

## American civilization : an introduction



"There goes civilization as we know it."



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## **Content & purpose of the class:**

### **American civilization : An introduction**

This class will help you understand the contemporary USA by exploring different issues in a historical perspective.

Indeed, a lot of contemporary debates (healthcare, unemployment, violence, racial & social inequality), and especially the way Americans discuss these issues cannot be understood without an historical perspective<sup>1</sup>. For example you have to be familiar with the debates surrounding the writing and adoption of the US Constitution to grasp what the Tea Party is all about and how it appeals to Americans. A lot of aspects that might startle you (the importance of religion in US public life, gun related violence...) have historical roots. Instead of passing a judgment, one ought to understand to be able to have a critical perspective on the USA.

This course will offer a series of lectures, detailed below, and you will also be studying documents in class in smaller groups (subsections). So you will learn basic facts about the USA but you will also try to apply some critical thinking and reflect upon major concepts.

The workload is quite heavy and you will have to complete your notes with compulsory reading and work every week. You have to work regularly. Review your notes the evening of the Master Class every week and make sure you come to class prepared.

Your progress and knowledge will be monitored during the course of the semester. Your final grade will be based on your participation in class, your attendance, and exams.

Be aware of the fact that the quality of your English is as important as your knowledge of the topics.

Please do not hesitate to contact your professor if you have any problem or any question. If you encounter any problem or if there are things you did not understand, you have to say it right away!

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<sup>1</sup> See for example what Howard Zinn writes about racism in the US :

"There is not a country in world history in which racism has been more important, for so long a time, as the United States. And the problem of "the color line," as W. E. B. Du Bois put it, is still with us. So it is more than a purely historical question to ask: How does it start?—and an even more urgent question: How might it end? Or, to put it differently: Is it possible for whites and blacks to live together without hatred?

If history can help answer these questions, then the beginnings of slavery in North America—a continent where we can trace the coming of the first whites and the first blacks—might supply at least a few clues." Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (1980; New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2005), p. 23.

## **Programme du semestre**

### **Semaine 1 (17/09)**

- Thème CM: The country, natural resources, cultural geography
- Documents sur ce thème, pp.16-21

### **Semaine 2 (24/09)**

- Thème CM: American diversity

### **Semaine 3 (01/10)**

**Thème CM: American diversity**

### **Semaine 4 (08/10)**

**Thème CM: American diversity**

#### **Documents sur ce thème:**

- Hispanic and Asian Populations Grew Fastest During the Decade
- Minority births drive growth in U.S. diversity
- Excluded from inclusion
- Tolerance vs. Sept. 11 terrorism
- Cultural Diversity in Higher Education  
<http://www.publiceye.org/ark/immigrants/CulturalDiv.html>
- Teaching American History through a Different Mirror
- America's minority threat
- <http://www.npr.org/player/v2/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1&islist=false&id=160400104&m=160400087> ("Recession Still Hurting US families Trying to put down food on the table")

### **Semaine 5 (15/10)**

**Thèmes CM: Immigration**

### **Semaine 6: (22/10)**

**Thème CM: Immigration**

#### **Documents immigration:**

- Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, A Schoogirl at Manzanar, 1940s
- <http://weareamericastories.org/> : beaucoup de videos, clip audios, photos, témoignages
- 7 myths that cloud immigration debate
- An Immigrant's Faith, Fareed Zakaria (2001)

### **Semaine 7 (05/11)**

**Thèmes CM: American Political Institutions**

**Le CM fera reference aux documents sur la Constitution de la brochure:**

- Constitution (extracts) / System of Checks & Balances
- Bill of Rights (1787-1791)

**En TD: DST (texte + questions)**

### **Semaine 8 (12/11)**

**Thème : American political institutions**

## Séance de TD sur les elections: enjeux, campagne, résultats, perspectives

### Semaine 9 (19/11)

#### Thème : American political institutions

##### Documents American political institutions:

- The Constitution
- Checks & Balances
- List of American presidents
- Museum honoring the Constitution set to open
- The Founding Fathers v. the Tea Party
- The Bill of Rights
- Cats are Democrats, Dogs are Republicans
- Obama says Republicans are stuck in the past

### Semaine 10 (26/11)

#### Thème : State and local government

##### Documents

- How big government should be stirs debate
- <http://www.npr.org/2012/09/01/160438753/how-government-became-a-dirty-word> (11.29 min.)
- <http://www.npr.org/2011/04/01/135047895/facing-budget-deficit-ariz-shifts-costs-to-cities> (3.59 min.)
- The Anti-Arizonans
- Texas schools to get controversial syllabus

### Semaine 11 (03/12)

#### Thème (CM): US legal system

##### Documents:

- Tea-ing up the Constitution
- Retired N.J. abortion doctor speaks up, again
- H.R 539 “We the People Act”

M. Guilbert sera absent la semaine du 10/12

### Semaine 12 (17/12)

#### Thème (CM) : Justice and Society

##### Exam : partiel en TD

Key Notions	
“Rustbelt” / “Sunbelt”	“Model minority”
“melting pot” / “multiculturalism”	1990 Immigration Act
“push” and “pull” factors	Checks and balances
“old immigration” / “new immigration”	Separation of powers
Nativism	Amendments
National Origins Quota Acts	The Bill of Rights
Preference system	Judicial review / judicial restraint
Ethnic enclave	Attorney General
	US District Courts

State Supreme Court  
Federalism  
Levels of government

Federal agencies  
Republican Party / Democratic Party  
Primaries

### Méthode de l'analyse de texte<sup>2</sup>

Au cours du semestre, vous apprendrez progressivement à analyser des textes, à partir de questions (générales, ou de contextualisation et spécifiques, ou analyse guidée) auxquelles vous répondrez en cours.

**Vous devez chaque semaine travailler les documents prévus. Vous avez des questions auxquelles il faut répondre chaque semaine.**

Pour réussir une analyse de texte de civilisation, il faut effectuer un « va et vient » entre

**1) l'analyse du texte et**

**2) les connaissances extérieures au texte** qui permettent d'enrichir cette interprétation. Il faut donc éviter deux écueils : le premier consiste à simplement répéter le texte avec vos propres mots (= **paraphrase**) ; le second serait de trop vite oublier le document pour rappeler seulement des faits liés au contexte dans lequel celui-ci a été écrit (= **hors sujet**). Le travail demandé n'est pas un exposé sur le thème ou la période dans lesquels s'inscrivent le texte. Les développements historiques, les apartés culturels et les longues citations sont stériles lorsqu'ils ne sont pas reliés au texte. Vous devez donc faire une **utilisation raisonnable et réfléchie des éléments de contexte**.

Le document à analyser doit donc toujours être au centre de votre travail. Il s'agit de dégager les idées importantes qui s'y rapportent, les illustrer par des citations précises dont vous fournirez une analyse, et de les organiser de façon cohérente.

Vous vous concentrerez en particulier sur les étapes suivantes:

**1) la contextualisation** du document, par l'examen des éléments du paratexte (date, auteur, publication, lieu – informations contenues dans le titre, sous-titre, notes entre crochets et notes de bas de page) ;

**2) le développement des idées principales** autour desquelles s'articulent la problématique.

**Les étudiants devront répondre à deux types de questions sur chaque texte :**

**1) les questions générales ou de contextualisation (when, how, what, where, why, to whom ?)**

**2) les questions spécifiques (analyse guidée)**

#### **A/ Questions de contextualisation du document (réponses à présenter à l'oral lors des TD)**

La première chose à faire est une lecture approfondie du document **en soulignant les phrases et les mots clés**, les **noms propres** mais aussi les **dates et événements** mentionnés qui vous paraissent importants, ou que vous ne connaissez pas et devrez donc chercher (dictionnaire, manuel, Internet etc.). Il s'agit de bien comprendre les éléments permettant de replacer le document dans son contexte et d'en dégager les idées principales.

**Chaque étudiant doit être en mesure de répondre aux questions suivantes**, avant de préparer les réponses aux questions d'analyse guidée (B):

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<sup>2</sup> Adaptation des consignes méthodologiques développées par Anne-Marie Libério, Claire Delahaye, Sébastien Mort et Jean-Baptiste Velut, que nous remercions.

- 1) **When? / Date & context** → La date est importante mais réfléchissez plus globalement au climat idéologique et politique. Identifiez le moment d'écriture du document : le texte a-t-il été écrit à chaud ou avec un certain recul critique ? L'auteur est-il contemporain des faits auxquels il fait référence ? Partez du contexte historique de la période, pour vous recentrer sur le contexte immédiat du document.
- 2) **How? / Type of document – format** → publique ou privée (discours, texte de loi, rapport officiel, récit, journal intime, lettre + documents iconographiques etc...)
- 3) **Who? / Author** → Que savez-vous de l'auteur (profession, catégorie sociale, homme/femme, etc.)? Exemples : journaliste, homme/femme politique, immigrant, sujet/citoyen/esclave/membre d'un peuple amérindien, etc. Ces informations sont pertinentes pour aborder le texte car elles peuvent avoir une influence déterminante sur le contenu du document.

Les éléments biographiques sont à manier avec prudence (quel intérêt, par exemple, d'expliquer que John C. Calhoun, 7<sup>ème</sup> vice-président américain et ardent défenseur de l'esclavagisme, avait dix enfants dont trois sont morts prématurément ?). Ce que vous direz des figures importantes devra être en rapport à la compréhension du texte.

Pour éviter tout anachronisme, utilisez les termes appropriés à chaque période (ex : il n'y a pas de « colons », ni de « sujets » après l'indépendance des Etats-Unis, pas plus que de « citoyens américains » à l'époque coloniale). Évitez absolument toute interprétation exagérée sur les auteurs et les personnes auxquelles ils font référence (ex : les Latinos ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des « esclaves » dans la société américaine contemporaine ; les esclaves n'étaient pas des « servants », ni des « employés », etc).

- 4) **What? / Topic** → Le sujet principal du texte. Vous devez être capable de reformuler dans vos propres termes les questions essentielles soulevées par l'auteur (sa problématique), en prenant du recul par rapport au texte (ne répétez pas les mots de l'auteur). Les réponses trop générales sont à proscrire (ex : « the text deals with immigration »).
- 5) **Why? / Aim of the document** → L'étude des intentions de l'auteur, du message qu'il/elle veut faire passer, ainsi que sa démarche (convaincre, informer, justifier ses actions, etc – suivant le contexte).
- 6) **To whom? / Intended audience** → Le lectorat, l'auditoire, le public (ou la personne, dans le cas de la correspondance/les lettres) à qui s'adresse le document peuvent expliquer la teneur du propos. On ne parle pas de la même façon à tous les publics.

Pour répondre à ces questions, étudiez les éléments fournis dans le texte, et autour du texte (paratexte). Vous ferez également appel aux **éléments introduits lors du cours, ainsi qu'à vos lectures et recherches**. Le travail personnel est indispensable, vous devez approfondir les informations données en cours (CM et/ou TD).

### **B/ Questions spécifiques : l'analyse guidée (réponses à présenter à l'oral lors des TD)**

Les **questions proposées dans le cadre du TD** sont là pour orienter votre lecture et vous donner des pistes d'analyse de façon à vous éviter de faire fausse route. Il ne s'agit pas d'y répondre en racontant le texte ou en vous contentant de présenter les propos de l'auteur (= paraphrase).

**Ces questions auxquelles nous répondrons en cours nous serviront de tremplin pour étudier les documents. Elles sont également une préparation / un entraînement pour les partiels.**

### **Répondre aux questions le jour du partiel:**

**Pour chaque question, vous rédigerez :**



### 1) Une introduction

- Présentez les idées principales se rapportant à la question.
- Identifiez les éléments de réponse (**repérage/identification**) en les présentant dans vos propres mots (**reformulation**).

### 2) Un développement

Structurez votre argumentation en élaborant plusieurs paragraphes, dont le nombre correspond aux « éléments de réponse » indiqués dans votre introduction.

- Chaque paragraphe doit comporter une idée principale (« élément de réponse ») uniquement.
- Introduisez des citations, entre guillemets, en veillant à ce que celles-ci soient de taille raisonnable (**citation**). Quelques mots ou une expression suffisent généralement (citations trop longues = remplissage).
- Analysez les citations pour en tirer du sens et en dégager les implications (**implicite**) : si l'auteur dit cela, qu'est-ce que cela implique/signifie sur le plan politique/économique/social...? Utilisez vos connaissances (cours + recherches personnelles).

### 3) Une conclusion

- Proposez **une synthèse rapide** (deux ou trois phrases) de ce que vous avez dégagé dans votre développement. Toutefois, n'introduisez pas de nouveaux éléments importants dans votre conclusion, sans quoi on pourrait vous reprocher de ne pas avoir évoqué telle ou telle idée dans votre analyse.

- **Phrase de sortie ou « ouverture »** : utilisez un élément de contexte qui vous semble proche de celui du texte (ouverture thématique), ou intégrez le texte dans une période plus large (ouverture chronologique).

Méfiez-vous des ouvertures anachroniques : lorsque vous établissez des liens entre deux sujets, optez en priorité pour des comparaisons qui ont lieu à la même période – ex : « les Latinos et les Asiatiques au XXe siècle » – au lieu de : « l'élection d'Obama comme signe que 'l'esclavage' et la 'ségrégation' n'existent plus aux Etats-Unis aujourd'hui », ou encore : « les esclaves au XVIIIe siècle et les Afro-Américains dans les années 1930 ».

**Rappel du cheminement à suivre, dans l'ordre suivant, pour chaque question :**

#### **Introduction :**

- 1) Repérage/identification des éléments de réponse
- 2) Reformulation

#### **Développement :**

- 3) Citation
- 4) Analyse (+ implications/implicite)

#### **Conclusion**

- 5) Synthèse
- 6) Ouverture

<b>ATTENTION AU PLAGIAT</b>
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Le plagiat consiste à recopier mot pour mot des sources secondaires (manuels, articles, publications, sites Internet – Wikipedia, etc.) et de présenter ces éléments comme votre propre analyse. Cette démarche est aussi bien une forme de malhonnêteté et d'irrespect envers l'auteur que vous plagiez sans citer, envers l'enseignant et le reste de la classe que vous cherchez à tromper, mais également envers vous-même, car vous vous privez d'une occasion de progresser.

**Toute tentative de plagiat (à partir d'une phrase plagiée) entraînera une diminution sévère de la note (05/20 au plus, selon le reste du devoir).**

## Chronology of events<sup>3</sup>

**30,300 B. C.** First massive migration from Asia to the American continent through a land bridge that is now the Straights of Bering. These “Paleo-Indians” spread throughout North and South America developing rich civilizations.

**1000** Norsemen under Leif Ericson landed on the coast of North America and established a settlement in Newfoundland (in what is now Canada).

**1492** Christopher Columbus’s ships, the Pinta, the Nina and the Santa Maria reached the Bahamas Islands.

**1497-1588** Various European expeditions to the North American Continent. In 1497, John Cabot, a navigator in the service of England reached the North American Coast. In 1513, Ponce de Leon explored Florida for Spain. 1534-1535, Jacques Cartier explored the St Lawrence River for France; in 1536 he established two settlements at Quebec and Montreal. 1539-1542, Hernando de Soto explored what is now the South-eastern United States for Spain. 1565, the Spanish established St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement within the boundaries of the present United States. 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh established the Roanoke colony, off the coast of Virginia, for England; the experiment failed three years later.

**1606** In December, Virginia Company settlers left London.

**1607** The first permanent English settlement in North America was established at Jamestown, Virginia. Captain John Smith held colonists together through periods of hardship. Tobacco was the basis of the economy.

**1619** First Africans were brought as indentured servants (contract labor) into Virginia.

**1620** The “Pilgrim Fathers”, separatist Puritans, reached the coast of New England after a three-month voyage aboard the Mayflower. Before landing, they signed the Mayflower compact, the first basis of government drafted in the American colonies. They established the Plymouth colony under the leadership of William Bradford.

**1624** The Dutch settled on Manhattan Island (New Amsterdam later New York).

**1630** John Winthrop, with members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, founded a settlement at Boston. Puritans from England began the “Great Migration” to Massachusetts and Connecticut.

**1634** A Catholic colony was founded in Maryland under a patent granted to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

**1636** Harvard was founded by vote of the Great and General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

**1637** The Pequot Indians of Connecticut were nearly wiped out by colonial forces. The Pequot war was the first of a long series of conflicts between natives and settlers for the control and the land.

**1641** Massachusetts was the first colony to legalize slavery.

**1652** Rhode Island passed laws to restrict slavery.

**1668-1705** Black codes were adopted in Virginia and other southern colonies gradually introduced slavery as an hereditary condition for Africans.

**1681** William Penn, a Quaker, received a charter from King Charles II of England for lands that became Pennsylvania. He founded the city of Philadelphia – “the city of brotherly love” – as the center of the Quaker holy experiment.

**1692** Salem Witch Trials.

**1700-1750** As the thirteen colonies enjoyed a prosperous economy and developed a more democratic system of local government, they grew increasingly weary of Great Britain’s attempts to tighten its control over its North American empire.

**1730s-1740s** Jonathan Edwards, a Calvinist clergyman, preached “the Great Awakening” in New England. It was a religious revival that stressed man’s sinful nature and the need to turn back to God. The revival was the first really “national” event in Northern America and gave the colonists, for the first time, a feeling of common identity.

**1756** Beginning of the Seven Years’ War between Britain and France on the North American Continent. France lost its Canadian possessions. But the war seriously drained Britain’s financial resources and Parliament decided to tax the colonies to pay for its war debt leading to a growing protest from the colonists.

**1765** Stamp Act Crisis – The British parliament enacted the Stamp Act, requiring the purchase of tax stamps to be attached to newspapers, documents, licenses, etc.; and the Quartering Act requiring the

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<sup>3</sup> La chronologie proposée est basée sur un travail réalisé par l’équipe en civilisation américaine de l’Université Paris X – Nanterre, complété par Claire Delahaye. Nous tenons à saluer leur travail et à les en remercier.

colonies to provide food and lodging for British soldiers. The Stamp Act Congress meeting in New York adopted a Declaration of Rights and Grievances to be submitted to the King and Parliament. A boycott of British goods was organized by the colonists.

**1766** Stamp Act repealed.

**1770** The Boston Massacre: British troops fired on a rock throwing crowd.

**1773** Boston Tea Party: to protest the enactment of a Tea Party to levy taxes on imported tea a group of Boston patriots, dressed as Indians, dumped British tea shipments into the Boston harbor.

**1774** The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia with representatives from all the colonies except Georgia, and sent petitions of grievances to the King. Martial law was declared in Massachusetts.

**1775** First shots of the War of Independence were fired at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia and appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

**1776** Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*, advocating independence. Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson.

**1778** The Continental Congress ratified the Treaty of Alliance with France and approved the Articles of Confederation.

**1781** British general Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. Articles of Confederation were ratified.

**1783** The Treaty of Paris was signed, granting independence to the United States.

**1787** The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia. Delegates drafted and signed the Constitution of the United States, which was sent to the states for ratification.

**1789** George Washington was chosen as the first President of the United States.

**1791** During the ratification debate two political factions emerged: the Federalists, in favor of a strong central government, and the Anti-Federalists, in favor of more power to the states' governments. In order to secure the ratification of the Constitution, Congress adopted the first ten amendments to the original text (the Bill of Rights) which offered a stronger guarantee for individual and states rights. The Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, was finally ratified.

**1797** John Adams became the second American President of the United States. He was the first to live at the White House. Seat of government was moved from Philadelphia to Washington in 1800.

**1803** With the purchase of the Louisiana territory (a large tract of land going from the Canadian border to New Orleans) from France, President Jefferson doubled the size of the United States. He also sponsored the Lewis and Clark expedition to the West, in order to map the rest of the Northern American territory, thereby opening the road to the Westward movement of the population. The Supreme Court's landmark decision *Marbury v. Madison* was the first Supreme Court decision to strike down an act of Congress as unconstitutional. It formed the basis for the exercise of judicial review in the United States.

**1808** Congress prohibited the importation of the African slaves. But the domestic slave trade continued.

**1812** War with Great Britain, partly over the effects of British restrictions on US trade during the Napoleonic Wars.

**1816** The American Colonization Society was founded.

**1820** Congress passed the Missouri Compromise, whereby slavery was prohibited in the Louisiana territory north of latitude 36°30'.

**1823** President Monroe announced the Monroe doctrine stating that European nations should not interfere in the Western hemisphere and that the U.S. intended not to take part in European wars.

**1830** Congress adopted the Indian Removal Bill ordering the resettlement of eastern Indians in the Oklahoma territory west of the Mississippi.

**1833** The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded by abolitionist groups from New York and New England.

**1838** The Indians' Trail of Tears begins when U.S. troops forcibly moved the Cherokee Indians from Georgia to eastern Oklahoma.

**1846-48** The United States went to war against Mexico. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico was forced to cede to the United States the territory of Texas and California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and parts of New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming, thus losing about one-third of its territory.

**1848** Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the Seneca Falls convention. The Declaration of Sentiments, declaring the rights of women, was signed.

**1850** Despite a Compromise over the issue of slavery in the new territories, the conflict deepened between free states and slave states.

**1852** Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel that had a profound influence on the abolitionist movement.

**1854** Republican Party formed for the abolition of slavery.

**1855** Walt Whitman published *Leaves of Grass*, a poetry collection aiming at creating a truly American poetic voice.

**1857** Dred Scott Decision. The Supreme Court stated that all people of African ancestry (slaves or free) were not citizens of the U.S. and therefore could not sue in federal court. It also declared the 1820 Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

**1860** Abraham Lincoln was elected president on an anti-slavery platform (opposing the extension of slavery). South Carolina seceded from the Union, affirming the doctrine of states' rights and condemning the North's and Lincoln's attack on slavery.

**1861** The 11 southern states formed the Confederate States of America. The Civil War began.

**1863** In January, Lincoln issued the Emancipation proclamation, an executive order freeing slaves in seceding states. On November 19, Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address, where he stated that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

**1865** The Confederate armies were defeated. Lincoln was assassinated. Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery.

**1868** Fourteenth Amendment, granting the rights of citizenship to all people born in the USA or naturalized.

**1869** The transcontinental railroad was completed (Union Pacific met Central Pacific).

**1870** Fifteenth Amendment, granting the vote to all citizens, regardless of color or race.

**1873** First major strike among railroad workers.

**1876** Sioux defeated US troops at Little Big Horn. Alexander Graham Bell patented the telephone.

**1877** Reconstruction era ended when the last federal troops left the South. Southerners regained control of their governments and gradually reintroduced black codes restricting the freedom of their black population and establishing a strict segregation between whites and blacks in public facilities.

**1879** Thomas Edison invents incandescent light.

**1882** Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned Chinese laborers from entering the U.S. The exclusion was renewed in 1892 and in 1902 was made definitive.

**1886** Industrial workers went on strike for the 8-hour day. As Chicago police attempted to break up a meeting by strikers a riot broke out with 7 policemen and 4 workers killed. Several labor leaders were convicted and hanged.

**1887**: Dawes Act. The law allowed for the President to break up reservations into small allotments to be parceled out to individuals.

**1890** Two hundred Indian men, women and children were massacred by the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee. Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act. The American Federation of Labor was founded by Samuel Gompers. The Census Bureau officially announced the end of the Frontier.

**1892** Strike at Carnegie Steel resulted in ten deaths.

**1896** The Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that "separate but equal" facilities for whites and blacks were constitutional. The ruling recognized as constitutional the "Jim Crow" laws implemented since the early 1870s by the southern codes, legalizing segregation.

**1898** Spanish American war. Spain ceded Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines to the U.S. Cuba became independent under close supervision from the American Congress. The U.S. was recognized as a world power.

**1901** Five Native American tribes were granted U.S. citizenship.

**1904** Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: President Theodore Roosevelt asserted the right of the U.S. to intervene in Central American affairs in order to maintain order in the region.

**1909** Black and white leaders met in New York City and formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

**1910** Dissolution of the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

**1917** Immigration Act with literacy test for immigrants was passed over President Wilson's veto. The U.S. declared war on Germany.

**1918** Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, import of liquor in the U.S.A.

**1919** Treaty of Versailles was signed. U.S. Congress refused to ratify it.

**1920** "Red Scare" resulted in nationwide raids by federal agents, with mass arrests of anarchists, communists, and labor agitators. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, granting suffrage to women.

**1921** Congress passed first Quota Act, limiting immigration.

**1924** Second Quota Law cut immigration to half of 1921 quota. It provided for a national origins system and also excluded all Asians. The Citizenship Act makes Native Americans citizens without impairing status as tribal members.

**1925** John Scopes, a biology teacher, was convicted for teaching evolution after a high-profile Tennessee trial.

**1929** Stock Market Crash brought depression, with high unemployment and business failures.

**1932** Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected President.

**1933** FDR introduced his “New Deal”, a series of measures using the power of the government to restore the banking system and fight unemployment. It included various social programs (social security, unemployment insurance) and legalized labor unions and collective bargaining. Twenty-first Amendment repealed prohibition.

**1941** Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, a U.S. military base in Hawaii. The U.S. entered the Second World War.

**1945** Roosevelt died in April. President Truman decided to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, killing or injuring about 135,000 people.

**1947** Truman doctrine (policy of aid for nations threatened by communism) announced the beginning of the Cold War.

**1947-54** Anticommunist witch-hunt (“McCarthyism”).

**1950-53** Korean War, a conflict between communist and non-communist forces on Korean peninsula.

**1951** Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, limiting the president to two terms.

**1954** Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.

**1955** Blacks boycotted segregated city bus lines in Montgomery, Alabama. Martin Luther King Jr., boycott leader, gained national prominence for advocating nonviolent resistance to segregation in public places. The boycott marked the beginning of the 10-year long civil rights movement.

**1959** Alaska and Hawaii became the 49<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> states to join the Union.

**1960** John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the first catholic president of the U.S.

**1961** Bay of Pigs invasion, an unsuccessful attempt to invade Cuba by Cuban exiles, organized and financed by Washington.

**1962** Cuban Missiles Crisis.

**1963** March on Washington organized by Civil rights organizations. MLK delivered his famous speech “I have a dream”. President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas and Lyndon B. Johnson became President.

**1964** Despite strong resistance from Southern congressmen, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, abolishing any form of discrimination based on race, religion or sex.

**1965** Beginning of U.S. military operations in South Vietnam. Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, expanding registration of black voters. Federal officers were sent to the South to prevent abuses in registration practices. Blacks rioted for six days in the Watts section of Los Angeles. National Guard was called to restore order. Malcolm X, a black nationalist leader, was assassinated in New York City. Immigration Act abolished all national origins quotas.

**1968** Tet offensive by Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces against U.S. positions in South Vietnam. Martin Luther King Jr. Was assassinated in Memphis. Racial riots broke out in about 125 cities.

**1972** Investigation of a burglary at the Democratic Party National Headquarters in the Watergate building led directly to Nixon’s campaign officials.

**1973** Cease-fire in Vietnam. Senate committee held televised hearings on the Watergate affair. They revealed a pattern of abuse of power by President Nixon. The Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that abortion is a woman’s choice.

**1974** President Nixon resigned as the House of Representatives voted three articles of impeachment against him.

**1978** Jerry Falwell founded the Moral Majority.

**1979** Iranian students stormed U.S. embassy in Teheran and held 66 people hostage. The 444-day hostage crisis - including a failed rescue attempt in 1980 - damaged Carter's popularity and dominated the 1980 presidential election campaign.

**1980** Ronald Reagan (Republican) was elected president. He adopted tax-cutting policies leading to large budget deficits and a tough foreign policy stance against communism.

**1980s** “War on drugs” jailed 1/5 of young black men.

**1982** Deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution passed without the necessary votes.

**1983** President Ronald Reagan presented the USSR as the “evil empire” and announced his “star wars” program increasing military funding.

**1984** Congress prohibited financial and military aid to the Contras, a paramilitary group trying to overthrow the left-wing government in Nicaragua.

**1985** The Iran-Contra scandal erupted in Washington. The Reagan administration confirmed it sold arms to Iran, then diverting money illegally to aid the Contras.

**1988** Reagan’s vice-president George Bush (Republican) was elected president.

**1989** Fall of the Berlin Wall. US troops invaded Panama and arrested General Manuel Noriega.

**1990** Gulf War.

**1992** William Jefferson Clinton (Democrat) was elected president.

**1994** President Clinton’s universal Health Insurance plan was defeated by Congress. In the November mid-term election, the Republican party won a majority in the two Houses of Congress for the first time since 1952.

**1995** The Republican Congress refused to vote the Clinton budget and closed down the federal government for a week. Bombing of federal office building in Oklahoma City killed 168 people.

**1996** Bill Clinton was reelected president, but Congress remained Republican.

**1999** Budget went into surplus. US involvement in Kosovo.

**2000s** Internet & cellphones revolutionize communications.

**2000** After being impeached by the House of Representatives over allegations about his sex life, President Clinton was acquitted by the Senate and allowed to finish his second term. After a very close election, George W. Bush (Republican) won the presidential race following a US Supreme Court decision.

**2001** (September 11) The worst terrorist attack in US history killed 3,000 civilians in New York City and in Washington DC. In October, the Senate approved the USA Patriot Act. In December, Energy giant Enron declared bankrupt (accounting fraud).

**2002** In his State of Union address, Bush called Iraq, Iran and North Korea the “axis of evil”. He signed legislation creating a new cabinet department of Homeland Security. WorldCom’s multi-billion dollar accounting fraud is revealed.

**2003** The United States and the United Kingdom unilaterally invaded Iraq despite widespread international opposition. Bush signed \$350 billion tax-cut bill.

**2004** George Bush was reelected president and the Republicans increased their majorities in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

**2005** Hurricane Katrina swept through gulf coast states and destroyed much of New Orleans.

**2006** The Democrats won the mid-term elections and obtained majorities in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. The U.S. Census Bureau estimated that the population of the USA had reached 300 million. Millions of immigrants & their supporters protested against plans to criminalize illegal immigrants.

**2008-2009** Global financial crisis and recession. Investment bank Lehman Brothers collapsed in September 2008. Other financial players threatened by the “credit crunch”.

**2008** Barack Obama became the first African-American elected president. He faced the Republican John McCain in November 2008.

**2009** Healthcare reform gave birth to the “Tea Party”, which held its first rally in January.

**2010** Deepwater Horizon oil rig disaster in the Gulf of Mexico. The Republicans won control of the House of Representatives (242 / 193), whereas Democrats held enough seats to keep the Senate (53 / 47).

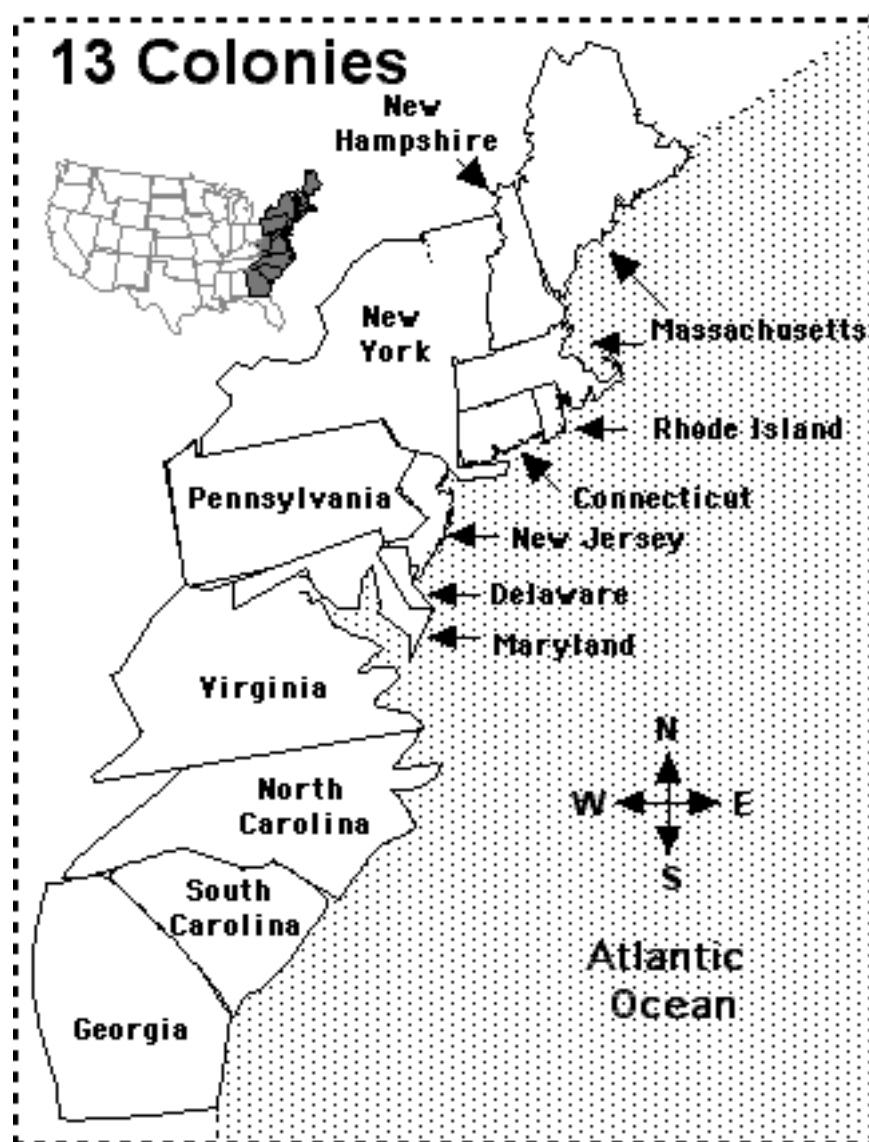
**2011** In May, Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden was killed by US forces in Pakistan. “Occupy Wall Street” protesters marched against capitalism, corporate greed and government debt.

## Map of the United States



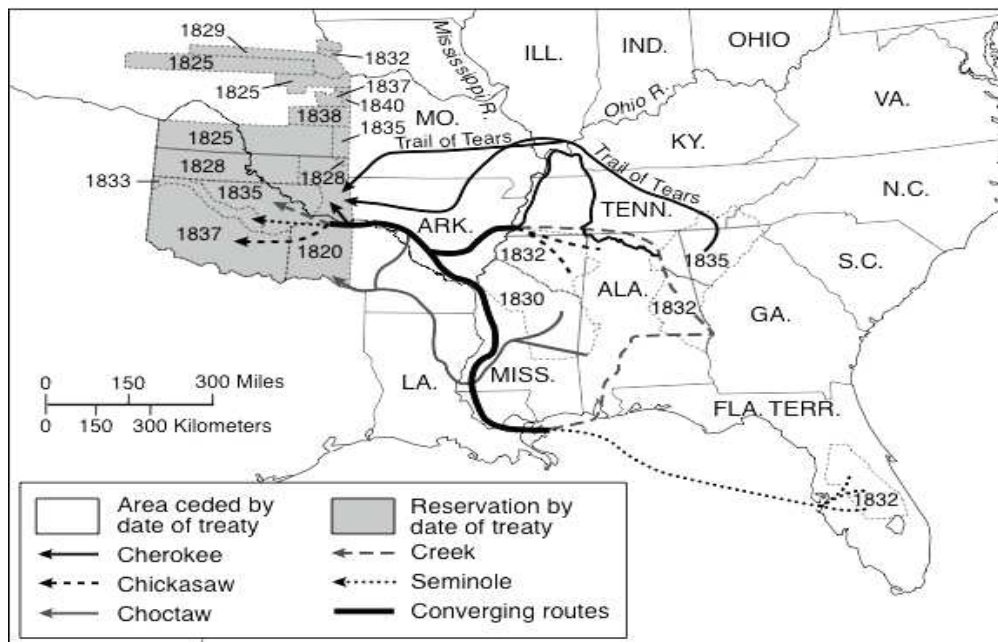


Map of the thirteen colonies



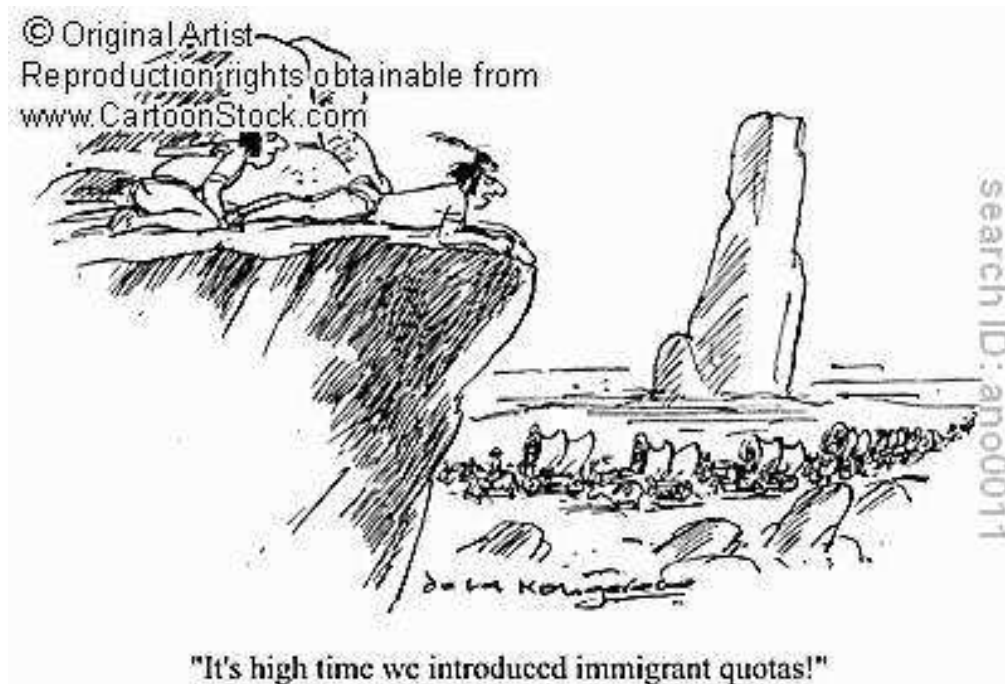
# Indian Land Cessions, 17<sup>th</sup>-mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries

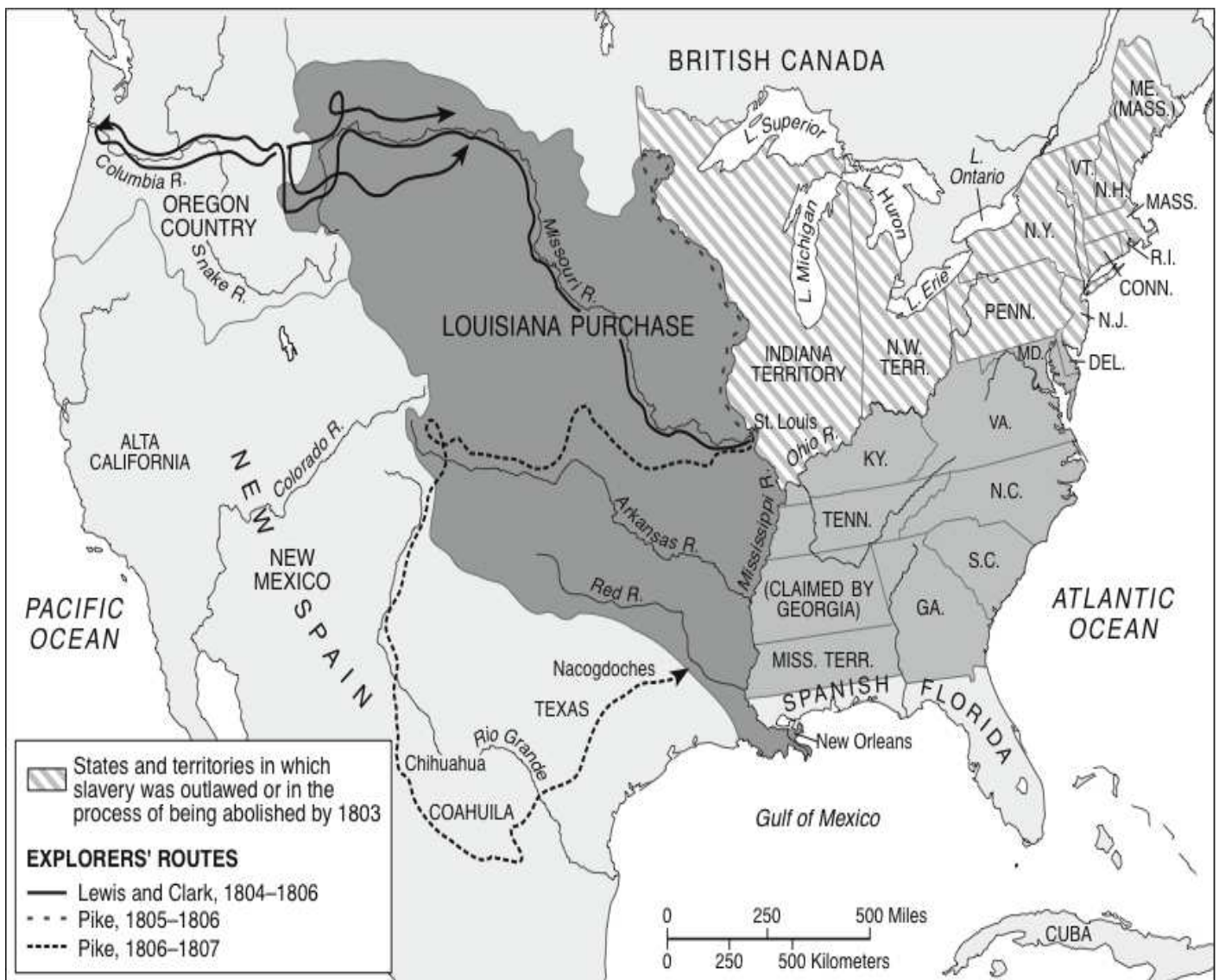




### Indian Removal, 1830s-1840s

(Source: <http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory2e/MH/Home.aspx>)





### The Louisiana Purchase (1803)

(Source: <http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory2e/MH/Home.aspx>)

## **The City and the Country**

Paul Auster, *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2002

Crazy New York, inspiring New York, fractious New York, ugly New York, beautiful New York, impossible New York -- New York as a laboratory of human contradictions. America has had a tortured, even antagonistic relationship with our city over the years, but to an astonishing number of people from Michigan, Maine and Nebraska, the five boroughs are a living embodiment of what the United States is all about: diversity, tolerance and equality under the law. Alone among American cities, New York is more than just a place or an agglomeration of people. It is also an idea.

I believe that idea took hold in us when Emma Lazarus's poem was affixed to the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in 1903. Bartholdi's gigantic effigy was originally intended as a monument to the principles of international republicanism, but "The New Colossus" reinvented the statue's purpose, turning Liberty into a welcoming mother, a symbol of hope to the outcasts and downtrodden of the world.

New York has continued to represent the spirit of that message, and even today, 116 years after the unveiling of the statue, we still define ourselves as a city of immigrants. With 36 percent of our current population foreign-born, we are a cross-section of the entire world. It is a densely crowded ethnic hodgepodge, and the potential for chaos is enormous. No one would contend that we are not bedeviled by a multitude of problems, but considering what ethnic differences have done to cities like Sarajevo, Belfast and Jerusalem, New York stands as a shining example of civic peace and order.

The murderous attacks on the World Trade Center last September were rightly construed as an assault against the United States. (...) Sept. 11 was one of the worst days in American history, but the dreadful cataclysm that occurred that morning was also an occasion for deep reflection, a time for all of us to stop and examine who we were and what we believed in. As it happened, I spent a good deal of time on the road last fall (...) I traveled from Boston to San Francisco and points in between, and in each city contributors to the book read their stories to large and attentive audiences.

I talked to scores of people on those trips, perhaps hundreds of people, and nearly every one of them told me the same thing. In the aftermath of Sept. 11, they were reassessing the values of our country, trying to figure out what separated us from the people who had attacked us. Almost without exception, the single word they used was "democracy." That is the bedrock creed of American life: a belief in the dignity of the individual, a tolerant embrace of our cultural and religious differences. No matter how often we fail to live up to those ideals, that is America at its best -- the very principles that are a constant, daily reality in New York.

It has been a year now. When the Bush administration launched its war on terrorism by invading Afghanistan, we in New York were still busy counting our dead. We watched in horror as the smoking ruins of the towers were gradually cleared, we attended funerals with empty coffins, we wept. (...)

No one is sorry that the Taliban regime has been ousted from power, but when I talk to my fellow New Yorkers these days, I hear little but disappointment in what our government has been up to. Only a small minority of New Yorkers voted for George W. Bush, and most of us tend to look at his policies with suspicion. He simply isn't democratic enough for us. He and his cabinet have not encouraged open debate of the issues facing the country. With talk of an invasion of Iraq now circulating in the press, increasing numbers of New Yorkers are becoming apprehensive. From the vantage point of ground zero, it looks like a global catastrophe in the making.

- 50 Not long ago, I received a poetry magazine in the mail with a cover that read: "USA OUT OF NYC." Not everyone would want to go that far, but in the past several weeks I've heard a number of my friends talk with great earnestness and enthusiasm about the possibility of New York seceding from the union and establishing itself as an independent city-state.
- 55 That will never happen, of course, but I do have one practical suggestion. Since President Bush has repeatedly told us how much he dislikes Washington, why doesn't he come live in New York? We know he has no great love for this place, but by moving to our city, he might learn something about the country he is trying to govern. He might learn, in spite of his reservations, that we are the true heartland.



## Hispanic and Asian Populations Grew Fastest During the Decade

<http://2010.census.gov/news/releases/operations/cb11-cn125.html>

The U.S. Census Bureau released today the second in a series of 2010 Census briefs, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*, which looks at our nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity and provides a snapshot of the racial and Hispanic origin composition of the United States.

The examination of racial and ethnic group distributions nationally shows that while the non-Hispanic white alone population is still numerically and proportionally the largest major race and ethnic group in the United States, it is also growing at the slowest rate. Conversely, the Hispanic and Asian populations have grown considerably, in part because of relatively higher levels of immigration.

### Hispanic Population Growth

More than half of the growth in the total U.S. population between 2000 and 2010 was because of the increase in the Hispanic population. Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population grew by 43 percent, rising from 35.3 million in 2000 to 50.5 million in 2010. The rise in the Hispanic population accounted for more than half of the 27.3 million increase in the total U.S. population. By 2010, Hispanics comprised 16 percent of the total U.S. population of 308.7 million.

The non-Hispanic population grew relatively slower over the decade at about 5 percent. Within the non-Hispanic population, the number of people who reported their race as white alone grew even slower (1 percent). While the non-Hispanic white alone population increased numerically from 194.6 million to 196.8 million over the 10-year period, its proportion of the total population declined from 69 percent to 64 percent.

### Race Distribution

The overwhelming majority (97 percent) of the total U.S. population reported only one race in 2010. This group totaled 299.7 million. Of these, the largest group reported white alone (223.6 million), accounting for 72 percent of all people living in the United States. The black or African-American population totaled 38.9 million and represented 13 percent of the total population.

Approximately 14.7 million people (about 5 percent of all respondents) identified their race as Asian alone. There were 2.9 million respondents who indicated American Indian and Alaska Native alone (0.9 percent). The smallest major race group was Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (0.5 million), which represented 0.2 percent of the total population. The remainder of respondents who reported only one race, 19.1 million people (6 percent of all respondents), were classified as "some other race" alone.

Nine million people reported more than one race in the 2010 Census and made up about 3 percent of the total population. Ninety-two percent of people who reported multiple races provided exactly two races in 2010; white and black was the largest multiple-race combination. An additional 8 percent of the two or more races population reported three races and less than 1 percent reported four or more races.

45 Three quarters of multiple race combinations were comprised of four groups in 2010: white and black (1.8 million), white and "some other race" (1.7 million), white and Asian (1.6 million), and white and American Indian or Alaska Native (1.4 million).

### (...) **Asian Population Growth**

50 The Asian alone population grew faster than any other major race group between 2000 and 2010, increasing by 43 percent. The Asian alone population had the second-largest numeric change (4.4 million), growing from 10.2 million in 2000 to 14.7 million in 2010. They gained the most in share of the total population, moving up from about 4 percent in 2000 to about 5 percent in 2010.

### **Geographic Distribution**

55 In the 2010 Census, just over one-third of the U.S. population reported their race and ethnicity as something other than non-Hispanic white alone (i.e. "minority"). This group increased from 86.9 million to 111.9 million between 2000 and 2010, representing a growth of 29 percent over the decade.

60 Geographically, particularly in the South and West, a number of areas had large proportions of the total population that was minority. Nearly half of the West's population was minority (47 percent), numbering 33.9 million. Among the states, California led the nation with the largest minority population at 22.3 million.

Between 2000 and 2010, Texas joined California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and New Mexico in having a "majority-minority" population, where more than 50 percent of the population was part of a minority group. Among all states, Nevada's minority population increased at the highest rate, by 78 percent.

### 65 **Race and Hispanic Origin Data**

70 (...) Individuals were first presented with the option to self-identify with more than one race in the 2000 Census, and this continued in the 2010 Census. People who identify with more than one race may choose to provide multiple races in response to the race question. The 2010 Census results provide new data on the size and makeup of the nation's multiracial population.

Respondents who reported more than one of the six race groups are included in the "two or more races" population. There are 57 possible combinations of the six race groups.

75 The Census Bureau included the "some other race" category for responses that could not be classified in any of the other race categories on the questionnaire. The vast majority of people who reported only as "some other race" were of Hispanic or Latino origin. Data on Hispanics or Latinos, who may be of any race, were obtained from a separate question on ethnicity.



## **Minority births drive growth in U.S. diversity**

Updated 6/22/2010 By Haya El Nasser, USA TODAY

5 Record levels of births among minorities in the past decade are moving the USA a step closer to a demographic milestone in which no group commands a majority, new Census estimates show.

10 Minorities accounted for almost 49% of U.S. births in the year ending July 1, 2009, a record high, according to data released Thursday. They make up more than half the population in 317 counties — about 1 in 10 — four states (California, Hawaii, New Mexico, Texas) and the District of Columbia.

15 The USA TODAY Diversity Index shows increases in every state since 2000. The index was created to measure how racially and ethnically diverse the population is. It uses the percentage of each race counted by the Census Bureau — white, black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian — and Hispanic ethnicity to calculate the chance that any two people are from different groups. The scale ranges from 0 (no diversity) to 100.

20 The 2009 national index is 52, up from 47 in 2000. That means that the chance of two randomly selected people being different is slightly more than half. In 1980, the index was 34, a 1-in-3 chance.

25 The level of diversity varies widely from region to region — from as high as 79 in Hawaii and 68 in California to as low as 10 in Maine and Vermont and 13 in West Virginia.

30 Much of the rapid growth in diversity is driven by an influx of young Hispanic immigrants whose birthrates are higher than those of non-Hispanic whites, creating a race and ethnic chasm and a widening age gap. "There are more than 500 counties which have a majority of minority children," says Kenneth Johnson, demographer at the University of New Hampshire's Carsey Institute. "The population is changing to minority from the bottom up."

35 Nationwide, 48.3% of kids under age 5 are minorities, while 19.9% of people 65 and older are.

40 In Gwinnett County, Ga., near Atlanta, one of seven counties where minorities became the majority last year, 88% of the under-20 population was non-Hispanic white in 1990. In 2009, 42% was. "The whole county just flipped," Johnson says.

Other highlights:

45 •The nation's median age inched upward to 36.8 from 36.7 in 2008.

•The fountain of youth is in Utah, where 9.8% of the population is 5 and under (the highest of any state) and the median age is 28.8 (the youngest).

## Excluded From Inclusion

Frank Bruni, September 1, 2012, *New York Times*

WHAT the Republicans painstakingly constructed here was meant to look like the biggest of tents. And still they couldn't spare so much as a sleeping bag's worth of space for the likes of me.

Women were welcomed. During the prime evening television hours, the convention stage was festooned with them, and when they weren't at the microphone, they were front and center in men's remarks. Paul Ryan and Mitt Romney both gushed about their moms in tributes as tactical as they were teary.

Latinos were plentiful and flexed their Spanish — "En América, todo es posible," said Susana Martinez, the New Mexico governor — despite an "English First" plank in the party's regressive platform.

And while one preconvention poll suggested that roughly zero percent of African-Americans support Romney, Republicans found several prominent black leaders to testify for him. Condoleezza Rice, the former secretary of state, delivered what will surely be remembered as the convention's most stirring and substantive remarks, purged of catcalls and devoid of slickly rendered fibs.

But you certainly didn't see anyone openly gay on the stage in Tampa. More to the point, you didn't hear mention of gays and lesbians. Scratch that: Mike Huckabee, who has completed a ratings-minded transformation from genial pol to dyspeptic pundit, made a derisive reference to President Obama's support for same-sex marriage. We were thus allowed a fleeting moment inside the tent, only to be flogged and sent back out into the cold.

It was striking not because a convention or political party should make a list of minority groups and dutifully put a check mark beside each. That's an often hollow bow to political correctness.

It was striking because the Republicans went so emphatically far, in terms of stagecraft and storytelling, to profess inclusiveness, and because we gays have been in the news rather a lot over the last year or so, as the march toward marriage equality picked up considerable velocity. We're a part of the conversation. And our exile from it in Tampa contradicted the high-minded "we're one America" sentiments that pretty much every speaker spouted.

It also denied where the country is so obviously headed and where so many Republicans have quietly arrived. To wit: David Koch, the billionaire industrialist who has funneled millions into efforts to elect Romney and other Republicans, told a Politico reporter who caught up with him in Tampa and asked him about gay rights, "I believe in gay marriage." Reminded that Romney didn't, Koch said, "Well, I disagree with that."

Romney exemplifies the party's cowardice on this front, its continued deference to the religious extremists who get king-size beds and down-stuffed duvets in the tent.

Back during his 1994 Senate campaign in Massachusetts, he wrote, "If we are to achieve the goals we share, we must make equality for gays and lesbians a mainstream concern." He never endorsed same-sex marriage, but he gave no inkling that he'd swerve rightward to the positions he articulated during the Republican primaries and currently holds. He favors a constitutional amendment limiting marriage to one man and one woman. He opposes even civil unions.

"I believe that marriage has been defined the same way for literally thousands of years by virtually every civilization in history and that marriage is, by its definition, a relationship between a man and woman," he said earlier this year — a statement of curious sweep, given his religious ancestry. Little more than a hundred years ago,

Mormons defined marriage as a relationship between a man and multiple women. That was the tradition. They ultimately decided that a new approach was necessary — and better. That's all that those of us who advocate marriage equality are asking Romney and other political leaders to do.

55 People who know Romney well tell me that he's not in the least judgmental about gays and lesbians and that he's more or less accepting of them. That may be so, but it makes him, like others in his party, guilty of a kind of doublespeak, their private sentiments at odds with their public stances.

60 Steve Levitan, one of the creators of the television comedy "Modern Family," dared Ann Romney last week to put her public advocacy where her viewing habits are. After she named his show, which spotlights a gay couple with an adopted child, as her favorite, he Tweeted: "We'll offer her the role of officiant at Mitch & Cam's wedding. As soon as it's legal."

65 Several gay Republicans with whom I spoke in Tampa said that the near-complete absence of any talk onstage about gays and lesbians was in fact a hopeful sign that the party's extremists on gay issues had lost the war to moderates. At least gays and lesbians weren't being cast in a negative light, as a way of riling the worst of the base.

70 "Our messaging within the party has been: if you can't say anything nice, don't say anything at all," said R. Clarke Cooper, the executive director of the Log Cabin Republicans, a gay advocacy group.

But that's not progress enough. Silence does nothing for gay and lesbian teenagers racked with self-doubt and anxiety about what the world has in store. Or for committed same-sex couples who lack the legal protections that their straight counterparts have. Silence is a stalling tactic, and silence is a cop-out.

75 On the convention stage in Tampa, where estrogen was platinum and melanin was gold, Republicans spoke eloquently about a country that valued every person's worth and was poised to reward each person's dreams. Those words would have carried much more weight if coupled with even a glancing recognition of gay and lesbian Americans. Instead speakers tacitly let the party's platform do the talking. It calls for the kind of constitutional amendment that Romney now supports.

80 Sorry, Governor Martinez, you're wrong. Todo no es posible. Not if you're gay and live in Wisconsin (Ryan's home state), Michigan (Romney's) or 42 others and want to get married. Not if you're gay and listened to all the soaring oratory in Tampa with the wish for one sentence or syllable of reassurance that the tent stretched all the way  
85 to you.

## **Tolerance vs. Sept. 11 terrorism — a victory of pluralism over prejudice**

By Qasim Rashid, Posted at 09:13 AM ET, 09/11/2012, *washingtonpost.com*

*“You don’t have to do this! You shouldn’t have to. It’s a disgrace.”*

At the height of the 2010 Park 51 “Ground Zero Mosque” controversies, I, along with thousands of Muslim American youth nationwide, was engrossed in a massive “Muslims for Peace” flyer distribution. Days before the ninth anniversary of Sept. 11, I met my match at a Wisconsin State Fair.

The young mother of two looked me in the eye and said, “I am a Christian. The day I see Christians passing out millions of ‘Christians for Peace’ flyers to condemn abortion clinic bombings, let’s talk. You’re my fellow American. You don’t need to prove your Americanness to me.”

Our discussion was short-lived as her children pulled her to the next great fair adventure. She left with a smile. I was left grateful, and wondering. Grateful that people like her exist. Wondering what it would take for all Americans to embrace tolerance and pluralism over prejudice?

In the 11 years since Sept. 11, 2001, we have learned that Osama bin Laden is dead, Afghanistan is on its last leg, and that Muslim Americans have raised over 20,000 blood donations in the past 13 months alone specifically to honor Sept. 11 victims. Yet, Pew reports that Muslim Americans had a higher approval rating right after Sept. 11 than they do now. Despite all the progress we have made as a nation, is our net movement in the red?

Take the Park 51 Mosque for example. Legitimate reasons of sensitivity and timing certainly existed in its construction—but anti-Islam elements instead chose to fabricate fears of alleged Islamic supremacy to express their opposition. It worked. Two dozen states have tried or passed some sort of “anti-shariah” legislation. The Justice Department reports that of the 28 anti-Mosque campaigns that have emerged since Sept. 11, 2001, 18 have emerged since the Park 51 showdown.

The years since the attacks have also forged specific media language to delineate “Islamic terrorism” from literally every other violent act. For example, Fort Hood culprit Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan was a terrorist, but Sikh gurdwara culprit Wade Michael Page was a gunman. The Sept. 11 plane bombers were terrorists but Joseph Stack’s plane bombing in 2010 was unfortunate. Failed Times Square bomb convict Faisal Shahzad was a terrorist, while former Ariz. Rep. Gabrielle Gifford’s would-be assassin Jared Lee Loughner and Aurora, Colo., shooting suspect James Holmes were both simply disturbed.

And the trend forward is not exactly promising.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, anti-Muslim hate groups have nearly tripled since Sept. 11, 2001 to over 30. In a throwback to 1940s Japanese American civil rights violations, the New York Police Department admitted it illegally spied on Muslim Americans in New York for six years—without a single arrest. How ironic that in claiming to prevent Muslim Americans from violating the Constitution, the NYPD themselves trampled several fundamental constitutional principles, like due process and privacy? Likewise, federal enforcement agencies have promoted vitriolic anti-Islam training modules, teaching that “the more devout a Muslim, the bigger a threat s/he is to America.”

Even “looking” Muslim warrants a backlash. Since Sept. 11, Sikh Americans have suffered over 700 hate crimes; a fact the Justice Department admits is a consequence of rising Islamophobia. After the act of terrorism on the Oak Creek Sikh temple in

50 August, media spent more time explaining the difference between Islam and Sikhism  
than reporting on the incident or condemning the act.

55 In the days, weeks, and years after the Sept. 11 attacks, then-President George W.  
Bush repeatedly praised Islam as a peaceful faith, clarifying that the 19 who  
committed the horrific act did not represent the 1.5 billion who condemned it. Yet,  
something tells me amnesia is not the culprit when, 11 years later, numerous  
60 politicians perpetuate the fabrication that Muslim Americans threaten American  
sovereignty. No amount of flyer distributions would convince such individuals  
otherwise.

65 The fact is that such prejudice does not protect America, but awards victory to the  
cowards who concocted and executed the attacks. Americans did not defeat Nazism  
and Japan because we stripped Japanese and German Americans of their  
constitutionally protected rights. No intelligent person recognizes Japanese internment  
camps as a source of pride or protection for American citizens. Likewise, government,  
media, and individual hate mongers who today obscure constitutional freedoms to  
Americans who choose Islam as their faith, do not protect America. Rather, they do  
exactly what the Sept. 11 terrorists hoped—tear our country apart.

70 The young mother of two was right. No citizen should have to “prove” their  
Americanness any more than any other citizen. So let’s get back into the black. On the  
11-year anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks, it is time to give victory to tolerance and  
pluralism over prejudice.

Our future depends on it.

*Qasim Rashid is a leader in the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community USA. Follow him on  
Twitter @MuslimIQ or email at qasim.rashid@ahmadiyya.us.*

### **Cultural Diversity in Higher Education**

As the 21st Century opens, it is a good time to consider how cultural diversity---which is viewed by this writer as being the collection of various cultures within a country---affects higher education in the United States today. Also, by looking at the current trends in the way higher education deals with cultural diversity, one may forecast where cultural diversity in higher education may be heading. Finally, one may consider what new innovations higher education may see in the years ahead in response to the nation's cultural diversity. This country, more than any other, is blessed with cultural diversity. Traditional minority groups will be numerically elevated to ever increasing proportions of the population. For this reason it is beneficial to consider how host institutions view their diverse student populations. Educators are at a crucial time in this nation's history---a time when national policies concerning cultural diversity can truly affect the stability of the country---and colleges and universities should plan accordingly. There is a lot riding on how well the citizens of the United States handle the characteristic cultural diversity of the country.

#### **The Culturally Diverse Nation**

Historically, the United States has had a mixed (if not, poor) record in embracing cultural diversity. The example provided below mentions the shameful disregard for the Native Americans in 19th-Century California. More recently, cultural diversity has been held in greater esteem. A fine example of the "convergence power of cultural diversity," as it might be called, is in the United State's policy of admitting many immigrants. In particular, the "open door" policies at the time of World War I allowed this country to acquire many powerful thinkers and scientists representing several cultures. Institutions of higher learning in the United States will continue to deal with the cultural diversity of their population. Indeed, the country itself will have to reawaken to the necessity of embracing cultural diversity. The citizenry of the United States cannot return to a callous state in viewing cultural diversity and expect the country to continue to prosper. Diversity has come to be embraced by some as one of the country's greatest strengths. While "diversity" has a connotation of "division," the act of drawing people together and attempting to unify their myriad cultures (as schools tend to do) has created an American sense of "university." It is in this positive light that diversity will be viewed here. Diversity will further strengthen the United States as new minds with new views are added to the society. This is true of the country's universities and colleges, as well. Strength through cultural diversity is now a part of the country's prosperity. The strength through cultural diversity concept should be integrated into higher education's ideal of providing positive direction toward philosophic experimentation and potential leadership of the society. The best way to see where something is going is to take a look back at where it has been. It is enlightening to consider what a student of education thought about the development of higher education itself in the early days of junior college development. The college historian Dr. R. P. Pedersen has kindly made several interesting historical documents readily available. One of these is a 1917 Master's thesis written by Elizabeth Brooks, entitled "The Junior College." Brooks asserts that the northern and southern colonies addressed the issue of higher education differently in the Colonial period of American history. She speaks of "geographical and industrial factors" as having been the main agents of diversity (not specifically "cultural," however at least some element of "cultural diversity" is implicit) at this time. Factors of geography and industrialization, as well as chronology---both the South and the West were settled later than the North---led to the slower development of educational systems in the West (which was still the "new frontier") in the 19th Century (Brooks, Ch. I).

125 The tremendous growth of the United States during the 19th Century, bolstered by the  
legislative ideal of "Manifest Destiny"---which served to open the West and "validate" the  
taking of more Native American lands---should not be overlooked. The expansionist  
philosophy of 20th-Century institutions of higher learning was grounded in the "we must  
grow" ideology of the country. The country's growth was phenomenal: there has been no  
130 greater combined growth of per capita income, population, and "territorial holdings" for  
any country in the world before or since the 1800s (McPherson, 1988, p. 49). While the  
country's territorial growth ended in the middle of the 20th Century, its population  
continued to increase and is expected to increase further. Being the proverbial "melting  
pot," this country of immigrants will now grow with an ever-greater realization of the  
135 importance of its diversity of cultures. Dr. Taber observes "the 'diversity issue' provoke[s]  
great controversy among our citizenry today" (2001). The controversial side of cultural  
diversity must lie largely in ignorance. As Orfield mentions, "few studies on the benefits of  
diversity" have been conducted (1999), implying that more studies examining cultural  
diversity should be conducted.

#### 140 How Much Cultural Diversity is there in College?

There are many cultures in the "melting pot," but one might ask, "just what are the  
numbers?" While the National Center for Education Statistics usually break cultures down  
into merely "race/ethnicity" and include figures often only for "White," "Black," and  
145 "Hispanic;" the breakdown is enough to get a rough idea of the numbers of students in  
college who have a cultural heritage which might be deemed "non-traditional" or "non-  
White." From the numbers extracted from the table entitled "College enrollment rates of  
high school graduates, by race/ethnicity: 1960 to 1999" one finds that in 1976, 1,291,000  
Whites (or 48.9% of those graduating from high school) were enrolled in college. By 1999,  
150 1,822,000 (or 62.8% of the White students graduating from high school) were enrolled in  
college. The majority of the "non-traditional" cultures can be subsumed under the  
(arguably demeaning) title of "Non-White." The figures provided in the table for "Non-  
White" cultures---numerically significant are "Black" and "Hispanic;" "Asian" and "Native  
American," for example, are not separately enumerated---are as follows: in 1976 there  
155 were 214,000 Non-White students (representing about 44% of those Non-Whites who  
graduated from high school); in 1999 there were 407,000 (then representing about 55% of  
those Non-Whites who graduated from high school) (NCES).

The term this writer prefers to "Non-White" is "non-traditional." Non-traditional is used  
here to mean any culture which may be considered as being outside the mainstream  
160 ("mainstream" being cultures generally of European extract); "traditional" is then taken to  
mean mainstream. Interpreting the NCES figures as percentages of the whole body of high  
school graduates in the years being considered, one finds that in 1976 the non-traditional  
segment of the students amounted to about 7.2%---by 1999 that figure had risen to 14.0%--  
-clearly indicating a percentage increase in the non-traditional cultures represented in the  
165 population of college matriculates from the mid-1970s to the end of the 1990s. The need  
for traditional college faculty to better understand non-traditional cultures is at least  
numerically founded.

#### Teaching Culturally Diverse Students

170 There is much literature concerning methods of improving the schooling success of "non-  
traditional" students. Rather than go into proposals for improvement, one begins by  
realizing first that "traditional" educators lack the ability to deal with classroom cultural  
diversity effectively. Nelson (1996) tells of how he was totally unaware of such a

deficiency on his part until he looked closely at who among his students were actually  
175 scholastically successful. Nelson found that non-traditional students generally were  
unsuccessful. Cited in his article are several findings in a similar vein by other educators.  
The collective findings (his and those of his peers) led Nelson (1996) to conclude "(almost)  
all traditionally taught courses are unintentionally but nevertheless deeply biased in ways  
that make substantial differences in performance for many students" (p. 3).

180 Once recognized, there are various ways to address our ability to teach effectively in light  
of the cultural diversity of our students. Nelson (1996) mentions how, by simply requiring  
students to write out in English what they did to arrive at a solution to one of their calculus  
problems, learning dramatically increased. Nelson (1996), citing an example from Angelo  
and Cross, notes that the intent was not actually to deal with cultural diversity, yet the  
185 success rate of non-traditional students improved greatly from this simple exercise (p. 3).  
As another example, there is the approach advocated by Wang and Oates (1995) where  
"collaboration among family, school, and community" is considered (p. 1). Their efforts  
are being applied at the secondary level, but there is no reason not to extend this concept to  
higher education as much as possible. As stated before, recognition must precede  
190 correction, and it this recognition that is examined here. It is important that the reader  
understand that corrective approaches to the inability to deal with classroom cultural  
diversity do exist, however.  
Some educators have devised innovative approaches to teaching diverse student  
populations. Ofori-Dankwa and Lane (2000), for instance, suggest employing what they  
195 call the "diversimilarity" approach. Diversimilarity involves exposing students to both  
similarities and differences of cultures. Clark (2001) speaks of something as simple as a  
cultural brochure project as being beneficial to students in the study of cultural diversity.  
These examples demonstrate that while some approaches might be rather difficult to  
implement, others are relatively easy.

#### Ethnocentrism Must be Quashed

A negative aspect in any society (which makes it difficult to embrace and at times even  
tolerate, cultural diversity) is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is when people of a given  
culture view their particular culture as being better, or even the only one truly worthy of  
205 existence. As concerns this evil, one is right to remember the plight of people who have  
been historically harmed by the ethnocentric ideals of others. Two examples, ones that are  
admittedly graphic, are mentioned. First, the open disregard for the native people of this  
land will be touched. Secondly, the handling of African-Americans who were forced to  
come to this country in bondage is considered. It would be remiss to overlook the Native-  
210 American and African-American populations, however these cultures are not the only ones  
that have suffered from the ethnocentrism of others. There are many cultures represented  
under the headings of both Native-American and African-American people. Sadly, many  
of these cultures are now extinct. Those that remain have been enculturated by ethnocentric  
pressure from the European colonizers of North and South America, Asia, and Africa. The  
215 purpose of providing these examples of ethnocentrism is to shock readers into thinking  
about ones personal thoughts concerning multiculturalism---"multiculturalism" being  
antiethnocentrism, in a word. (To "multiculturalize" would be to attempt to attain  
multiculturalism within a society.)

The cultures of the remaining Native-Americans are of particular interest since these  
220 people have attempted to retain their traditional cultures to some extent. There are  
innumerable accounts of how the early policy in dealing with Native-Americans was one  
of genocide. For example, McPherson (1988) describes how "in California alone disease,  
malnutrition, firewater, and homicide reduced the Indian population from an estimated



150,000 in 1845 to 35,000 by 1860." The manifest destiny that represented hope for white Americans thus spelled doom for red Americans" (p. 46). Their cultures were not appreciated even 100 years ago, but now it is understood that, as David Whitehorse (1996, p.336) puts it, multi-cultural studies "may provide important understanding of underlying value orientation, cultural beliefs, and patterns of thought." All of this is valuable "especially as teachers attempt to multiculturalize learning environments to match the multicultural aspects of the student population."

In a recent article by Kidwell (1999), one is reminded of the Native American studies programs that were instituted in the 1960s and 1970s largely through student protest. Kidwell notes that political activism spawned by U. S. involvement in the Vietnam War increased sensitivity to racism. Not without reason, activists compared the massacres of Cheyenne families at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864 and Big Foot's band of Lakota (Sioux) at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890 [to civilian massacres of Vietnamese in the 1960s] (p. 2).

It is curious to note that activists connected the "cultural ignorance" in the 19th Century with the disgraceful acts of "war" witnessed only 30 short years ago. It was ethnocentrism that allowed these acts of violence to occur. The connection is that ethnocentrism rears its ugly head and somehow always "justifies" acts that are terrible hate crimes in disguise. By attempting to embrace other cultures, one is less likely to try and destroy them. Thus, ethnocentrism must go and fuller understanding of the cultures one is to live with should be the proper humanitarian goals taught by (and acted on by) educators.

Historical accounts, such as those described in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, are graphic reminders of how people can be completely ethnocentric. While the actions of our ancestral white settlers are somehow often "historically justified," it should be remembered that Stowe wrote her book in 1853 and the events at Wounded Knee took place in the very late 19th Century. The point is that only a few generations ago there were predominant feelings of distaste for non-Europeans. This gross ethnocentrism is something the country cannot tolerate. There are opposing views on how much (and even what) remains to be done to improve the conditions of Native Americans, African Americans, and minorities overall, but there is at least some positive aspect to our being at least aware of the condition of "multiculturalism deferred," which appears to exist today. Again, multiculturalism should be taught and emulated by educators. Education is the best defense for bigotry. Studies might furthermore educate the educators.

A second example of ethnocentrism is well documented in works by Stowe. There is little reason to go into particular detail about how African Americans were originally treated. One has no regard for a culture that one forcibly enslaves. It is sufficient to remember that the very act of educating African Americans was considered punishable. In banning African education the message is clear that the people were not respected and were meant to be forever subordinate to their white masters. The whole matter is just as unpalatable as that of the ethnocentrism visited upon Native Americans. Ethnocentrism should be abolished just as certainly as education should be provided to all people.

Orfield (1999) argues, for example, that renewed attention must be given to multiculturalism. He warns that recent efforts to reverse affirmative action policies are wrong. Part of his argument is that there will be a loss of diversity. To many researchers, the benefits of diversity seemed self-evident, so they focused on examining how best to encourage it. [Affirmative action was overturned in California and Texas in 1996, and the resulting] ... anti-affirmative-action lawsuits and referenda

proliferating throughout the country have roused educational leaders into clear awareness of the importance of research [into the benefits of cultural diversity] (p. 2).

On the other hand, that two states would overturn affirmative action policies implies that the majority of the voters in these states feel that this policy no longer works. According to Williams (1997) (using data from a Lipset survey), over "70 percent of the respondents opposed preferential treatment while only 24 percent supported it. Among blacks, 66 percent opposed preferential treatment and 32 percent supported it" (p. 1). If these are true sentiments of the majority (and minority), then perhaps affirmative action should indeed be overturned. Admittedly, affirmative action may function differently today than it did when it was originally established. Whether it should even be mentioned here may be questioned, but since the intent is to "expose" and "shock," this writer feels that affirmative action is worthy of note. It might be remembered that affirmative action was originally applied to Women and African Americans, alike. There might herein lie some thought as to how women were treated in earlier times. Still, it seems appropriate not to say more than simply "ethnocentrism must be quashed," and leave the matter of affirmative action to the voters and legislators.

Racism and bigotry have not been alleviated in our society. At best, ethnocentrism has been tempered through exposure for the evil that it is. The need exists to further educate students and educators alike about the requisite understanding of our diverse cultures. It is shortsighted to merely ignore cultural differences and expect that anything good a culture has to offer will be integrated into our mainstream values. Few educators would deny that steps should continue to be taken to encourage multiculturalism. It is safe to conclude that multiculturalism will have ever-increasing importance to education and the nation in the years to come. In the end (or even the beginning---thinking of this century) ethnocentrism must be quashed.

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- David Milligan
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## Teaching American History through a Different Mirror

By Ronald Takaki

How can we teach history so that it includes all of the peoples who have lived and worked in this place called the United States of America? This is the question teachers find themselves being asked again and again. Other questions abound: Wouldn't the inclusion of racial and ethnic groups mean the reduction of traditional history? Doesn't multiculturalism constitute "political correctness"—the rigid and doctrinaire teaching about the heroes and glorious achievements of peoples of color? Does our recent emphasis on diversity stir divisiveness and balkanize us as Americans?

Clearly, teaching history the old-fashioned way has not worked. More than ever before, as we approach the twenty-first century, there is a growing realization among educators that our traditional history has tended to define America too narrowly. For example, in his prize-winning study *The Uprooted* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1951), Harvard historian Oscar Handlin presented—to use the book's subtitle—"the Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People." But Handlin's "epic story" excluded the "uprooted" from Africa, Asia, and Latin America—the other "Great Migrations" that also helped to make "the American People." Similarly, in *The Age of Jackson* (Little, Brown, 1945), Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., overlooked blacks and Indians. There is not even a mention of two marker events—the Nat Turner insurrection and Indian removal, which Andrew Jackson himself would no doubt have been surprised to find omitted from a history of his era. To leave out whole groups of people is to present an incomplete and therefore distorted portrayal of the past.

Still, while Handlin and Schlesinger had written scholarship that reflected a dominant political orthodoxy, a pervasive but mistaken view of "American" as white or European in ancestry, they offered us a refreshing revisionism, paving the way for the study of common people rather than princes and presidents. They inspired the next generation of historians to examine groups such as the artisan laborers of Philadelphia and the Irish immigrants of Boston. "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America," Handlin confided in his introduction to *The Uprooted*, "then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history." This door, once opened, led to even greater inclusiveness as many of us began to recognize that ethnic history is American history.

But if we agree that a multicultural, more inclusive, history is a more accurate one, how do we do it? And can we do it without jettisoning traditional history, pushing "political correctness," and threatening our unity as Americans?

While addressing such questions, some history teachers have at times lacked clear focus. We have confused the study of America's ethnic groups with foreign area studies. When asked whether our colleges have courses in Asian American studies, we have sometimes answered, Yes, we teach courses on Japan. Similarly, a high school course seeking to include Asian Americans assigned Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth*. Elementary school teachers have often taught ethnic diversity through the foods and holidays of foreign countries. The cultural diversity requirement at a major university included courses in African studies, but not African American studies. Of course, we need to study the cultures of the world, but this should not be confused with, or be allowed to substitute for, an understanding of multicultural American society.

Even when we as history teachers do get it right in terms of focus, some of us sometimes also unknowingly contribute to the continued marginalization of minorities. This problem is especially evident in some efforts to explode racial

stereotypes. For example, some of us have fallen victim to the Orientalist trope. In challenging the negative images of Asians, we center our analysis on Western culture's portrayals of the "Oriental Other." That is, we explain that the very term "Oriental" was an invention of nineteenth-century British colonialism: the "Orient"
 55 was east of London, referring to places to be conquered and lands inhabited by inferior peoples. We also debunk Hollywood depictions of Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan as simplistic and racist, but we do not offer counterpointing and realistic portraits of Asian Americans as complex human beings. In our very critique, we reinforce stereotypes by failing to penetrate beyond the notions of the exotic and by
 60 leaving Asians still faceless and voiceless. Thus, "Orientals" remain "Orientalized." This focus on stereotypes can also be found in studies of groups such as African Americans in George Frederickson's *The Black Image in the White Mind* (Harper & Row, 1972) and Native Americans in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.'s, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (Vintage,
 65 1979). Similarly, my book *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Knopf, 1979) also reflects this one-sidedness: it analyzes white attitudes toward African Americans, Native Americans, Mexicans, and Chinese. In our examination of the nature of white racism, we have, in effect reproduced the very monocultural perspective we have been aiming to challenge.
 70 One way to avoid this trap is for history teachers to focus on the members of the excluded groups as first persons, as men and women with minds, wills, and voices. In the telling of their stories, these individuals provide alternative perspectives to the past and help to re-vision history. "It is very natural that the history written by the victim," said a Mexican who lived in California in 1874, "does not altogether chime
 75 with the story of the victor." America's manifest destiny and the war against Mexico, for example, looked very different from the other side of the border in the Southwest. Similarly, the story of westward expansion, for the Indians, was the history of how the West was lost.
 Stories from multicultural America can also promote greater understanding. "I hope this survey do a lot of good for Chinese people," an immigrant told a researcher.
 80 "Make American people realize that Chinese people are humans. I think very few American people really know anything about Chinese." By sharing the stories of America's different groups, history teachers can help students comprehend the variety as well as the complexity of people's feelings and thoughts. They also introduce firsthand knowledge. After she escaped from slavery,
 85 Harriet Jacobs wrote, "[My purpose] is not to tell you what I have heard but what I have seen—and what I have suffered." Her autobiography, republished recently as *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Oxford, 1990), is part of a growing collection of voices available in new anthologies such as Marilyn Davis's *Mexican
 90 Voices/American Dreams: An Oral History of Mexican Immigration to the United States* (Henry Holt, 1990), Peter Nabokov's *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492–1992* (Viking Penguin, 1992), John Tateishi's *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (Random House, 1984), and Wesley Brown and Amy Ling's *Visions
 95 of America: Personal Narratives from the Promised Land* (Persea, 1993). The "varied carols" of Americans, to use Walt Whitman's poetic description of our stories, invite all of us to become listeners.
 The stories also take us beyond what critics of multiculturalism such as Schlesinger castigate as "victim studies." When people give their own accounts, they reveal
 100 themselves as actors in history, making decisions and taking actions in order to

transform the circumstances surrounding their lives. They share their fierce visions of the new land. Spreading from shtetl to shtetl across Russia, a song pointed the way for Jewish immigrants:

As the Russians, mercilessly / Took revenge on us. / There is a land, America, /Where everyone lives free.

Coming from a different shore, a Japanese immigrant wrote:

Day of spacious dreams! / I sailed for America,/ Overblown with hope.

But do the stories of our many groups represent disparate narratives? One pursuit of our multicultural past has been to study the history of a specific group, focusing on its separate memory. Such a particularistic perspective is reflected in studies such as my *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Little, Brown, 1989); Susan A. Glenn's *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Cornell, 1980); Mario Garcia's *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso* (Yale, 1981); Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (Oxford, 1977); Paula Gunn Allen's *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Beacon, 1986); Clara E. Rodriguez's *Puerto Ricans: Born in the U.S.A.* (Westview, 1991); and Kirby Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford, 1985). This approach is also found in courses that focus narrowly on individual groups such as African Americans or Asian Americans. One problem of such teaching is a tendency to fragmentize the study of society and thus deny opportunities for different groups to learn about one another. Seeking to avoid this pitfall, we sometimes turn to the "add-on" approach. This soft option allows us to maintain the traditional focus of a course while adding a week on African Americans and another on Hispanics. Meanwhile, however, intergroup relationships remain invisible, and the big picture is missing.

Do our various stories, when studied together, connect the diverse memories and communities to a larger national narrative? In exploring this question, some historians have chosen a pluralistic rather than a particularistic perspective. This comparative approach can be found in works like my *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Little, Brown, 1993); Gary Nash's *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Prentice-Hall, 1974); Ivan Light's *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks* (University of California, 1972); Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Harvard, 1981); Jack D. Forbes's *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (University of Illinois, 1993); Werner Sollors's *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford, 1986); Roger Daniels's *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (HarperCollins, 1990); Paul R. Spickard's *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (University of Wisconsin, 1989); and Benjamin Ringer's *'We the People' and Others: Duality and America's Treatment of Its Racial Minorities* (Tavistock, 1983).

A multicultural mirror of our past can enable us as history teachers to help students study differences among groups: African Americans were enslaved, Indian tribes like the Cherokees and Choctaws were forced by the federal government to migrate west of the Mississippi River, and Mexicans were incorporated by war. Though they were targets of nativist prejudices, Irish and Jewish immigrants were at least allowed to become citizens. But Asian immigrants were excluded from citizenship: the Naturalization Law of 1790 reserved citizenship to "white" persons. This act remained in effect until 1952.

150 A broad comparative approach can also enable students to connect our diversity to the major developments and events in American history such as westward expansion, the industrial revolution, urbanization, immigration, the American Revolution, the Civil War, and World War II. From this vantage point, students can see how the experiences of our many ethnic communities occurred within shared contexts.

155 During the nineteenth century, for example, Irish immigrants worked in New England factories manufacturing textiles from cotton cultivated by enslaved blacks on lands taken from Indians and Mexicans. In northern cities, blacks and Irish competed for jobs as dockworkers and domestic servants. Like blacks, the Irish were stereotyped as "savages," ruled by passions rather than the "civilized" virtues of self-control and hard work.

160 The workplace was frequently the site where different ethnic groups were pitted against one another. In 1870, Mississippi planters recruited Chinese immigrants to discipline newly freed blacks. During that same year, Chinese immigrant laborers were transported from California to Massachusetts to break an Irish immigrant strike.

165 The Irish responded initially by trying to organize a Chinese lodge of their labor union called the Knights of St. Crispins in order to promote intergroup class solidarity. There were other instances of interethnic labor solidarity and sympathy. In 1903, Mexican and Japanese farm laborers went on strike together in California: their union officers had names like Lizarras and Yamaguchi, and their strike meetings were

170 conducted in Spanish and Japanese. Speaking in impassioned Yiddish during the 1909 garment workers' strike in New York, Clara Lemlich compared the abuse of Jewish laborers to the experience of blacks: "[The bosses] yell at the girls and 'call them down' even worse than I imagine the Negro slaves were in the South."

175 But is there something deeper, more profound, that unites us as Americans? Here we can help students understand that our diverse groups have been appropriating America's principle that "all men are created equal," endowed with "unalienable rights" of life and liberty. They have helped to transform these great ideas into a more inclusive vision. Frederick Douglass pointed out that the Constitution stated, "We the People," not "we the white people."

180 In their struggles for equality, Douglass and members of other excluded groups have been redefining what it means to be an American. Japanese immigrant Takao Ozawa insisted on his entitlement to become a citizen even though he was not white. After living and working for twenty years in his adopted country, he applied for citizenship, only to be denied by the Supreme Court in a landmark 1922 decision. Mexican

185 immigrant Ernesto Galarza remembered singing as a child in a California school, "My country tiz-a-thee." Galarza later received a Ph.D. from Columbia University and became a prolific historian of Chicano labor.

Our very beginning as a nation was multicultural. Blacks fought alongside whites in the War for Independence. Decades later, another generation of blacks fought to

190 preserve our union. During the Civil War, when our nation could have been splintered forever, 186,000 blacks served in the Union Army. President Abraham Lincoln expressed our national purpose. What Lincoln called "the mystic chords of memory" stretching from battlefields to patriot graves had now bonded whites and blacks in a common struggle to save the country—a nation founded and "dedicated" to the

195 "proposition" of equality.

During World War II, American racial minorities participated in the defense of our democracy. "We are also children of the United States," Mexican Americans declared as they volunteered to serve in our armed forces. "We will defend her." Navajos left their reservations to fight against fascism. One of them wrote home from the

200 battlefield: "I don't know anything about the white man's way. I never went outside  
the reservation. . . . I am proud to be in a [military] suit like this now. It is to protect  
my country, my people. . . ." Japanese American soldiers helped to liberate Jewish  
prisoners at Dachau. Many of the prisoners were confused at first, believing the  
205 soldiers were from Japan, an ally of Germany. A Japanese American soldier explained  
to them, "I am an American, and you are free." There, at Dachau, was one of the irony  
of ironies, for many Japanese American soldiers had families imprisoned in America's  
internment camps. Yet, they served in the American armed forces to fight racism not  
only abroad but also at home. Indeed, as W. E. B. Du Bois explained, World War II  
210 was a struggle for "democracy not only for white folks but for yellow, brown, and  
black."

One hundred years ago in Chicago, Frederick Jackson Turner also pondered the  
meaning of America's democracy when he proclaimed the end of the frontier in  
American history. For this young and bold historian, the frontier had been the line  
between savagery and civilization, and its westward advance signified progress and  
215 also the transformation of the European immigrant into an American.

Today, we are still asking, What does it mean to be an "American"? But our efforts to  
find answers lack Turner's certainty and confidence, for we now recognize the need to  
redefine our national identity in relationship to our multicultural reality, especially as  
we approach another frontier—the time when no one group will predominate  
220 numerically. Racial minorities have already become majorities in many cities across  
the country—a pattern that will become a reality for the total population in the  
twenty-first century. Miranda seems to speak specifically to us today when she  
exclaims in *The Tempest*, first performed in London four years after the founding of  
Jamestown: "O brave new world that has such people in it!"

225 But, as this multiethnicity rushes toward us, what does the future hold for our racially  
diverse society? "We can get along," urged Rodney King during the days of rage in  
Los Angeles. "We can work it out." But can we get along, can we work it out, unless  
we learn about one another? Do the 1992 televised images of racial conflict beamed  
from Los Angeles signify the disuniting of America? Whatever happens, we can be  
230 certain that much of our society's future will be influenced by which "mirror" of  
history we choose to see ourselves in. America does not belong to one race or one  
group of people; neither does our country's history.

Our society has been settled by "the people of all nations," Herman Melville observed  
over a century ago. "All nations may claim her for their own. You can not spill a drop  
235 of American blood, without spilling the blood of the whole world." Americans are not  
"a narrow tribe," he added; we are not a nation, "so much as a world." In this new  
society, Melville hoped, the "prejudices of national dislikes" could be "forever  
extinguish[ed]." Like the crew of the *Pequod*, working together below deck, we have  
originally come from many different shores, our lives and cultures swirling together  
240 in the settling and building of America from the first meeting of the Powhatans and  
English in Virginia to the last arrival of boat people from war-torn Vietnam. We now  
have the opportunity, the invitation, to bring our cultural diversity on deck, into our  
curriculum. Our ethnic diversity has been at the heart of the making of America. Our  
common past reveals the crisscrossing paths of different groups and our  
245 connectedness to a larger narrative called the United States. Such knowledge offers all  
of us a more accurate history, as well as a more inclusive view, of who we are as  
Americans.

Ronald Takaki is professor of ethnic studies at the University of California at Berkeley; he is the author  
of *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993). Teachers will  
250 find references to books and articles for a broad range of ethnic groups in the endnotes of his study.

## America's minority threat

By Frank Scott Online Journal Contributing Writer

Oct 2, 2009, 00:10

5 American minorities have long been defined as racial, ethnic or religious groups by comparison to white Anglo Saxon Protestants, the nation's founding colonist majority.

10 The population has changed radically since our origins and those suffering discrimination have seen that minority definition outlive its usefulness. Groups demanding equality have led to conflicting policies that set a highly visible majority against itself, while a barely visible minority is hardly noticed. That most dangerous minority maintains power with the help of divisive social programs that keep Americans battling over small portions of the society's massive wealth, while it luxuriates in the nation's riches.

20 Old world social divisions were supposedly erased as we advanced to become a middle class nation of affluent equality. But our working class is artificially reduced to competing factions set against one another by a new world ruling power. Middle class unity only exists in unconscious crowds at the commodity consumption mall. When it comes to alleged democracy, citizens are categorized into isolated groups kept apart by those who profit from socializing individual identities. We need to oppose all forms of discrimination, but while most receive at least some attention those of class and wealth receive hardly any at all.

25 Our dominating minority holds power by cooperating with its members while it forces the majority into competitive war, whether in local markets or on foreign battlefields. It sustains power in a degeneration of democracy that enables it to purchase politicians and send the bill to that majority who pay and suffer for its political perversion.

30 Present social stress can be blamed on a president who looks black but is half-white, and the hateful reaction to him by a minority which looks white and is all racist, but its roots are even deeper. Racism is as great a national problem as it was before Obama was born, but the minority group that selected him to be elected by its subjects is the real issue. It is not a race, but an economic class which rules America. That class has long adjusted to the changing face of the nation and through affirmative action seen to it that so-called minorities and women -- really the majority -- occupy major positions in all corporate institutions, both private and public.

40 When groups that suffered discrimination see one of their own raised to power status there should be celebration, but with the understanding that only those individual members profit, while most of the group remain at a loss. This social pleasure at individual achievement is programmed into the consciousness of the culture and it helps the controlling minority to maintain its power. The group having one of its members join the upper class strengthens the fable of meritocracy that says anyone can achieve wealth and power in America, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority never do any such thing.



50 America's majority taxpayers of all races, creeds and faiths have been made to bail out America's minority tax collectors of banking and finance, and this unnatural fact of the political economy needs to be confronted before it creates further poverty and suffering for the entire population.

55 (...)The only minority that profits from these destructive policies is not the easily noticed scapegoat group at the bottom of the economic pyramid, but the least noticed at the top. That group is really only 1 percent of the population or less (...).

60 If we are to achieve a truly democratic society our minority consciousness must change to one in which we become united members of a majority. That majority will not tolerate paying off minority investors by laying off majority workers, nor will it allow bankers in debt to be bailed out of their loans while workers in debt are being thrown out of their homes. Anti-democratic power must be taken from our most dangerous minority, and democratic control assumed by the real majority. If we go on  
65 battling among ourselves over which minority is the chosen one, we will continue paying the deadly price of subsidizing the destruction of everyone's social, political and natural environment. Only a minority can be ignorant enough to sustain its demise, but only a majority can be smart enough to change its future.

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Frank Scott writes political commentary which appears in the Coastal Post, The Independent Monitor and on his shared blog at [legalienate.blogspot.com](http://legalienate.blogspot.com).

75 Questions:

- 1) Please explain the segments that are underlined in this text, l.10, l.18, l.28, l.42, l.47, l.51.
- 2) Please try to explain in your own words the main idea of each paragraph & underline the important expressions in each paragraph.
- 3) How does Frank Scott use the term "minority" in this text? Can you try to give a definition of what "minority" means here?
- 4) Can you explain the following sentence: "Anti-democratic power must be taken from our most dangerous minority, and democratic control assumed by the real majority", l.64-65 ?

**Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston. A Schoolgirl at Manzanar, 1940s.**

Once we settled into Block 28 that ache I'd felt since soon after we arrived at Manzanar subsided. It didn't entirely disappear, but it gradually submerged, as semblances of order returned and our pattern of life assumed its new design.

5 For one thing, [my older brother] Kiyō and I and all the other children finally had a school. During the first year, teachers had been volunteers; equipment had been makeshift; classes were scattered all over camp, in mess halls, recreation rooms, wherever we would be squeezed in. Now a teaching staff had been hired. Two blocks were turned into Manzanar High, and a third block of fifteen barracks was set up to  
10 house the elementary grades. We had blackboards, new desks, reference books, lab supplies...

My days spent in classrooms are largely a blur now, as one merges into another. What I see clearly is the face of my fourth grade teacher – a pleasant face, but completely invulnerable, it seemed to me at the time, with sharp, commanding eyes. She came  
15 from Kentucky... A tall, heavysset spinster, about forty years old, she always wore a scarf on her head, tied beneath the chin, even during class, and she spoke with a slow, careful Appalachian accent. She was probably the best teacher I've ever had – strict, fair-minded, dedicated to her job. Because of her, when we finally returned to the outside world I was, academically at last, more than prepared to keep up with my  
20 peers....

Outside of school we had a recreation program, with leaders hired by the War Relocation Authority. During the week they organized games and craft activities. On weekends we often took hikes beyond the fence. A series of picnic groups and camping sites had been built by internees – clearings, with tables, benches, and toilets.

25 The first was about half a mile out, the farthest several miles into the Sierras. As restrictions gradually loosened, you could measure your liberty by how far they'd let you go – to Camp Three with a Caucasian, to Camp Three alone, to Camp Four with a Caucasian, to Camp Four alone. As fourth- and fifth- graders we usually hiked out to Camp One, on the edge of Blair's Creek, where we could wade, collect rocks, and sit  
30 on the bank eating lunches the mess hall crew packed for us...

In addition to the regular school sessions and the recreation program, classes of every kind were being offered all over camp: singing, acting, trumpet playing, tap-dancing, plus traditional Japanese arts like needlework, judo, and kendo. The first class I attended was in baton twirling, taught by a chubby girl about fourteen named Nancy.

35 In the beginning, I used a sawed-off broomstick with an old tennis ball stuck on one end. When it looked like I was going to keep at this, Mama ordered me one like Nancy's from the Sears, Roebuck catalogue. Nancy was a very good twirler and taught us younger kids all her tricks. For months I practiced, joined the baton club at school, and even entered contests. Since then I have often wondered what drew me to  
40 it at that age. I wonder, because of all the activities I tried out in camp, this was the one I stayed with, in fact returned to almost obsessively when I entered high school in southern California a few years later. By that time I was desperate to be "accepted," and baton twirling was one trick I could perform that was thoroughly, unmistakably American – putting on the boots and the dress crisscrossed with braid, spinning the  
45 silver stick and tossing it high to the tune of a John Philip Sousa march.

Even at ten, before I really knew what waited outside, the Japanese in me could not compete with that. It tried – in camp, and many times later, in one form or another... My visit to the old geisha who lived across the firebreak was a typical example of how those attempts turned out. She was offering lessons in the traditional dance called

- 50 *odori*. A lot of young girls studied this in order to take part in the big *obon* festival held every August, a festival honoring dead ancestors, asking them to bring good crops in the fall.

Questions

- 55 What kind of source is this document? To what extent is the point of view important and how does it impact this document?  
How would you describe life in Manzanar?  
What are the roles played by American and Japanese cultures in the Camp and in the author's life?

## 7 myths that cloud immigration debate

Updated 8/31/2010 USA TODAY OPINION By Darrell M. West

5 The United States is shockingly irrational in the way it handles immigration. Unlike other nations that strategically use immigration to pursue national goals, we lurch from concerns about border security to illegal immigrants to drugs and crime without considering our long-term political and economic priorities.

10 One of the chief sources of irrationality is the myths that have arisen about immigrants and immigration policy. Befitting a subject that is politically charged, here's where ordinary Americans and policymakers often get it wrong:

15 Myth No. 1 — Illegal immigrants don't pay taxes. They actually pay a variety of taxes. Because many undocumented workers hold jobs, a large number pay income, Social Security and Medicare taxes, as well as sales taxes when they purchase items in stores and property taxes when they rent or own homes. One study found that they pay \$162 billion annually in federal, state and local taxes. Another project found that the average immigrant paid \$1,800 more in taxes than government benefits received.

20 Myth No. 2 — The United States rarely deports illegal immigrants. In fact, the government deports 350,000 people annually. Since 1999, more than 2.2 million people have been deported from the United States, including visitors who overstayed their visas, lied on immigration forms, or committed serious crimes. State and federal officials regularly check the immigrant status of those who are arrested or serving time in prison.

25 Myth No. 3 — Economics and business drive U.S. immigration policy. Two-thirds of the 1 million official visas awarded each year are based on family unification. Conversely, only 15% of visas each year are awarded for employment purposes. 30 Other nations devote a far higher percentage of visas to economic or employment-related reasons. Canada, for example, grants more than half of its visas for employment-related reasons.

35 Myth No. 4 — The United States makes a special effort to attract scientists, engineers and technological experts. Right now, we set aside only 65,000 of America's nearly 1 million visas each year for high-skilled workers. This is well below the 195,000 high-skilled visas that the U.S. allowed from 1999 to 2004. One study found that 25% of all the technology and engineering businesses launched in the USA from 1995 to 2005 had a foreign-born founder. In Silicon Valley, that number was 52.4%.

40 Myth No. 5 — The courts treat immigrants fairly. In immigration court deportation proceedings, those who have a lawyer win their cases 46% of the time, compared with 16% for those without a lawyer. Because these are civil courts, defendants have no Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination and no guarantee of legal 45 representation.

Myth No. 6— Americans oppose allowing illegal immigrants to stay in the United States and become citizens. Polling data suggest there is public support for a "path to citizenship" for illegal immigrants currently in the country, subject to certain

50 conditions. Results from a Pew Research Center survey show that 63% favor a "path to citizenship" if illegal immigrants pass a background check, pay fines and have a job.

55 Myth No. 7 — News stories about immigration are balanced. Studies of mainstream print and broadcast coverage in recent years have found, for instance, that news outlets are twice as likely to focus on the costs rather than benefits of immigration.

60 Given the importance of immigration to our economic growth, security and national identity, we need a new narrative. We should think about finding the next Albert Einstein, Sergey Brin, or Andrew Grove, future innovators who can start businesses and create high-paying jobs. An immigration policy based on an "Einstein Principle" would increase our odds for economic prosperity and enhance job creation and innovation.

65 Darrell M. West is vice president and director of Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of the newbook *Brain Gain: Rethinking U.S. Immigration Policy*.

### **An Immigrant's Faith:**

The right to the pursuit of happiness is America's unique contribution to humankind.

Fareed Zakaria; September 27, 2001, Newsweek U.S. Edition

5 One of the pleasures and perils of including my e-mail address (zakaria@NEWSWEEK.com) in my stories is that people use it. Mostly it's a pleasure. But every now and then I get an angry note from someone who adds with ferocious pride that he is a native-born American ("and proud of it!" the last such missive thundered). The idea is that with my "foreign-sounding" name I could not understand the true patriotism of a son of the soil. Actually, it's the other way around. 10 Native-born Americans don't understand an immigrant's love of country. "After all," I've thought of writing back, "what did you do to become an American, other than happen to be born here?" For us immigrants, becoming American was a choice, marked by sorrowful partings and tough new beginnings.

15 What keeps an immigrant going is faith in his new country. This might not always look like patriotism because it doesn't take the familiar forms--Fourth of July picnics, the fluttering of the Stars and Stripes. Instead it's likely to show itself in a quiet dedication to work, family and friends. But this is the oldest form of American patriotism--a belief that in this New World you can make your own new world.

20 Alone among the great civilizations, this country embodies the simple idea of making a better life. Other cultures celebrate military conquests, religious devotion and ideological grandeur. America celebrates the suburban home with a two-car garage. Jefferson's phrase, "the pursuit of happiness," is our distinctive contribution to humankind.

25 For the past decade Americans have hankered for great dramas and heroic causes. As of Sept. 11, we might just have one. The struggle against religious fanaticism and global terrorism is both honorable and necessary. We did not choose it, but it will make us recognize what we have lost. The boredom of peace, the banality of prosperity, the trivia of family life don't seem all that bad in light of the events in New York and Washington.

30 The past decade has truly been one of happy times. There was an amazing spirit of ease, adventure and openness in the air. In the 20 years that I've lived in America, the country has become more receptive to people and ideas from all over the world.

35 In striking at the World Trade Center, where dozens of different nationalities, faiths, languages, foods and fashions all gathered together, the terrorists struck at what makes America unique. The mongrel mixture of the Trade Center offends Osama bin Laden and his band of puritans. That is why they cared little that hundreds of Muslims were killed. They were the wrong kind of Muslims--free in thought and deed.

40 The greatest victory for bin Laden, of course, would be if America lost faith in its openness. That is his goal. In the aftermath of the bombings people have become fearful and suspicious of people who "look different." People with dark skin have been asked to get off planes, spit at and, in a few awful cases, shot dead.

45 But I have faith in my country. For every case that has been reported, there must have been thousands of dark-skinned people who did fly. (After all, how would the technology industry function if all Indians were grounded?) And every person of standing, from President Bush to Mayor Giuliani to the heads of the airlines involved, has spoken eloquently about the evil of targeting Arab-Americans or Muslims or anyone who looks different. If America is looking for a real challenge, this is it. The most difficult task for America is not rooting out a terrorist network. It is fighting this fight without losing faith in our own ideals.

## **The Constitution of the United States (extracts)**

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,  
5 do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### **Article 1. The Legislative Branch**

#### **Section 1. The Legislature**

10 All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### **Section 2. The House**

15 The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of  
20 all other Persons.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

#### **Section 3. The Senate**

25 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

30 The Senate shall choose their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted  
35 without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

#### **Section 7. Revenue Bills, Legislative Process, Presidential Veto**

(...) Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House  
40 in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses  
45 shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had

signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

### **Section 8. Powers of Congress**

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To establish Post Offices and Post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To declare War,

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

### **Section 9. Limits on Congress**

(...) The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

### **Section 10. Powers States are prohibited from exercising**

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto

Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.(...) No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## **Article 2. The Executive Branch**

### **Section 1. The President & his / her election**

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to



which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

### **Section 2. Presidential powers**

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

### **Section 3. State of the Union**

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them (...); he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

### **Section 4. Impeachment**

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

## **Article 3. The Judicial Branch**

### **Section 1. Judicial powers**

The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

### **Section 2. Jurisdiction / trial by jury**

The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; to Controversies between

150 two or more States; between a State and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of  
different States; between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of  
different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States,  
Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in  
155 which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all  
the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction,  
both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the  
Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury;

160 **Article 4.**

**Section 2**

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of  
Citizens in the several States.

165 No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping  
into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged  
from such Service or Labour, But shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to  
whom such Service or Labour may be due.

**Section 3**

170 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall  
be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be  
formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent  
of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

**Section 4**

175 The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of  
Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion;

**Article 5. Amendments**

180 The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall  
propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures  
of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments,  
which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this  
Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States,  
or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of  
Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which  
185 may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any  
Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and  
that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the  
Senate.

190 **Article 6. “the supreme Law of the Land”**

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in  
Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority  
of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every  
State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to  
195 the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several  
State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States  
and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this

200 Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

**Article 7. Ratification**

205 The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

George Washington - President and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire - John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts - Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut - William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York - Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey - William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania - Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

Delaware - George Read, Gunning Bedford Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

Maryland - James McHenry, Daniel of St Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia - John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina - William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

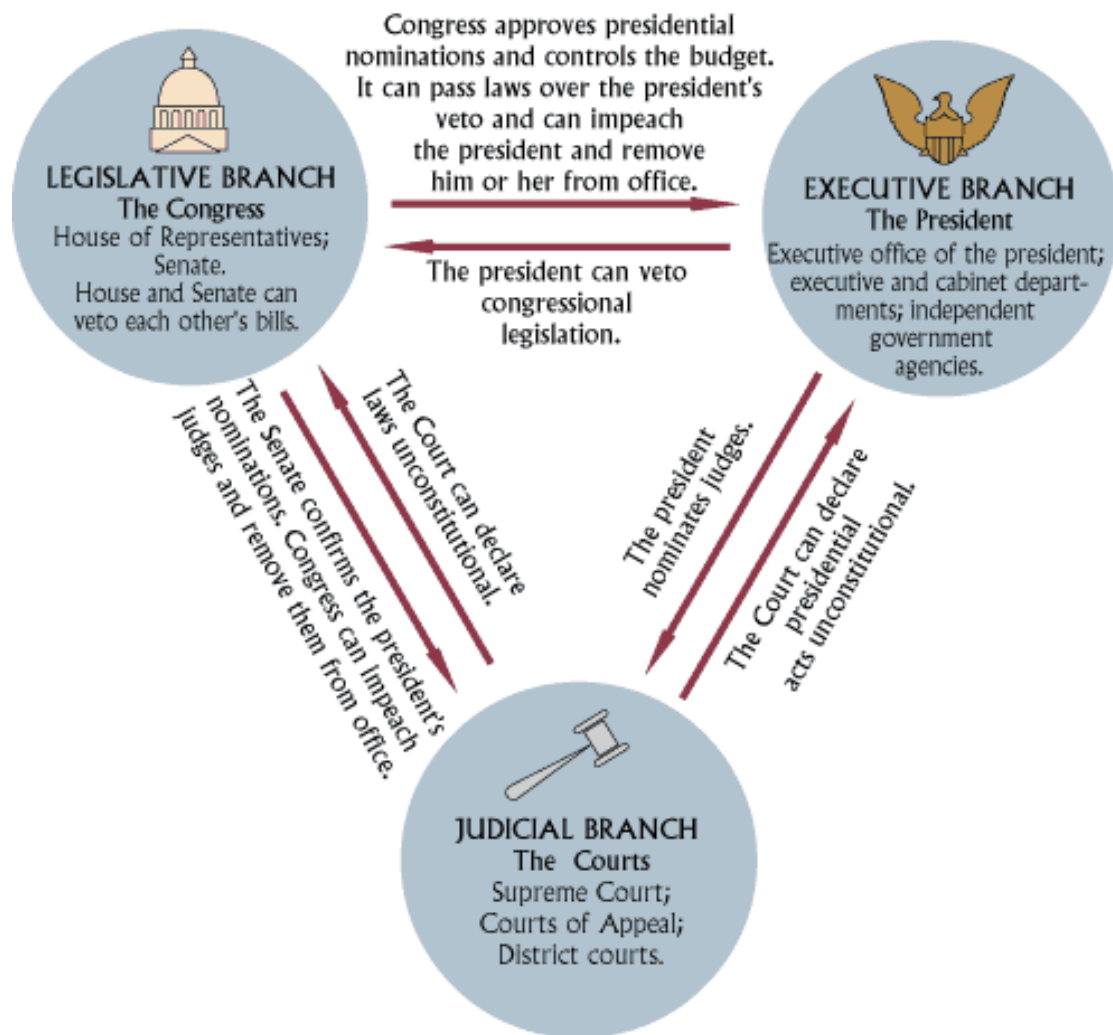
South Carolina - John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Georgia - William Few, Abraham Baldwin

Attest: William Jackson, Secretary

**QUESTIONS:**

- 1) What are the different branches of power?
- 2) How many members are there in the House? And in the Senate?
- 3) How does a bill become law?
- 4) How long is a presidential term?
- 5) What is impeachment?
- 6) How can the Constitution be amended? Give examples of amendments apart from the ones in the Bill of Rights.



## GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF SEPARATION OF POWERS AND SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES IN AMERICAN FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS

Executive Power <b>THE PRESIDENT</b> <i>Four-year term</i> <i>No more than two terms</i>		
EXECUTIVE POWERS	LEGISLATIVE POWERS	JUDICIAL POWERS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of the executive</li> <li>Commander-in-chief of armed forces</li> <li>• Makes treaties</li> <li>• Appoints and removes officers of executive branch and armed forces</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• May suggest legislation to Congress</li> <li>• May veto bills passed by Congress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appoints Supreme Court Justices and other Federal Judges.</li> </ul>

Legislative Power <b>CONGRESS</b>	
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	SENATE
<i>435 members</i> <i>(Number of Representatives for each state proportional to population)</i> <i>Elected every two years</i>	<i>100 members</i> <i>(2 Senators for each state)</i> <i>Six-year term</i> <i>One third renewed every two years</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Congress legislates  <i>(bills introduced in either House of Representatives or Senate)</i></li> <li>• Last word in matters of legislation  <i>(may override Presidential veto by two-thirds majority vote)</i></li> <li>• Controls executive action  <i>(may not vote legislation recommended by President, large powers to control budget, may impeach President)</i></li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiates fiscal legislation</li> <li>• Initiates impeachment procedure against President and civil officers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Advises and consents" to treaties and Presidential appointments</li> <li>• Acts as Court of Justice in case of impeachment</li> <li>• Ratifies treaties</li> </ul>

Judicial Power <b>THE SUPREME COURT</b> <i>One Chief Justice, eight Justices</i> <i>appointed for life by President</i> <i>(but nomination to be approved by Senate)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Established as a Court of Appeal</li> <li>• Decides on constitutionality of legislation  <i>(although authority to do so not stated in Constitution)</i></li> <li>• Decides on compatibility of state legislation with federal legislation</li> </ul>

## A list of American presidents

### Presidents of the United States

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Term</i>
1.	Washington	Federalist	1789-1797
2.	John Adams	Federalist	1797-1801
3.	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican	1801-1809
4.	James Madison	Democratic-Republican	1809-1817
5.	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	1817-1825
6.	John Quincy Adams	Democratic-Republican	1825-1829
7.	Andrew Jackson	Democrat	1829-1837
8.	Martin Van Buren	Democrat	1837-1841
9.	W. H. Harrison	Whig	1841 (died in office)
10.	John Tyler	Whig	1841-1845
11.	James Polk	Democrat	1845-1849
12.	Zachary Taylor	Whig	1849-1850 (died in office)
13.	Millard Fillmore	Whig	1850-1853
14.	Franklin Pierce	Democrat	1853-1857
15.	James Buchanan	Democrat	1857-1861
16.	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	1861-1865 (assassinated)
17.	Andrew Johnson	Union	1865-1869
18.	U. S. Grant	Republican	1869-1877
19.	Rutherford Hayes	Republican	1877-1881
20.	James Garfield	Republican	1881 (assassinated)
21.	Chester Arthur	Republican	1881-1885
22.	Grover Cleveland	Democrat	1885-1889
23.	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	1889-1893
24.	Grover Cleveland	Democrat	1893-1897
25.	William McKinley	Republican	1897-1901 (assassinated)
26.	Theodore Roosevelt	Republican	1901-1909
27.	William Taft	Republican	1909-1913
28.	Woodrow Wilson	Democrat	1913-1921
29.	Warren G. Harding	Republican	1921-1923 (died in office)
30.	Calvin Coolidge	Republican	1923-1929
31.	Herbert Hoover	Republican	1929-1933
32.	F. D. Roosevelt	Democrat	1933-1945
33.	Harry Truman	Democrat	1945-1953
34.	Dwight Eisenhower	Republican	1953-1961
35.	John F. Kennedy	Democrat	1961-1963 (assassinated)
36.	Lyndon B. Johnson	Democrat	1963-1969
37.	Richard Nixon	Republican	1969-1974 (resigned)
38.	Gerald Ford	Republican	1974-1977
39.	Jimmy Carter	Democrat	1977-1981
40.	Ronald Reagan	Republican	1981-1989
41.	George Bush	Republican	1989-1993
42.	Bill Clinton	Democrat	1993-2001
43.	George W. Bush	Republican	2001-

Source: John Chandler et Raymond Ledru. *The Civilization of the United States*  
*Manuel de civilisation américaine*. 3e ed. [Rosny-sous-Bois]: Bréal, cop. 2007, p. 72

## **Museum Honoring Constitution Set to Open**

By DAVID B. CARUSO; Associated Press Writer, June 29, 2003

PHILADELPHIA -- A new national museum honoring the Constitution will open July 4, and its curators say the timing couldn't be better for a monument to the national charter.

Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor is scheduled to join a list of politicians and celebrities at the dedication of the \$185 million National Constitution Center, whose glass-walled galleries will offer sweeping views of the Constitution's historic birthplace, Independence Hall, three blocks to the south.

The museum on Independence Mall was conceived more than a decade ago and has been under construction for three years, but opens at a time of heightened patriotism following the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, and concern that civil liberties might be compromised by the clampdown on terror.

"That is the challenge that the framers faced, the challenge of balancing liberty with security, and it is a challenge that has echoed down through the ages," said Stephen Frank, the center's director of research. "It is an opportunity for us -- the fact that these kinds of questions have risen -- and they are issues we confront."

The museum embraces 216 years of constitutional controversy.

One of Florida's infamous butterfly ballots from the 2000 presidential election will be on display. So will tickets to President Andrew Johnson's 1868 impeachment trial, and a lock pick used during the 1972 Watergate burglary.

When the museum picked 100 Americans to be featured in an exhibit called the National Family Tree, it bypassed presidents and politicians in favor of many who fell into the history lexicon by less traditional means. For example, Hustler magazine publisher Larry Flynt was included for his court battles over free speech and pornography.

There is a collection of petitions sent to Congress demanding the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage and rights for American Indians.

Several exhibits will allow guests to write their opinions on sticky notes and slap them on the wall; the cafe will have terminals where visitors can e-mail their congressmen.

"It promotes the idea that the Constitution is not so much a document that contains answers to society's problems that mysteriously reveal themselves to us, as much as it is a document that sets up a framework for Americans to solve problems themselves," said University of Pennsylvania Law School professor Kim Roosevelt.

Visitors also may walk among life-size statues of the 39 men who signed the Constitution. The statues rest on the floor, not on pedestals, and giants like James Madison and Alexander Hamilton seem surprisingly short and thin -- almost delicate. Only Washington, at 6-foot-2, towers over the common man.

"We want you to see them as real people making choices," said the center's president, Joseph Torsella.

The prize artifact of the National Constitution Center, established by Congress in 1988, is a copy of the Constitution printed Sept. 19, 1787, two days after its signing -- one of only 20 surviving copies from the first public printing.

### **QUESTIONS:**

- 1) How is the context relevant to this document?
- 2) How would you describe the relationship Americans have with their Constitution?
- 3) What are the principles Americans are particularly sensitive to?



## **The Founding Fathers Versus the Tea Party**

**Op-Ed Contributor, Published: September 23, 2010, *New York Times***

LIKE many popular insurgencies in American history, the Tea Party movement has attempted to enlist the founding fathers as fervent adherents to its cause. The very name invokes those disguised patriots who clambered aboard ships in Boston Harbor in December 1773 and dumped chests of tea into the water rather than submit to the hated tea tax. At Tea Party rallies, marchers brandish flags emblazoned with the Revolutionary slogan “Don’t Tread on Me” while George Washington impersonators and other folks in colonial garb mingle with the crowds. (...)

But any movement that regularly summons the ghosts of the founders as a like-minded group of theorists ends up promoting an uncomfortably one-sided reading of history.

The truth is that the disputatious founders — who were revolutionaries, not choir boys — seldom agreed about anything. Never has the country produced a more brilliantly argumentative, individualistic or opinionated group of politicians. Far from being a soft-spoken epoch of genteel sages, the founding period was noisy and clamorous, rife with vitriolic polemics and partisan backbiting. Instead of bequeathing to posterity a set of universally shared opinions, engraved in marble, the founders shaped a series of fiercely fought debates that reverberate down to the present day. Right along with the rest of America, the Tea Party has inherited these open-ended feuds, which are profoundly embedded in our political culture.

As a general rule, the founders favored limited government, reserving a special wariness for executive power, but they clashed sharply over those limits. (...)

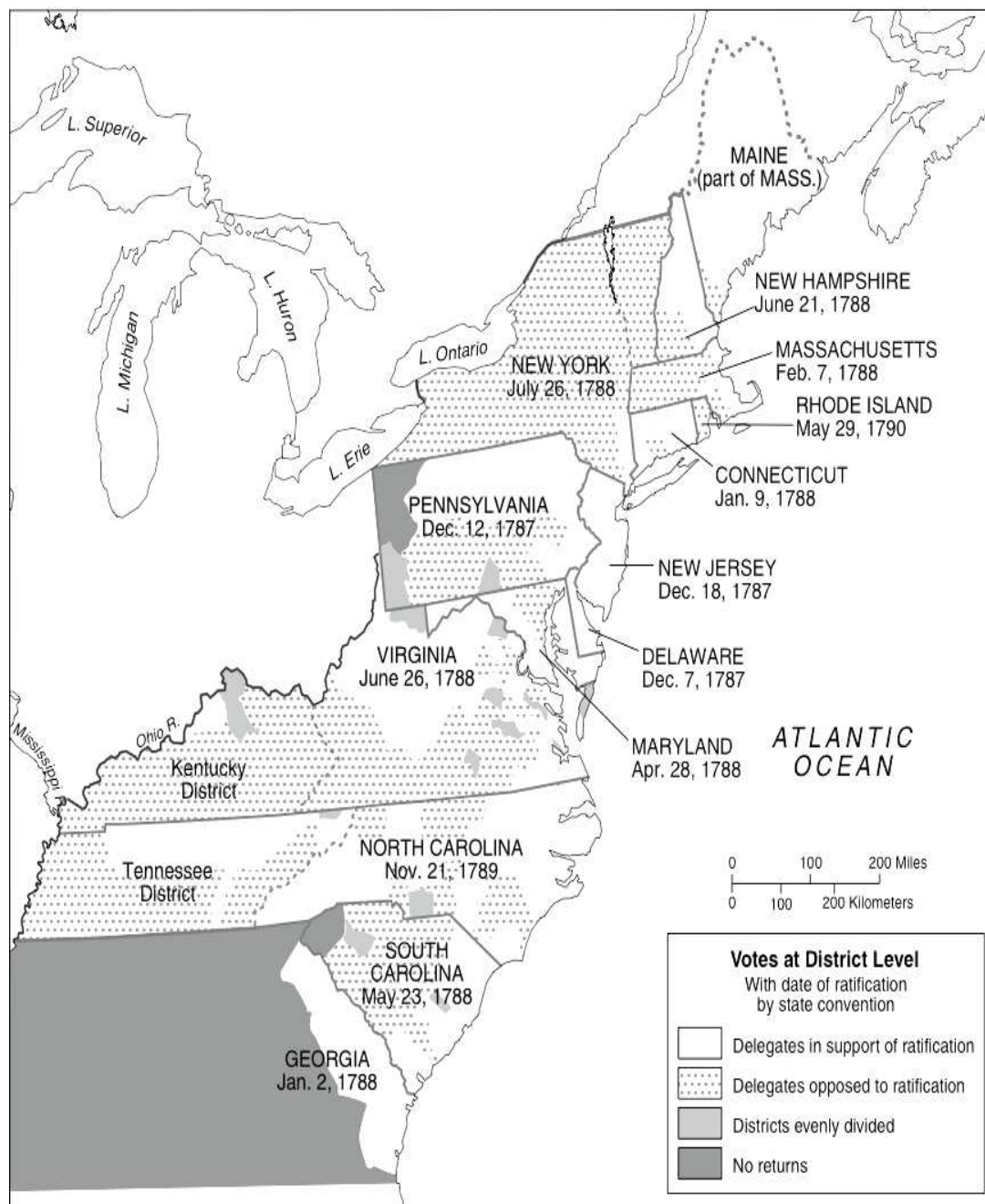
That the outstanding figures of the two main factions, Hamilton and Jefferson, both belonged to Washington’s cabinet attests to the fundamental disagreements within the country. Hamilton and his Federalist Party espoused a strong federal government, led by a powerful executive branch, and endorsed a liberal reading of the Constitution; although he resisted the label at first, Washington clearly belonged to this camp.

Jefferson and his Republicans (not related to today’s Republicans) advocated states’ rights, a weak federal government and strict construction of the Constitution. The Tea Party can claim legitimate descent from Jefferson and Madison, even though they founded what became the Democratic Party. On the other hand, Washington and Hamilton — founders of no mean stature — embraced an expansive view of the Constitution. That would scarcely sit well with Tea Party advocates, many of whom adhere to the judicial doctrine of originalism — i.e., that any interpretation of the Constitution must abide by the intent of those founders who crafted it.

Of course, had it really been the case that those who wrote the charter could best fathom its true meaning, one would have expected considerable agreement about constitutional matters among those former delegates in Philadelphia who participated in the first federal government. But Hamilton and Madison, the principal co-authors of “The Federalist,” sparred savagely over the Constitution’s provisions for years. Much in the manner of Republicans and Democrats today, Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians battled over exorbitant government debt, customs duties and excise taxes, and the federal aid to business recommended by Hamilton.

No single group should ever presume to claim special ownership of the founding fathers or the Constitution they wrought with such skill and ingenuity. Those lofty figures, along with the seminal document they brought forth, form a sacred part of our common heritage as Americans. They should be used for the richness and diversity of their arguments, not tampered with for partisan purposes. The Dutch historian Pieter Geyl once famously asserted that history was an argument without an end. Our contentious founders, who could agree on little else, would certainly have agreed on that.





## Ratification of the Constitution, 1787-1790

(Source: <http://bcs.bedfordstmartins.com/makehistory2e/MH/Home.aspx>)

## **The Bill of Rights: A Transcription**

SOURCE: [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill\\_of\\_rights\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill_of_rights_transcript.html)

### The Preamble to The Bill of Rights

Congress of the United States begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all, or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution; viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

**Note:** The following text is a transcription of the first ten amendments to the Constitution in their original form. These amendments were ratified December 15, 1791, and form what is known as the "Bill of Rights."

### Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

### Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

### Amendment III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life

or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

#### Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

#### Amendment VII

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

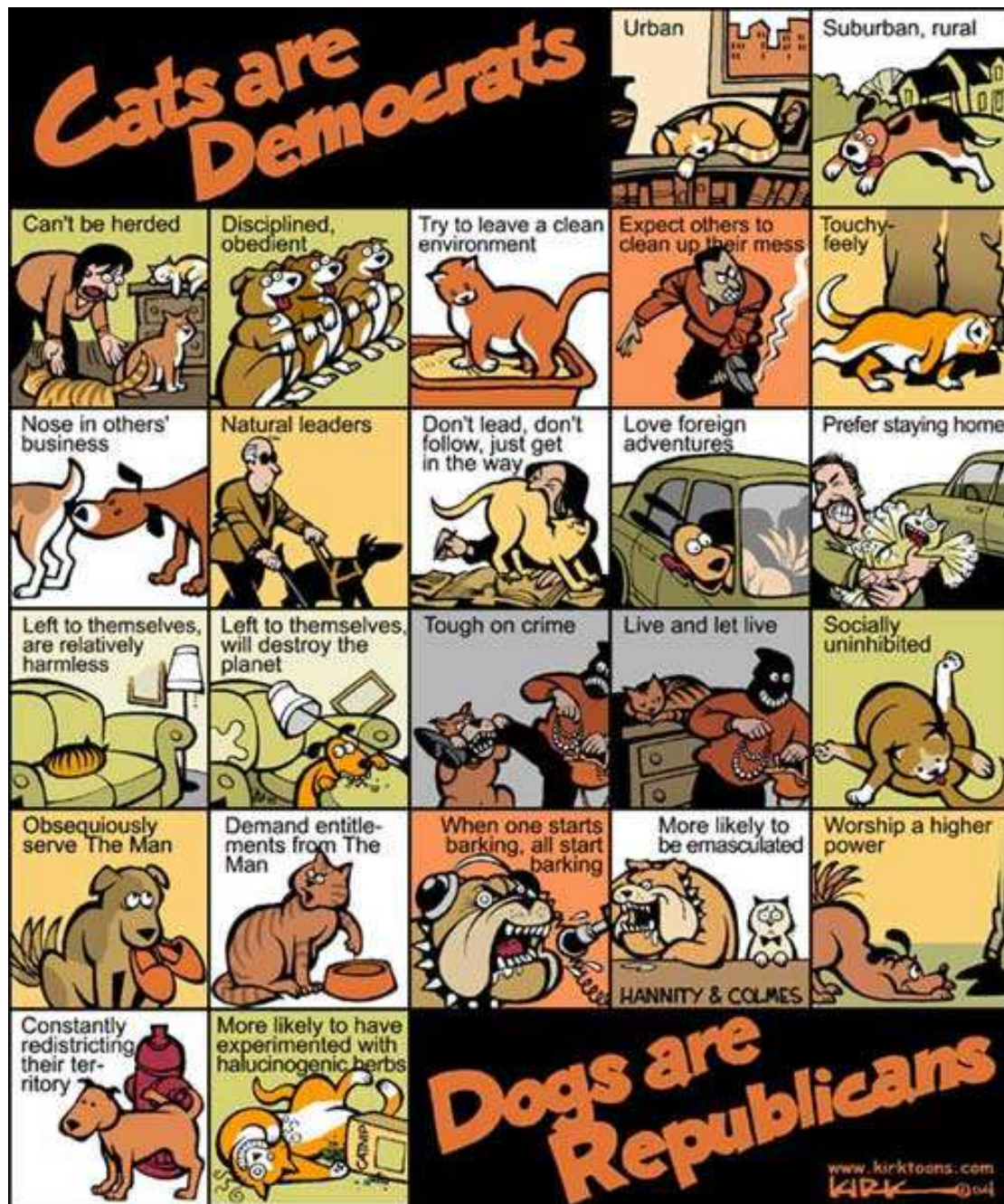
#### Amendment IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

## Cats are Democrats / Dogs are Republicans



SOURCE:

<http://www.strangecosmos.com/content/item/103262.html>



## Obama Says Republicans Are Stuck in Past (2012)

By JACKIE CALMES Published: September 2, 2012, *nytimes.com*

BOULDER, Colo. — As President Obama heads into the Democratic National Convention this week, he is seizing on the just-concluded Republican convention to ramp up his argument that Mitt Romney and his party are stuck in the policies of the past and are afraid to spell out the details of their plans.

“Despite all the challenges that we face in this new century, what they offered over those three days was an agenda that was better suited to the last century,” Mr. Obama told an estimated 13,000 people who filled a campus green on Sunday at the University of Colorado, Boulder, against a scenic backdrop of the Rocky Mountains.

“It was a rerun — it could have been on ‘Nick at Night,’ ” Mr. Obama said. Viewers might as well have watched on a black-and-white TV with rabbit-ear antennas, he joked.

And for all the Republicans’ talk of the hard choices they would make to address the country’s problems, Mr. Obama said, “When Governor Romney finally had a chance to reveal the secret sauce, he did not offer a single new idea. It was just retreads of the same old policies we’ve been hearing for decades, the same policies that have been sticking it to the middle class for years.”

The post-Republican convention attacks on Mr. Romney and his party added a new element to Mr. Obama’s usual stump speech in which he describes Mr. Romney and Congressional Republicans as backward-looking — to Bush-era fiscal policies and 20th-century positions on issues like contraception, abortion and gay rights — and unwilling to provide details on ideas like the use of vouchers for future Medicare recipients.

Mr. Romney took the day off from campaigning, spending time at his summer vacation home in Wolfeboro, N.H. There he attended church services, where another leading Mormon, J. W. Marriott, son of the founder of the Marriott Hotel chain, praised the Romneys for helping to lead the church “out of obscurity” and into the mainstream.

In Boulder, Mr. Obama criticized Republican proposals that would result in additional tax cuts for the wealthy, loosened financial and environmental regulations and an end to his health care law expanding insurance coverage and benefits for existing policyholders. And he attacked what he said were efforts to reverse clean energy and conservation measures.

Mr. Obama described his own agenda mostly as one of protecting the gains of the last four years, including on health care and increased college aid. For all of his criticism of Mr. Romney, the president faces a challenge in his own nomination acceptance speech on Thursday night to outline more specifically what his second term would look like.

The president repeated his criticism, first made in Iowa on Saturday, that Mr. Romney “had nothing to say about Afghanistan” in his convention speech.

Mr. Obama’s weekend visits to Iowa and Colorado were the second time in a week that he had campaigned in the two states. The fact that neither has many electoral votes — Colorado has nine, Iowa six — underscores just how close this presidential contest is believed to be.

And as has been the case in Mr. Obama’s earlier trips to the states, Sunday’s venue was a college campus, reflecting his need to mobilize young voters much as he did four years ago. But this time he must do so with the handicap of an economy that

50 leaves many of them without jobs or underemployed — as Mr. Romney points out routinely.

This was Mr. Obama's 13th visit to Colorado as president, his eighth this year and his second to this liberal college town. In April, he spoke here about his policies to make college more affordable, an issue he focused on again on Sunday.

55 The state's growing Latino population and continued support from women have made Colorado friendly turf for Democrats. But while Mr. Obama won handily here in 2008, the continued weak economy has made the state competitive for Republicans.

At the same time, the independent, libertarian strain among the state's conservatives poses a challenge for Mr. Romney, as was reflected by the state's delegation to the Republican convention.

60 The Denver Post reported that nearly a fourth of the delegation there was still supportive of Representative Ron Paul, a libertarian and one of Mr. Romney's vanquished rivals for the nomination.

The Colorado rally was Mr. Obama's 47th since May, when he began holding political events other than fund-raisers, according to a tally kept by Mark Knoller, a reporter for CBS News.

65 A breakdown of the swing states where the president has held the most rallies reflects the main fields of battle with Mr. Romney as the Obama campaign strategizes to reach 270 electoral votes. First on the list is Iowa, which has had 12 such rallies, and second is Ohio, Mr. Obama's next stop; his appearance on Monday in Toledo will be

70 his 11th campaign rally in that state this year.

Next is Virginia, where Mr. Obama will hold his ninth rally on Tuesday before heading to Charlotte, N.C., on Wednesday for the convention. Fourth in the number of campaign rallies is Colorado, with six; then Florida, with five; New Hampshire, three; Nevada, two; and Pennsylvania, one.

75 The Obama campaign, seeking to build on any momentum coming out of this week's convention, announced on Sunday that upon leaving Charlotte, Mr. Obama and his wife, Michelle, will travel on Friday with Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his wife, Jill, to New Hampshire and Iowa. Over the weekend, Mr. Obama will campaign in Florida and Mr. Biden in Ohio.

80 As tickets are distributed for each event, local Obama campaign organizers and volunteers collect information on attendees and see that those who are not registered to vote — like students from other states — complete the process. When early voting periods begin, organizers will contact those voters again to get their votes locked up before Nov. 6.

85 After his event in Toledo on Monday, Mr. Obama will take a rare break from the campaign trail and fly to Louisiana, a solidly Republican state, to inspect the damage from Hurricane Isaac.

## How big government should be stirs debate

by Susan Page, USA TODAY, Updated 10/11/2010

[http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2010-10-11-1Abiggovernment11\\_CV\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2010-10-11-1Abiggovernment11_CV_N.htm)

5

### How much trust or confidence do you have in...

(Percentage who answered a great deal or fair amount)

- Your local government: 70%
- The American people as a whole: 69%
- 10 • Your state government: 52%
- The federal judicial branch headed by the Supreme Court: 66%
- The federal executive branch headed by the president: 49%
- Men and women in political life: 47%
- The mass media: 43%
- 15 • The federal legislative branch, the House and Senate: 36%

Source: Gallup Poll of 1,019 adults taken Sept. 13-16. Margin of error +/-4 percentage points.

20 Three weeks before Election Day, USA TODAY and Gallup are trying to understand the underlying attitudes driving this debate with a national survey and an analysis that charts five distinct groups of public opinion. They range from the 22% of Americans at one end who want government out of their lives — among them many Tea Party supporters — to the 20% at the other end who endorse an expansive government that protects its citizens from life's travails.

25 No political issue is more fundamental, and no other question divides the electorate more sharply along partisan lines.

A USA TODAY/Gallup conference in Washington, D.C., on Wednesday will bring together think-tank analysts, government officials and others to discuss the survey's findings and its implications for public policy.

30 Rhonda Bryner, 44, of Newark, Ohio, is a small-business owner whose views put her in the midpoint of the USA TODAY analysis. "They've overstepped their authority," she says of the government. "For sure they've forgotten about the Constitution and what our forefathers set up."

35 Like Bryner, 58%% of those surveyed say the government is doing too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. That's the highest percentage who say the government is doing too much in more than a decade.

Thirty-six percent say the government should do more to solve the country's problems.

40 The analysis reveals a complicated landscape of beliefs: Most Americans endorse government activism on a range of issues — not only national defense but also the environment, civil rights and consumer protection — but doubt the competence of government to deliver results effectively and efficiently.

Brian Pyle, 45, a truck driver and Teamsters member from Battle Creek, Mich., who was among those called in the poll, struggles to describe where he stands.

45 "It's too big, the federal government, and too involved in regulation as far as businesses are concerned, because that tends to stifle economic growth," he begins. "But it's kind of a Catch-22 situation, in my mind. I think unregulated business to some degree can be a bad thing, too. That's what got us into this recession in the first place.

"If I had the answer," he says, "I'd be on Capitol Hill."

There are warning flags for Republicans and Democrats when Americans consider the subject:

- 50 • The government-is-the-problem mantra of conservatives draws only about one in five voters. There is a broad consensus that the government ought to build transportation

systems, protect consumers from unsafe products, preserve the environment and combat discrimination.

55 Nearly six in 10 say the government should make sure all Americans have adequate health care, despite qualms about the health care overhaul President Obama signed this year.

60 "They aren't doing enough for the right people, for the poor," says Yvette Chappell, 47, a mother of three from Hawthorne, Calif., who falls in the bigger-is-better category of views toward government. She wants more public help for the homeless in her community, especially families with children.

• The government-is-the-solution message of liberals also draws only about one in five voters. Half of those surveyed say there's too much government regulation of business, a new high. Three in four say business can do things more efficiently than the government. Six in 10 even disagree with the notion that the government generally does things in a way that is fairer than business, a traditional reason for government activism.

### 65 **Looking for what works**

70 "I basically think Americans as a whole are pragmatic," says Norman Ornstein, a political analyst with the American Enterprise Institute and co-author of *The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track*. "What they're looking for, is what works."

"It's not black and white," says Frank Newport, editor-in-chief of the Gallup Poll. He sees a "branding problem" for the federal government, likening it to a cable company that consumers see as essential but hate for inept repairmen and fuzzy reception.

75 There's no question that there has been a backlash to steps the government took in 2008 and 2009 in the face of a possible financial meltdown — from the Wall Street bailout signed by President George W. Bush to the stimulus package and auto-rescue plan signed by Obama. Some voters fear billions of taxpayer dollars have been spent to little effect while their families still deal with hard times.

80 "This spending like a madman was just incredible to me," says Trace Oliver, 53, of Eagle, Idaho, a conservative who counts himself as a Tea Party sympathizer. His earnings as a salesman of high-end RVs has dropped by half since the recession hit. "We're Americans. We like the great country we live in but, damn it, you're giving it away."

85 He blames both parties for the nation's missteps but is counting on a resurgent GOP to turn things around. "We need to throw out the House and Senate," he says, replacing incumbents with "real people that want to quit being foolish and do the right thing."

Actually, neither party is now held in particularly high regard. A majority of Americans have expressed an unfavorable opinion of Republicans and Democrats throughout 2010, the first time that dyspeptic perspective has prevailed for such an extended period of time since Gallup began asking the question almost two decades ago.

90 On the other hand, for the first time in five years Republicans are on an equal footing with Democrats when it comes to which party would do a better job of handling the most important issue facing the nation. For the first time in 16 years, Republicans are favored over Democrats as the party better able to keep the country prosperous.

95 Confidence in state government is higher than that in the federal government, and trust in local governments higher still.

Some good news: Seven in 10 say they have a great deal or a fair amount of trust and confidence in the American people as a whole when it comes to making judgments about the issues facing our country.

100 And some bad: That's the lowest level of faith in ourselves since Gallup began asking the question more than three decades ago.

### **A deficit of trust**



"Americans historically have been skeptical of government and of concentrations of power generally ... but there are two other more recent factors at work," says William Galston of the Brookings Institution, a White House adviser to President Clinton and co-author of *Democracy At Risk*. "Trust in government is at a very low ebb ... and the perception that spending is out of control and is not achieving its intended purposes is the central feature of the political landscape right now. It absolutely trumps everything else." "It's expanding too fast, and it's too large — the health care bill for one," Robert Durden, 68, a retired elementary-school principal from San Antonio, says of the government. "We are quickly moving into becoming a socialist state, and that's something I definitely do not want to see happen."

A USA TODAY analysis of polling data used responses on five key questions about the government to divide Americans into five groups with distinct points of view.

The groups in a nutshell:

- 115 • **Keep it small:** This cohesive group wants government to stay away from regulating the free market or morality. They trust private enterprise over public institutions and overwhelmingly oppose Obama and the Democratic Party. Many support the Tea Party movement.

They are the wealthiest, the most conservative and the most predominantly white and male of any of the groups.

- 120 • **Morality first:** This group also is decidedly Republican, and they don't endorse a large federal role in addressing income disparities. But they are solidly in favor of the federal government acting to uphold moral standards and promote traditional values.

A Republican governing coalition that includes both the first and second groups could risk fracture when the issues turned from a more limited government on the economic front to questions such as whether to oppose same-sex marriage or restrict abortion.

- 125 • **The mushy middle:** This pragmatic group avoids the extremes. Those in this category split more evenly on attitudes toward the GOP, the Democratic Party and Obama than others.

130 Ninety-five percent of them end up somewhere in the middle when asked to place themselves on a five-point scale on the proper role of government — "1" meaning the government should provide only the most basic functions and "5" meaning the government should take active steps in every area it could.

- 135 • **Obama liberals:** This group wants the government to take a big role in addressing economic disparities but a small one in upholding moral standards. It is the most suspicious of business: Six in 10 say business will harm society unless regulated by the government.

They are the youngest group and the group with the highest percentage of liberals, Democrats and Obama supporters.

- 140 • **The bigger the better:** The members of this group are the most likely of any to trust government and to endorse its involvement in areas from upholding morality to addressing income inequality.

This group is the most racially and ethnically diverse of any — 45% of its members are Hispanic, African-American or another racial minority — and has the lowest income levels.

145 In their ranks, nine in 10 think the government should take a major role in ensuring adequate health care and a minimum standard of living for all Americans.

The philosophical debate over what the government should do may soon be joined by a practical debate over what the government can afford to do. A report is due Dec. 1 from a

150 bipartisan commission charged with addressing the deficit, including the costs of Social

Security and Medicare. The costs of those benefit programs are expected to explode as the huge Baby Boomer generation retires.

Most of those surveyed acknowledge a disconnect: 56% say most Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay for with taxes.

155 More than three of four also see a day of reckoning approaching. They predict that the costs of entitlement programs will create major economic problems for the United States in the next 25 years if no changes are made.

Recognizing the issue isn't the same as reconciling it, however. Raise taxes to address it? Fifty-six percent say no. Cut benefits instead? Sixty-six percent say no. Just 12% say both steps should be taken.

160 A showdown on the size and role of government may come next year when the federal budget is debated between the Obama White House and a Congress that is likely to include new members elected on a promise to reduce the government's reach.

165 "We are almost certainly heading to a real and tough confrontation ... which will result in a shutdown of the government," Ornstein predicts.

That could draw the issue of what sort of government Americans want into very sharp focus, he says.

The crisis of confidence may not end anytime soon.

## The Anti-Arizonans

Editorial, nytimes.com, Published: March 4, 2011

Washington's inaction on immigration reform has left the states feeling abandoned and wondering what to do. When the frustration boils over, as it has most scarily in Arizona, Republicans have been pushing what amounts to vigilantism — states taking on federal enforcement, shouldering aside civil rights and the Constitution and spending whatever it takes to get rid of illegal immigrants. It's a seductively simple vision, and lawmakers across the country are grasping at it, pushing Arizona-style copycat laws.

Thank goodness for the pushback. In dozens of states considering such crackdowns — including Nebraska, Indiana, Oklahoma, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas — elected officials, law enforcers, business owners, religious leaders and regular citizens are providing the calm voices and cool judgment that are lacking in the shimmering heat of Phoenix.

They are reminding their representatives that replacing federal immigration policy with a crazy quilt of state-led enforcement schemes is only a recipe for more lawlessness and social disruption, for expensive lawsuits and busted budgets, lost jobs and boycotts. And all without fixing the problem.

This isn't just an immigrants' cause. Business owners in places like Kansas and Texas, the attorney general in Indiana, Catholic and Protestant bishops in Mississippi — these and hundreds of other community leaders have been sending a contrary message.

The businesses say bills to force employers to check workers' legal status are redundant, costly and anticompetitive. The clergy members have denounced bills to criminalize acts of charity, like driving an undocumented immigrant to church or the doctor. Lawyers have said new layers of enforcement paperwork would heavily burden legitimate business and overwhelm state bureaucracies.

Police chiefs and sheriffs are leading the skeptical resistance to the bills, which frequently involve having local police checking the immigration status of people they stop. A report released on Thursday by a national police research group looked at cities where police officials had been drawn into heated immigration debates. Its conclusions: federal enforcement is no job for local officers, who should be forbidden to arrest or detain people solely because of their immigration status.

The reasons: it costs too much, prompts false-arrest lawsuits and frightens law-abiding immigrants. "I have a responsibility to provide service to the entire community — no matter how they got here," said Chief Charlie Deane of the Prince William County Police Department in Virginia. "It is in the best interest of our community to trust the police."

The chiefs of Nebraska's two largest police departments — in Lincoln and Omaha — recently told the State Legislature basically the same thing.

A peculiar mix of nativism and immigration panic has pushed the immigration debate far out into the desert of extremism. It's going to take a serious effort by saner voices to ensure that what happens in Arizona stays there.

## **Texas schools to get controversial syllabus**

Saturday, 22 May 2010, news.bbc.co.uk

### **Education officials in the US state of Texas have adopted new guidelines to the school curriculum, which critics say will politicise teaching.**

5 The changes include teaching that the UN could be a threat to American freedom, and that the Founding Fathers may not have intended a complete separation of church and state. Critics say the changes are ideological and distort history. However, proponents argue they are redressing a liberal bias in education. Analysts say Texas, with five  
10 million schoolchildren, wields substantial influence on school curriculums across the US. The BBC's Rajesh Mirchandani in Los Angeles says publishers of textbooks used nationally often print what Texas wants to teach.

#### **Jefferson out**

15 Students in Texas will now be taught the benefits of US free-market economics and how government taxation can harm economic progress. They will study how American ideals benefit the world but organisations such as the UN could be a threat to personal freedom.

And Thomas Jefferson has been dropped from a list of enlightenment thinkers in the world-history curriculum, despite being one of the Founding Fathers who is credited  
20 with developing the idea that church and state should be separate.

The doctrine has become a cornerstone of US government, but some religious groups and some members of the Texas Education Board disagree, our correspondent says.

The board, which is dominated by Christian conservatives, voted nine-to-five in favour of adopting the new curriculum for both primary and secondary schools.

25 But during the discussions some of the most controversial ideas were dropped - including a proposal to refer to the slave trade as the "Atlantic triangular trade".

Opponents of the changes worry that textbooks sold in other states will be written to comply with the new Texas standards, meaning that the alterations could have an impact on curriculums nationwide.

## Tea-ing Up the Constitution

By ADAM LIPTAK

Published: March 13, 2010, *New York Times*

WASHINGTON — Brash and young though it is, the Tea Party movement has already added something distinctive to contemporary political discourse. It has made the Constitution central to the national conversation.

The content of the movement's understanding of the Constitution is not always easy to nail down, and it is almost always arguable. But it certainly includes particular attention to the Constitution's constraints on federal power (as reflected in the limited list of powers granted to Congress in Article I and reserved to the states and the people the 10th Amendment) and on government power generally (the Second Amendment's protection of gun rights, the Fifth Amendment's limits on the government's taking of private property).

Not a few constitutional scholars say that it is possible to quarrel with the particulars while welcoming the discussion. And not just because it is nice to know that people read and care about the nation's sacred text. The larger point, these scholars say, is that the Supreme Court should have no more monopoly on the meaning of the Constitution than the pope has on the meaning of the Bible.

"It really is open to interpretation by anybody, in what I sometimes call the lawyerhood of all citizens," said Sanford Levinson, a law professor at the University of Texas. "Anybody in a bar can get into a shouting argument over what equal protection means, or the right to free speech."

Those arguments can and should have consequences, according to scholars who endorse what they call "popular constitutionalism." "Basically, it's the idea that final authority to control the interpretation and implementation of constitutional law resides at all times in the community in an active sense," Larry D. Kramer, the dean of Stanford Law School, wrote in *The Valparaiso University Law Review* in 2006.

Popular movements have often appealed to the Constitution in making their cases, and from time to time their views have altered the conventional understanding of the meaning of the constitutional text. Abolitionists and secessionists both invoked the Constitution before the Civil War; a century later, civil rights leaders appealed to principles of equal protection, and their opponents to states' rights. Supporters and opponents of the New Deal pointed, respectively, to the reach of the Constitution's commerce clause or to the Constitution's protection of private contracts.

The Supreme Court's 2008 ruling that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to own guns, as opposed to one tied to militias, is another example of a transformation of a conventional understanding, Professor Levinson said, this one based on a view of the Constitution pressed by the National Rifle Association and its politically engaged supporters.

But the best example of the force of a shifting popular understanding of the Constitution can probably be found in the arguments for and against President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's efforts to expand federal power in reaction to the Great Depression.

"What determined the New Deal shift was a dramatic change in the popular understanding of the constitutional role of the federal government," said Barry Friedman, a law professor at New York University and the author of "The Will of the People: How Public Opinion Has Influenced the Supreme Court and Shaped the Meaning of the Constitution"

50 A government lawyer of that era, Charles Wyzanski Jr., demurred when offered congratulations on a big Supreme Court victory. “It was not really Mr. Wyzanski who won,” he said, “but Mr. Zeitgeist.”

Judging by the rhetoric at many political rallies these days, the spirit of the current moment may be heading in the opposite direction on the question of federal power.

55 “The Tea Party movement is interesting in that there is a combination of localism, nativism and populism that we’ve seen at various points in America,” said Nathaniel Persily, a law professor at Columbia and an editor of “Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy.” “It’s coalescing at a time when the government is growing to an unprecedented size.”

60 It is, of course, hard to say anything definitive about the Tea Party movement, a loose confederation of groups with no central leadership. But if there is a central theme to its understanding of the Constitution, it is that the nation’s founders knew what they were doing and that their work must be protected. “I think it’s some loose, ill-informed version of originalism, but it’s plausible,” said Professor Kramer, the author of “The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review.”

65 “Originalism” has many flavors and levels of specificity, but in essence it says the constitutional text should be applied as it was understood at the time it was adopted. Surveys conducted by Quinnipiac University indicate that some 40 percent of Americans say the Supreme Court should employ originalism in interpreting the Constitution; slightly more say the court should take account of changing conditions.

70 “You might think that questions about constitutional theory are an elite-driven idea,” Professor Persily said, “but people have opinions about this.”

A new study from Professor Persily and two colleagues, Jamal Greene and Stephen Ansolabehere, explored the political and cultural values of those who identified themselves as originalists. Such people “appear more likely than non-originalists to be

75 white, male, older, less educated, Southern and religious,” the study found. “They are less likely to favor abortion rights, affirmative action and marriage rights for same-sex couples, and more likely to favor torture and military detention of terrorism suspects and the death penalty. They are more likely to express morally traditionalist, hierarchical and libertarian cultural values.”

80 The mechanisms for translating such popular understanding into actual constitutional law are varied. Over time, the Supreme Court’s personnel shifts with new appointments, and so may its thinking. Public opinion, many scholars say, cannot help but affect which cases the court accepts and how it decides them.

The other two branches of government have independent constitutional

85 responsibilities and are built to respond to the popular will. And some court decisions are simply circumvented given a strongly held popular view of what the Constitution allows or requires. One example, legal scholars said, is school prayer.

Some liberals say there is a lesson to be learned from conservative engagement with constitutional interpretation.

90 “There is an imbalance between the left and right in the claims we are making on the Constitution,” said Doug Kendall, president of the Constitutional Accountability Center, a law firm and advocacy group that says it is “dedicated to fulfilling the progressive promise of our Constitution’s text and history.”

“Progressives do need a more simple and compelling constitutional narrative,” Mr.

95 Kendall said, “to answer the right’s constitutional narrative.”

## Retired N.J. abortion doctor speaks up, again

Sunday, September 2, 2012 Last updated: Sunday September 2, 2012, 9:15 AM

BY STEPHANIE AKIN *The Record* (New Jersey)

As a doctor providing illegal abortions in the 1960s, Robert Livingston was once so fearless that he performed hundreds of procedures in an office that overlooked the Englewood Cliffs police station. He even held a press conference in 1972 to out himself as an illegal abortion doctor because he so believed in a woman's right to choose, an action that earned him an indictment.

Robert Livingston made the front page of *The Record* twice in August 1972 when he and another doctor were indicted. Now, 40 years later, times have changed.

Livingston, once a lightning rod in the North Jersey abortion debate, now avoids telling anyone about his role in that chapter of American history, even though he strongly maintains his belief that abortions ought to be legal. The issue, he says, has become so emotionally charged that he no longer feels comfortable talking about it — not to the colleagues of his grown children and not to the residents of what he described as a conservative retirement community where he now lives.

"I would be afraid," he said, adding that he believes the stigma of being an abortion doctor is greater than it was in the 1960s, when it was illegal to perform the procedure. "The atmosphere is so ominous now. I wouldn't know where to begin."

Still, Livingston said he has become preoccupied with the issue in recent weeks, as Missouri Senate candidate Todd Akin's "legitimate rape" comment captured headlines and intensified the national debate over abortion and women's rights.

Livingston, 77, and a resident of Florida, said the controversy had left him "bursting to talk."

Akin's comments, incorrectly suggesting that women could stop themselves from becoming pregnant during a rape, were lambasted by Republicans and Democrats.

The Republican candidates for the White House have failed to come to an agreement. Mitt Romney has notably departed from the party line (and from his vice presidential running mate Paul Ryan) to say he is in favor of abortions in cases of rape, incest or potential threat to the mother's life or health.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, is expected to adopt a platform similar to the one in 2008, which said the party would "strongly and unequivocally" defend *Roe v. Wade* and would oppose any effort to weaken or undermine the availability of abortions.

The frequency of abortions has dropped to its lowest point since 1974, according to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. That could be attributed to several factors, including court rulings following *Roe v. Wade* that have given states more power to regulate access to abortions. For instance, many states now require a waiting period or counseling before a doctor can perform an abortion. There is also greater acceptance of and easier access to birth control.

For his part, Livingston said public opposition is stronger than he has ever seen it. And that includes his experience in the 1970s, when protesters gathered daily outside his office.

Carol Lavis, the former interim chairwoman of Bergen County Right to Life, said Livingston galvanized her movement.

"He definitely was the radical figure in the area," she said. "When he started talking up, pro-lifers said, 'Oh, boy, we've got to get our act together.'"

### Morality not an issue

Livingston said he never questioned the morality of the procedure and sympathized with the women he considered powerless before the law. Medically, he said he

considered the amount of tissue extracted during an early-term abortion to be equivalent to a scab.

His views were reinforced when, as a medical student, he watched a 19-year-old patient slowly die from kidney failure after her cervix was injected with Lysol during a botched procedure.

Still, when he got his first request to do an illegal abortion — three months after he started his own obstetrics practice in an Englewood Cliffs office building — he mulled over the idea for several days, he said.

The patient, a longtime employee of an acquaintance, was 40 years old, unmarried and had a uterine cyst the size of a baseball. The stakes for her were high. A completed pregnancy would mean physical discomfort and a potential scandal. But it was far from a life-or-death decision, and as such, Livingston said, the case was typical.

Livingston knew what to do because he had interned at one of the few New York hospitals that would perform abortions for women who could prove the pregnancy posed mortal danger. New York was one of 13 states that permitted abortion in cases in which a woman's health was at risk, in cases of rape or incest or when the fetus suffered from a severe defect.

The equipment he would need — curettes, dilators, a suction machine — cost a few hundred dollars and was easy to get at surgical supply stores in Manhattan.

His biggest concern was getting caught, he said. It would cost him his license. But the risk seemed, “infinitesimally small,” he said.

He told the woman to come to his office, on the second floor of an Englewood Cliffs office building, after his staff had left for the evening.

“Once I got started, I don't really remember how the second, or the third or the 500th came to me,” he said. “I just don't know, but the word gets around.”

#### **'It needed to be done'**

Livingston said he never thought of himself as a radical. “Those years, I didn't think I was anyone special,” he said. “It needed to be done. The patients were so grateful. And it was so easy.”

Livingston performed about three procedures a week, receiving referrals from the clergy and activists in New York and, later, from hospitals in Newark.

The after-hours traffic in his parking lot was camouflaged by the busy Bicycle Club restaurant next door. He charged \$400 for the procedure — a fourth of what he heard other doctors charged — partly in reaction to stories of patients who were victimized by their doctors, but also for selfish reasons. He worried that, if he gave a patient a reason to complain, she might report him. No one ever did.

Instead, the laws started to change. In 1970, New York State joined Alaska, Hawaii and Washington in allowing a woman to receive an abortion whenever she and her doctor decided it was needed.

Livingston moved his clinic to a converted jewelry store and hardware store across the border in Sparkill, N.Y., 10 miles from his Englewood Cliffs office.

Two years later, a federal judge in Newark issued an opinion that New Jersey's 123-year-old law against abortions was unconstitutional, using the same grounds as the U.S. Supreme Court would later use in *Roe v. Wade*.

When Livingston was approached by a lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union with the idea of holding a press conference, he figured he would be protected by the courts, he said.

“It wasn't out of sheer bravery that I announced it,” he said.



100 Livingston was indicted in August 1972 along with another doctor, Bernard Greenspan of Paterson. But the charges were dropped six months later, after the January 1973 Roe v. Wade decision overturned all state laws prohibiting abortion and limited state regulation to the period late in a pregnancy when a fetus can survive outside the womb.

105 Livingston opened a clinic in Englewood, Metropolitan Medical Associates, which he operated along with an obstetrics practice and a fertility clinic until he moved to Florida in 1980. Metropolitan Medical still operates under different ownership.

**Persistent protesters**

110 Lavis claims credit for the first protest at Livingston's clinic, a gathering of about 100 people the Saturday before Mother's Day in 1973.

"At the end of it I said, 'Thank you all for coming,' and they said, 'We'll be back next Saturday. They have been there every Saturday since ... to us it's a beautiful thing.'"

Livingston drove past the activists almost every morning, but he said he rarely felt intimidated.

115 "The fact that they were always out there wasn't a problem unless a nurse said they were blocking the front door," he said. "Then we would call the police to keep them peaceful."

He filed restraining orders to keep protesters from approaching patients and restricting them to an area across the street. Once, a protester accused of stealing a piece of art from the lobby sued for wrongful arrest, but the municipal judge dismissed the case.

120 Livingston faced similar opposition when he moved his practice to Florida, where he said he was picketed almost every day until the end of his career. His third wife was even invited to protest his "aboratorium" through her Catholic church.

These days he strives to keep a low profile.

125 Livingston's license has been suspended since 2007 when he tried to return to his practice without completing a treatment and evaluation program, in violation of a contract he had made with the Board of Medicine, according to Florida Department of Health documents.

130 He had agreed to complete the program after he overdosed on opiates he was taking for chronic pain, the documents show.

He has spoken with only one of the 300 residents of his retirement community about the more controversial aspects of his career. He toyed with the idea of writing an autobiography, but when he gathered his three grown children to pitch the idea, they balked.

135 They worried it would ruin their medical practices — they are all doctors — or cause strife with spouses who don't share Livingston's views.

"I'm bursting to talk about my experience with abortion over all these years," he said.

**H.R.539 -- We the People Act (Introduced in House - IH)**

111th CONGRESS

1st Session

**H. R. 539**

5 To limit the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, and for other purposes.

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

January 14, 2009

Mr. PAUL (for himself, Mr. JONES, and Mr. POE of Texas) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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**A BILL**

To limit the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

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**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as 'We the People Act'.

**SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

The Congress finds the following:

20

(1) Article III, section 1 of the Constitution of the United States vests the judicial power of the United States in 'one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish'.

(2) Article I, section 8 and article 3, section 1 of the Constitution of the United States give Congress the power to establish and limit the jurisdiction of the lower Federal courts.

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(3) Article III, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States gives Congress the power to make 'such exceptions, and under such regulations' as Congress finds necessary to Supreme Court jurisdiction.

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(4) Congress has the authority to make exceptions to Supreme Court jurisdiction in the form of general rules and based upon policy and constitutional reasons other than the outcomes of a particular line of cases. (See Federalist No. 81; *United States v. Klein*, 80 U.S. (13 Wall.) 128 (1872)).

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(5) Congress has constitutional authority to set broad limits on the jurisdiction of both the Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts in order to correct abuses of judicial power and continuing violations of the Constitution of the United States by Federal courts.

(6) Article IV, section 4 of the Constitution of the United States guarantees each State a republican form of government.

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(7) Supreme Court and lower Federal court decisions striking down local laws on subjects such as religious liberty, sexual orientation, family relations, education, and abortion have wrested from State and local governments issues reserved to the States and the People by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

45

(8) The Supreme Court and lower Federal courts threaten the republican government of the individual States by replacing elected government with rule by unelected judges.

(9) Even supporters of liberalized abortion laws have admitted that the Supreme Court's decisions overturning the abortion laws of all 50 States are constitutionally flawed (e.g. Ely, 'The Wages of Crying Wolf: A Comment on *Roe v. Wade*' 82 Yale L.J. 920 (1973)).

50 (10) Several members of the Supreme Court have admitted that the Court's  
Establishment Clause jurisdiction is indefensible (e.g. *Zelamn v. Simmons-Harris*,  
536 U.S. 639, 688 (2002) (Souter, J., dissenting); *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors*  
of the Univ. of Va., 515 U.S. 819, 861 (1995) (Thomas, J., concurring); *Lamb's*  
55 *Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free Sch. Dist.*, 508 U.S. 384, 399, (1993) (Scalia,  
J., concurring); and *Committee for Public Ed. And Religious Liberty v. Regan*, 444  
U.S. 646, 671 (1980) (Stevens, J., dissenting)).

(11) Congress has the responsibility to protect the republican governments of  
the States and has the power to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the  
lower Federal courts over matters that are reserved to the States and to the People by  
60 the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

### SEC. 3. LIMITATION ON JURISDICTION.

The Supreme Court of the United States and each Federal court--

(1) shall not adjudicate--

65 (A) any claim involving the laws, regulations, or policies of any State or unit of local  
government relating to the free exercise or establishment of religion;  
(B) any claim based upon the right of privacy, including any such claim related to any  
issue of sexual practices, orientation, or reproduction; or  
(C) any claim based upon equal protection of the laws to the extent such claim is  
based upon the right to marry without regard to sex or sexual orientation; and

70 (2) shall not rely on any judicial decision involving any issue referred to in  
paragraph (1).

### SEC. 4. REGULATION OF APPELLATE JURISDICTION.

The Supreme Court of the United States and all other Federal courts--

75 (1) are not prevented from determining the constitutionality of any Federal  
statute or administrative rule or procedure in considering any case arising under the  
Constitution of the United States; and

(2) shall not issue any order, final judgment, or other ruling that appropriates  
or expends money, imposes taxes, or otherwise interferes with the legislative  
functions or administrative discretion of the several States and their subdivisions.

### 80 SEC. 5. JURISDICTIONAL CHALLENGES.

Any party or intervener in any matter before any Federal court, including the Supreme  
Court, may challenge the jurisdiction of the court under section 3 or 4 during any  
proceeding or appeal relating to that matter.

### SEC. 6. MATERIAL BREACHES OF GOOD BEHAVIOR AND REMEDY.

85 A violation by a justice or a judge of any of the provisions of section 3 or 4 shall be an  
impeachable offense, and a material breach of good behavior subject to removal by  
the President of the United States according to rules and procedures established by the  
Congress.

### 90 SEC. 7. CASES DECIDED UNDER ISSUES REMOVED FROM FEDERAL JURISDICTION NO LONGER BINDING PRECEDENT.

Any decision of a Federal court, to the extent that the decision relates to an issue  
removed from Federal jurisdiction under section 3, is not binding precedent on any  
State court.