

HIS 315L: The United States, 1865 to Present

Professor Steven Mintz

This document contains handouts you'll need to bring to class as well as the dates on which you'll need to bring them.

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Reconstruction (Jan 18)

Thursday, Jan 18: Reconstruction

[If the] freedmen... quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting.

Every civil officer shall, and every person may, arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause....

If any person shall persuade or attempt to persuade...any freedman...to desert from the legal employment of any person before the expiration of his or her term of service, or shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman...he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and...shall moreover be liable to the party injured in damages....

It shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers...to report to the probate courts of their respective counties... all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen...who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means or who refuse to provide for and support said minors; and...to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person....

That all rogues and vagabonds, idle and dissipated persons, beggars,... runaways, common drunkards, common night-walkers, pilferers, lewd, wanton, or lascivious persons...persons who neglect their calling or employment, misspend what they earn, or do not provide for the support of themselves or their families...shall be deemed and considered vagrants...and... be fined...and be imprisoned at the discretion of the court....

-- Mississippi Black Code

We hold it to be the duty of the government to inflict condign punishment on the rebel belligerents, and so weaken their hands that they can never again endanger the Union; and so reform their municipal institutions as to make them republican in spirit as well as in name....

We propose to confiscate all the estate of every rebel belligerent whose estate was worth \$10,000 or whose land exceeded two hundred acres in quantity....By thus forfeiting the estates of the leading rebels, the Government would have 394,000,000 of acres....Give if you please forty acres to each adult male freedman. Suppose there are one million of them. That would require 40,000,000 of acres....

The whole fabric of southern society must be changed....How can republican institutions, free schools, free churches, free social intercourse exist in a mingled community of nabobs and serfs; of the owners of twenty thousand acre manors with lordly palaces, and the occupants of narrow huts inhabited by "low white trash?"....

The property of the rebels shall pay our national debt, and indemnify freedmen and loyal sufferers.

-- Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, 1865, on the radical program for Reconstruction

Be it enacted, That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States...That it shall be the duty of each officer...to protect all persons in their rights of persons and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals....

-- First Reconstruction Act, 1867

The power...given to the commanding officer over all the people of each district is that of an absolute monarch. His mere will is to take the place of all law....It reduces the whole population of the ten states--all persons, of every color, sex, and condition, and every stranger within their limits--to the most abject and degrading slavery.

-- President Johnson's veto of the radical program

Waving the Bloody Flag

Every state that seceded from the United States was a Democratic State....Every man that shot Union soldiers was a Democrat. Every man that loved slavery better than liberty was a Democrat. The man that assassinated Abraham Lincoln was a Democrat....Every man that raised bloodhounds to pursue human beings was a Democrat. Every man that clutched from shrieking, shuddering, crouching mothers, babes from their breasts, and sold them into slavery, was a Democrat.

-- Robert G. Ingersoll, 1876

It was the most soul-sickening spectacle that America had ever been called upon to behold. Every principle of the old American polity was here reversed. In place of government by the most intelligent and virtuous part of the people for the

benefit of the governed, here was government by the most ignorant and vicious part of the population for the benefit, the vulgar, materialistic, brutal benefit of the governing set.

-- **Columbia University Historian John W. Burgess, 1902**

In South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, the proportion of Negroes was so large, their leaders of sufficient power, and the Federal control so effective that for the years 1868-1874 the will of black labor was powerful; and so far as it was intelligently led, and had definite goals, it took perceptible steps toward public education, confiscation of large incomes, betterment of labor conditions, universal suffrage, and in some cases distribution of land to the peasant.

-- **W.E.B. DuBois**

White Democrats Regain Control of Southern Legislatures	
1869	Virginia
1870	North Carolina
1871	Georgia
1873	Texas
1874	Alabama
	Arkansas
1875	Mississippi
1877	Florida
	Louisiana
	South Carolina

Closing the Western Frontier (Jan 23 and Jan 25)

Tuesday, Jan 23: West of the Imagination

Thursday, Jan 25: Native American West

Washington is not a place to live in. The rents are high, the food is bad, the dust is disgusting and the morals are deplorable. Go West, young man, go West and grow up with the country. — **Horace Greeley**

Reservation Policy

Experience...has conclusively shown that there is but one course of policy by which the great work of regenerating the Indian race may be effected.... It is indispensably necessary that they be placed in positions where they can be controlled, and finally compelled by stern necessity to resort to agricultural labor or starve. Considering, as the untutored Indian does, that labor is a degradation, and there is nothing worthy of his ambition but prowess in war, success in the chase, and eloquence in council, it is only under such circumstances that his haughty pride can be subdued, and his wild energies trained to the more ennobling pursuits of civilized life. There should be assigned to each tribe, for a permanent home, a country adapted to agriculture, of limited extent and well-defined boundaries; within which all, with occasional exceptions, should be compelled constantly to remain until such time as their general improvement and good conduct may supersede the necessity of such restrictions. In the meantime the government should cause them to be supplied with stock, agricultural implements, and useful materials for clothing; encourage and assist them in the erection of comfortable dwellings, and secure to them the means and facilities of education, intellectual, moral, and religious. The application of their own funds to such purposes would be far better for them than the present system of paying their annuities in money, which does substantial good to but few, while to the great majority it only furnishes the means and incentive to vicious and depraving indulgence, terminating in destitution and misery, and too frequently in premature death. -- Luke Lea, Senate Executive document, no. 1, 31st Cong., 2d sess, serial 587, 35-37.

Sand Creek Massacre

"Damn any man who sympathizes with Indians. Kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice." -- **John Chivington, 1864, before the Sand Creek Massacre**

The bodies... were brought in to town this morning... It was a most solemn sight indeed, to see the mutilated corpses, stretched in the stiffness of death, upon the wagon-bed... the general remark of the hundreds of spectators... was that those that perpetrate such unnatural, brutal butchery as this, ought to be hunted to the farthest bounds of these broad plains and burned at the stake alive. -- **Denver Commonwealth, June 14, 1864**

"My great grandmother was in the band, of Black Kettle when they were attacked. There's one little child that was walking up the creek bed, and there was a soldier there that was using the little boy as target practice. He took one shot, aimed, missed him. A second came along, tried and missed him, and a third said, 'Let me kill the little devil,' and the little boy dropped dead. You had pregnant women whose bodies were being cut open, and the fetuses being taken from them. The private body parts of men and women were cut from them, and some of them used as saddle horns, hat bands, tobacco pouches, put on public display in Denver City -- in such a way that you would begin to ask, 'Who is savage, in this case?' It certainly was not the Cheyenne." -- **Henrietta Mann**

As to Colonel Chivington, our committee can hardly find fitting terms to describe his conduct. Wearing the uniform of the United States, which should be the emblem of justice and humanity... he deliberately planned and executed a foul and dastardly massacre which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were the victims of his cruelty. -- **The Committee on the Conduct of the War**

George Armstrong Custer

Stripped of the beautiful romance with which we have been so long willing to envelope him, transferred from the inviting pages of the novelist to the localities where we are compelled to meet with him, in his native village, on the war path, and when raiding our frontier settlements and lines of travel, the Indian forfeits his claim to the appellation of the "noble red man." We see him as he is, and, so far as all knowledge goes, as he ever has been, a savage in every sense of the word; no worse, perhaps than his white brother would be similarly born and bred, but one whose cruel and ferocious nature far exceeds that of any wild beast of the desert. -- **George Armstrong Custer, My Life on the Plains (New York, 1874), 163-65.**

Nez Perce

My father was the first to see through the schemes of the white men....He said: "My son...when I am gone...you are the chief of these people....Always remember that your father never sold his country....This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and mother."

I pressed my father's hand and told him I would protect his grave with my life....A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal. -- **Chief Joseph**

My people, some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are, perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I can find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever. -- **Chief Joseph, 1877**

Ghost Dance

Everybody seems to think that the belief in the coming of the Messiah has caused all the trouble. This is a mistake. I will tell you the cause.

When we first made treaties with the Government...the Government promised us all the means necessary to make our living out of our land, and to instruct us how to do it, and abundant food to support us until we could take care of ourselves. We looked forward with hope to the time when we could be as independent as the whites, and have a voice in the Government.

The officers of the army could have helped us better than any others, but we were not left to them. An Indian Department was made, with a large number of agents and other officials drawing large salaries, and these men were supposed to teach us the ways of the whites. Then came the beginning of trouble. These men took care of themselves but not of us. It was made very hard to deal with the Government except through them.... We did not get the means to work our land.... Our rations began to be reduced....

Remember that even our little ponies were taken away under the promise that they would be replaced by oxen and large horses, and that it was long before we saw any, and then we got very few.... Great efforts were made to break up our customs, but nothing was done to introduce the customs of the whites. Everything was done to break the power of the real chiefs, who really wished their people to improve, and little men, so-called chiefs, were made to act as disturbers and agitators. Spotted Tail wanted the ways of the whites, and a cowardly assassin was found to remove him....

Rations were further reduced, and we were starving....The people were desperate from starvation--they had no hope. They did not think of fighting. What good would it do? They might die like men, but what would all the women and children do? Some say they saw the son of God. All did not see Him. I did not see Him.... We doubted it, because we saw neither Him nor His works....

We were faint with hunger and maddened by despair. We held our dying children, and felt their little bodies tremble as their souls went out and left only a dead weight in our hands.... There was no hope on earth, and God seemed to have forgotten us. Some one had again been speaking of the Son of God, and said He had come. The people did not know; they did not care. They snatched at the hope. They screamed like crazy to Him for mercy. They caught at the promises they heard He had made.

The white men were frightened, and called for soldiers.... We heard that soldiers were coming. We did not fear. We hoped that we could tell them our troubles and get help. A white man said the soldiers meant to kill us. We did not believe it, but some were frightened and ran away to the Bad Lands. The soldiers came. They said: "Don't be afraid; we come to make peace, and not war." It was true. They brought us food, and did not threaten us. -- W. Fletcher Johnson, *Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian War* (Philadelphia, 1891), 460-67.

You say, "If the United States army would kill a thousand or so of the dancing Indians there would be no more trouble." I judge by the above language you are a "Christian," and are disposed to do all in your power to advance the cause of Christ. You are doubtless a worshiper of the white man's Saviour, but are unwilling that the Indians should have a "Messiah" of their own.

The Indians have never taken kindly to the Christian religion as preached and practiced by the whites. Do you know why this is the case? Because the Good Father of all has given us a better religion--a religion that is all good and no bad, a religion that is adapted to our wants. You say if we are good, obey the Ten Commandments and never sin any more, we may be permitted eventually to sit upon a white rock and sing praises to God forevermore, and look down upon our heathen fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters who are howling in hell.

It won't do. The code of morals as practiced by the white race will not compare with the morals of the Indians. We pay no lawyers or preachers, but we have not one-tenth part of the crime that you do. If our Messiah does come we shall not try to force you into our belief. We will never burn innocent women at the stake or pull men to pieces with horses because they refuse to join in our ghost dances....You are anxious to get hold of our Messiah, so you can put him in irons. This you may do--in fact, you may crucify him as you did that other one, but you cannot convert the Indians to the Christian religion until you contaminate them with the blood of the white man. The white man's heaven is repulsive to the Indian nature, and if the white man's hell suits you, why, you keep it. I think there will be white rogues enough to fill it. -- **"An Indian on the Messiah Craze," Chicago Tribune, December 5, 1890.**

Wounded Knee Massacre

Turning Hawk: These people were coming toward Pine Ridge agency, and when they were almost on the agency they were met by the soldiers and surrounded and finally taken to the Wounded Knee creek, and there at a given time their guns were demanded. When they had delivered them up, the men were separated from their families, from their tipis, and taken to a certain spot. When the guns were thus taken and the men thus separated, there was a crazy man, a young man of bad influence and in fact a nobody, among that bunch of Indians [who] fired his gun, and of course the firing of a gun have been the breaking of a military rule of some sort, because immediately the soldiers returned fire and indiscriminate killing followed.

American Horse: There was a woman with an infant in her arms who was killed as she almost touched the flag of truce, and the women and children of course were strewn all along the circular village until they were dispatched. Right near the flag of truce a mother was shot down with her infant; the child not knowing that its mother was dead was still nursing, and that especially was a very sad sight. The women as they were fleeing with their babes were killed together, shot right through, and the women who were heavy with child were also killed. All the Indians fled in these three directions, and after most all of them had been killed a cry was made that all those who were not killed or wounded should come forth and they would be safe. Little boys who were not wounded came out of their places of refuge, and as soon as they came in sight a number of soldiers surrounded them and butchered them there. -- **Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1896), Pt. 2, 884-86.**

That these Indians had some complaints, especially in the matter of the reduction of the appropriation for rations and in the delays attending the enactment of laws to enable the Department to perform the engagements entered into with them, is probably true; but the Sioux tribes are naturally warlike and turbulent, and their warriors were excited by their medicine men and chiefs, who preached the coming of an Indian messiah who was to give them power to destroy their enemies. In view of the alarm that prevailed among the white settlers near the reservation and of the fatal consequences that would have resulted from an Indian incursion, I placed at the disposal of General Miles...all such forces as were thought by him to be required. He is entitled to the credit of having given thorough protection to the settlers and of bringing the hostiles into subjection with the least possible loss of life. -- **President Benjamin Harrison (1891)**

"I shall not rest quiet in Montparnasse.

I shall not lie easy at Winchelsea.

You may bury my body in Sussex grass,

You may bury my tongue at Champmedy.

I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.

Bury my heart at Wounded Knee."

-- **Stephen Vincent Benet, American Names, 1927**

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.

We are just now making a great pretence of anxiety to civilize the Indians. I use the word "pretence" purposely, and mean it to have all the significance it can possibly carry. Washington believed that commerce freely entered into between us and the Indians would bring about their civilization, and Washington was right. He was followed by Jefferson, who inaugurated the reservation plan. Jefferson's reservation was to be the country west of the Mississippi; and he issued instructions to those controlling Indian matters to get the Indians there, and let the Great River be the line between them and the whites. Any method of securing removal - persuasion, purchase, or force - was authorized.

... The Indians under our care remained savage, because forced back upon themselves and away from association with English-speaking and civilized people, and because of our savage example and treatment of them. . . .

We have never made any attempt to civilize them with the idea of taking them into the nation, and all of our policies have been against citizenizing and absorbing them. Although some of the policies now prominent are advertised to carry them into citizenship and consequent association and competition with other masses of the nation, they are not, in reality, calculated to do this. -- **Richard Pratt, Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction (1892)**

“That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom - these are the traits of the frontier.” — **Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History, 1893**

Gilded Age (Jan 30)

Tuesday, Jan 30: Gilded Age

"Sir, it is no secret that there has not been a full vote and a fair count in Mississippi since 1875 – that we have been preserving the ascendancy of the white people by revolutionary methods. In plain words, we have been stuffing ballot-boxes, committing perjury, and here and there carrying the elections by fraud and violence until the whole machinery of elections was about to rot down."

-- Judge J.J. Chisman, 1890

It is comparatively easy to reform the tariff or the civil service, or reduce the taxes, or return to specie payments, or civilize the Indians, or protect the immigrants...but it is almost as hard to give order, peace, and security to the southern half of American society as to medicine to a mind diseased.... [M]en suddenly raised from a condition of bestial servitude, inheriting the weakness of barbarism, aggravated by the weaknesses of slavery, have been admitted to participation in the rights and responsibilities of free society; it is that they have been put in full and exclusive control of that most delicate and complicated piece of mechanism known as the government of a civilized State, with its debts, its credit, its system of taxes, its system of jurisprudence, its history, its traditions, its thousand knotty social and political problems.

... Out of this state of things Ku-kluxing has grown.... We cannot gain-say anything anybody says of the atrocity of riding about the country at night with one's face blackened, murdering and whipping people. But we confess we condemn Ku-kluxing very much as we condemn the cholera. We are opposed to the cholera. It is a loathsome disease, and brings terrible suffering on any community which it assails; nothing too bad can be said about it. But we know that it originates in filth and bad drainage, and if anybody proposed to us to proclaim martial law in the alleys in which the filth was found, and imprison the people who made it, we should refuse to support such a measure

-- E.L. Godkin, *The Nation* [the leading liberal magazine of the era], 1871

"God gave me my money."

-- John D. Rockefeller

[God] "meant that the great shall be great and that the little shall be little [and must] reap the misfortunes of inferiority, not because men desire to oppress them, but because it must be so."

-- Henry Ward Beecher

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: first, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves."

-- Andrew Carnegie, 1899

"Do your limited express trains pay or do you run them for the accommodation of the public?"

"Accommodation of the public? The public be damned!"

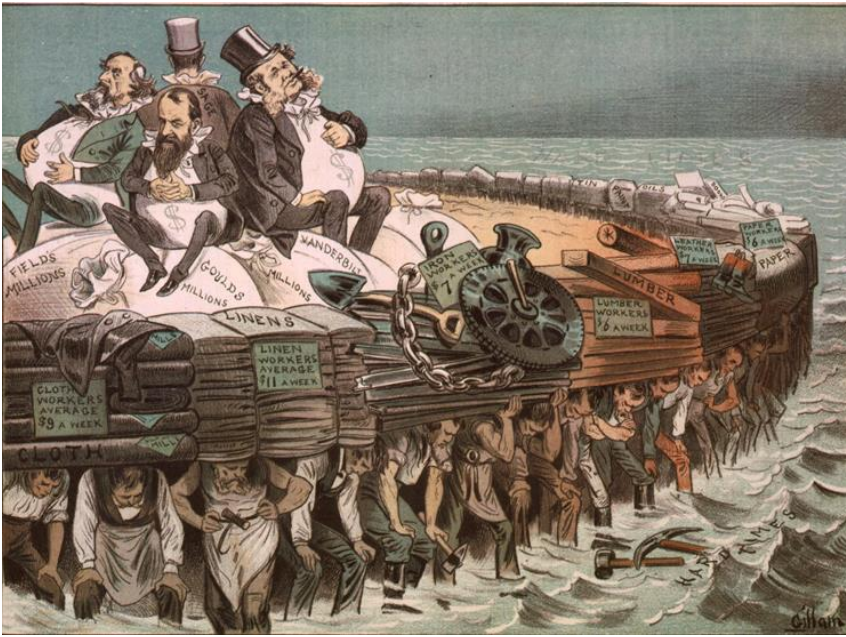
-- William Henry Vanderbilt

"I can hire one-half of the working class to kill the other half."

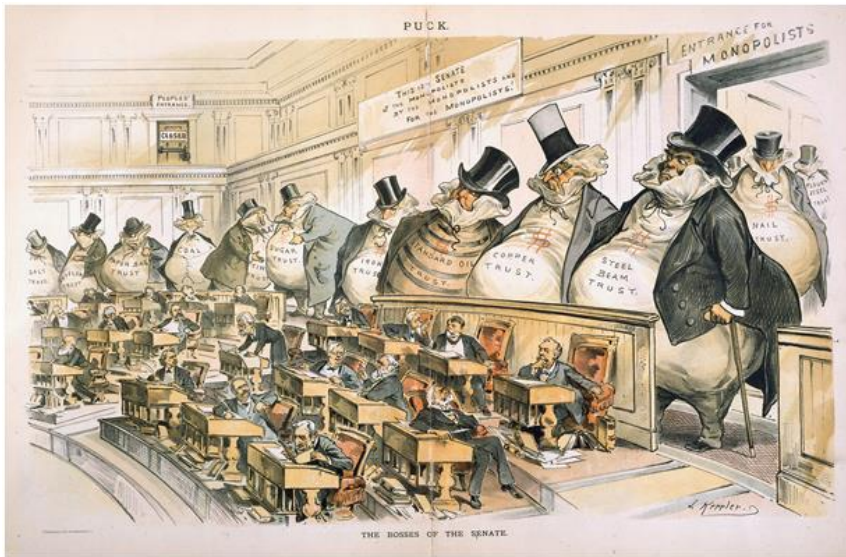
– Jay Gould

"So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent."

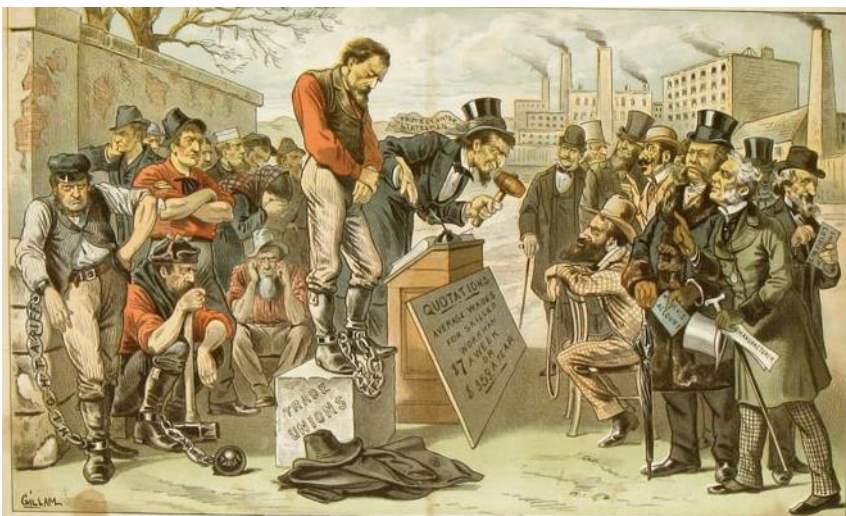
-- Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*



The Protectors of Our Industry



The Bosses of the Senate



The Slave Market of Today

Populism (Feb 1)

Thursday, Feb 1: Making of Modern America

"In God we trusted. In Kansas we busted."

"What you farmers need to do is raise less corn and more Hell."

-- Mary Ellen Lease

"Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, for the people and by the people, but a government for Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master...Let the bloodhounds of money who have dogged us thus far beware."

-- Mary Ellen Lease

"He [President Grover Cleveland] is an old bag of beef, and I am going to Washington with a pitchfork and prod him in his ribs."

-- Senator Ben Tillman

"We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench...The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up the colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed two great classes—tramps and millionaires."

-- Populist Party Platform, 1892

RESOLVED, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal Intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.

RESOLVED, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

RESOLVED, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.

RESOLVED, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

RESOLVED, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition. . . .

RESOLVED, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

RESOLVED, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.

RESOLVED, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

RESOLVED, That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declare it to be a duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods.

-- Populist Party Platform, 1892

...We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

...There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

...If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of the nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.



The Sacrilegious Candidate

The Sacrilegious Candidate

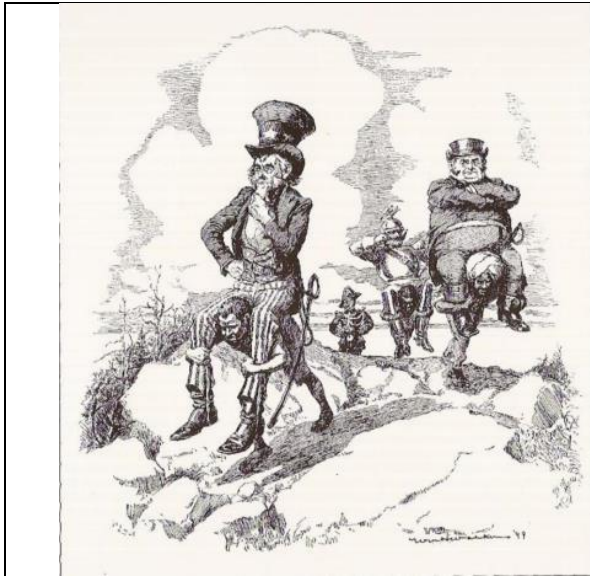


Uncle Sam's Neglected Farm. One figure is labeled "Democrat, Bourbonism, Secession Record, [and] Stupidity", the other is labeled "Republican, Monopoly, Pension Swindle, River & Harbor Steal, Credit Mobilier, [and] Bossism"; at their feet are farm tools and jugs labeled "Corruption Bourbonism" and "Spoils Switchel"

The United States Becomes a World Power (Feb 6 and Feb 8)

Tuesday, Feb 6: New Immigration

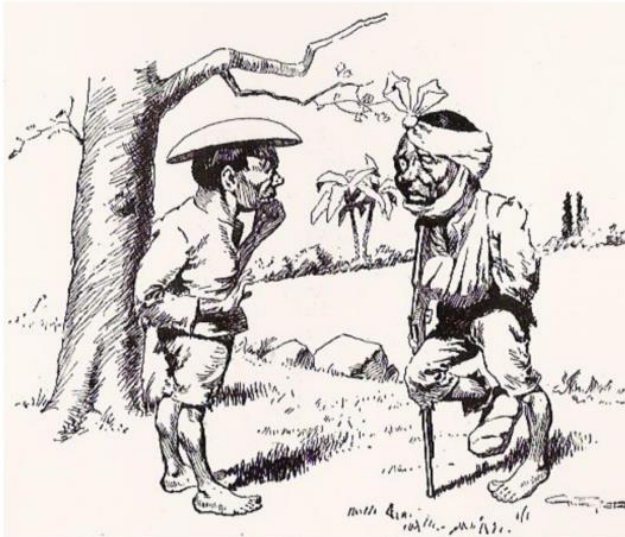
Thursday, Feb 8: World Power



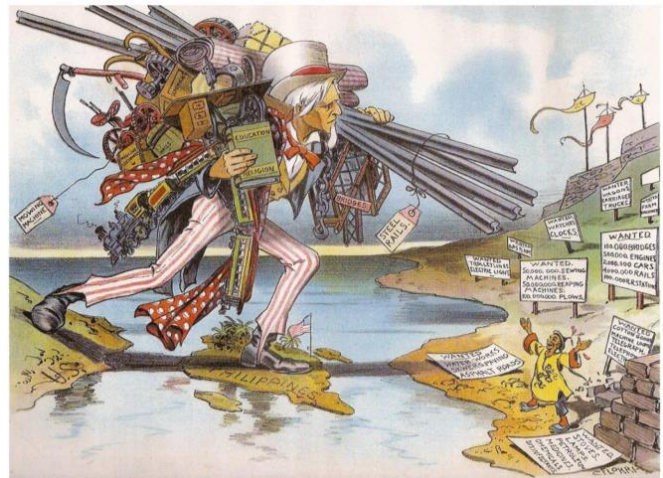
The White Man's Burden



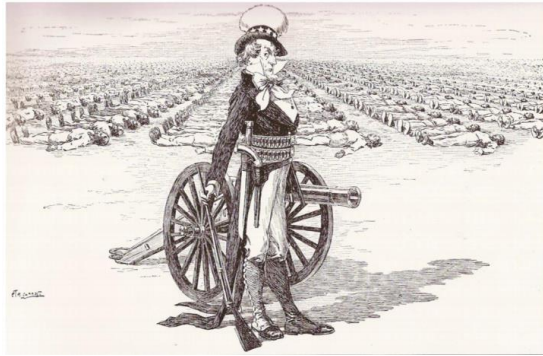
A Lesson for Anti-Expansionists



FIRST FILIPINO: What's the matter? SECOND FILIPINO: Been takin' another of those blamed lessons in the progress of civilization.



And, after all, the Philippines are only a stepping stone to China.



A Harvest in the Philippines

Idealism and Realism in US Foreign Policy

Since the country's founding, there has been a longstanding debate in American foreign affairs: Should US foreign policy be motivated by its highest ideals – the promotion of democracy and human rights – or should it be motivated by practical concerns and self-interest? Or should the United States instead focus primarily on the home front and avoid foreign entanglements altogether?

Another debate is the extent to which the United States should use economic power and investments to advance its interests and foreign policy goals and to open up foreign markets – a policy known as Dollar Diplomacy – and to what extent it should rely on diplomacy or use military force.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities ... it is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it...

-- **George Washington**

Wherever the standard of freedom and Independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will commend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force.... She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit....

-- **John Quincy Adams (1821)**

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go send your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need

-- **Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" (1899)**

Chronic wrongdoing...may...ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of international police power.

-- **Theodore Roosevelt (1904)**

The British ambassador to the United States told President Woodrow Wilson that “the best thing that can happen [to Mexico] is to get as soon as possible a dictator who will keep order and give a chance for material and educational progress.”

Wilson responded: “My passion is for the submerged 85 percent who are struggling to be free.”

In a subsequent conversation with another British envoy, the following exchange took place: “When I go back to England,” said the Englishman, as the interview was approaching an end, “I shall be asked to explain your Mexican policy. Can you tell me what it is?”

President Wilson looked at him earnestly and said, in his most decisive manner: “I am going to teach the South American Republics to elect good men!”

The US Becomes a World Power

Whether they will or no, Americans must begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it.

-- Alfred Thayer Mahan

Having therefore no foreign establishments, either colonial or military, the ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea.

-- Alfred Thayer Mahan

War, once declared, must be waged offensively, aggressively. The enemy must not be fended off; but smitten down. You may then spare him every exaction, relinquish every gain, but „til then he must be struck incessantly and remorselessly.

-- Alfred Thayer Mahan

“The United States government must ‘channel the energies of Americans toward the expansion of trade abroad. Increased foreign trade will create jobs that might give ambitious people the same opportunity the frontier had once provided.”

-- Frederick Jackson Turner

"I should welcome almost any war, for I think this country needs one."

-- Theodore Roosevelt, 1897

The Hawaiian pear is fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it.”

-- John L. Stevens, American minister to Hawaii

We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is Manifest Destiny.

-- President William McKinley, 1898

“Strangling Hands Upon a Nation’s Throat

Many Thousands of Native Hawaiians Sign a Protest to the United States Government Against Annexation
Will the American Republic Aid in Consummating the Infamy Projected by the Dole Government?

-- Headline: San Francisco Call, 1897

I, Liliuokalani of Hawaii, by the Will of God named heir-apparent on the tenth day of April, A.D. 1807, and by the grace of God Queen of the Hawaiian Islands on the seventeenth day of January, A.D. 1893, do hereby protest against the ratification of a certain treaty, which, so I am informed, has been signed at Washington by Messrs. Hatch, Thurston, and Kinney, purporting to cede those Islands to the territory and dominion of the United States. I declare such a treaty to be an act of -wrong toward the native and part-native people of Hawaii, an invasion of the rights of the ruling chiefs, in violation of international rights both toward my people and toward friendly nations with whom they have made treaties, the perpetuation of the fraud whereby the constitutional government was overthrown, and, finally, an act of gross injustice to me.

-- Queen Liliuokalani, 1897

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came:

(1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;

(2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;

(3) That we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and

(4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died.
-- President William McKinley, 1899

The mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation
-- President William McKinley, 1898

"I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn, the more you kill and burn the better it will please me. I want all persons killed who are capable of bearing arms in actual hostilities against the United States." General Jacob H. Smith said.

Since it was a popular belief among the Americans serving in the Philippines that native males were born with bolos in their hands, Major Littleton "Tony" Waller asked "I would like to know the limit of age to respect, sir?"

"Ten years," General Jacob H. Smith said.

Testimony of General Jacob H. Smith and Major Littleton Waller

I personally strung up thirty-five Filipinos without trial, so what was all the fuss over Waller's "dispatching" a few "treacherous savages"? If there had been more Smiths and Wallers, the war would have been over long ago. Impromptu domestic hanging might also hasten the end of the war. For starters, all Americans who had recently petitioned Congress to sue for peace in the Philippines should be dragged out of their homes and lynched
.--Colonel Frederick Funston

"One-sixth of the natives of Luzon have either been killed or have died of the dengue fever in the last few years. The loss of life by killing alone has been very great, but I think not one man has been slain except where his death has served the legitimate purposes of war. It has been necessary to adopt what in other countries would probably be thought harsh measures."

--General James Bell, May 3, 1901

I confidently maintain that the recognition of the Republic of Panama was an act justified by the interests of collective civilization. If ever a government could be said to have received a mandate from civilization to effect an object the accomplishment of which was demanded in the interest of mankind, the United State holds that position with regard to the interoceanic canal.

-- President Theodore Roosevelt, 1904

If I had acted strictly according to precedent, I should have turned the whole matter over to Congress; in which case, Congress would be ably debating it at this moment, and the canal would be fifty years in the future. ...I took a trip to the Isthmus, started the canal, and then left Congress—not to debate the canal, but to debate me. But while the debate goes on, the canal does too; and they are welcome to debate me as long as they wish, provided that we can go on with the canal..

-- President Theodore Roosevelt, 1911

Progressive Era Quotations (Feb 13)

Tuesday, Feb 13: Progressivism, part I

Urban Political Machines

The Alderman...bails out his constituents when they are arrested, or says a good word to the police justice when they appear before him for trial; uses his "pull" with the magistrate when they are likely to be fined for a civil misdemeanor, or sees what he can do to "fix up matters" with the State's attorney when the charge is really a serious one. Because of simple friendliness, the Alderman is expected to pay rent for the hard-pressed tenant when no rent is forthcoming, to find jobs when work is hard to get, to procure and divide among his constituents all the places which he can seize from the City Hall.... Where does the money come from[?]...He...sells out the city franchises...he makes deal with the franchise-seeking companies...he guarantees to steer dubious measures through the [City] Council, for which he demands liberal pay.... -- Jane Addams

Meat Packing

There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage.... [O]ld sausage that had been rejected and that was mouldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine...meat stpred in great piles...and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it.... The rats were nusiances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them, they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together. – Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*

Urban Problems

Today, what is a tenement? "It is generally a brick building from four to six stories high on the street, frequently with a store on the first floor which, when used for the sale of liquor, has a side opening for the benefit of the inmates and to evade the Sunday law; four families occupy each floor, and a set of rooms consists of one or two dark closets, used as bedrooms, with a living room twelve feet by ten. The staircase is too often a dark well in the center of the house, and no direct through ventilation is possible, each family being separated from the other by partitions. Frequently the rear of the lot is occupied by another building of three stories high with two families on a floor." -- Jacob Riis, 1890

Never before in civilization have such numbers of young girls been suddenly released from the protection of the home and permitted to walk unattended upon city streets....Never before have such numbers of young boys earned money independently of the family life, and felt themselves free to spend it as they choose in the midst of vice deliberately disguised as pleasure....Let us know the modern city in its weakness and wickedness, and then seek to rectify and purify it until it shall be free at least from the grosser temptations which now beset the young people who are living in its tenement houses and working in its factories. -- Jane Addams

it is far safer to wander in God's woods than to travel on black highways or to stay at home. The snake danger is so slight it is hardly worth mentioning. Bears are a peaceable people, and mind their own business, instead of going about like the devil seeking whom they may devour. Poor fellows, they have been poisoned, trapped, and shot at until they have lost confidence in brother man, and it is not now easy to make their acquaintance. As to Indians, most of them are dead or civilized into useless innocence. No American wilderness that I know of is so dangerous as a city home "with all the modern improvements." – Environmentalist John Muir

Problems of Youth

Every American boy, a hundred years ago, lived either on a farm or in such close touch with farm life that he reaped its benefits. He had all the practical knowledge that comes from country surroundings; that is, he could ride, shoot, skate, run, swim; he was handy with tools; he knew the woods; he was physically strong, self-reliant, resourceful, well-developed in body and brain. In addition to which, he had a good moral training at home. He was respectful to his superiors, obedient to his parents, and altogether the best material of which a nation could be made.

We have lived to see an unfortunate change....It is the exception when we see a boy respectful to his superiors and obedient to his parents. It is the rare exception, now, when we see a boy that is handy with tools and capable of taking care of himself under all circumstances. It is the very, very rare exception when we see a boy whose life is absolutely governed by the safe old moral standards....Degeneracy is the word. To combat the system that has turned such a large proportion of our robust, manly, self-reliant boyhood into a lot of flat-chested cigarette-smokers, with shaky nerves and doubtful vitality...[we need to substitute] the better, cleaner, saner pursuits of woodcraft and scouting.

-- Boy Scout Handbook, 1910

Out of School Activities of 14,683 Children

Cleveland, June 23, 1913

Where they were seen:

On streets	7,799
In yards	3,581
In vacant lots	883
In playgrounds	1,869
In alleys	551

What they were doing:

Doing nothing	5,961
Playing	7,358
Working	1,354

What games they were playing:

Baseball	1,638
Kites	531
Sand piles	471
Tag	153
Jackstones	325
Dolls	282
Sewing	144
Housekeeping	244
Horse and wagon	113
Bicycle riding	92
Minding baby	60
Reading	52
Roller-skating	47
Gardening	27
Caddy	6
Marbles	2
Playing in other ways, Mostly just fooling	3,171

Progressives and the Trusts

The effort to restore competition as it was sixty years ago, and to trust for justice solely to this proposed restoration of competition, is just as foolish as if we should go back to the flintlocks of Washington's continentals as a substitute for modern weapons of precision....Our purpose should be, not to strangle business as an incident of strangling combinations, but to regulate big corporations in a thoroughgoing and effective fashion, so as to help legitimate business as an incident to thoroughly and completely safeguarding the interests of the people as a whole. -- Theodore Roosevelt

Progressivism and Eugenics

The greatest problem of civilization is to be found in the fact that the well-to-do families tend to die out; there results, in consequence, a tendency to the elimination instead of the survival of the fittest.... -- Theodore Roosevelt on "race suicide"

"if the vitality or vital capital is impaired by a breeding of the worst and a cessation of the breeding of the best, no greater calamity could be imagined.... [This calamity, however, could be averted] "by isolation in public institutions and in some cases by surgical operation." -- Economist Irving Fisher

[Those who would be chronically unemployable with a minimum wage] "should simply be stamped out. . . . We have not reached the stage where we can proceed to chloroform them once and for all; but at least they can be segregated, shut up in refuges and asylums, and prevented from propagating their kind." -- Economist Frank Taussig

"I am convinced that the Pacific Coast people are right about the Mongolians; and I am sure that we are utter fools to endure the ruin of the Atlantic Coast by the invasion of Asia Minor and South Eastern Europe" -- Florence Kelley, first woman to hold public office in Illinois

"...I say that when you take the negro [sic] into your embrace on election day to control his vote and use liquor to befuddle him understanding and make him believe he is a man and your brother, when you honey snuggle him at the polls and make him familiar with dirty tricks in politics, so long will lynchings prevail, because the cause will grow and increase with every election.... If it needs lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from human beasts, then I say lynch a thousand times a week if necessary." -- Rebecca Latimer Felton, 1897 (First woman to serve in the US Senate)

Deaths per 100,000 Boston, New York, New Orleans, and Philadelphia					
	Tuberculosis	Intestinal Disorders	Diphtheria	Typhoid Typhus	Smallpox
1864-1888	365	299	123	66	53
1899-1913	223	196	58	19	25

Proportion of Children 10-15 in Labor Force				
		Boston	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh
Boys	Native	7	20	20
	2nd generation	8	24	20
	1st generation	19	39	30
	Black	10	17	19
Girls	Native	3	12	5
	2nd generation	6	18	8
	1st generation	13	39	18
	Black	4	14	7

Number of Immigrants	
1820	8,385
1830	23,322
1840	84,066
1850	369,980
1860	153,640
1870	387,203
1880	457,257
1890	455,302
1900	448,572
1910	1,041,570
1920	430,001
1930	241,700
1940	70,756
1950	249,187

Resources Invested in Education			
	Spending on Education	Spending Per Child 15-19	Percentage of GNP
1860	\$60	\$ 5.33	1.4
1900	\$503	\$20.53	2.9

Improvements in Education					
	% Illiteracy 10 or older			High School Graduates	College Enrollment
	Total	White	Black		
1870	20 %	11	80	2.0	1.7
1900	11 %	6	45	6.4	4.0

	Proportion of Young Attending School	Average Days Attended By Pupils	Proportion of 17 Year Olds Graduating High School
1870	57	78	2
1890	69	86	3.5
1910	74	113	8.8
1930	81	143	29
1950	82	158	59

	Percent of 18-21 Year Olds Attending College	Percent of Adult Population Illiterate
1870	1.7 %	20 %
1890	3.0 %	13 %
1910	5.1 %	8 %
1930	12.4 %	4 %
1950	29.9 %	3 %

Progressive Legislation		
	New York State Tenement House Law	Requires fire escapes, lights in dark hallways, a window in each room
	Maryland Workmen's Compensation Law	Provide benefits for workers injured on the job
	Wisconsin Direct Primary Law	Allows voters to select candidates
	Oregon Initiative and Referendum laws	Gives voters power to initiate legislation and vote on important issues
	Newlands Act	Funds irrigation projects in West
	Oregon women's labor law	Limits work for women in industry to 10 hours a day
	Elkins Act	Strengthens Interstate Commerce Act
1906	Hepburn Act	Authorizes Interstate Commerce Commission to set maximum railroad rates
	Pure Food and Drug Act	Prohibits sale of adulterated or fraudulently labeled foods and drugs
	Meat Inspection Act	Enforces sanitary conditions in meatpacking plants
	Mann Act	Prohibits interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes
	16th Amendment	Authorizes federal income tax
	Seaman's Act	Regulates conditions of maritime workers
1916	Federal Farm Loan Act	Provide farmers with low interest loans
	Federal Child Labor Law	Barred products produced by children from interstate commerce (declared unconstitutional in 1918)
	18th Amendment	Prohibited sale and production of intoxicating liquors
	19th Amendment	Gave women the right to vote

The Color Line (Feb 15)

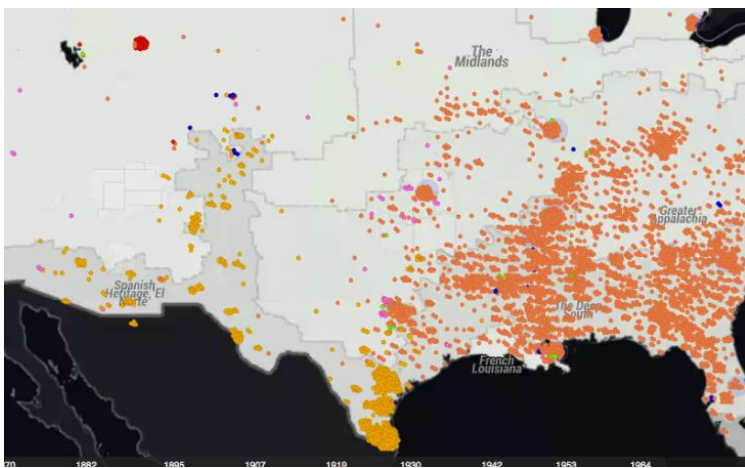
Thursday, Feb 15: Progressivism, part II

Man is the one animal that is capable of getting enjoyment out of the torture and death of members of its own species. We venture to assert that seven-eighths of every lynching party is composed of pure, sporting mob, which goes...just as it goes to a cock-fight or prize-fight, for the gratification of the lowest and most degraded instincts of humanity.

-- E.L. Godkin, 1892

"...I say that when you take the negro [sic] into your embrace on election day to control his vote and use liquor to befuddle him understanding and make him believe he is a man and your brother, when you honey snuggle him at the polls and make him familiar with dirty tricks in politics, so long will lynchings prevail, because the cause will grow and increase with every election.... If it needs lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from human beasts, then I say lynch a thousand times a week if necessary." -- Rebecca Latimer Felton, 1897 (First woman to serve in the US Senate)

Lynchings



<http://www.monroeworktoday.org/explore/>

Lynchings, by Year and Race, 1882-1968

Year	Whites	Blacks	Total	1898	19	101	120	1915	13	56	69
1882	64	49	113	1899	21	85	106	1916	4	50	54
1883	77	53	130	1900	9	106	115	1917	2	36	38
1884	160	51	211	1901	25	105	130	1918	4	60	64
1885	110	74	184	1902	7	85	92	1919	7	76	83
1886	64	74	138	1903	15	84	99	1920	8	53	61
1887	50	70	120	1904	7	76	83	1921	5	59	64
1888	68	69	137	1905	5	57	62	1922	6	51	57
1889	76	94	170	1906	3	62	65	1923	4	29	33
1890	11	85	96	1907	3	58	61	1924	0	16	16
1891	71	113	184	1908	8	89	97	1925	0	17	17
1892	69	161	230	1909	13	69	82	1926	7	23	30
1893	34	118	152	1910	9	67	76	1927	0	16	16
1894	58	134	192	1911	7	60	67	1928	1	10	11
1895	66	113	179	1912	2	62	64	1929	3	7	10
1896	45	78	123	1913	1	51	52	1930	1	20	21
1897	35	123	158	1914	4	51	55				

Black Victims of White Lynch Mobs by State, 1882-1930

Deep South
Mississippi/ 462

Georgia/ 423
Louisiana/ 283

Alabama/ 262
South Carolina/ 143

Border South

Florida/ 212
Texas/335 (1889-1918) / 493 (1882-1962)

Tennessee/ 174
Arkansas/ 162
Kentucky/ 118
North Carolina/ 75

Black Victims of Lynchings per 100,000 Blacks by State, 1882-1930

Deep South

Mississippi/ 52.8
Georgia/ 41.8
Louisiana/ 43.7
Alabama/ 32.4
South Carolina/ 18.8

Border South

Florida/ 79.8
Tennessee/ 38.4
Arkansas/ 42.6
Kentucky/ 45.7
North Carolina/ 11.0

Reasons Given for Black Lynchings

Acting suspiciously	Being obnoxious	Trying to colonize blacks
Gambling	Injuring livestock	Demanding respect
Quarreling	Spreading disease	Miscegenation
Adultery	Boasting about riot	Trying to vote
Grave robbing	Insulting white man	Disorderly conduct
Race hatred; Race troubles	Stealing	Mistaken identity
Aiding murderer	Burglary	Unpopularity
Improper with white woman	Insulting white woman	Eloping with white woman
Rape	Suing white man	Molestation
Arguing with white man	Child abuse	Unruly remarks
Incest	Insurrection	Entered white woman's room
Rape-murders	Swindling	Murder
Arson Inciting to riot	Conjuring	Using obscene language
Resisting mob	Kidnapping	Enticement
Assassination	Terrorism	Non-sexual assault
Inciting trouble	Courting white woman	Vagrancy
Robbery	Killing livestock	Extortion
Attempted murder	Testifying against white man	Peeping Tom
Indolence	Criminal assault	Violated quarantine
Running a bordello	Living with white woman	Fraud
Banditry	Throwing stones	Pillage
Inflammatory language	Cutting levee	Voodooism
Sedition	Looting	Plotting to kill
Being disreputable	Train wrecking	Voting for wrong party
Informing	Defending rapist	Frightening white woman
Slander	Making threats	Poisoning well

Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Lynch Law in Georgia (1899)

During six weeks of the months of March and April just past, twelve colored men were lynched in Georgia, the reign of outlawry culminating in the torture and hanging of the colored preacher, Elijah Strickland, and the burning alive of Samuel Wilkes, alias Hose, Sunday, April 23, 1899.

The real purpose of these savage demonstrations is to teach the Negro that in the South he has no rights that the law will enforce. Samuel Hose was burned to teach the Negroes that no matter what a white man does to them, they must not resist. Hose, a servant, had killed Cranford, his employer. An example must be made. Ordinary punishment was deemed inadequate. This Negro must be burned alive. To make the burning a certainty the charge of outrage was invented, and added to the charge of murder. The daily press offered reward for the capture of

Hose and then openly incited the people to burn him as soon as caught. The mob carried out the plan in every savage detail.

Of the twelve men lynched during that reign of unspeakable barbarism, only one was even charged with an assault upon a woman. Yet Southern apologists justify their savagery on the ground that Negroes are lynched only because of their crimes against women.

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation.... If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane.

Justice John Marshall Harlan's Dissent (1896)

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in the view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law

Booker T. Washington, Atlanta Compromise Speech, 1895

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are" — cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. ... No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. ...In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

W.E.B. DuBois

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique.... Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races.... Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens.

Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things, —

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth,

— and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.

2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox of his career:

1. He is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage .
2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the manhood of any race in the long run.
3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning; but neither the Negro common-schools, nor Tuskegee itself, could remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in Negro colleges, or trained by their graduates.

World War I (Feb 20 and Feb 22)

Tuesday, Feb 20: WWI

Thursday, Feb 22: War on the Homefront

The Great War differed from all ancient wars in the immense power of the combatants and their fearful agencies of destruction, and from all modern wars in the utter ruthlessness with which it was fought. ... Europe and large parts of Asia and Africa became one vast battlefield on which after years of struggle not armies but nations broke and ran. When all was over, Torture and Cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian States had been able to deny themselves: and they were of doubtful utility.

-- Winston Churchill

The lamps are going out all over Europe: we shall not see them lit again in our life-time."

-- Edward Grey

"Our duty is to go forward into this valley of the shadow of death with courage and faith – with courage to suffer, and faith in God and our country... We must stand together at this hour. On us of this generation has come the sharpest trial that has ever befallen our race. We have to uphold the honour of England by demeanour and deed... We are standing for justice, for law against arbitrary violence."

-- The Daily Mail, August 1914

"The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action."

-- Woodrow Wilson, August 1914

"There is such thing as a man being too proud to fight."

-- Woodrow Wilson, US president, May 1915

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

-- Woodrow Wilson, address to a joint session of Congress

"This is a war to end all wars."

— Woodrow Wilson, 1917

"Once lead [the American] people into war and they will forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance."

-- Woodrow Wilson, US president, April 1917

This is not a peace. It is an armistice for 20 years.

-- Ferdinand Foch

This war, like the next war, is a war to end war.

-- David Lloyd George

In Flanders fields the poppies blow

Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.
We are the Dead.
-- John McCrae

What passing-bells for these who die as cattle?
Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
-- Wilfred Owen, Anthem for Doomed Youth.

The First World War had begun – imposed on the statesmen of Europe by railway timetables. It was an unexpected climax to the railway age.
-- A. J. P. Taylor

The First World War killed fewer victims than the Second World War, destroyed fewer buildings, and uprooted millions instead of tens of millions — but in many ways it left even deeper scars both on the mind and on the map of Europe. The old world never recovered from the shock.
-- Edmond Taylor

God would never be cruel enough to create a cyclone as terrible as that Argonne battle. Only man would ever think of doing an awful thing like that. It looked like "the abomination of desolation" must look like. And all through the long night those big guns flashed and growled just like the lightning and the thunder when it storms in the mountains at home.
And, oh my, we had to pass the wounded. And some of them were on stretchers going back to the dressing stations, and some of them were lying around, moaning and twitching. And the dead were all along the road. And it was wet and cold. And it all made me think of the Bible and the story of the Anti-Christ and Armageddon. And I'm telling you the little log cabin in Wolf Valley in old Tennessee seemed a long long way off.
-- Alvin C. York

"The cries of the wounded had much diminished now, and as we staggered down the road, the reason was only too apparent, for the water was right over the tops of the shell-holes."
— Captain Edwin Vaughan, 1917

"I wish those people who talk about going on with this war whatever it costs could see the soldiers suffering from mustard gas poisoning. Great mustard-coloured blisters, blind eyes, all sticky and stuck together, always fighting for breath, with voices a mere whisper, saying that their throats are closing and they know they will choke."
— Nurse Vera Brittain

"Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder... The master class has always declared the wars, the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose — especially their lives. They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command. But in all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people."
-- Eugene Debs, American socialist, June 1918

1920s (Feb 27 and March 1)

Tuesday, Feb 27: Cultural Civil War

Thursday, March 1: Modernism

BACK TO NORMALCY

"America's present need is not heroics but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration,... not surgery but serenity,... not submergence in internationality but sustainment in triumphant nationality.." Sen. Warren G. Harding, 1920

THE LOST GENERATION

"All of you young people who served in the war, you are a lost generation." Poet Gertrude Stein to young novelist Ernest Hemingway, 1920

Here was a new generation, shouting the old cries, learning the old creeds, through a revery of long days and nights; destined finally to go out into that dirty gray turmoil to follow love and pride; a new generation dedicated more than the last to the fear of poverty and the worship of success; grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken. . . . F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise*, 1920

1929 "I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice and the expression in vain. We had heard them... and had read them... now for a long time and I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards of Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it." Character in Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), expressing the disillusionment of many members of the wartime generation.

"Our laws are invented, in the main, by frauds and fanatics, and put upon the statute books by poltroons and scoundrels." H. L. Mencken, 1921

SACCO AND VANZETTI

"Now, I should say that I am not only innocent of all these things, not only have I never committed a real crime in my life... I struggled all my life to eliminate... the exploitation and the oppression of the man by man.... "I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because... I am an Italian.... "I am finished. Thank you." Bartolomeo Vanzetti, 1927

PROHIBITION

"In 1920, when prohibition was very young, Johnny Torrio of Chicago had an inspiration. Torrio was a formidable figure in the Chicago underworld. He had discovered that there was big money in the newly outlawed liquor business. He was fired with the hope of getting control of the dispensation of booze to the whole city of Chicago. At the moment there was a great deal too much competition; but possibly a well-disciplined gang of men handy with their fists and their guns could take care of that, by intimidating rival bootleggers and persuading uneasy speakeasy proprietors that life might not be wholly comfortable for them unless they bought Torrio liquor.... "Al Capone had been an excellent choice as leader of the Torrio offensives.... As the profits... rolled in, young Capone acquired more finesse — particularly finesse in the management of politics and politicians. By the middle of the decade he had gained complete control of the suburb of Cicero, had installed his own mayor in office, had posted his agents in the wide-open gambling resorts and in each of the 161 bars.... He was taking in millions now. Torrio was fading into the background; Capone was becoming the Big Shot." Frederick Louis Allen, 1931

[N]o other law has worked so great a revolution in social welfare as has Prohibition." -- Rev. Walter Morgan

SCOPES TRIAL

It is unlawful "to teach any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals." From State of Tennessee Public School Law, 1925

"Our purpose and our only purpose is to vindicate the right of parents to guard the religion of their children against efforts made in the name of science to undermine faith in supernatural religion." William Jennings Bryan, 1925

Q: "Do you claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?" A: "I believe that everything in the Bible should be accepted as given there." B: "But when you read that Jonah swallowed the whale — or that the whale swallowed Jonah — excuse me, please, how do you literally interpret it?... You believe that God made such a fish, and that it was big enough to swallow Jonah?" A: "Yes, sir." Q: "Perfectly easy to believe that Jonah swallowed the whale?" A: "If the Bible said so." Clarence Darrow to William Jennings Bryan, 1925

BUSINESS

"The business of the American people is business. The man who builds a factory builds a temple. The man who works there worships there." President Calvin Coolidge, 1925

"To keep America growing we must keep Americans working, and to keep Americans working we must keep them wanting; wanting more than the bare necessities; wanting the luxuries and frills that make life so much more worthwhile, and installment selling makes it easier to keep Americans wanting." Automobile dealer,

CARS

"Every piece of work in the shop moves; it may move on hooks, on overhead chains,... it may travel on a moving platform, or it may go by gravity, but the point is that there is no lifting or trucking.... No workman has anything to do with moving or lifting anything." Henry Ford, 1921

"Why on earth do you need to study what's changing this country? I can tell you what's happening in just four letters: A-U-T-O." A resident of Muncie, Indiana, 1924

"A house of prostitution on wheels." – A Muncie newspaper, 1924

"We'd rather do without clothes than give up the car." Mother of nine children, 1924

THE MOVIES

"Goodness knows, you learn plenty about love from the movies.... You meet the flapper, the good girl, 'n' all the feminine types and their little tricks of the trade." A young woman, 1925

WOMEN

Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." – Equal Rights Amendment, 1923

"So long as men cannot be mothers, so long legislation adequate for them can never be adequate for wage-earning women; and the cry Equality, Equality, where nature has created inequality, is as stupid and as deadly as the cry of Peace, Peace, where there is no peace." – Florence Kelley, 1923

"She is frankly, heavily made up... pallor mortis, poisonously scarlet lips, richly ringed eyes.... And there are, finally, her clothes.... Her dress... is cut low where it might be high, and vice versa. The skirt comes just an inch below her knees, overlapping by a faint fraction her rolled and twisted stockings. The idea is that when she walks in a bit of a breeze, you shall now and then observe the knee.... [The flapper's] haircut is also abbreviated. She wears of course the newest thing in bobs." Bruce Bliven, 1925

The Flapper awoke from her lethargy of sub-deb-ism, bobbed her hair, put on her choicest pair of earrings and a great deal of audacity and rouge and went into the battle. She flirted because it was fun to flirt and wore a one-piece bathing suit because she had a good figure she was conscious that the things she did were the things she had always wanted to do. Mothers disapproved of their sons taking the Flapper to dances, to teas, to swim and most of all to heart. -- Zelda Fitzgerald

KKK

"Native, White, Protestant Supremacy" Motto of the new Ku Klux Klan, 1924

"Store owners, teachers, farmers,... the good people, all belonged to the Klan. They were going to clean up the government, and they were going to improve the school books that were loaded with Catholicism." Northern Indiana Klanswoman, 1924

IMMIGRATION

"These men of many nations must be taught American ways, the English language, and the right way to live."
Henry Ford

"Our capacity to maintain our cherished institutions stands diluted by a stream of alien blood, with all its inherited misconceptions respecting the relationships of the governing power to the governed.... The day of unalloyed welcome to all peoples, the day of indiscriminate acceptance of all races, has definitely ended." Congressman Albert Johnson, co-author of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924

Mexicans are suitable for agricultural work "due to their crouching and bending habits..., while the white in physically unable to adapt himself to them." Report of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 1925

RACE

"If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa shall be for the black peoples of the world." Marcus Garvey, 1923

"In a world where black is despised, he taught them that black is beautiful. He taught them to admire and praise black things and black people." The Amsterdam News on Marcus Garvey, following his deportation for mail fraud, 1923

1928 ELECTION

"No subject of the Pope should be allowed to become president." Bishop James Cannon of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, 1928

"I summarize my creed as an American Catholic. I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my church to interfere with the operation of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor. I believe in the absolute separation of church and state and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States...." Gov. Alfred E. Smith

The Republican Party builds its case upon a myth. . . . Prosperity to the extent that we have it is unduly concentrated and has not equitably touched the lives of the farmer, the wage earner, and the individual businessman." Al Smith, 1928

"A chicken in every pot, a car in every garage" – Republican campaign slogan, 1928

"We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. [...] We shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." – Herbert Hoover, 1928

"The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon... be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation...." Herbert Hoover, 1928

When the war ended, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world was whether governments should continue their wartime ownership and many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged by a peacetime choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines — doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of those ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness. — Herbert Hoover, 1928

"Leven cent cotton, forty cent meat, How in the world can a poor man eat?" 1928 song

"We have today in the United States, cheek by jowl, Prosperity and Depression." — W.E.B. DuBois, 1926

"It was fun while it lasted." — Frederick Lewis Allen, 1931

The Great Depression and the New Deal (March 6 and March 8)

Tuesday, March 6: The Great Depression

Thursday, March 8: The New Deal

STOCK MARKET CRASH

"There is no cause to worry. The high tide of prosperity will continue." Sec. of Treasury, Andrew Mellon, September 1929.

"Stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau". --Yale Economist Irving Fisher, October 16 1929.

"This crash is not going to have much effect on business." ... Chairman Arthur Reynolds, Continental Illinois Bank of Chicago, October 24, 1929.

"While the crash only took place six months ago, I am convinced we have passed the worst and with continued unity of effort we shall rapidly recover." --President Hoover, May 1930.

"We have hit bottom and are on the upswing." --Sec. of Labor James Davis, September 1930.

"I see no reason why 1931 should not be an extremely good year." -- Alfred Sloan Jr, General Motors, November 1930.

FDR

Franklin D. Roosevelt is a highly impressionistic person, without a firm grasp of public affairs and without very strong convictions... He is a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for the office, would very much like to be president." - Journalist Walter Lippman, 1932

"Once I spent two years in bed trying to move my big toe. After that everything else seems easy." – 1932

For three long years I have been going up and down this country preaching that Government--Federal and State and local--costs too much. I shall not stop that preaching. As an immediate program of action we must abolish useless offices. We must eliminate unnecessary functions of Government--functions, in fact, that are not definitely essential to the continuance of Government. We must merge, we must consolidate subdivisions of Government, and, like the private citizen, give up luxuries which we can no longer afford.

... I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people. Speech accepting nomination, 1932

I accuse the present Administration of being the greatest spending Administration in peacetime in all American history - one which piled bureau on bureau, commission on commission. 1932

The country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it: If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something. -- 1932

"I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in the country today. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. "So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that we have nothing to fear but fear itself — nameless, unreasoning unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am

convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.... The nation asks for action, and action now. " -- Inaugural address, 1933

"It was this administration which saved the system of private profit and free enterprise after it had been dragged to the brink of ruin." 1933

"If I come out for the antilynching bill now, [the Southern Democrats] will block every bill I ask Congress to pass to keep America from collapsing." -- 1933

These three great objectives—the security of the home, the security of livelihood, and the security of social insurance—are, it seems to me, a minimum of the promise that we can offer to the American people. They constitute a right which belongs to every individual and every family willing to work...." – Message to Congress, 1934

"I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our national progress.... "But the simplest way for each of you to judge recovery lies in the plain facts of your own individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account more secure. Are your working conditions better? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded? Also, let me put to you another simple question: Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains?... Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice?" – 1934

The age of machinery, of railroads; of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution—all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things.

These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power.

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. -- 1936

"I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill nourished." 1937

DUST BOWL

"The continental soil, the center of vitality, is visibly and rapidly declining. The forest cover has been stripped and burned and steadily shrinks. The natural grass cover has been torn to ribbons by steel plows and hooves of cattle and sheep. The skin of America has been laid open. Streams have lost their measured balance, and, heavy with silt, run wild in flood to the sea at certain seasons, to fall to miserable trickles in the drier months.... "Kansas farms are blowing through Nebraska at an accelerating rate. In the spring of 1934, the farms of the Dust Bowl — which includes western Oklahoma, western Kansas, eastern Colorado, the panhandle of Texas, and parts of Wyoming — blew clear out to the Atlantic Ocean, 2,000 miles away. On a single day 300 million tons of rich top soil was lifted from the Great Plains, never to return, and planted in places where it would spread the maximum of damage and discomfort. Authentic desert sand dunes were laid down. People began to die of dust pneumonia. More than 9 million acres of good farm land has been virtually destroyed by wind erosion, and serious damage is reported on nearly 80 million acres.... The rate of loss tends to follow the laws of compound interest. The stricken areas grow continually larger." Stuart Chase, 1936

NRA

The Blue Eagle is a symbol of industrial solidarity and self-government.... "The Apostles of Plenty must temper their doctrine. The answer is not to produce as much as you can at the lowest cost you can get, especially if that low cost comes out of the wages or too abruptly out of unemployment.... "Always the answer is 'balance' — balance of supply to demand, balance of prices at fair exchange parity throughout the whole economic structure and balance

the of benefits among great economic areas. You cannot even move toward this balance without some direction. NRA (National Recovery Administration) offers one way to get that supervision in industry. Gen. Hugh S. Johnson

AGRICULTURE

"Unless something is done for the American farmer we will have a revolution in the countryside within less than 12 months." – Ed O'Neal, 1933

Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933: An Act to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such emergency, to provide emergency relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint-stock land banks, and for other purposes.

"Regulation and control of agricultural production are beyond the powers delegated to the Federal Government." – US v. Butler, 1936

LABOR

This Act defines, as a part of our substantive law, the right of self-organization of employees in industry for the purpose of collective bargaining, and provides methods by which the Government can safeguard that legal right. It establishes a National Labor Relations Board to hear and determine cases in which it is charged that this legal right is abridged or denied, and to hold fair elections to ascertain who are the chosen representatives of employees. – On signing the National Labor Relations Act, 1935

"Do not let any calamity-howling executive with an income of \$1,000 a day... tell you... that a wage of \$11 a week is going to have a disastrous effect on all American industry." President Roosevelt, 1938

"[The Fair Labor Standards Act] constitutes a step in the direction of communism, bolshevism, fascism, and Nazism." The National Association of Manufactures, 1938

" [The Fair Labor Standards Act] will destroy small industry ... [these ideas are] the product of those whose thinking is rooted in an alien philosophy and who are bent upon the destruction of our whole constitutional system and the setting up of a red-labor communistic despotism upon the ruins of our Christian civilization." -- Rep. Edward Cox (D-GA), 1938

FDR's CRITICS

I'm for the poor man — all poor men, black and white, they all gotta have a chance. They gotta have a home, a job, and a decent education for their children. 'Every man a king' — that's my slogan." – Huey Long

We do not propose to say that there shall be no rich men. We do not ask to divide the wealth. We only propose that, when one man gets more than he and his children and children's children can spend or use in their lifetimes, that then we shall say that such person has his share. That means that a few million dollars is the limit to what any one man can own." – Huey Long

No man in modern times received such plaudits from the poor as did Franklin Roosevelt when he promised to drive the money changers from the temple—the money changers who had clipped the coins of wages, who had manufactured spurious money and who had brought proud America to her knees.

My friends, what have we witnessed as the finger of time turned the pages of the calendar? Nineteen hundred and thirty-three and the National Recovery Act which multiplied profits for the monopolists; 1934 and the AAA [Agricultural Adjustment Act] which raised the price of foodstuffs, by throwing back God's best gifts in His face; 1935 and the Banking Act which rewarded the exploiters of the poor, the Federal Reserve bankers and their associates, by handing over to them the temple from which they were to have been cast!

SOCIAL SECURITY

“We have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age.” – President Roosevelt, 1935

We can never insure one hundred percent of the population against one hundred percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which gives some measure of protection to the average citizen and his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age. On signing the Social Security Act, 1935

“We put those payroll contributions there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and their unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program.” – President Roosevelt

World War II (March 20 and March 22)

Tuesday, March 20: Holocaust

Thursday, March 22: WWII

Adolf Hitler

Once I really am in power, my first and foremost task will be the annihilation of the Jews. As soon as I have the power to do so, I will have gallows built in rows.... Then the Jews will be hanged indiscriminately, and they will remain hanging until they stink; they will hang there as long as the principles of hygiene permit. As soon as they have been untied, the next batch will be strung up, and so on down the line, until the last Jew in Munich has been exterminated. Other cities will follow suit, precisely in this fashion, until all Germany has been completely cleansed of Jews. -- To Josef Heil, 1922

From time immemorial, however, the Jews have known better than any others how falsehood and calumny can be exploited. Is not their very existence founded on one great lie, namely, that they are a religious community, where as in reality they are a race?

... With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people. With every means he tries to destroy the racial foundations of the people he has set out to subjugate. Just as he himself systematically ruins women and girls, he does not shrink back from pulling down the blood barriers for others, even on a large scale. It was and it is Jews who bring the Negroes into the Rhineland, always with the same secret thought and clear aim of ruining the hated white race by the necessarily resulting bastardization, throwing it down from its cultural and political height, and himself rising to be its master.

... In the organized mass of Marxism he has found the weapon which lets him dispense with democracy and in its stead allows him to subjugate and govern the peoples with a dictatorial and brutal fist.

... The art of propaganda lies in understanding the emotional ideas of the great masses and finding, through a psychologically correct form, the way to the attention and thence to the heart of the broad masses. The fact that our bright boys do not understand this merely shows how mentally lazy and conceited they are.

... The function of propaganda is, for example, not to weigh and ponder the rights of different people, but exclusively to emphasize the one right which it has set out to argue for. Its task is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it favors the enemy, and then set it before the masses with academic fairness; its task is to serve our own right, always and unflinchingly. – Mein Kampf, 1926

The Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935, First Supplementary Decree of November 14, 1935

ARTICLE 4.

- (1) A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He cannot exercise the right to vote; he cannot hold public office.
- (2) Jewish officials will be retired as of December 31, 1935.

Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of September 15, 1935

Moved by the understanding that purity of German blood is the essential condition for the continued existence of the German people, and inspired by the inflexible determination to ensure the existence of the German nation for all time, the Reichstag has unanimously adopted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

Article 1

1. Marriages between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood are forbidden. Marriages nevertheless concluded are invalid, even if concluded abroad to circumvent this law.
2. Annulment proceedings can be initiated only by the state prosecutor.

Article 2: Extramarital relations between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood are forbidden.

Article 3: Jews may not employ in their households female subjects of the state of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.

First they came for the Communists, and I did not speak out— Because I was not a Communist.

Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out— Because I was not a Trade Unionist.

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

Adolf Hitler, Obersalzberg Speech, Aug. 22, 1939

Our strength consists in our speed and in our brutality. Genghis Khan led millions of women and children to slaughter – with premeditation and a happy heart. History sees in him solely the founder of a state. It's a matter of indifference to me what a weak western European civilization will say about me. I have issued the command – and I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad – that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formation in readiness – for the present only in the East – with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (Lebensraum) which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?

Neville Chamberlain

How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a far away country between people of whom we know nothing. It seems still more impossible that a quarrel which has already been settled in principle should be the subject of war. –September 28, 1938

My good friends, for the second time in our history, a British Prime Minister has returned from Germany bringing peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts. Go home and get a nice quiet sleep. -- September 30, 1938

Winston Churchill

We are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history....

I would say to the House as I said to those who have joined this government: I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering.

You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory. Victory at all costs—Victory in spite of all terror—Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival. -- May 13, 1940

Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old. --June 4, 1940

the Battle of France is over ... the Battle of Britain is about to begin....

Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilisation. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be freed and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands.

But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new dark age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves, that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, This was their finest hour. -- June 18, 1940

The gratitude of every home in our Island, in our Empire, and indeed throughout the world, except in the abodes of the guilty, goes out to the British airmen who, undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger, are turning the tide of the World War by their prowess and by their devotion. Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few. -- August 20, 1940

“This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.”
Winston Churchill – November 10, 1942

“Nature is cruel; therefore we are also entitled to be cruel. When I send the flower of German youth into the steel hail of the next war without feeling the slightest regret over the precious German blood that is being spilled, should I not also have the right to eliminate millions of an inferior race that multiplies like vermin?”

-- **Adolf Hitler, 1942**

Where the Jewish Question is brought up in public, there may be no discussion of a future overall solution.

It may, however, be mentioned that the Jews are taken in groups for appropriate labor purposes.

-- **Nazi Party Secretariat, 1943**

Franklin D. Roosevelt

“When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.... War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.” – October 5, 1937

“I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.” -- October 30, 1940

“We must be the great arsenal of Democracy.” -- December 29, 1940

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world. – January 6, 1941

“Yesterday, December 7, 1941 – a date which will live in infamy – The United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.” – December 8, 1941

A gigantic fleet has amassed in Pearl Harbor. This fleet will be utterly crushed with one blow at the very beginning of hostilities. Heaven will bear witness to the righteousness of our struggle. –Rear Admiral Ito, November 1941

I fear all we have done is awaken a sleeping giant and fill him with a terrible resolve. --Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, upon learning of the success of the attack on Pearl Harbor

Harry Truman

"Boys, if you ever pray, pray for me now. I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me yesterday what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me." – Harry Truman, April 13, 1945

"Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, , an important Japanese Army base. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It had more than two thousand times the blast power of the British "Grand Slam" which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare....

"We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

"It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth. Behind this air attack will follow sea and land forces in such numbers and power as they have not yet seen and with the fighting skill of which they are already well aware."

– August 6, 1945

"I know that Japan is a terribly cruel and uncivilized nation in warfare but I can't bring myself to believe that because they are beasts, we should ourselves act in that same manner. For myself I certainly regret the necessity of wiping out whole populations because of the 'pigheadedness' of the leaders of a nation, and, for your information, I am not going to do it unless absolutely necessary." – August 7, 1945

"The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them. When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast." -- August 11, 1945

"...I voiced ... my grave misgivings [to Secretary of War Henry Stimson], first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at this very moment, seeking a way to surrender with a minimum loss of 'face.' "

-- **Dwight D. Eisenhower**

The Cold War (March 27 and March 29)

Tuesday, March 27: The Cold War

Thursday, March 29: 1950s America

In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent modus vivendi [way of coexisting] that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure.

[The] problem of how to cope with this force in [is] undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face.

1. Soviet power, unlike that of Hitlerite Germany, is neither schematic nor adventuristic. It does not work by fixed plans. It does not take unnecessary risks. Impervious to logic of reason, and it is highly sensitive to logic of force. For this reason it can easily withdraw – and usually does when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so. If situations are properly handled there need be no prestige-engaging showdowns.
2. Gauged against Western World as a whole, Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Thus their success will really depend on [the] degree of cohesion, firmness and vigor which [the] Western World can muster. And this is [the] factor which it is within our power to influence.

-- George Kennan, Long Telegram, Feb. 1946

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia... all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. ... Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

... Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States, against their wishes and their traditions, ... drawn by irresistible forces, into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good cause, but only after frightful slaughter and devastation had occurred. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

-- **Winston Churchill, Mar. 5, 1946**

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

-- **President Harry Truman, March 12, 1947**

Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products - principally from America - are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character.

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole....

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

-- **George Marshall, Secretary of State, June 5, 1947**

The so-called Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are particularly glaring examples of the manner in which the principles of the United Nations are violated, of the way in which the organization is ignored. This is clearly proved by the measures taken by the United States Government with regard to Greece and Turkey which ignore and bypass the United Nations as well as the measures proposed under the so-called Marshall Plan in Europe.

This policy conflicts sharply with the principles expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution of 11th December, 1946, which declares that relief supplies to other countries "should at no time be used as a political weapon". It is becoming more and more evident to everyone that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States.

-- **Andrei Vyshinsky, Sep. 18, 1947**

'How to spot a Communist'

Because the whole Communist apparatus is geared to secrecy, it is not always easy to determine just who is a Communist. But whether he is a Party card-holder or a fellow traveler, the American Communist is not like other Americans. To the Communist, everything – his country, his job, his family – take second place to his party duty. Even his sex life is synchronised with the obligations of the [communist] cause...

There is no simple definition of an American Communist. However, certain general classifications can be set up....

1. The belief that the war waged by Great Britain and her allies during the period from August 1939 to June 1941 (the period of the war before Russia was invaded) was an "imperialistic" war and a game of power politics.
2. The support of a foreign policy which agrees always with that followed by Soviet Russia, and which changes as the USSR policy changes.
4. The practice of criticising only American, British and Chinese policies, and never criticising Soviet policies.
6. Continually appearing as sponsor or co-worker of such known Communist-front groups as the Committee to Win the Peace, the Civil Rights Congress, the National Negro Congress and other groups which can be described as Communist inspired because they within the classifications set forth here.
7. Continually charging critics with being "fascists," no matter whether the criticism comes from liberals, conservatives, reactionaries or those who really are fascists.
9. Declaring that capitalism and democracy are "decadent" because some injustices exist under those systems.

-- **Look Magazine, March 1947**

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity.

... "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be from enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within."...

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores ... but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate, or members of minority groups who have been

traitorous to this Nation, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest Nation on earth has had to offer ... the finest homes, the finest college education and the finest jobs in government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been most traitorous... I have here in my hand a list of 205 ... a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department... As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes—being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust...

-- Senator Joseph McCarthy, Feb. 1950

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industryWe annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence -- economic, political, even spiritual -- is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government.

We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

... The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded.

-- President Dwight Eisenhower, 1961

1960s (April 3 and April 5)

Tuesday, April 3: 1960s

Thursday, April 5: Liberation Struggles

Civil Rights

September 5, 1950

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Legal Department
20 West 40th
New York City 18, New York

Gentlemen:

I represent the legal branch of NAACP of Topeka, Kansas, and I wish to inform your office of the pending controversy existing in the city of Topeka and elsewhere in the state of Kansas.

The facts are these: The Board of Education of the aforesaid city is maintaining and has maintained a dual system of education for colored and white grade school children. In doing so, the Board is acting under a permissive statute of the state of Kansas.

The white children have several districts; in these districts, some colored children live, and their parents own property in these so-called districts, and are compelled to leave their home and meet a bus (and bus is provided by the Board of Education) that carries them, often for long distances, to various Negro schools.

The parents of the said Negro children are taxed for all of the schools, and the whole thing results in a jim-crow system....

Very truly yours
Chas. E. Bledsoe

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group...Any language in contrary to this finding is rejected. We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. "

-- **Brown v. Board of Education, 1954**

People always say that I didn't give up my seat because I was tired, but that isn't true. I was not tired physically, or no more tired than I usually was at the end of a working day. I was not old, although some people have an image of me as being old then. I was forty-two. No, the only tired I was, was tired of giving in.

-- **Rosa Parks**

. . . Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once? . . .

— Henry David Thoreau, 1849

" . . . But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right. My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we [are] to be compared in our actions with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens Council. There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out on some distant road and lynched for not cooperating. There will be nobody amid, among us who will stand up and defy the Constitution of this nation. We only assemble here because of our desire to see right exist. . ."

— Martin Luther King, Jr., December 1955

"Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

"In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas... The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of Government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the Federal Courts."

-- **President Dwight D. Eisenhower**

. . . You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling, for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent-resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered [free] realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need for nonviolent gadflies [activists] to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. . . .

[I] would agree with Saint Augustine that 'An unjust law is no law at all.'

— **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "Letter From Birmingham City Jail"**

[O]ne hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

... I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

... And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado!

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California!

But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee!
Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

-- **Martin Luther King, Jr., March on Washington, 1963**

Malcolm X

Chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad.

-- **On the assassination of John F. Kennedy, quoted in New York Times (2 December 1963)**

We are African, and we happened to be in America. We're not American. We are people who formerly were Africans who were kidnapped and brought to America. Our forefathers weren't the Pilgrims. We didn't land on Plymouth Rock. The rock was landed on us. We were brought here against our will. We were not brought here to be made citizens. We were not brought here to enjoy the constitutional gifts that they speak so beautifully about today.

-- **Speech at Founding Rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (28 June 1964)**

The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet.

... I'm nonviolent with those who are nonviolent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you've made me go insane, and I'm not responsible for what I do.

... We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

-- **Speech in Cleveland, Ohio (April 3, 1964)**

We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary.

-- **Speech at Founding Rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (28 June 1964)**

"Dr. King's policy was that nonviolence would achieve the gains for black people in the United States. His major assumption was that if you are nonviolent, if you suffer, your opponent will see your suffering and will be moved to change his heart. That's very good. He only made one fallacious assumption: In order for nonviolence to work, your opponent must have a conscience. The United States has none."

-- **Stokely Carmichael**

"To be black and a woman is to labor under the double handicap of racism and sexism. ... Today, when black women have entered every field of work that women have entered and the earnings of black women have increased, the black woman is still to be found largely in the lowest paid jobs. And it is true that her earnings are today 78% of those of white women... Many who are the heads of families still live below the poverty line. In 1968, 16% of the white families headed by a woman and 45% of the black families headed by a woman who worked during the year were still below the poverty line."

-- **Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, in 1970**

The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation....

On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions: What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

... This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. ... The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national action.... Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity

1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.
8. Discriminatory administration of justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
12. Inadequate welfare programs

-- **The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission), 1967**

We want an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of black people. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

-- **Black Panther Party Platform, 1968**

The New Left

Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today....We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.

-- **Port Huron Statement of Students for a Democratic Society, 1962**

Neoliberal democracy. Instead of citizens, it produces consumers. Instead of communities, it produces shopping malls. The net result is an atomized society of disengaged individuals who feel demoralized and socially powerless. In sum, neoliberalism is the immediate and foremost enemy of genuine participatory democracy, not just in the United States but across the planet, and will be for the foreseeable future.

-- **Noam Chomsky**

"We have been cut off, the past has been ended and the family has broken up and the present is adrift in its wheelchair. ... That is no gap between the generations, that is a gulf. The elements have changed, there are whole new orders of magnitude and kind.

-- **Wallace Stegner, Angle of Repose**

Women's Liberation

"The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the 20th century in the [US]. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies... she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—'Is this all?'"

-- **Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique**

We reject the current assumption that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to lifelong support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility--hers, to dominate--his to support. We believe that a true partnership between the sexes demands a different concept of marriage, an equitable sharing of the responsibilities of home and children and of the economic burdens of their support....

In the interests of the human dignity of women, we will protest and endeavor to change the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of the major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves.

-- **National Organization for Women's Statement of Purpose, 1966**

"Women suffer second-class treatment from the moment they are born. They are expected to be rather than to achieve, to function biologically rather than learn. A brother, whatever his intellect, is more likely to get the family's encouragement and education money, while girls are pressured to conceal ambition and intelligence."

—**Gloria Steinem, testimony before Congress, 1970**

Bronze Power

¡Sí se puede!

-- Cesar Chavez

A hundred and fifty-five years ago, in the state of Guanajuato in Mexico, a padre proclaimed the struggle for liberty. He was killed, but ten years later Mexico won its independence. We Mexicans here in the United States, as well as all other farm workers, are engaged in another struggle for the freedom and dignity which poverty denies us. But it must not be a violent struggle, even if violence is used against us. Violence can only hurt us and our cause. The law is for us as well as the ranchers. The strike was begun by the Filipinos, but it is not exclusively for them. Tonight we must decide if we are to join our fellow workers.

-- Cesar Chavez, Delano, California (16 September 1965)

"You have been robbed of your lands by Anglo-Americans with some Spanish-American accomplices... The federal and state governments are not interested in you. Join the Alianza. Together we will get your lands back... preferably through court action. If the courts do not respond, then we will have to resort to other methods."

—**Reies López Tijerina,**

Environmentalism

Since the mid-1940's over 200 basic chemicals have been created for use in killing insects, weeds, rodents, and other organisms described in the modern vernacular as "pests"; and they are sold under several thousand different brand names.

These sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes—nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the "good" and the "bad," to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in the soil—all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life?

-- **Rachel Carson, Silent Spring**

Vietnam War (April 10 and April 12)

Tuesday, April 10: Vietnam

Thursday, April 12: Cinematic War

“All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

—**The first lines of the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, issued on September 2, 1945, quoting the American Declaration of Independence.**

“You can kill ten of my men for every one I kill of yours. But even at those odds, you will lose and I will win.”

—**Viet Minh leader Ho Chi Minh in a warning to French colonialists in 1946.**

“Our long-term objectives are... to see installed a self-governing nationalist state which will be friendly to the US... We have an immediate interest in maintaining in power a friendly French Government, to assist in the furtherance of our aims in Europe. This immediate and vital interest has in consequence taken precedence over active steps looking toward the realization of our objectives in Indochina.”

—**Department of State, “Policy Statement on Indochina,” issued on September 27, 1948, explaining why the United States supported French policy in Vietnam even though U.S. officials believed it ran counter to their long-term objectives for the region.**

“You have a row of dominoes set up; you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is that it will go over very quickly.”

—**President Dwight D. Eisenhower speaking at a press conference on April 7, 1954.**

“Well, Lyndon, they may be every bit as intelligent as you say, but I’d feel a whole lot better if just one of them had run for sheriff once.”

—**House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-TX) speaking to Lyndon B. Johnson in January 1961 after the newly inaugurated vice president extolled the brilliance of the members of President John F. Kennedy’s new cabinet.**

“Now we have a problem in trying to make our power credible, and Vietnam looks like the place.”

—**President John Kennedy in a June 1961 interview with the New York Times reporter James Reston.**

“If the Buddhists wish to have another barbecue, I’ll gladly supply the gasoline and a match.”

—**Tran Le Xuan, better known as Madame Nhu or “the Dragon Lady,” dismissing the fact that Buddhist monks had set themselves on fire in the summer of 1963 to protest the rule of her brother-in-law, South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, for whom she acted as an unofficial first lady.**

“I don’t think that unless a greater effort is made by the government to win popular support that the war can be won out there. In the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisors, but they have to win it, the people of Vietnam, against the communists.”

—**President John Kennedy in a televised interview with Walter Cronkite on September 2, 1963.**

“I am not going to lose Vietnam. I am not going to be the president who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went.”

—**Newly inaugurated President Lyndon Johnson at a White House meeting on November 24, 1963 responding to U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. telling him that Vietnam “would go under any day if we don’t do something.”**

“There is nothing in the resolution, as I read it, that contemplates [sending American armies to Vietnam]. I agree with the Senator that that is the last thing we would want to do. However, the language of the resolution would not prevent it. It would authorize whatever the Commander in Chief feels is necessary.”

—**Senator William Fulbright (D-AR) during the Senate debate on August 6, 1964 over the passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.**

“I believe this resolution to be a historic mistake. I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to mistake such a historic mistake.”

—**Senator Wayne Morse (D-OR) on the Senate’s impending vote to adopt the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on August 7, 1964.**

“We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves.”

—**President Lyndon Johnson in a speech at Akron University on October 21, 1964, two weeks before the presidential election.**

Why are we in South Vietnam? We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam....We have made a national pledge to help South Vietnam defend its independence. And I intend to keep our promise....

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of American commitment, the value of America’s word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would be an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied.

-- **President Johnson defends the American role in Vietnam, 1965**

“We do this [escalating U.S. military involvement in Vietnam] in order to slow down aggression. We do this to increase the confidence of the brave people of South Vietnam who have bravely born this brutal battle for so many years with so many casualties. And we do this to convince the leaders of North Vietnam—and all who seek to share their conquest—of a simple fact: We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement.”

—**President Lyndon Johnson, speaking to the nation on April 7, 1965 explaining his decision to send U.S. combat troops to Vietnam.**

“My solution to the problem would be to tell them frankly that they’ve got to draw in their horns and stop their aggression or we’re going to bomb them back into the Stone Ages.”

—**General Curtis E. LeMay, in his book Mission With LeMay, 1965.**

“I think we have all underestimated the seriousness of this situation. Like giving cobalt treatment to a terminal cancer case. I think a long protracted war will disclose our weakness, not our strength.”

—**Deputy Secretary of State George W. Ballanswering President Lyndon Johnson’s question at a White House meeting on July 21, 1965 about whether the United States could win a war in the “jungle rice-paddies” of Vietnam.**

“It’s silly talking about how many years we will have to spend in the jungles of Vietnam when we could pave the whole country and put parking stripes on it and still be home for Christmas.”

—**Ronald Reagan, October 10, 1965, interview with the Fresno Bee during his California gubernatorial campaign.**

“Declare the United States the winner and begin de-escalation.”

—Senator George Aiken (R-VT) offering advice to President Lyndon Johnson on October 19, 1966 on how to handle the politics of reducing the U.S. commitment in Vietnam.

“We seem bent upon saving the Vietnamese from Ho Chi Minh, even if we have to kill them and demolish their country to do it. I do not intend to remain silent in the face of what I regard as a policy of madness which, sooner or later, will envelop my son and American youth by the millions for years to come.”

—Senator George McGovern (D-SD) speaking on the Senate floor on April 25, 1967.

“We are fighting a war with no front lines, since the enemy hides among the people, in the jungles and mountains, and uses covertly border areas of neutral countries. One cannot measure [our] progress by lines on a map.”

— General William C. Westmoreland, the commander of all U.S. military forces in Vietnam, in a speech to a joint session of Congress on April 28, 1967.

“There may be a limit beyond which many Americans and much of the world will not permit the United States to go. The picture of the world’s greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1,000 non-combatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny, backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly disputed, is not a pretty one.”

—Robert McNamara in a memo to President Lyndon Johnson on May 19, 1967.

“Hey, Hey LBJ, How many kids did you kill today?”

—A protest chant that first became popular in late 1967.

“We have reached an important point where the end begins to come into view.”

—General William C. Westmoreland speaking to the National Press Club on November 21, 1967 as part of a Johnson administration effort to shore up sagging public support for the war.

“It became necessary to destroy the town to save it.”

—AP correspondent Peter Arnett quoting a U.S. major on the decision to bomb and shell Ben Tre on February 7, 1968 after Viet Cong forces overran the city in the Mekong Delta forty-five miles south of Saigon during the Tet Offensive.

“For it seems now more certain than ever, that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate. To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past.”

—Walter Cronkite in an editorial at the close of the CBS Evening News broadcast on February 27, 1968 reporting on what he had learned on a trip to Vietnam in the aftermath of the Tet Offensive.

“Our objective in South Vietnam has never been the annihilation of the enemy. It has been to bring about a recognition in Hanoi that its objective—taking over the South by force—could not be achieved.”

—President Lyndon Johnson in a nationwide address on March 31, 1968 explaining his decision to halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

“I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party as your President.”

—President Lyndon Johnson telling the nation on March 31, 1968 that he would not seek reelection.

“The commitment of five hundred thousand Americans has settled the issue of the importance of Vietnam. For what is involved now is confidence in American promises.”

—Incoming National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger writing in the January 1969 issue of Foreign Affairs.

“The time has come when the United States, in our relations with all of our Asian friends, be quite emphatic on two points: One, that we will keep our treaty commitments... but, two, that as far as the problems of internal security are concerned, as far as the problems of military defense, except for the threat of a major power involving

nuclear weapons, that the United States is going to encourage and has a right to expect that this problem will be increasingly handled by, and the responsibility for it taken by, the Asian nations themselves."

—President Richard M. Nixon speaking at an informal press conference on Guam on July 25, 1969 setting forth what becomes known as the Nixon Doctrine.

"I refuse to believe that a little fourth-rate power like North Vietnam doesn't have a breaking point."

—National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger speaking in July 1969 to NSC aides as he charged them with developing a punitive military strategy that would coerce North Vietnam into negotiating on American terms.

"Let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that."

—President Richard Nixon in his address to the nation on the war in Vietnam on November 3, 1969.

"If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world."

—President Richard Nixon in a nationwide address on April 30, 1970 explaining his decision to invade Cambodia.

"This war has already stretched the generation gap so wide that it threatens to pull the country apart."

—Senator Frank Church (D-ID) speaking on the Senate floor on May 13, 1970.

"The United States, which brought these actions to enjoin publication in the New York Times and in the Washington Post of certain classified material, has not met the 'heavy burden of showing justification for the enforcement of such a [prior] restraint.'"

—U.S. Supreme Court ruling on June 30, 1971 overturning the injunction barring the New York Times and the Washington Post from publishing the Pentagon Papers.

"The bastards have never been bombed like they're going to be bombed this time."

—President Richard Nixon to White House Chief of Staff H.R. "Bob" Haldeman and Attorney General John Mitchell on April 4, 1972 in deciding to launch what would become known as Operation Linebacker, a massive escalation in the war effort that included mining Haiphong harbor, blockading the North Vietnamese coast, and launching a massive new bombing campaign against North Vietnam.

"Come home to the affirmation that we have a dream. Come home to the conviction that we can move our country forward."

—Senator George McGovern (D-SD) in his address accepting the presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention on July 14, 1972.

"We believe that peace is at hand."

—National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger speaking at a White House press conference about the Paris Peace negotiations on October 26, 1972, two weeks before the presidential election.

"I have asked for this radio and television time tonight for the purpose of announcing that we today have concluded an agreement to end the war and bring peace with honor in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia."

—Richard Nixon informing the American public in a nationwide address on January 23, 1973 that the United States had reached agreement with North Vietnam on the Paris Peace Accords.

"Today, America can regain the sense of pride that existed before Vietnam. But it cannot be achieved by refighting a war that is finished as far as America is concerned. As I see it, the time has come to look forward to an agenda for the future, to unify, to bind up the Nation's wounds, and to restore its health and its optimistic self-confidence.... We, of course, are saddened indeed by the events in Indochina. But these events, tragic as they are, portend neither the end of the world nor of America's leadership in the world."

—President Gerald R. Ford in a speech at Tulane University on April 23, 1975.

“During the day on Monday, Washington time, the airport at Saigon came under persistent rocket as well as artillery fire and was effectively closed. The military situation in the area deteriorated rapidly. I therefore ordered the evacuation of all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam.”

—**President Gerald Ford’s statement announcing the evacuation of United States personnel from the Republic of Vietnam on April 29, 1975.**