4] Rostow, *Stages of Economic Growth*, 6.
[5] Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 290.

modernization projects.

Michael E. Latham, Professor of History and Dean of Fordham College at Rose Hill, provides an extensive examination of the modernization theory in his work, *Modernization as Ideology*, which delivers a cogent critique through the social aspect of its implementations in Vietnam.[6] Latham's research includes a large amount of archival information, such as material from the Agency for International Development, the John F. Kennedy Library, National Security Files, and the United States Peace Corps Library, as well as popular magazines and secondary sources. In chapter five, he presents a thorough critical analysis of counterinsurgency and modernization strategy by providing a detailed use of sources and a concrete focus on the Agrovilles and the subsequent Strategic Hamlet Program. As he describes the lack of success of the experimental Agroville program in 1960, Latham informs, "Corrupt administrators often denied peasants the supplies that the government promised them, and villagers bitterly resented being driven from their homes and forced to pay rent on the small agroville parcels."[7] In an examination of this specific modernization project, Latham offers attention to the local-level effects of modernization methods and uncovers the reactions of populations these programs provoked. This makes Latham's work integral to analyzing the problems found in the application of the modernization theory. His attention to the social attitudes of the strategy reflects the ineffectiveness of the concepts.

Another important contributor to the field, Philip E. Catton, Associate Professor of History at Stephen F. Austin State University, takes careful consideration to the condition of the political relations involved in the United States government's efforts to influence Vietnam. In "Counter-Insurgency and Nation Building," Catton best examines this dimension of the field by providing a deep analysis of Ngo Dinh Diem's goals of governance, revealing the conflict between him and American interests.[8] Using speeches and press interviews of Diem, United States government reports, and Lansdale Papers, Catton conveys a revised perception of Diem, emphasizing his independent-mindedness in governance over South Vietnam. In this work, Catton delves into Diem's value of autonomy in the implementation of the strategic hamlets, stating, "The Ngos deemed self-reliance a virtue because they believed that people forced back upon their own resources would develop the inner strength and common bonds of unity necessary to defeat the nation's enemies."[9] In this statement, Catton unearths an important understanding of the difficulties involved for the political leadership of South Vietnam. Unlike other sources, Catton seems to portray Diem as the mastermind of his programs in South Vietnam. This blurs the distinction between manipulation from the United States and Diem's autonomous objectives, yet it offers that Diem might have been more of a Vietnamese nationalist in his own autocratic way than the pro-United States puppet that other sources have implied. Taken together, Catton's work is indispensable as it insightfully shows the conflict of political interests involved in the United States government's aim to harness the modernization of Vietnam for its own Cold War, economic, and diplomatic purposes.

A final vital yet otherwise overlooked component to understanding the issues within the implementation of modernization theory is an analysis of the material, environmental, and

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[6] Michael E. Latham, "Modernization at War: Counterinsurgency and the Strategic Hamlet Program," in *Modernization as Ideology: Americans Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), np.

[7] Latham, "Modernization at War," 170.

[8] Philip E. Catton, "Counter-Insurgency and Nation Building: The Strategic Hamlet Programme in South Vietnam, 1961-1963," *The International History Review* 21 (1999): np.

[9] Catton, "Counter-Insurgency and Nation Building," 927.

infrastructural impacts of modernization programs on the Vietnamese population. In the article "Breaking from the Colonial Mold," David Biggs, Associate Professor of History at the University of California at Riverside, provides in-depth research into this dimension of the theory's application to Vietnam as he strongly considers the colonial legacy of the region and contributes the most concrete means of critiquing the theory.[10] Similarly to Catton, Biggs draws contrasts between Diem and the United States approaches to the modernization of South Vietnam. He shows how these differences and the obstacles within the Vietnamese infrastructure and geography impeded the success of the United States in its foreign aid policies. With particular attention to the Plain of Reeds wetland region in southern Vietnam, Biggs uses evidence in the landscape, settlements, and machinery, as well as memoirs, monographs, declassified American and Vietnamese reports, and information generated from travel to demonstrate the complex colonial past that aggrieved many Vietnamese. Through this analysis, Biggs argues that the United States and Diem's regime in some ways perpetuated the French structures. Even before delving into the development activities of the United States and Republic of South Vietnam governments, Biggs provides striking context for the nation-building efforts, stating, "As in many present-day war zones, much of the trouble in the Plain of Reeds started with colonial rule - and not just with the violence of the conquest, but in response to built colonial environments that disrupted traditional livelihoods and separated the rich from the poor."[11] Although Biggs's approach diverts focus toward logistical matters in Vietnam while neglecting an examination of shortcomings in the objectives of American foreign aid policy, he still covers the social effects of and reactions to the material infrastructure and developments in Vietnam made by the French, the United States, and Diem. This addition to the field is unique and invaluable in connecting the material cues of modernization to the lives of the population.

Shortcomings of Modernization Theory

From a theoretical standpoint, modernization theory's simplistic understanding of world cultures inhibited government officials from considering the unique histories and conditions of the country that they intended to influence. Kimber Charles Pearce, Assistant Professor of English at Saint Anselm College, analyzes the translation of modernization theory into foreign aid policy through Rostow's use of rhetoric and narrative, explaining "Rostovian theory stressed the commonalities in the evolution of developing nations, but masked significant social, political, and economic differences among nations."[12] Pearce communicates the error of assuming a standard, universal model of modernization while overlooking the complexities and unique dynamics of different countries. Rostow himself reinforces this assertion as he disclaims in the beginning of *The Stages of Economic Growth* that his model of history is "arbitrary" and "limited." At the same time, Rostow expresses that the economic models "are designed, in fact, to dramatize not merely the uniformities in the sequence of modernization but also—and equally—the uniqueness of each nation's experience."[13] Here in order to clarify his evaluation, Rostow both pulls back from his disclaimer and qualifies that his model exaggerates the process

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[10] David Biggs, "Breaking from the Colonial Mold: Water Engineering and the Failure of Nation-Building in the Plain of Reeds, Vietnam," *Technology and Culture* 49 (2008): np.

[11] Biggs, "Breaking from the Colonial Mold," 605.

[12] Kimber Charles Pearce, *Rostow, Kennedy, and the Rhetoric of Foreign Aid* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 118.

[13] Rostow, *Stages of Economic Growth*, 1.

by which nations experience a sequence of history. As the rudiments of the model place the United States' implementation of the theory on a cursory foundation, Pearce's assertion provokes concern for the meticulousness required in assuring that foreign nations steadily progress. Thus, in the formulation of modernization theory, discrepancies between the model and reality already existed. Relying on an assumption of inevitability, the theory could not account for the singular events of history that determine the course of nations.

  To exemplify this concept further at the political level, modernization theory's way of framing revolution as a problem of development rather than as an issue of governance disregarded Vietnam's struggles over political representation and control of resources. In "Decolonisation, Modernisation and Nation-Building," Mark T. Berger, Historian of Modern International History from the University of New South Wales and Lecturer at Murdock University, explains in his critique of the United States' involvement in South Vietnam's governance during the 1960s, "Furthermore, in the effort to build a modern nation-state in the southern half of Vietnam, American policy makers overlooked the fact that many Southerners identified with the culturally and historically delineated nation of Vietnam that was larger than the post-1954 polity presided over by Diem and his successors."[14] Berger's statement reveals that modernization projects could not achieve the support of local populations when the South Vietnamese government and its backers in the United States immediately alienated the people by ignoring their voice and sense of identity. Berger also delivers that the more traditional cultural identity of the Vietnamese formed the basis of cohesion, even stability within the society, regardless of its material infrastructure and economy. American policy-making proponents of the theory failed to apply the value and strength of the bedrock that cultural heritage constituted for the Vietnamese. New regimes could not easily or quickly eradicate such an identity, and the failure to represent it further exacerbated social and political instability.

  In magnification of the shortcomings of modernization in its practical use and despite counterinsurgency's material development efforts, the United States neglected to fully ameliorate the central problems and needs of the South Vietnamese rural majority. As he critiques the United States government's inability to stimulate economic growth as it worked with Diem's regime in South Vietnam, Latham explicates, "In 1954, one-quarter of 1 percent of the rural population owned approximately 40 percent of rice lands in the South, but conservative land reforms did little to address that disparity or compete with the revolution's practice of redistributing landlord holdings."[15] Latham not only shows the emulating strategies of the South and the North to reform the country, but he also reveals that the United States and the Republic of South Vietnam blundered when governments estranged their connection with the majority of the population. Efforts to modernize South Vietnam could not generate support from the Vietnamese populations when the strategy failed to alleviate, and even aggravated, the grossly disproportionate allocation of resources in the country.

  Despite the United States government's ambition to prevent influence from the majority communist North from taking over the South, developments from modernization programs paled in contrast to the North's efforts at reforming the country. Frederick Logevall, Cornell University professor and Yale University graduate, explains in *Embers of War* that the North Vietnamese government implemented land reform with its goal "to alleviate food shortages (the 1945 famine was still fresh in the mind) and break the power of the large landowners—to bring about, as the

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[14] Mark T. Berger, "Decolonisation, Modernisation and Nation-Building: Political Development Theory and the Appeal of Communism in Southeast Asia, 1945-1975," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34 (2003): 440.
  [15] Latham, "Modernization at War," 161.

regime put it, equality for the greatest number among the rural masses." He continues, "Over the long term it achieved considerable results in this regard."[16] Logevall demonstrates that the North actively sought to address the contemporary issues plaguing the majority of the Vietnamese population after the end of French colonialism. Merely constructing the appearance of modernization in South Vietnam with experimental programs and a large supply of monetary aid proves extraneous to the particular grievances of the large rural populations. As Logevall asserts, the North's slow but steady efforts at reform indeed served as a competitive threat to American influence on the South. Industrial and economic development, by American understanding, missed the mark on the key to influence and gain the support of the South's large rural population.

In retrospect of the work of developing South Vietnam, the outcome of the projects shows that the modernization theory was ineffective in its objectives to expand the economy. Describing the complications that urbanization created for the South Vietnamese government, Young states, "From 1966 to 1972, the United States had pumped $2 billion into the local economy, employed, directly or indirectly, some 300,000 people, and, through the workings of the Commercial Import Program, more or less controlled inflation." She states that in the aftermath of the war, "Combined with the global economic downturn of 1973, inflation rates in the South began to climb precipitously, urban unemployment reached 40 percent of the workforce, and there were severe food shortages."[17] Young conveys that the United States government contributed a considerable amount of resources to stimulate the South Vietnamese economy. However, she points out that massive attempts to develop the region generated little return in the immediate decades following. This is a direct indication that the use of the modernization theory to transform the society into a pro-American industrialized nation did not achieve the expected results in the second half of the twentieth century. This marginal contribution to the economic hardships of the Vietnamese, which triggered a reliance on the superpower to prop up the South Vietnamese economy and government, resulted in a paucity of success in ensuring that the population aligns itself with the United States.

Signs of the United States' Political Struggle with a Self-Determined Vietnam

In some ways, modernization strategies employed by American advisors and government officials clashed with Vietnam's ambitions for autonomy by perpetuating the preceding colonial structures in the country. As Biggs describes the United States' undertaking of nation-building projects, like the relocation of northern refugees, after the passing of the Geneva Accords in the 1950s, he asserts, "Despite the rhetoric of Walt Rostow and others who characterized aid to South Vietnam as enabling that country's 'take-off' from an agrarian to an industrialized economy, American aid projects in the mid-1950s relied heavily on former colonial businesses, technicians, and documents."[18] Although the matter is complex, Biggs's insight into the Plain of Reeds illustrates that, in some aspects, the United States' efforts at modernizing Vietnam merely picked up where France left off. In this way, modernization projects, which involved uprooting populations, was counterproductive in winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese population; not only did it disrupt the way of life of the people, but the appearance of the projects

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[16] Fredrick Logevall, "'We Have No Other Choice But to Win Here,'" in *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam* (New York: Random House, 2012), 632.

[17] Young, *Vietnam Wars*, 290.

[18] Biggs, "Breaking from the Colonial Mold," 612.

revived the former French colonial enterprises in the country. This effort would have re-incited the invariable resentment that provoked the Viet Minh to push French forces out of Vietnam. Thus, the modernization concept marginally contributed to the revolution it sought to prevent.

In addition to evidence that draws from the colonial markings of Vietnam's past, tension and resistance to American interference manifested from different political figures of the country. While revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh's awareness of American interference becomes an obvious point of opposition—even as early as he states in a 1952 review, "The U.S. interventionists have nurtured the French aggressors and the Vietnamese puppets, but the Vietnamese people do not let anybody delude and enslave them,"[19]—a more provocative source of resistance came from Ngo Dinh Diem, the political figure whom the United States supported and helped raise to power. Catton describes Diem's administration of the first Agroville or strategic hamlet experiments in the early 1960s, stating, "While US officials had been developing a series of counter-insurgency proposals in 1960 and 1961, the Diem regime had proceeded to fashion its own response to South Vietnam's problems, without seeking to align its plans with those of its superpower ally."[20] Catton shows that even as the United States government depended upon Diem to carry out its development projects in order to stabilize and build up the South, Diem's Republic of Vietnam was obstinate in establishing its own development of the country. Not only did American modernization strategies to prevent a communist takeover lose traction because of the despotic stubbornness of Diem's leadership, but the conflict with Diem served as a wakeup call that the superpower could not expect to carry out its objectives independently from the country in which it intervened. In the same way that the United States endeavored to manage the Southeast nation against the threat of losing its influence there, Vietnam was in a struggle to govern itself independently from outside control.

Serving both in protraction and hindsight of the modernization theory applications in Vietnam, another way by which the United States government counteractively frustrated its relations with Vietnam was through the aid that the superpower poured into the southeastern part of the country. Specious in its benevolent nature, American aid programs and funds to South Vietnam increased tension between the states as it incited the Vietnamese to amass a greater dependency on and obligation to the superpower. Christopher T. Fisher, Assistant Professor of History and African-American Studies at The College of New Jersey and author of "The Illusion of Progress," describes the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support program during the Johnson Administration. In reference to the President, Fisher states, "Johnson's closest advisers were confident that South Vietnam rested on the brink of a developmental breakthrough and needed only a large-scale lending institution like the ADB to jumpstart its infant economy."[21] Fisher shows that, although the creation of the large bank would help Vietnam to develop its infrastructure, the United States failed to mention "strings" attached to the institution: South Vietnam's acquisition of loans would mean economic dependence from increased indebtedness to the institution. This is the crux of the neocolonial semblance of the United States' modernization undertakings. Instead of becoming the stable and autonomous nation it desired to be—capable of providing for and representing itself on the world stage— South Vietnam would be financially bound to an economic institution. Interestingly, the United States, along with Japan, still holds ten percent of the vote and fifteen percent of the capital

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[19] Ho Chi Minh, "The Imperialist Aggressors Can Never Enslave The Heroic Vietnamese People," *Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh Vol. 3*, April 4, 1952, http://www.marxists.org
[20] Catton, "Counter-Insurgency and Nation Building," 924.
[21] Christopher T. Fisher, "The Illusion of Progress," *Pacific Historical Review* 75 (2006): 33.

today.[22]

       A final consideration delves into the core quandary of implementing modernization in Vietnam. Ultimately, even if historians interpret the theory as a benevolent effort to help the post-colonial country grow economically while simultaneously thwarting communism, the efforts of the United States government to modernize Vietnam, especially at the speed at which it aspired to achieve results, could not implicitly be congruous with a self-determined Vietnam. This understanding reflects what the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy elucidates on the essence of war: "It's not just that war is the continuation of policy by other means; it's that war is *about the very thing which creates policy*—i.e., governance itself…it is about which group of people gets to say what goes on in a given territory."[23] A war was already looming between the United States and Vietnam when the United States ventured to assertively accomplish its own geopolitical objectives in the region. Rather than mutual, non-communist allies, the countries became potential adversaries due to the American assumption of indirect power (or the ability to influence and make changes) in Vietnam nearly superimposed over the Vietnamese polity's own efforts to govern the nation. This is the inherent impasse in American efforts to implement the modernization theory in Vietnam. Such a pursuit to develop the Southeast Asian country would require that the equitably represented Vietnamese people carry out American-like concepts and mechanizations of their own will and exertions. Even with an abundance of philanthropic supply, without the exercise of home rule, the push for modernization becomes an offensive maneuver of foreign control.

Conclusion

       The United States' application of modernization theory to South Vietnam in its twentieth century history drew out the menacing nature of presumptuously intervening in the affairs of a foreign nation, even when resting on benevolent inclinations. With contributions to the field by Latham, Catton, and Biggs, as well as a number of other scholars, research demonstrates that the use of the modernization model had theoretical, political, and practical shortcomings in its effort to shield South Vietnam from communist influences. Moreover, signs indicating the potential and actual ineffectiveness came from the post-colonial context of the society, resistance from different political figures, and dependency-inducing aid. The failures in implementation of the modernization theory call to question the basic assumptions that Americans made and continue to make in evaluating the conditions and living standards of other cultures. It is in essence an ethnocentric error in foreign diplomacy. However, the study of Vietnamese political figures, like Ho Chi Minh and even Ngo Dinh Diem, demonstrates that Vietnam was not hopelessly difficult to understand or different from the United States—a country with a colonial past that revolted and established for itself a national identity. Although the American colonial experience differs historically from the Vietnamese experience, the United States did not have to look far to study revolutionary ideology and realize that modernization development cannot pacify a matter that is ultimately rooted in governance, political representation, and control of the country's resources.

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[22] Asian Development Bank Annual Report 2013**:** Promoting Environmentally Sustainable Growth in Asia and the Pacific, December 31, 2013, http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/ar2013/oi-appendix1.pdf.

[23] Brian Orend, "War," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, July 28, 2005, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/war/.

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Mayeri, Serena. *Reasoning from Race: Feminism, Law and the Civil Rights Revolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.

In *Reasoning from Race* Serena Mayeri presents a history of the feminist movement through the legal strategy of the race-sex analogy. She argues that by employing this strategy, feminist lawyers where able to mimic the Civil Right Movement's techniques and reap some of the same results. However, she also demonstrates that the relationship between the two was not always fruitful, and that in some circumstances the race-sex analogy was detrimental to the causes. Ultimately Mayeri explains that it is the inherent similarities between the Civil Rights and feminist movements that contributes to the effectiveness of the analogy in the earlier days of its use, and yet it is the institutional ignorance of the entire issue, as well as the political climate in the Nixon, Carter, and Reagan administrations that dealt crushing blows to the advances made using the strategy.

The organization of this book is chronological as it flows from the revival of the race-sex analogy to the end of the Civil Rights Era during the Reagan administration. Mayeri begins her examination of the feminist movement by focusing on the revival of the race-sex analogy by Pauli Murray. In detailing the establishment of Murray as a central figure in both the Civil Rights movements and the feminist movement, she argues that Murray's involvement in both allows her to be uniquely qualified to use the race-sex analogy. In particular it is her headstrong approach to bridge both movements that leads to the prevalence of the analogy in proceeding cases. Mayeri then proceeds to explain the proliferation of the race-sex analogy in the next chapter. Here it is the

effectiveness of the analogy that led to a closer relationship between the movements. Mayeri asserts this by emphasizing both the growing role of Pauli Murray as a definitive voice in the legal realm and the growing use of the race-sex analogy in ever-more important cases. Moving towards the mid 1970s, Mayeri adjusts the third chapter of this book to the effect that the shifting economic and political climate has on the legal proceedings of the period. Most importantly she focuses on how the growing discontent with the implementation of reforms is caused by the growing conservative movement. In reaction to the new climate of the decade, the feminist movement toned down its use of race-sex analogy in order to take up the strategy of proving disparate impact. Mayeri stresses that this shift is due to the growing distance between the two movements as the climate is proving too toxic for both to cohabitate the same core. "Lost Intersections" forwards the ineffectiveness of the race-sex analogy as Meyeri argues that the legal system began to commit an institutional ignorance of the full picture as the issues became compartmentalized in legal proceedings. In the late Civil Rights era there is a shift back towards the union of both movements as the Raegan administration began to assert its dominion over the court system. Mayeri contends that in reaction to growing antagonism the movement revisited old arguments and that in the final days of the Civil Rights era both of the prime movements reunited.

Serena Mayeri's argument in *Reasoning from Race* is well established by the use of court cases to chart the evolution of legal strategy. It is with good tact that Mayeri weaves the narrative of the Civil Rights movement through the perspective provided by the abundance of court cases that reflect the context of American society. However, her reliance on these court cases limits the

vantage point which the reader can view the issue. Her analysis ultimately couches the issues it is trying to represent, thus eliminating context that extends to the entire base of these movements.

Ramon Barragan[1]

Hahamovitch, Cindy. *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

In *No Man's Land*, Cindy Hahamovitch explores the history of guestworkers in the United States through in depth analysis of Jamaican guestworkers, while at the same time placing this history in its broader global context. "Guestworkers," Hahamovitch argues, "exist on the spectrum between slavery and freedom," (p. 3). The purpose of *No Man's Land*, then, is to delineate the experiences of Jamaican guest workers in an effort to shed some light on precisely where on the spectrum guestworkers have lived throughout the program's existence.

Chapter one begins *No Man's Land* by outlining the beginnings of guestworker programs worldwide, what Hahamovitch calls the first phase. This chapter reveals that the use of guestworkers replaced the use of indentured servants—the main difference being that indentured servants were allowed to remain in the country at the end of their contract—more out of governments responding to nativist sentiments rather than a lack of labor.

Chapter two goes on to details the origins of the second phase of guestworker

programs. Guestworkers in the United States were imported primarily to drive down labor prices during World War Two, growers having managed to bypass the immigration restrictions through intensive lobbying.

Chapter three goes on to detail the arrival of Jamaican guestworkers and their initial assignment to farms in the North. Jamaican workers in the North were able to utilize their British citizenship to garner respect from white Americans, but chapter four shows that when Jamaicans were assigned to work in the South, it was clear that their deportability as guestworkers was utilized to its full effect in preventing workers from organizing to increase wages—the federal government having gone from protecting workers during their time in the North to undermining their ability to strike for better wages while in the South.

Chapter five explains that the continuation of guestworker programs following the Second World War allowed growers to continue to pit groups of immigrants against each other and domestic workers to drive down labor prices and focus and prevent collective action.

Chapter six continues by explaining that illegal immigration served to perpetuate guestworker programs as an alternative to illegal immigration.

Chapter seven explains the stresses placed upon this system in the nineteen sixties as Jamaican workers began to strike regularly for better working conditions despite continuous deportations while

Chapter eight details the legal battles that followed the militancy of farmworkers in the sixties and seventies. It argues that these court cases effectively did nothing to alleviate guestworkers work conditions as undocumented labor began to gain prominence.

In chapter nine, the legal struggles of guestworkers continue into the eighties where they finally won cases against the

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[1] The author, being also an editor, recused himself from the editing process regarding this article. It received no special treatment and was required to conform to all standard requirements.

sugar companies but lost appeals, access to legal immigration status, and jobs in the sugar fields—at the same time as the H2 program continued to expand.

Chapter ten closes *No Man's Land* by placing modern guestworker programs in their current global context, where increasingly female domestic workers continue to face adverse work conditions.

No Man's Land serves to demonstrate that guestworker programs were conceived as exploitative programs that were meant to give workers as few rights as possible. This book provides significant insight into the history of migrant labor that most people likely believe they already know. That is what makes *No Man's Land* useful to both labor and race studies.

Nicholas Langer

Gomez, Michael; *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identity in the Colonial and Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Exchanging Our Country Marks explores the evolution of the African American identity in the United States from the colonial period until 1830. Gomez argues that the African American identity formed as a composite of various African identities that somewhat fused as slaves turned from ethnicity to race as a source of identity.

The first chapter notes the complex extent of the different influences on Proto African American Culture, noting that slaves in the early period were more polycultural than syncretic, thus preserved their heritage in spite of white opposition.

The second chapter discusses the role of space and cultural interaction between blacks and whites played in the development of black identity. He notes that slaves were concentrated in the South, especially South

Carolina and were further concentrated on farms and plantations, which provided opportunities for inter-African cultural exchange. This chapter also analyzes the imports of slaves based on region of origin as well as briefly discussing age and gender ratios.

Chapter three explores the role of Senegambians in developing the basic colonial economy of the Deep South especially in rice cultivation and skilled labor. Senegambians were relatively culturally homogenous, with few notable exceptions. The author especially notes the role the Bambara played in forming Louisiana creole culture. The author also asserts that the Fon-Ewe-Yoruba belief system directly led to voodoo.

Chapter four demonstrates there was a considerable portion of Muslim slaves who practiced their religion. While Muslims had difficulty in transmitting their religion in a non-Muslim environment, their faith separated them from other slaves and played a role in how their descendants would practice Christianity.

Chapter five discusses the role of Sierra Leoneans in impacting the culture of secret societies and the Akan (from modern day Ghana) were notable in their extreme veneration of ancestors.

In chapter six the author discusses the Igbo (a group from south eastern Nigeria) reputation for suicide, linking it to the intense connection the Igbo had for the land. This chapter also discusses the natives from the Congo and Angola.

Chapter seven asserts that Africans used language as a means of resistance. It also studies the escape attempts of slaves and theorizes that common language played a key role in their execution.

Chapter eight discusses the relationship between blacks born in the colonies as opposed to those born in Africa, noting their relationship tended to be dominated by the

majority group at the time. The author also notes, however, the commonality between stories of enslavement indicating intergenerational exchange and revision, which demonstrates the formation of an African American identity. The tales of enslavement further demonstrate the formation of a common identity by demonizing both whites and the Africans that sold other Africans as slaves, disregarding the complex set of identities that were present in Africa at the time. Gomez also argues that there were divisions within the black community based on labor division.

Chapter nine explores the role of Christianity in the formation of black identity, noting that widespread adoption was slow and only possible after revivals swept through the south. Gomez asserts that a larger segment of the black population was not Christian prior to the Civil War and that the elements of Christianity were similar enough to native African religion to aid in conversions and syncretism.

Chapter ten summarizes Gomez's main argument and very briefly elaborates how black identity evolved after 1830 until the civil rights movement.

Exchanging our Country Marks is ambitious in its attempt to study the origins of African American identity, however it has a few detracting features. For example Gomez uses highly symbolic language and metaphor and tends to use unnecessary repetition for emphasis.

Joshua Lourence[2]

Smith, Stacy L. *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 2013

Freedom's Frontier examines, through a chronological order, the political and social issues facing California during the reconstruction of America post Civil War and the labeling of slavery contradicting freedom. Smith shows through her use of narratives how historical events are not simply determined by the date stamped on them. Smith also brings to light how reconstruction was actually a nationwide issue and the struggles to gain emancipation even in the Far West.

Chapter one: California Bound, sets the historical background leading up to the Fugitive Slave Act and the influences of the gold rush on California's so called free land. It also revolves around ideologies placed by white men onto the ideas of what it meant to be free or a slave.

Chapter two: Planting Slavery on Free Soil, discusses how California became a state and the turbulence faced due to Southerner's holding stake in Californian slavery. It furthers these issues by examining how slaveholders went to the courts to allow slavery to continue.

Chapter three: Hired Serfs and Contract, continues these themes by showing the relationship between immigration from South America and China and the creation of Peonage and Coolieism. It also discusses the fear white Americans faced when presented with the prospect of turning into slaves.

Chapter four: Enslaved Wards and Captive Apprentices, displays how Republicans and Democrats clashed over whether or not to make Native American's civilized through slavery and the lack of laborers in California.

Chapter five: For Purposes of Labor and of Lust, inspects Chinese brothels and their version of slavery in California. Due to the

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[2] The author, being also an editor, recused himself from the editing process regarding this article. It received no special treatment and was required to conform to all standard requirements.

demands for labor in the gold rush, women were forced to cater to the laboring men and into protection.

Chapter six: Emancipating California, illustrates how once emancipation reached California, Republicans attempted to "liberate" Native Americans and relocate the Chinese brothels.

California, Reconstructing the Nation, wraps up the book by exploring how Republicans and Democrats worked to strangely align antislavery with anti-Chinese sentiments to give a new take on emancipation (p. 229.) Smith also shows how California was not the land of the free as projected during the mid eighteen hundreds.

By uniting all these narratives under the different versions of slavery, Smith manages to show how wide reaching slavery was and the depths it reached in California. She uses vocabulary to evoke feelings from the reader that are not typically associated with the Civil War era in California, such as serf or reconstruction. Overall I would recommend this book because it gives insight to an area Smith describes as lost through Civil War history. This book also made me think about how much of history becomes lost in the cracks in comparison to what is fabricated for the profit of the author.

Sarah Spoljaric

Christian and Jewish Arab-American Identities Beyond September 11
By Acksah Alhomady

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the Arab American identities through the Christian Arab and Arab Jewish development within the United States. It examines the changes and shifts that resulted in their identities' modification before and after 9/11. This analysis provides sufficient evidence of what the Arab American was and has now become due to changes consequently of the post 9/11 backlash. This research will distinguish the differences between Arabs and Arab-Americans, such as looking at factors of religion, place of birth, cultures, and education. It will present evidence on how the government reacted by passing discriminative acts and racially profiled, discriminated, and tortured Arabs. This paper will show that Arab Muslims were not the only victims but all Arabs, including Christians and Jews from the Middle East and North Africa, were. Additionally, Psychological disorders and health issues traumatized the Arab-American communities. Social and political legal rights were only provided for those in the aftermath. This aftermath assisted Arab organizations to expand and assist Arabs and Arab-Americans all over the United States, increasing unity and strengthening the revival of ethnic cultural identities within both groups. The scope of this research will examine these organizations and their contributions, and illustrate how Arabs, whether Christians or Jews, went from being inclusive and invisible from the political and media's eyes to not assimilating into the American mainstream society melting pot, but remaining distanced enough to become bi-culture and hyphenated in identities, through generations, and still retain an American identity over the past ten year span after 9/11.

The Nixon Reconfiguration:
American Foreign Policy in the Middle East, 1969-1974
By Ramon Barragan

Upon inauguration, President Richard M. Nixon began to make various alterations to standard American Foreign Policy in the Middle East. In particular his administration took steps toward arming Iran, and after some deliberation Israel as well. The purpose in doing so was to develop indirect channels for American influence in the region without straining the efforts in Vietnam and elsewhere. The result of this shift in policy created a new paradigm in which proceeding presidents would carry out Nixon administration strategies as a tool to keep American interests, as well as fiscal security afloat. For the purposes of this paper I will focus on the internal dialogue of the Nixon administration afforded to me by the Nixon Presidential Library as well as a number of secondary sources which appreciate the relevance of the Nixon administration in trend-setting Middle Eastern diplomatic efforts.

Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan, the Saur Revolution and the Cold War
By Trevor Blondin

In April 1978, the Saur Revolution saw a communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) take control of the country in a coup that culminated in Kabul. The Soviet backed group seized control from Mohammed Daoud Khan and the Republic of Afghanistan, killing Daoud Khan and his family in the process. This coup saw the PDPA placed in power and Soviet influence in the area solidified. Almost immediately following the Saur Revolution, a new uprising began against the PDPA. The Soviets, while initially hesitant to provide military assistance, eventually invaded Afghanistan with the goal of putting down the insurgencies and stabilizing the government. This paper focuses on how this attempt at stabilizing the PDPA would fail due to a number of reasons: First, gross mishandling of the situation prior to the invasion. Second, the Soviets were ill equipped or prepared to combat guerilla fighters in the mountainous terrain along with misconduct and incompetence within the military itself. Third, the unpopularity of the war both in the international community and within the USSR, fourth being the United States aid to the mujahideen, and fifth the failure by the Soviets to fully recognize the tribal nature of Afghan society and the strong influence of Islam in the region.

From Aden to Hong Kong, British Imperialism and the Roots of National Resistance
By Justin Chen

This paper addresses the colonial presence and effect of the British Empire, facilitated through the trade ports established to promote the interests and thoughts of the Western empire, and its implications for the course and narrative of history. This paper places the individual routine and dimension into the context of British imperialism with the macro scale events being constructed from the realities of the situation on the ground. Examining trade manifests and the writings of Englishmen in Aden and Hong Kong, this paper demonstrates that a socially imbedded belief, cultivated by British global hegemony, changes in reaction to social or political events to become larger historical events, or as a result of them. As a result, nationalism inevitably emerges from the weakening of the "invincible" West, which as a continuation of long-term beliefs is historically and socially charged. Specifically building off of Akahitsu Shigeru's interpretation of Wallerstein's World System Theory, I find capitalism, the connection between political diplomacy, and economic enterprise as the primary factor of British Imperialism as an action. Through understanding the British colonial system, and applying its broad structures as a factor in the course of events in the locale, I find the roots and underlying perspectives of the Chinese and Arab's nationalist resistance and contact with the Occidental West, specifically Britain and later the United States.

Celtic Leadership and the Foundation of Irish Resistance
By Daniel DeFrisco

This paper looks towards the root of rebellious fervor surrounding modern Gaelic cultures, primarily Ireland but to a lesser extent Scotland and Wales. To anyone who knows anything of Irish history, they could remember the frequency of the resistance and rebellions against any force stationed against them, starting with the Vikings, followed by the Normans, and then the English. For over a millennia, the Irish were under assault from other various groups, and for a majority of that time they were occupied by an outside force. Despite all that time, they never really assimilated into the ruling culture. Certainly some cultural cornerstones tapered off, the druids were replaced by priests, but they held onto a fierce sense of individuality. I believe that the root of this can be seen by the numerous Celtic leadership we know about leading to the medieval era. The progression slowly changing the culture to one where resistance is valued even if it is unsuccessful. I hope to prove using Irish folklore and the history of Celtic Leadership to show that the culture of resistance in Ireland is unique and an interesting topic to study.

Progressive Roads
The Creation of the California State Highway System in the Progressive Era
By Nicholas Langer

My project analyzes the California State Highway System in the context of the Progressive Era. The Progressive Era was a time when thoughts about the role of government and the way the people participate in politics was changing. At the same time, technological change was also forcing people to reevaluate the social construction of space and the way that people move about it. California was at the head of this change. The state government was an early adopter of highway legislation, and this enthusiasm filtered its way down to the counties. Where California was most responsible for innovation on highway issues was the willingness of the state and counties to accept bonded debt to finance road works. This required a long-term outlook the bypassed purely local economics. Thus, the State Highway System that was approved by California voter in 1910 was an embodiment of the Progressive Era in two important ways. First, the State Highway System represented a belief that an activist government could work to solve societal problems, namely an improved transportation system. Finally, the management and logic of the highway embodied the progressive trend towards systematization and efficiency in government.

Cartography of Power
The Politics of Cartography, Geography and Discovery in Hapsburg Spain
By Joshua Lourence

This paper will demonstrate that the Spanish State tried to monopolize information about the western hemisphere. Spain attempted to control information by first gathering empirical observations through surveys and expeditions. Skilled artisans and thinkers from Spain and abroad improved how these observations were processed in newly developed institutions like the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies on the behalf of Spain. The state also controlled access to cartographic knowledge through attempting to censor sources of information that mentioned the Americas. Rival European states attributed their self-perceptions of imperial inferiority to Spain's allegedly superior knowledge of Atlantic navigation and American geography. For its own part, Spain created maps that reckoned the world in accordance with their own interests, which in turn affected how other Europeans viewed the Americas. All of this activity relating to information reveals the central role that accurate information plays in the project of empire.

Narratives of Horror, American Intervention in the Salvadorian Civil War
By Maritza Martinez

This project involves discovering how the Salvadoran civil war impacted the lives of the country's citizens. The goal is to tell a previously untold narrative that examines the lives of the underrepresented people. The first phase of this project provides a frame of reference and examines American foreign policy in Latin America during the Cold War period. The economic and ideological underpinnings which influenced American intervention are considered. The influence of the Soviet Union and neighboring nations on the development of communism are also examined. The emergence of the FMLN insurgency group and the ARENA's rise to power are analyzed. The main part of the project draws heavily on personal interviews with Salvadorans who lived through the war and shared their personal experiences. Additionally, photographs taken during the war are used to further probe into the lives of civilians, rebels, and government officials. This project uses various secondary sources to explore American involvement in El Salvador and primary sources to portray the Salvadoran struggle.

The Great Migration and the Demographics of America
By Christy McKnight

Most historical narratives of the Great Migration stop short of explaining why this phenomenon abruptly reversed course during the Johnson administration, and has continued to do so since. Using the theoretical lens of historians and philosophers specializing in urban, labor, and social movements, I will argue that a modern transformation in African American identity has been conditioned as much by external forces, such as political, labor, and housing practices, as it has by internal forces, such as the desire for true agency and self-determination, and that this transformation has resulted in the mass rejection of urban lifestyles that held more appeal in the past. The demographic landscape of America has again changed significantly, and hopes for racial integration and advancement in large cities have been stymied by the departure of significant numbers of middle and upper class African Americans. In order to analyze these events, it is necessary to interpret numerous and varied sources. This requires inclusion of newspaper accounts, demographic interpretations, census results, dissimilarity indexes, rhetorical explanations, and secondary sources which have established that conditions in large cities have been subpar for plebian society since their origins, and that minorities have been especially subject to demoralizing surroundings instituted by daily practices in the United States.

Age of the Sky Giants: The Rise and Fall of Airships
By Frank Ohnesorgen

This thesis tells the story of airships' meteoric rise in popularity after World War I and their equally swift fall from grace shortly after the end of World War II. I argue that this shift occurred due to changing economic priorities, political factors, and a rapid loss in public support for the vessels brought on by a series of disasters. Taken together, these events caused the airship to fall out of favor within the civilian and military spheres. This was a dramatic shift, for at the time airships were the premiere flying vessels in service and considered the future of flight. Massive technological and monetary investments were tied up in airship production and use, and from their inception they only grew in size and complexity along with their popularity. However, several airships disasters, the Hindenburg among them, severely undercut the popularity and support airships once enjoyed. Due to these incidents and the massive loss of life and materials, interest shifted to fixed-wing aircraft as an alternative. As a result, within a short span of time airships all but disappeared from the civilian use, and what vessels remained in the military were radically altered to fit their new, diminished roles.

End of the Concessionary Regime in Mexico
By Mario Pulido

On March 18, 1938, President of Mexico Lazaro Cardenas formally announced his Expropriation Act, expropriating the property of several oil concessions in Mexico. Among the companies that were expropriated were Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mexican Eagle, and Royal Dutch Shell. This thesis will address questions regarding what caused this change, what was predicted to happen, what actually happened, what the consequences were for Mexican foreign relations, and in the aftermath of the nationalization, asking if it was a general success. I argue that the main reason that caused the nationalization was the mistreatment of the Mexican oil workers by foreign oil companies. I move on to discuss that shortly after the nationalization, Mexico was predicted to collapse by the companies that were expropriated. Instead, Mexico saw prosperity from catering to its own domestic market and providing a new national identity with its then new state-owned oil company, Pemex, which stemmed from a sense of economic freedom and liberation. I also argue that Mexican foreign relations were embittered, but restored shortly after 1941 with World War II inevitably approaching. Finally, I argue that despite the embitterment the nationalization initially caused, it was a general success. Here, I define that success was achieved by kicking out foreign oil interests that were mistreating and underpaying Mexican oil workers.

Affirmative Action in the UC System
By Donovan Riley

Affirmative action was designed to provide opportunities for traditionally underrepresented groups in areas such as the workforce and education. In education, affirmative action was used to provide opportunities for students of color where previously they didn't exist. The University of California saw a great increase of students of color in the UC system. However, affirmative action didn't last and eventually it was banned in the University of California. Many believe that race conscious admissions gave an unfair advantage to students of color so it had to be banned. Race conscious admissions might have afforded students of color a greater chance of admission into a prestigious school like UC Berkeley, but ultimately affirmative action was ended in the University of California due not to unfairness, but as a result of the political maneuverings of select members of the UC Board of Regents during the early 1990s.

The War on Poverty in Bakersfield, California
By Daniel Rios

This article examines the political conflict in Bakersfield, California during the mid 1960s among community organizers and the local city government. There are two important political communities under examination: a middle-class African American political community and an overwhelmingly conservative establishment. As the War on Poverty emerged across the U.S, debates over policy characteristics and funding were contested on the national, state, and local levels. In Bakersfield, African American organizers pushing for anti-poverty programs were met with opposition from conservative officials on both sides of right. While African American organizers clashed with conservative opponents, they were in conflict with Black working-class youth who were alienated by African American middle-class politics of respectability and self-help. I have three main arguments. First, structural forms of racial and discriminatory practices in employment, wages, housing, educational, and other aspects of Bakersfield life were the core causes of the poor living conditions for the African American community. Second, racial and economic motivations rooted the conservative establishment's opposition to anti-poverty programs. And finally, the social, economic, and political struggles among Black residents played a significant role in the development and transformation of a more radical Black working-class who drawn influence from the emerging Black power movement. Essentially, Bakersfield's story of the war on poverty and the conversations, actions, and organizations that occurred reflected the larger political struggles that transpired within Black communities across the U.S—reformist and radical, Negro and Black, middle class and working-class. Indeed, the conflicts and cooperation between Black residents who were determined for community empowerment was a result of their divisions that included class, ideological, and generational differences.

The Los Angeles Aqueduct: A Reexamination of California's First Critical Water Transfer
By Charles Robie

Within this essay, I examine the implications of California's first great water transfer, between Inyo County's Owens Valley and Los Angeles's Department of Water and Power. As I reexamine the story of what would become the Los Angeles Aqueduct, I touch on the controversies surrounding the Owens Valley land grabs by Los Angeles, as well as reexamine the implications of the Second Los Angeles Aqueduct. Finally, I conclude with what can be applied to our current water resource problems by analyzing and understanding the earliest water transfer in California's history.

Women of Color and Minorities on the Home front during World War II
By Camille Sanders-Pinto

During World War II minority women went to work because of the propaganda "Rosie the Riveter" but they ended up using the income and social skills they learned while being outside of the home to create their own identity. This essay will explore the involvement of women in the United States workforce what led to them leaving their homes to work and how the opportunities of the industries helped the women to reinvent themselves and open doors for women of the future. The significates of this essay is that it shows the evolution of minority women's empowerment while giving an oversight of a part of history that is usually overlooked or whitewashed.

The Kimberly Process and Zimbabwe
By Rebecca Schonauer

This paper focuses on the Kimberley Process and its faults. In doing this, I am drawing evidence from the country of Zimbabwe and its president Robert Mugabe, and demonstrating how corruption, mismanagement, and smuggling has led to the loss of millions of US dollars for the country. I am also delving into the atrocities committed by Zimbabwe's leaders, specifically that in the Marange diamond fields. Here, extreme human rights abuses have been committed, and are still being committed by the military that now controls the area. Because of these atrocities, I pose the question of "why is Zimbabwe still a Kimberley Certified country, even when the same men in power who commanded these acts are still in power?" I will also address the serious problems within the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme itself, and use Zimbabwe and similar countries in Africa to prove its faults. Some of these include: an insufficiency of regulation, ease of smuggling across borders, a lack of infrastructure within participating countries, and the deficiency of transparency. However, there is also a lack of willpower amongst diamond companies to halt these atrocities, and the power of these companies can be documented within the process. Because of these faults, I argue that the Kimberley Process has failed to regulate and stem the flow of blood diamonds from the market, and has allowed human rights abuses to go unchecked and unpunished.

The Best Laid Plans of Mice and Men: The Downfall of the Black Panther Party
By Samuel Smith

In October of 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale were still students at Oakland, California's Merritt College. Later that month, however, the two would jointly found the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, kick-starting their own political journeys as well as those of Eldridge Cleaver, Elaine Brown, Ericka Huggins, and countless other young black men and women who joined their cause. Just as the Panthers were quickly becoming rising stars in the media and political worlds, though, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI were launching many of their COINTEL/PROs, shorthand for counter-intelligence programs. Through these operations, the FBI launched an all out war not just on the Black Panther Party, but on the whole Black Power and Civil Rights movements as a whole. This paper explores the lengths that the FBI went to in order to either incarcerate, frame, or even murder those that did not fit its strict definition of an obedient citizen. I also discuss the effects that these FBI programs had on the Party and its structure, and how it led to organizational infighting and several different schisms. Finally, it brings in an outside perspective by looking at various popular media reactions to the Panthers during their heyday in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and how the Party was portrayed by both the establishment and counter-cultural media.

Fashion and the English Class System, 18th-19th Century
By Sarah Spoljaric

This paper discusses the emergence of the fashion industry in England during the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. I am focusing on the economic and social factors, which allowed the fashion industry to flourish and continue to be sustained till today. England traditionally has a strong class structure, however due to the massive colonialism which Britain experienced, a middle class began to emerge. This middle class had new wealth, which they deposited, back into the clothing factories, which the lower classes worked in mass-producing clothing from the raw materials imported from England's colonies. Deriving from the economic prosperity fashion held fast as a way to display wealth differentiating the classes due to the different fabrics and designs they had access to. Mass-production styles changed rapidly, especially in the middle class, technology of the day, especially magazines and newspapers projected fashion trends and spread throughout the countryside. The fashion industry simultaneously reinforced the class structure by creating a new market for people to spend their money on. At the same time the newly emerged middle class had the ability to buy their way into higher class and display it with their style. Overall, the fashion industry fed off social and economic circumstances of the time, which to this day have allowed England to be one of the centers of the fashion world.

Kabbalah and Sufism in AL-Andalus
By Mike Steele

This paper focuses on the growth and evolution of Kabbalah and Sufism, two mystical sects of Judaism and Islam that both enjoyed philosophical and cultural booms in Al-Andalus, which was the name given to Spain when it was ruled culturally and politically by the Muslims from 711 to 1492 CE. The argument that I have proposed in my thesis is that even though Kabbalah and Sufism both originate from different religious traditions the two mystical sects became almost intertwined during their periods of growth in Al-Andalus. Furthermore I argue that even though Jews and Muslims have a history of tense and antagonistic relations that can be seen clearly in current events they have a close and connected history that is displayed nicely in Al-Andalus that seems to have been forgotten, the significance being that common ground is a solid first step to establishing peace. The means by which I argue my point is comparing the writings and doctrines of some of the big names in Kabbalah like Moses de Leon and Nahmanides with the writings and doctrines of the big names in Sufism like Ibn Arabi and Ibn Masarra to show how they had similar approaches to approaching the divine such as cleansing oneself of desire, similar praying and meditation styles and focusing on communing with God through the power of the mind.

Paternalism in U.S. Foreign Policy:
Occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924)
By Emily Vega

While historians continue to produce a growing body of scholarship on U.S. diplomacy and interventions in Latin America during the twentieth century, there has been relatively little attention to the United States' eight-year military occupation of Dominican Republic. This paper explores the contextual beginnings of U.S. involvement in Dominican Republic, motives for the military occupation, aspects of control over the country, and forms of resistance against the intervention. In order to make sense of this significant amount of activity in U.S. relations with Dominican Republic, this research relies on official reports and other U.S. government documents as well as political speeches and U.S. newspapers. Focusing on the United States' rationales and military activities during the occupation, this paper asserts that U.S. foreign policy toward Dominican Republic in the early twentieth century largely effectuated an underlying ideology of paternalism.

The Effects of Women in Business in the Early Twentieth Century (1900-1950)
Changes in the Work Place and Changes at Home
By Jill Wallace

Working is not a new concept to women. Prior to the twentieth century, women have worked in many capacities. The most acceptable occupations for women working outside the home prior to the twentieth century included professions such as teaching, nursing and domestic work like seamstresses or cooks. At the close of the nineteenth century and upon entering the twentieth century, women's movements such as Woman's Suffrage and equal opportunity laws opened up many new positions and opened doors for woman who wanted, or needed to work in a number of new capacities. These changes did not come without hard work. These changes have been, in many ways positive. Working conditions and equality for females working in these positions, traditionally held by men have gotten better, and not just for women. Better working conditions have improved for minority workers as well. With these opportunities it is inevitable that families would experience changes from the home. Having a wife or mother that is working outside the home, has caused changes in family dynamics. This study will look at the many aspects of these changes, both positive and negative. What have professional opportunities done for the women working in them? What kinds of changes in the work environment have women had upon it? What have families experienced since women have gone to work? Are families better or worse off for having these opportunities? What kinds of balances can be met to make women working in professional positions best for everyone that it encompasses? We will be looking at several professional women, changes in laws and case studies on families with professional women to find the answers.

Manipulation of Female Slaves Through Rape
By Charlene Xu

This project involves using modern psychological concepts of both the rape of female slaves in the antebellum south and the following change in their identities. In modern society, psychologists are continuously reframing the definitions of identity and rape. Hence, there are no concrete definitions. By adopting these ideas, I plan to use first hand accounts and scholarly psychological articles to analyze the mental damages of sexual abuse in the antebellum era. For this project, I will also address southern laws to demonstrate the limitations southern wealthy lawmakers implemented on slaves, especially female slaves. The goal is to show that slave owners forcibly changed their female slaves' identities through sexual abuse. The consequences were the psychological damages inflected upon the victims. Narratives such as those of Harriet A. Jacobs discussed mental symptoms, which included: Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), suicidal tendency, self-blame, and social and personal withdrawal.

Racial and Spatial Theories in Merced
By Edmundo Zaragoza

The purpose for this paper is to understand the role spatial theory and race theory play in shaping a city. Most importantly, the way racial and class politics in Merced has played in protecting white-culture. The question boils down to the "whyness" of a development plan. Why build structures at the core, northern parks and pavements; and leave structural foundations in the South in shambles. By looking at Merced's General Plans, newspaper reports, and secondary sources of white politics and spatial theory; I compose a narrative in illuminating the spatial injustices this city has hidden in plain sight. There is a light at the end of the tunnel—thankfully. That is, *Measure T*, a complete construction of districts in Merced city. In doing this action, the hope is, to remodel the City Council's unbalanced power structure of Northern residents; and input members of the Southern district in power. Ultimately, I end with a puzzling remark: as first generation inner city-students and most importantly guest of this city—have we overlooked the deteriorating conditions of our neighbors? By trapping ourselves inside a bubble, have we lost all sense of moral direction? We as UC students are the new driving force that can make a lasting impact and change in the way this city is created. We just need to wake up from this dream and realize that not everything is sunshine and daisies.