

Chapter 12 Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution • 445

A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it. That country must have a faculty for assimilation. India has ever been such a country. In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals, but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If they do, they are not fit to be considered a nation. If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsees¹ and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow-countrymen, and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.

READER: But what about the inborn enmity between Hindus and Muslims?

EDITOR: That phrase has been invented by our mutual enemy.² When the Hindus and Muslims fought against one another, they certainly spoke in that strain. They have long since ceased to fight. How, then, can there be any inborn enmity? Pray remember this too, that we did not cease to fight only after British occupation. The Hindus flourished under Muslim sovereigns and Muslims under the Hindu. Each party recognized that mutual fighting was suicidal, and that neither party would abandon its religion by force of arms. Both parties, therefore, decided to live in peace. With the English advent the quarrels recommenced. . . .

Hindus and Muslims own the same ancestors, and the same blood runs through their veins. Do people become enemies because they change their religion? Is the God of the Muslim different from the God of the Hindu? Religions are different

roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? Wherein is the cause for quarreling?

Chapter XIII

What Is True Civilization?

READER: YOU have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What, then, is civilization?

EDITOR: The answer to that question is not difficult. I believe that the civilization India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate, the might of the Pharaohs was broken, Japan has become westernized, of China nothing can be said, but India is still, somehow or other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory. In trying to learn from them, the Europeans imagine that they will avoid the mistakes of Greece and Rome. Such is their pitiable condition. In the midst of all this, India remains immovable, and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilized, ignorant, and stolid, that it is not possible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty; it is the sheet-anchor of our hope.

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible

¹Followers of the Zoroastrian religion who fled India when Islamic armies conquered Persia in the seventh century C.E.

²The British.

446 • *The Global Community and Its Challenges*

terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati³ equivalent for civilization means "good conduct." If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers have shown, has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is as it should be.

Chapter XVII

Passive Resistance

READER: Is there any historical evidence as to the success of what you have called soul-force or truth-force? No instance seems to have happened of any nation having risen through soul-force. I still think that the evil-doers will not cease doing evil without physical punishment.

EDITOR: . . . The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of that force. But you ask for historical evidence. It is, therefore, necessary to know what history means. . . .

The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. Therefore the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that, in spite of the wars of the world, it still lives on.

Thousands, indeed, tens of thousands, depend for their existence on a very active working of this force. Little quarrels of millions of families in their daily lives disappear before the exercise of this force. Hundreds of nations live in peace. History does not and cannot take note of this fact. History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul. . . . Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.

READER: According to what you say, it is plain that instances of the kind of passive resistance are

not to be found in history. It is necessary to understand this passive resistance more fully. It will be better, therefore, if you enlarge upon it.

EDITOR: Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me: I do not like it; if, by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim to be absolutely in the right, or that a particular thing is wrong, because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is, therefore, meet [proper] that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force. . . .

READER: From what you say, I deduce that passive resistance is a splendid weapon of the weak but that, when they are strong, they may take up arms.

EDITOR: This is gross ignorance. Passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered only a weapon of the weak? Physical-force men are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a coward

³An Indian dialect spoken in Gujarat, in northwest India.

Chapter 12 Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution • 447

can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute-force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English, and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey their laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and to be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior—he who keeps death always as a

bosom-friend or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

This, however, I will admit: that even a man, weak in body, is capable of offering this resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it. It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-jitsu. Control over the mind is alone necessary, and, when that is attained, man is free like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy.

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results.

A Vietnamese Condemnation of French Rule

97 • NGUYEN THAI HOC, LETTER TO THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Having taken control of Vietnam's southern region, known as Cochinchina, in the 1860s, the French extended their authority over Tongking (northern Vietnam) and Annam (central Vietnam) in the mid-1880s. Convinced of their civilizing mission, the French sought to undermine Vietnam's Confucian culture by creating a French-trained Vietnamese elite willing to cooperate with the colonial regime. Although some members of Vietnam's upper class resisted French rule (including the young emperor Duy Tân, whose plot to overthrow the French was uncovered in 1916), most at first sought some sort of compromise between Western culture and Confucianism.

Revolutionary nationalistic movements gained adherents in the 1920s, however, as Vietnamese anger grew over continued exploitation and repression, even though 90,000 Vietnamese troops and laborers had helped the French during World War I. The leading nationalist organization was the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnamese Nationalist Party, or VNQDD), founded in 1927 by Nguyen Thai Hoc, a teacher from Hanoi. As a young man, he sought to improve conditions in Vietnam through moderate reforms but became disillusioned with the French and turned to revolution. In 1929, with VNQDD membership at about 1,500, its leaders plotted an anti-French insurrection. The uprising, known as the Yen Bai Revolt, was crushed in 1930, and the VNQDD leaders were arrested and executed.

While awaiting his execution, Nguyen Thai Hoc wrote the following letter to France's parliament, the Chamber of Deputies. A defense of his actions and a denunciation of French colonialism, the letter was also released to the Vietnamese public.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In Nguyen Thai Hoc's view, what are French intentions in Vietnam, and what has been the effect of French occupation?
2. How did Nguyen Thai Hoc evolve from a moderate reformer to a revolutionary?
3. If implemented, how would his suggestions to Governor General Varenne have improved the lot of the Vietnamese people?
4. What does the French response to the Yen Bai uprising reveal about the nature of French colonial rule?
5. What do you suppose Nguyen Thai Hoc hoped to accomplish by writing this letter?

Gentlemen:

I, the undersigned, Nguyen Thai Hoc, a Vietnamese citizen, twenty-six years old, chairman and founder of the Vietnamese Nationalist Party, at present arrested and imprisoned at the jail of Yen Bai, Tongking, Indochina, have the great honor to inform you of the following facts:

According to the tenets of justice, everyone has the right to defend his own country when it is invaded by foreigners, and according to the principles of humanity, everyone has the duty to save his compatriots when they are in difficulty or in danger. As for myself, I have assessed the fact that my country has been annexed by you French for more than sixty years. I realize that under your dictatorial yoke, my compatriots have experienced a very hard life, and my people will without doubt be completely annihilated, by the naked principle of natural selection. Therefore, my right and my duty have compelled me to seek every way to defend my country which has been invaded and occupied, and to save my people who are in great danger.

At the beginning, I had thought to cooperate with the French in Indochina in order to serve my compatriots, my country and my people,

particularly in the areas of cultural and economic development. As regards economic development, in 1925 I sent a memorandum to Governor General Varenne,¹ describing to him all our aspirations concerning the protection of local industry and commerce in Indochina. I urged strongly in the same letter the creation of a Superior School of Industrial Development in Tongking. In 1926 I again addressed another letter to the then Governor General of Indochina in which I included some explicit suggestions to relieve the hardships of our poor people. In 1927, for a third time, I sent a letter to the Resident Supérieur² in Tongking, requesting permission to publish a weekly magazine with the aim of safeguarding and encouraging local industry and commerce. With regard to the cultural domain, I sent a letter to the Governor General in 1927, requesting (1) the privilege of opening tuition-free schools for the children of the lower classes, particularly children of workers and peasants; (2) freedom to open popular publishing houses and libraries in industrial centers.

It is absolutely ridiculous that every suggestion has been rejected. My letters were without answer; my plans have not been considered; my requests have been ignored; even the articles that I sent to

Source: Harry Benda and John Larkin, *The World of Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 182–185. Copyright © 1967 by Harper & Row, Publishers. Reprinted by permission of the authors.

¹Alexandre Varenne was governor general of Indochina from 1925 to 1929.

²The *résident supérieur* of Tongking was the chief French administrator for northern Vietnam.

Chapter 12 Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution • 449

newspapers have been censored and rejected. From the experience of these rejections, I have come to the conclusion that the French have no sincere intention of helping my country or my people. I also concluded that we have to expel France. For this reason, in 1927, I began to organize a revolutionary party, which I named the Vietnamese Nationalist Party, with the aim of overthrowing the dictatorial and oppressive administration in our country. We aspire to create a Republic of Vietnam, composed of persons sincerely concerned with the happiness of the people. My party is a clandestine organization, and in February 1929, it was uncovered by the security police. Among the members of my party, a great number have been arrested. Fifty-two persons have been condemned to forced labor ranging from two to twenty years. Although many have been detained and many others unjustly condemned, my party has not ceased its activity. Under my guidance, the Party continues to operate and progress towards its aim.

During the Yen Bai uprising someone succeeded in killing some French officers. The authorities accused my party of having organized and perpetrated this revolt. They have accused me of having given the orders for the massacre. In truth, I have never given such orders, and I have presented before the Penal Court of Yen

Bai all the evidence showing the inanity of this accusation. Even so, some of the members of my party completely ignorant of that event have been accused of participating in it. The French Indochinese government burned and destroyed their houses. They sent French troops to occupy their villages and stole their rice to divide it among the soldiers. Not just members of my party have been suffering from this injustice—we should rather call this cruelty than injustice—but also many simple peasants, interested only in their daily work in the rice fields, living miserable lives like buffaloes and horses, have been compromised in this reprisal. At the present time, in various areas there are tens of thousands of men, women, and children, persons of all ages, who have been massacred.³ They died either of hunger or exposure because the French Indochinese government burned their homes. I therefore beseech you in tears to redress this injustice which otherwise will annihilate my people, which will stain French honor, and which will belittle all human values.

I have the honor to inform you that I am responsible for all events happening in my country under the leadership of my party from 1927 until the present. You only need to execute me. I beg your indulgence for all the others who at the present time are imprisoned in various jails.

³Many civilian deaths resulted from French actions following the revolt, but Nguyen Thai Hoc's estimate of 10,000 or more deaths is an exaggeration.

Latin America in an Era of Economic Challenge and Political Change

A popular slogan among Latin America's politicians, business leaders, and landowners in the late nineteenth century was "order and progress," and to an extent exceptional in the region's history, they achieved both. Around 1870, Latin America's economy entered a period of export-driven expansion that lasted until the 1920s. The region became a major supplier of wheat, beef, mutton, coffee, raw rubber,

450 • *The Global Community and Its Challenges*

nitrate, copper, tin, bananas, and a host of other primary products to Europe and the United States and a major market for European and U.S. manufactured goods. Land prices soared, and English and U.S. capital flowed into Latin America as investments and loans.

Latin America's boom took place in a climate of relative political stability. In Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, this meant republican governments controlled by an oligarchy of landowning families, sometimes in alliance with wealthy businessmen; in Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela, it meant rule by a dictator (*caudillo*), who also usually represented the interests of landowners and businessmen. Oligarchs and dictators alike sought economic growth by maintaining law and order, approving land confiscations from the Church and peasantry, and keeping foreign business interests happy by maintaining low taxes and tariffs.

Latin America in these years is often viewed as an example of *neocolonialism*. Although nations in the region all had achieved political independence in the early 1800s, economic relationships reminiscent of the colonial era persisted. Latin America still depended on the export of primary products to industrialized Europe and the United States, and depended on those same regions for manufactured goods and capital. The beneficiaries of the system were the landowning elite, European and U.S. bondholders, and foreign businesses with investments in construction, railroads, shipping, and mining. Dependency on foreign markets, capital, and manufactured goods made Latin American governments vulnerable to diplomatic arm-twisting by their powerful economic "partners," and in some instances, military intervention.

By the 1930s, the neocolonial economy and the political order it supported both were in shambles as a result of the Great Depression. Demand for Latin America's agricultural products and raw materials plummeted, driving millions into unemployment and depriving the region of the foreign exchange needed to buy manufactured goods from abroad. Foreign loans and investments dried up after the international banking system and stock markets collapsed. Governments faced insolvency, and capital shortages crippled plans to end the economic slump through industrialization. Latin Americans increasingly resented European and especially U.S. ownership of mines, oil fields, railroads, banks, processing plants, and prime agricultural land. Once welcomed as a means of attracting capital and encouraging growth, foreign ownership now was condemned as imperialist plunder.

Economic Dependency and Its Dangers

98 • FRANCISCO GARCÍA CALDERÓN, LATIN AMERICA: ITS RISE AND PROGRESS

For most of the nineteenth century, the United States had relatively little involvement in Latin America. U.S. interests in the region focused almost exclusively on Mexico, whose territories in the American west and southwest became part of the United States after the Mexican War of 1846–1848. Other U.S. schemes to

Chapter 12 Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution • 451

annex Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Mexican provinces of Yucatan and Lower California proved impractical or failed to generate support.

U.S.–Latin American relations changed beginning in the 1880s, however. As the United States industrialized, it gradually replaced Great Britain as the region's main purchaser of exports and supplier of manufactured goods. By 1910, U.S. investments had increased to \$1.6 billion, almost all of it “new money” invested since the end of the Civil War in 1865. As U.S. businesses expanded their operations in Latin America, successive administrations in Washington pledged to protect their interests. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt announced that the United States reserved the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any state in the Western Hemisphere that was guilty of “chronic wrongdoing,” a euphemism for failure to pay its debts or maintain law and order. Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, was even more explicit. He stated that his foreign policy would include “active intervention to secure our merchandise and our capitalists' opportunity for profitable investment.” These were not idle words. Between 1898 and 1934, the United States annexed Puerto Rico and intervened militarily in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

Condemnation of Latin America's economic dependence on foreigners and denunciations of “Yankee imperialism” became commonplace with the onset of the Great Depression, but such criticisms began earlier. One of the first such critics was the Peruvian diplomat and author Francisco García Calderón. Born into a wealthy and politically prominent family in Lima in 1883, García Calderón entered the Peruvian foreign service soon after graduating from the University of San Marcos. A career diplomat with postings to London and Paris and ambassadorships to Belgium and Portugal, he wrote numerous essays and books on Latin America. His most widely read book was *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, which ranged over the region's history and discussed a number of contemporary issues, including immigration, the state of the economy, and Latin America's foreign relations. First published in 1912, it attracted a wide readership only in the 1920s, when it went through numerous editions in several languages.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to García Calderón, how has U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America evolved since the time of the Monroe Doctrine?
2. How does he explain these changes?
3. According to García Calderón, what benefits have accrued to Latin America as a result of foreign investments? How has Latin America been hurt by such investments?
4. How does García Calderón characterize Latin Americans, and how do they differ from the “Anglo-Saxons” of the United States?
5. How have the Latin American states contributed to their own economic problems?
6. If one accepts the premises of García Calderón's arguments, what would the Latin American states have had to do to overcome the problems connected with foreign economic dependency?

452 • *The Global Community and Its Challenges*

The nation [the United States] which was peopled by nine millions of men in 1820 now numbers eighty millions—an immense demographic power; in the space of ten years, from 1890 to 1900, this population increased by one-fifth. By virtue of its iron, wheat, oil, and cotton, and its victorious industrialism, the democracy aspires to a world-wide significance. . . . Yankee pride increases with the endless multiplication of wealth and population, and the patriotic sentiment has reached such intensity that it has become transformed into imperialism. . . .

Interventions have become more frequent with the expansion of frontiers. The United States have recently intervened in the territory of Acre [in western Brazil], there to found a republic of rubber gatherers; at Panama, there to develop a province and construct a canal; in Cuba, to maintain order in the interior; in San Domingo, to support the civilizing revolution and overthrow the tyrants; in Venezuela, and in Central America, to enforce upon these nations. . . . the political and financial tutelage of imperial democracy. In Guatemala and Honduras the loans concluded with the monarchs of North American finance have reduced the people to a new slavery. Supervision of the customs and the dispatch of pacificatory [peace-keeping] squadrons to defend the interests of the Anglo-Saxon¹ have enforced peace and tranquility: such are the means employed. . . . Mr. Pierpont Morgan² proposes to encompass the finances of Latin America by a vast network of Yankee banks. Chicago merchants and Wall Street financiers created the Meat Trust in the Argentine. . . . It has even been announced . . . that a North American syndicate wished to buy enormous belts of land in Guatemala. . . . The fortification of the Panama

Canal and the possible acquisition of the Galapagos Islands in the Pacific, are fresh manifestations of imperialistic progress.

...

Unexploited wealth abounds in [Latin] America. Forests of rubber . . . , mines of gold and diamonds, rivers which flow over beds of auriferous [gold-bearing] sand, . . . coffee, cocoa, and wheat, whose abundance is such that these products are enough to glut the markets of the world. But there is no national capital [for investment]. This contrast between the wealth of the soil and the poverty of the States gives rise to serious economic problems. . . .

Since the very beginnings of independence the Latin democracies, lacking financial reserves, have had need of European gold. . . . The necessities of the war [of independence] with Spain and the always difficult task of building up a new society demanded the assistance of foreign gold; loans accumulated. . . . The lamentable history of these bankrupt democracies dates from this period.

For geographical reasons, and on account of its very inferiority, South America cannot dispense with the influence of the Anglo-Saxon North, with its exuberant wealth and its industries. South America has need of capital, of enterprising men, of bold explorers, and these the United States supply in abundance. The defence of the South should consist in avoiding the establishment of privileges or monopolies, whether in favor of North Americans or Europeans.

...

The descendants of the Spanish conquerors, who knew nothing of labor or thrift, have incessantly resorted to fresh loans in order to fill the gaps in their budgets. Politicians knew of only one

Source: From Francisco Garcia Calderon, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, Bernard Miall, trans. (Charles Scribner's Sons and T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1913), pp. 298, 301–303, 306, 311, 378–382.

¹A loosely used term, Anglo-Saxon usually refers to people of English descent.

²John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), founder of the investment bank J. P. Morgan and Company, was one of the wealthiest and most powerful financiers in the United States.

Chapter 12 Anticolonialism, Nationalism, and Revolution • 453

solution of the economic disorder—to borrow, so that little by little the Latin-American countries became actually the financial colonies of Europe.

Economic dependence has a necessary corollary—political servitude. French intervention in Mexico³ was originally caused by the mass of unsatisfied financial claims; foreigners, the creditors of the State, were in favor of intervention. England and France, who began by seeking to ensure the recovery of certain debts, finally forced a monarch upon the debtor nation. The United States entertained the ambition of becoming the sole creditor of the [Latin] American peoples: this remarkable privilege would have assured them of an incontestable hegemony over the whole continent.

The budgets of various States complicate still further an already difficult situation. They increase beyond all measure, without the slightest relation to the progress made by the nation. They are based upon taxes which are one of the causes of the national impoverishment, or upon a protectionist tariff which adds greatly to the cost of life. The

politicians, thinking chiefly of appearances, neglect the development of the national resources for the immediate augmentation of the fiscal revenues; thanks to fresh taxes, the budgets increase. These resources are not employed in furthering profitable undertakings, such as building railroads or highways, or increasing the navigability of the rivers. The bureaucracy is increased in a like proportion, and the budgets, swelled in order to dupe the outside world, serve only to support a nest of parasites. In the economic life of these countries the State is a kind of beneficent providence which . . . increases the common poverty by taxation, display, useless enterprises, the upkeep of military and civil officials, and the waste of money borrowed abroad. . . .

To sum up, the new continent, politically free, is economically a vassal. This dependence is inevitable; without European capital there would have been no railways, no ports, and no stable government in [Latin] America. But the disorder which prevails in the finances of the country changes into a real servitude what might otherwise have been a beneficial relation.

³In 1861, Spain, Great Britain, and France sent troops to Mexico to force the government to pay its debts. After gaining assurances of future payments, Spain and Great Britain withdrew their troops, but Emperor Napoleon III of France went forward with a plan to establish a new Mexican government under French protection. The French-sponsored

candidate for emperor of Mexico was Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, brother of Austrian emperor Franz Josef. Maximilian served as emperor from 1863 to 1865, when the threat of U.S. intervention convinced Napoleon III to abandon his Mexican project.

Mexican Muralists and Their Vision

99 • JOSÉ CLEMENTE OROZCO, HISPANO-AMERICA—THE REBEL SOCIETY AND HIS INTERNATIONAL ENEMIES, AND DIEGO RIVERA, IMPERIALISM

In 1921, Mexico's newly appointed secretary of public education, José Vasconcelos, as part of his program to promote Mexican national pride, encouraged Mexico's composers, choreographers, writers, and artists to explore Mexico's past, including its Indian past, in their works. In the 1920s many muralists took advantage of his offer to make available the walls of public buildings for their work. Among them were José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera, whose paintings of the historical experiences of Mexicans and other Latin American people brought them international fame.

454 • *The Global Community and Its Challenges*

José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949) hoped to become an architect, but at age 26 began training as a painter in the Mexican Academy of Fine Arts. As a Marxist and supporter of the Mexican Revolution, he rejected the style of the officially approved European masters and introduced themes and topics dealing with the struggles of Mexico's Indian and mestizo populations. After completing murals at the National Preparatory School and several other buildings in Mexico City and other cities, he accepted a number of commissions in the United States, including one for Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. For Dartmouth, he chose as his theme the history of the Americas from preconquest to the modern age. The section shown below, given the name *Hispano-America—The Rebel and His International Enemies*, shows an armed peasant—standing amidst images of crumbling churches, an abandoned factory, politicians, soldiers, and capitalists. It is thought that the military figure on the right is General John J. Pershing, who in the so-called Punitive Expedition of 1916–1917 led U.S. forces into Mexico against the paramilitary forces of Francisco “Pancho” Villa, who had attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, early in 1916. The masked figure behind him is thought to be President Woodrow Wilson, who ordered the attack.



Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; commissioned by the Trustees of Dartmouth College

José Clemente Orozco, *Hispano-America—The Rebel and His International Enemies*

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