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ABSTRACT

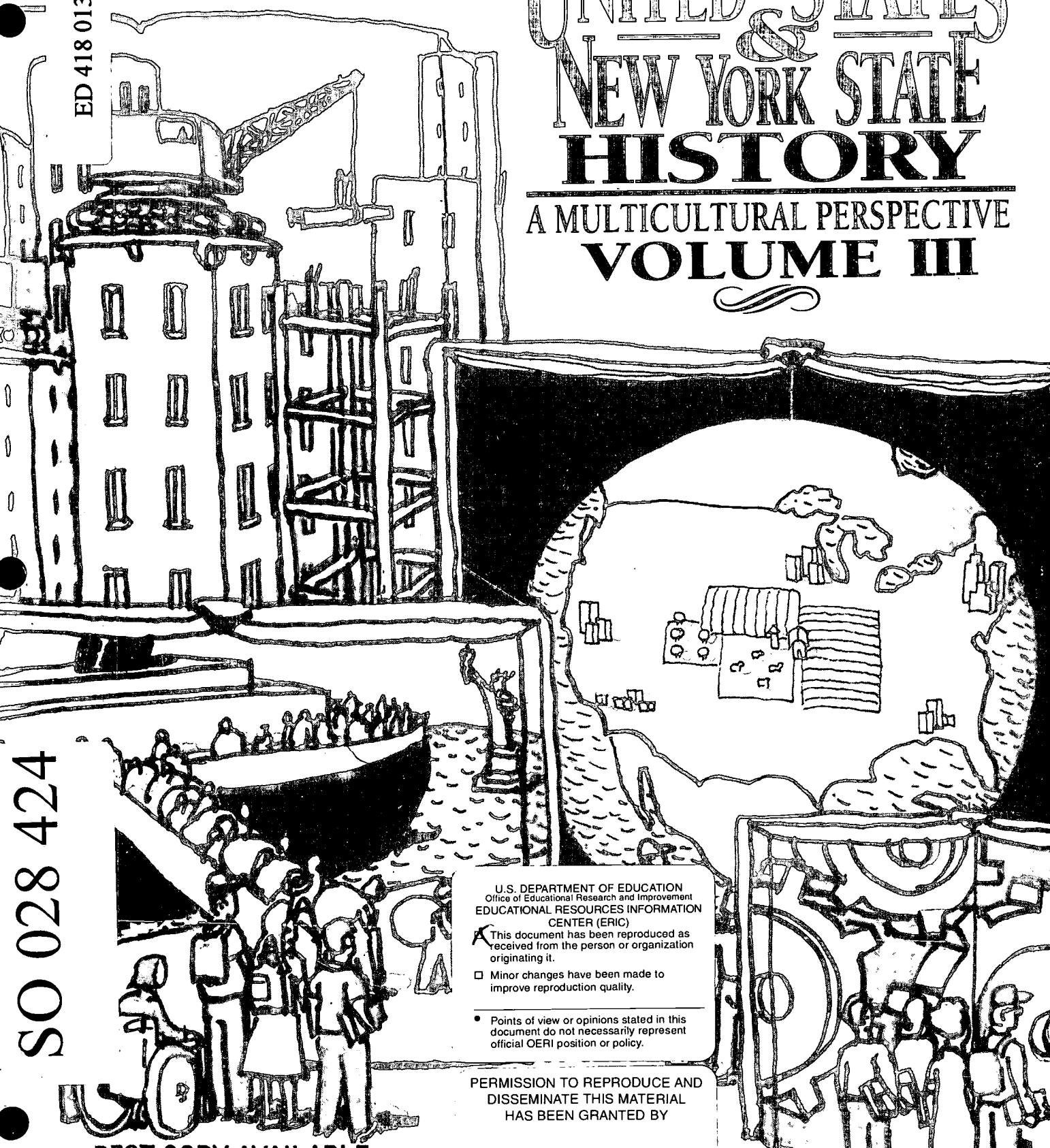
This curriculum resource guide allows students to interpret key historical events and trends from the perspectives of a variety of cultural, linguistic, and ethnic groups. The 20 learning activities represent suggested approaches for teaching Units 11 and 12 of the New York State Grades 7 and 8 syllabus. Each unit is comprehensive, divided into topical learning activities. Focus questions, teacher background materials, major ideas, concepts, performance objectives, development strategies and worksheets are included. Follow-up activities provide extension suggestions for individual students or classes. Worksheets contain primary sources such as photographs, speeches, letters, and diaries of a particular era. Unit 11, "The Changing Nature of the American People from World War II to the Present," contains 14 learning activities. Unit 12, "Citizenship in Today's World," provides 6 activities. (EH)

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ED 418 013

# GRADE 8 UNITED STATES & NEW YORK STATE HISTORY A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE VOLUME III

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BOARD OF EDUCATION  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



**GRADE 8  
UNITED STATES  
&  
NEW YORK STATE  
HISTORY**

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**A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE  
VOLUME III**



**BOARD OF EDUCATION  
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

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# Preface

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The cultural diversity of New York City has increased considerably over the last two decades. People from virtually every cultural, linguistic, and ethnic group in the world now come to live and work in our city—transforming it into a truly multicultural community. This trend both reflects and anticipates the worldwide movement toward a global society.

As today's students move toward adulthood in the twenty-first century, they need to be aware of their own cultural identities, while understanding and appreciating the cultures of others. To help meet this challenge in the New York City public schools, we have begun to develop multicultural curricula in all subject areas.

*Grade 8 United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective* gives students the opportunity to interpret key historical events and trends from the perspectives of a variety of cultural, linguistic, and ethnic groups. This approach enables students to appreciate the contributions of all of our nation's peoples to history, and to acquire a body of knowledge that reflects the experiences and values representative of the many cultures that have helped construct our nation and our state. Through their active participation, students will come to understand that knowledge is itself dynamic, ever-changing, and open to debate.

Active and critical engagement with history preserves and enriches our democratic ideals. The multicultural approach to history exemplified in these volumes will help our young people to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills they will need to participate fully in the life of our culturally complex community.

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# Introduction\*

## *United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective*

The diversity of New York State's population is increasing—ethnically, culturally, and linguistically. Today, most classrooms include students from a variety of ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic, and socioeconomic groups. Classrooms may also include one or more students with a disabling condition.

This diversity evinces the necessity for curricula and teaching that acknowledge, represent, and reflect children's cultures, backgrounds, and experiences, and help them to discover more about themselves and the world around them. To this end, the Board of Education of the City of New York in 1991 adopted *An Action Plan for Multicultural Education*, which serves as a framework for the development of all multicultural initiatives. Curriculum development is one of the many components of the *Action Plan for Multicultural Education*.

Multicultural education is an instructional approach designed to restructure the total school environment for the purpose of maximizing student achievement. It values the cultural diversity of our students and extends to the areas of language, gender, race, socioeconomic class, religion, sexual orientation, age, and disabling conditions. It seeks to provide students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to become fully participating citizens in today's society, to promote social harmony, and to encourage students to take positive social action to effect needed change.

According to New York State Education Department guidelines, the course for grades 7 and 8, *United States and New York State History*, is a chronologically organized, two-year course of study. The two-year sequence traces the human experience in the United States from earliest times to the present, tying major political, economic, and social trends in United States

history to parallel trends and time frames in New York State history. References are also made to Canada and Mexico, where relevant to the history of the United States.

This curriculum resource guide, *United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective*, is based upon the New York State syllabus for grades 7 and 8, yet it often goes beyond the current State program to include more of the often neglected roles, perspectives, and contributions of a variety of cultural and ethnic groups in United States history.

One cannot understand United States and New York State history without understanding the history and culture of their major ethnic and cultural components. We must, of course, understand our immediate origins in the nation-states of Europe and in their philosophic and political roots. But we cannot understand United States history, nor many of the social and political phenomena of the present, without also understanding the African-American, the Native-American, the Latino, and the Asian-American experiences throughout that history, as well as all of the varied groups who have helped to shape our institutions and our sensibilities.

In planning for instruction, teachers should be diligent in selecting information and materials that promote self-esteem as well as a sense of national pride in all students. Students who are exposed to content and use materials that recognize the contributions of women and minorities will be better able to fulfill the New York State program goal of promoting respect for others. The course of study for grades 7 and 8 must respect the diversity of the people who have constituted and continue to constitute the population of the United States, New York State, and New York City.

\*Adapted in part from the *New York State Social Studies Grades 7/8 Syllabus* and other State Education Department correspondence.

This curriculum guide emphasizes certain multicultural themes: Culture/Diversity, Movements of People, Contributions, and Struggle for Equality. The selection of the materials and activities to develop these themes has been guided by the following principles:

- Historical events must be studied from a variety of cultural perspectives. A study of World War I, for example, should include its impact on women, African-Americans, and German-Americans. Where possible, the members of a particular group should be allowed to tell their group's story in their own voices.
- Historical movements are as important, and often more important, than the individuals who enact them. It is more important, for example, that students understand the impact of immigration on the United States than be able to identify the contributions of specific immigrants.
- Focus should be not only on the victimization of cultural and ethnic groups, but also on their struggle for equality. Rather than stressing the undeniable oppression, more can be gained for students' self-esteem by emphasizing these groups' struggles for equal rights, their cooperation with other ethnic and cultural groups in those struggles, and their achievements.

### **THE SOCIAL HISTORY APPROACH**

By striving to include the histories, perspectives, and contributions of all Americans—among them, women, African-Americans, Native Americans, and ethnic minorities—the grades 7 and 8 resource guide is in consonance with the social history approach advocated in the State syllabus for grades 7 and 8.

The use of social history in the study of the past is relatively new. It is even newer as an organizing framework for secondary school curricula. The examination of a wide range of human activities with the focus on common people and everyday events captures the attention and interest of those young people who characterize the study of history as “boring” and “irrelevant.” The social history approach both enlivens the teaching of history and sparks an interest in learning history. The writers of this resource guide have therefore attempted

throughout to use the ten social history “post holes” identified in the State syllabus. They are:

- Life Cycles: Birth, Childhood, Adulthood, Old Age, Death
- Home and Family Living
- Schools and Education
- Labor and Work Patterns
- Political Participation
- Religion and Religious Activity
- Crime and Punishment
- Leisure and Recreation Activity
- Literature, the Arts, and Music
- Styles and Fashions

In addition to increasing student interest, a social history approach provides students with opportunities for developing content knowledge, expanding conceptual frames, and understanding the major ideas of the social sciences. The use of social history as an organizer helps students develop social studies skills such as finding, using, and presenting information; making inferences and drawing conclusions from the information; and applying information and skills to decision making, problem solving, critical thinking, and valuing.

### **THE COURSE OF STUDY**

In accordance with the characteristics and needs of its learners, the United States and New York State History program for grades 7 and 8 builds upon the familiar. Students explore United States history by looking at the evidence of that history in their own state and local communities. Building on previous learning from grade 4, children who are now able to think forward and backward in time can consider cause and effect, explore multiple causation, and understand history in a far more comprehensive way. While students in grade 4 work with individual segments of time, students in grades 7 and 8 are better able to associate and relate historical concepts and understandings.

The course is organized into twelve units of study to be developed and explored within a two-year time frame. While the State syllabus does not specify the units to be studied in the



individual grades, this New York City curriculum resource guide has designated Units 1-6 of the syllabus as the grade 7 course of study and Units 7-12 as the program for grade 8.

The course of study in grades 7 and 8 is vital to achieving the overall goals of the K-12 social studies program. The course builds on and seeks to reinforce those skills, concepts, and content understandings introduced in the K-6 program. The two-year experience in grades 7 and 8 will

provide students with a solid content base in United States history, allowing the grade 11 course to do greater justice to the study of the United States in the international, political, and technological contexts. The hemispheric connections revealed by the study of United States relations with Canada and Mexico will provide students with a model for the global connections they will discover in grades 9 and 10.

# How To Use This Bulletin

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This curriculum bulletin is designed to assist teachers and supervisors in the implementation of the United States and New York State History course of study. The materials presented in this curriculum resource guide represent suggested approaches for teaching Units 11 and 12 of the syllabus.

Since each unit is comprehensive, it has been divided into topical learning activities, each of which relates to a particular topic within the unit and contains a focus question, Teacher Background, Major Ideas, Concepts, Performance Objectives, Development, and Worksheets. Learning activities incorporate specific multicultural content, and are headed by one or more of the following themes: Culture/Diversity, Movements of People, Contributions, and Struggle for Equality.

The focus question introducing each learning activity can serve as a lesson aim. Background is provided to give teachers an overview of the content to be presented and to explain the relationship of the topic to the overall unit, as well as to provide additional historical content not covered in the learning activity itself. The major ideas specify the major knowledge objectives to be developed, most of which are taken from the New York State Grades 7 and 8 syllabus. When Major Ideas specifically include one or more of the "fifteen overarching concepts" to be highlighted, those concepts appear in capital letters. The concepts are: CHANGE, CHOICE, CITIZENSHIP, CULTURE, DIVERSITY, EMPATHY, ENVIRONMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS, IDENTITY, INTERDEPENDENCE, JUSTICE, POLITICAL SYSTEM, POWER, SCARCITY, and TECHNOLOGY. Teachers and supervisors should know that the New York State social studies program for grades 7-12 emphasizes the development of concepts and major ideas, together with subject content, and that the Program Evaluation Test given at the end of grade 8, encompassing two years' work, will focus on these major ideas and concepts.

The Performance Objectives present the specific information and skills that students should

achieve upon the completion of the learning activity. These goals should form the basis upon which lessons are developed.

In the Development section of the learning activities, a variety of suggested teaching techniques illustrate how a particular topic might be taught. They are provided to assist teachers in planning lessons, and include a variety of techniques geared to enable the teacher to achieve the Performance Objectives of that particular learning activity. Approaches include role-playing, simulations, small-group discussions, cooperative learning, brainstorming, debates, research activities, interviews, and "hands-on" experiences. At the same time, each strategy provided in this curriculum bulletin aims to promote learning by focusing on one or more skills in an area such as critical thinking, reading, writing, map interpretation, and problem solving.

Follow-Up Activities given after some of the Development sections list suggestions for individual student or class activities that may enhance learning and further develop students' interest in historical topics. These activities may include: class trips, correspondence, oral or written reports, and other creative projects. Teachers are encouraged to develop their own ideas for such activities, using these suggestions as models.

Worksheets contain primary sources such as photographs, documents, maps, charts, graphs, diagrams, speeches, letters, and diaries of a particular era. These materials should be used to give students opportunities to understand the value of primary sources and to evaluate their use in learning about past and present events. In short, these primary source materials can become a basis for developing critical thinking skills while assisting students in mastering the relevant factual information.

Teachers should be reminded that it is not mandated that they adopt the materials contained in this bulletin for classroom use. The learning activities are only suggested approaches for implementing the grades 7 and 8 program. The variety of materials gives teachers options

from which to choose to meet the particular needs of their students. Teachers are encouraged to adapt or add specific content that develops the concepts and major ideas of the program.

Although the materials contained in this document provide the ingredients for lessons, the learning activities themselves do not constitute lesson plans, nor are they intended as substitutes for lesson plans. Teachers may,

however, choose to integrate these materials and activities into their daily lesson plans.

Furthermore, this curriculum bulletin contains a variety of materials not usually found in traditional textbooks, yet it is not intended as a replacement for a textbook; rather, these are supplementary materials designed to enrich and enliven the teaching and learning process.

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**Unit Eleven:**  
**The Changing Nature of the  
American People from World  
War II to the Present**

# Learning Activity 1

*How widespread was the economic boom in the United States following World War II?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

World War II dramatically altered American society, bringing a return to prosperity and an optimistic spirit that took progress for granted. Following a brief postwar recession during which industry was reconverted to peacetime production, the economy took off and grew steadily. Technological advances spawned by the war had a major impact on the postwar era, as massive research and development efforts by industry and universities produced breakthroughs at incredible speed.

Consumerism became a prominent part of postwar American life. A national baby boom together with the widespread availability of consumer credit for home mortgages, automobiles, and less-essential goods fostered a national spending spree. The American people began enjoying a living standard far beyond any they had previously known. Even allowing for inflation and heavy taxation, the average American had sixteen percent more income by 1956 than in 1947. Advertising people began to speak of “discretionary income”—money that, after consumers paid for necessities, they could spend as they wished.

By 1960, ninety-six percent of American families had refrigerators. Four out of five families had a television set. Three out of four had at least one car; automobile designers had added fins, gadgets, and two-tone paint jobs to the plain prewar vehicle. Three out of five Americans owned their own homes. One in ten even had air conditioning.

Growing industrial productivity resulted in a decrease in the average work week from forty-four hours to forty hours. Industrial workers enjoyed fifteen to twenty hours a week more free time than had their parents or grandparents at the turn of the century. Unlike them, they could look forward to a pension upon retirement.

The nature of work in the United States began to shift during the 1950s. Increased mechanization and the trend toward automation meant the decline of factory jobs and an increase in employment in the rapidly expanding service sector. In 1956, for the first time, men and women in white collar occupations outnumbered blue collar workers.

Not all groups of Americans, however, benefited equally from the postwar economic boom. In 1951, one family in six was living on only \$1,500 per year or less. They lived in dwellings little better than shacks or tenements. These economic inequalities signaled a widening gap between whites and nonwhites as all Americans struggled to achieve a piece of the American dream.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- Following a brief postwar recession, sustained prosperity made it appear there were few limits to economic growth.
- TECHNOLOGICAL improvement and CHANGING social values resulted in significant differences in the nature of work and patterns within the work force.
- All groups of Americans did not benefit equally from postwar prosperity.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Scarcity
- Technology

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain various economic indicators of prosperity in the period following World War II.
- Discuss the impact of the growth of consumerism on postwar United States industrial expansion.
- Assess the degree to which all groups of Americans shared in postwar prosperity.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 1A, "The Postwar Economy." Have students read and complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this worksheet tell us about the economy of the United States in the years following World War II?
  - In your opinion, which of the statements best indicates the economy's overall state of health? Explain.
  - How do you account for the economic boom that occurred in postwar America?
  - How did advances in technology contribute to the boom?
  - How do you think the postwar "baby boom" contributed to the economic boom?
  - What is the relationship between increased productivity and improved working conditions for Americans in the postwar years?
  - What evidence is given here that not all groups of Americans shared equally in postwar prosperity? How do you explain this?

- Distribute Worksheet 1B, "Postwar Consumerism." Have students read and complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from these advertisements about the postwar United States economy?
  - How were Americans being persuaded to buy in the years after the war?
  - As an American living in the 1950s, would these advertisements have persuaded you to buy? Why or why not?
  - How do you suppose the growth of consumer demand in the 1950s affected the American economy?
  - Was the decade of the 1950s the beginning of a "consumer culture" in this country? Are Americans more materialistic and acquisitive than people of other cultures? If so, is this a positive or negative feature of American culture? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 1C, "Impact of the Auto." Have students read and complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - According to James Morris, what impact did the automobile have on American culture in the 1950s?
  - Of the automobile's effects described here, which do you consider most significant/least significant?
  - Has the automobile affected life in the United States in any ways other than those identified by James Morris?
  - To what extent do you agree with James Morris's assessment of the automobile's impact? Was it valid for the 1950s? Is it still valid today? Why or why not?

- Distribute Worksheet 1D, “The Success of McDonald’s.” Ask volunteers to take the four roles and read the dialogue as the rest of the class, acting as reporters, reads along. “Reporters” can then address their questions to the McDonald brothers and Ray Kroc. Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn here about the origins and development of the McDonald’s Corporation?
  - How did the McDonald brothers make their small San Bernardino restaurant a success?
  - Why does Mac McDonald say that the brothers did with food what Henry Ford had done to automobiles?
  - How did Ray Kroc turn McDonald’s into a multi-million-dollar success story? What motivated him?
  - Why did Americans in the 1950s, more than in earlier decades, want “fast food,” as Mac McDonald implies here?
  - How do you account for the proliferation of fast-food chains in the United States and around the world today? Is this a positive or a negative development?
- Distribute Worksheet 1E, “Automation.” Have students read and complete the exercise and then explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What are the songwriter and cartoonist saying about the impact of automation? How do their viewpoints compare?
  - How was the nature of work in this country changing in the 1950s?
  - What problems did automation cause?
  - Can you identify some benefits of automation—for business, for consumers, for workers?
- How does automation help explain the decline of factory jobs after World War II and the increase in service sector jobs?
- As an American teen in the 1950s looking to enter the work force, what would increasing automation mean for you? For your employment opportunities and educational goals?
- Distribute Worksheet 1F, “Poverty Amidst Plenty.” Have students examine the cartoon, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions?
  - What is the cartoonist saying about the postwar economic boom?
  - How do you account for the fact that migrant workers were one group that did not share in the 1950s prosperity?
  - Many migrant workers were immigrants from Mexico. To what degree does this help explain their not sharing in the postwar prosperity?
  - Does discrimination based on race or ethnicity continue to explain the economic inequalities that exist in the United States today? Why or why not?

### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Interview parents and grandparents about their memories of living and working during the 1950s.
- Design a timeline of major economic, technological, political, and social changes in the United States in the 1950s.
- Make a collage of popular industrial products of the 1950s.
- Research and report on the struggles of migrant farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez, to improve their situation during the 1960s and 1970s



## ***The Postwar Economy***

Listed below are statements about the economy of the United States in the years following World War II. Next to each statement indicate with a check (✓) whether it shows the economy to be:

H=healthy, U=unhealthy, NS=not sure; then give your reasons.

STATEMENT	H	U	NS	REASON
From 1945 to 1960 the nation's gross national product (value of goods and services produced) more than doubled from \$208 billion to \$506 billion.				
With Europe and Japan still recovering from the war, the United States, with only 6% of the world's population, was producing half of the world's goods.				
From 1945 to 1960 annual per capita disposable income rose from \$1,345 to \$1,845—a 22% rise in real purchasing power.				
While the median income of nonwhite American families increased from \$1,000 in 1940 to \$3,000 in 1960, the gap between the median incomes of white and nonwhite families doubled.				
Between 1950 and 1956 the number of babies born per year increased from just over 3.6 million to more than 4.25 million.				
Between 1940 and 1960 the average work week dropped from 44 to 40 hours; the average paid vacation increased from 1 to 2 weeks.				

WORKSHEET 1A, THE POSTWAR ECONOMY (CONTINUED)

STATEMENT	H	U	NS	REASON
By 1960 there were about 5,000 computers in use in the United States. Large companies used computers to guide the production of steel, chemicals, petroleum, and other products.				
In 1956 for the first time men and women in white collar occupations, including rapidly expanding service industries, outnumbered blue collar workers.				
As factories automated and jobs were lost, long-established manufacturing regions such as New England experienced hard times.				
Two million automobiles were made in the United States in 1946. Four times as many cars were made in 1955. By 1960 about three-fourths of all families had at least one automobile. One out of seven was a two-car family.				
In 1946 there were fewer than 17,000 television sets in the United States; by 1960, three-quarters of all Americans owned at least one set.				
Farm prices dropped as crop yields were boosted by new equipment and improved seeds and fertilizers. By 1960 one worker could produce as much wheat as two workers could produce in 1950.				

## Postwar Consumerism

After years of depression and then wartime scarcity, Americans, now ready to spend their savings, were eager for consumer goods. By 1950, factory production caught up with this demand.

Examine the advertisements for popular 1950s products below. Next to each one, check (✓) the strategy used to appeal to the consumer, as “effective” or “ineffective,” then give your reason.



*filled with grace and great new things*

**CHEVROLET**

It looks cute, powerful and easy to handle—and it more than lives up to its looks! There's extra fuel injection and America's first and only triple-in-line transmission.

You expect something pretty special in the way of driving pleasure the first time you take charge of a new Chevrolet. Then there's graceful handling, solid a promise of maintenance-free operation—and there's something else: the low, wide front grille that sets the new Corvair's sleek to beauty.

There's more, too, like the extra-wide wheelbase that gives you a sense of stability and control. And there's the extra-wide wheelbase that gives you a sense of stability and control. And there's the extra-wide wheelbase that gives you a sense of stability and control.

**CORVAIR**

Corvair is a new kind of car. It's a new kind of car. It's a new kind of car. It's a new kind of car. It's a new kind of car. It's a new kind of car.

### Progress in the Home

Hoover Limited take pride in the fact that their products are saving millions of housewives from hard, wearisome drudgery—not only in Britain but throughout the world. Wherever the name Hoover appears it is a guarantee of excellence.

**THE WORLD-FAMOUS HOOVER CLEANER**

The Hoover Cleaner, with its famous principle—“It beats it, it sweeps it, it cleans it”—is undeniably the world's best cleaner. Best in design, best in materials, best in quality of workmanship. There is a model suitable for every size and type of home.

**THE MARVELLOUS HOOVER ELECTRIC WASHING MACHINE**

The Hoover Electric Washing Machine has completely revolutionized the whole conception of washing-day in the home. It does the full weekly wash for a large family and yet is such a handy size—suitable for even the smallest kitchen.

**VISIT THE HOOVER FACTORY**  
 Witness the fine craftsmanship of Britain by cordially inviting you to visit the Hoover Factories in Perth, Perthshire, or Herring Thrope, South Wales, or Cambridge, Scotland. Please write to: Hoover Limited, Perth, or Herring Thrope S11 for more information.

**HOOVER LIMITED**

Strategy: Effective  Ineffective

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Strategy: Effective  Ineffective

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

So new! So exciting! Because...

# Firestone *Velon* makes them lovelier than you ever dreamed practical plastics could be!

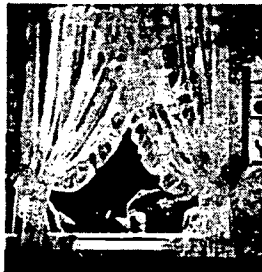
These Velon plastics may look too pretty to be practical. But what a wonderful feeling to know you don't have to temper them! Truth is, *Velon* is the most indestructible beauty you could hope to find! Dirt can't dull *Velon*. Most stains wipe away with a soapy cloth. The softest,

stainest *Velon* used for baby pants—can even be sterilized without harm.

In all its forms—in everything from family curtains to heavy-duty furniture—*Velon* makes life lovelier and more care-free. That's why it always pays to look for the famous Firestone *Velon* label!



**BABY DARTINGS:** Comfort, sturdy support *Velon* brings. Wonderfully cool, tonable, moisture-resistant material. In 4 full-size sets. About \$66. Pull-on style, about \$66. By Value, 161 E. 42nd St., New York, N.Y.



**SHIRAZ WINDOW MAKE:** woven of *Velon*. Starts in morning, over. White or cream. Showing about \$12. By International Homeing, 10 W. 34th St., N.Y.C. Novelty style by Sacks, Curtains, 261 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.



**SAY FOR GRACES:** Living. Lovely "Falling Leaves" *Velon* upholstery blends with wrought iron to make dining a delight. A soapy-cloth wiping keeps it clean as new. Spitzer Lanai set, about \$130. By E. S. Harmon, 1938 Pacific St., Tacoma, Wash.

©1953 Firestone Plastics Co., Portstown, Pa. • Enjoy the Voice of Firestone Monday Evenings over NBC Radio and TV

*Good Housekeeping*, Dec. 1953, 122.

Strategy: Effective  Ineffective

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



## Why you need a kitchen extension phone

**SPRING-A-LING!** This kitchen extension phone is the most convenient and practical kitchen phone on the market. It's the only one that fits in your purse! It's the only one that's so easy to use that even a child can use it. It's the only one that's so durable that it can last for years. It's the only one that's so stylish that it will complement your kitchen decor. It's the only one that's so affordable that it won't break the bank. It's the only one that's so easy to install that you can have it up and running in minutes. It's the only one that's so reliable that you can depend on it every day. It's the only one that's so convenient that you'll never want to live without it. It's the only one that's so practical that it's a must-have for every kitchen. It's the only one that's so easy to use that even a child can use it. It's the only one that's so durable that it can last for years. It's the only one that's so stylish that it will complement your kitchen decor. It's the only one that's so affordable that it won't break the bank. It's the only one that's so easy to install that you can have it up and running in minutes. It's the only one that's so reliable that you can depend on it every day. It's the only one that's so convenient that you'll never want to live without it. It's the only one that's so practical that it's a must-have for every kitchen.

Strategy: Effective  Ineffective

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



Strategy: Effective  Ineffective

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## *Impact of the Auto*

Below, an Englishman writes about the important role that automobiles played in mid-twentieth-century America.

The American civilization is inextricably enmeshed with the internal combustion engine...

It is an old joke that the Americans are soon going to lose the use of their legs... but it is true that few Americans will walk anywhere if they can help it, either for practical purpose or for pleasure. You can do your banking from your car, without leaving the driving seat, by choosing a bank with a "curbside teller." You can post your letters in mailboxes that protrude to the level of your car window. You can watch a film from your car in a "drive-in" cinema. At many stores you can be served in your car. At innumerable restaurants waitresses will hitch trays to the car door, so that you can eat without moving. In Florida there is even a "drive-in" church...

Imagine yourself, for a moment, as a traveling motorist in America... The road is likely to be smooth and wide, and you are tempted to speed, not least because almost everyone else on the road is speeding already...

Take no risks on the roads... The American is a dashing driver, and often a

reckless one; and statistics have shown that it is thirty-two times safer to fly in an American aircraft than it is to drive on an American road...

In any small town en route you may buy an excellent cup of coffee; but be careful how you park the car... Once you have found a place you must have a nickel or a dime for the parking meter. Put the coin in the slot, and the machine records how long you have been standing there. If you overstay the limit a red flag will show, and the chances are that a slowly wandering policeman will happen by... pause to examine the evidence, and then... will... affix a notice to your windshield instructing you to pay a small fine by such-and-such a time...

Finally at the end of your day, you decide to put up for the night, and you will find the motels. There are rows of them, each with its neon sign... announcing a vacancy... Your room is clean and comfortable... and your car is parked freely and conveniently directly outside your window... So you sink into your soft, squashy bed, while the night traffic roars by....

Adapted from James Morris, *As I Saw the U.S.A.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956), 163-170. Reprinted by permission of The Peters Fraser & Dunlop Group Ltd.

WORKSHEET 1C, IMPACT OF THE AUTO (CONTINUED)

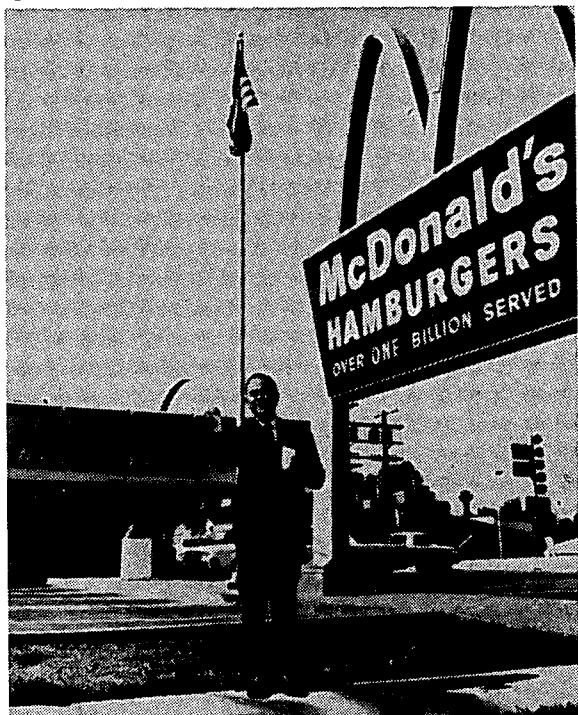
**EXERCISE**

List below four ways that the automobile has changed American culture, according to the English writer above. Then at right rank them in order of importance, with #1 representing the most important effect, and #4 the least important effect.

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

## The Success of McDonald's

Understanding some of the new trends in American life during the 1950s, Dick and Mac McDonald (D. McD. and M. McD.) and Ray Kroc (R.K.), who bought out the brothers' business, built a fast food empire. An interview with these three entrepreneurs might proceed as shown below:



**I:** Will you tell us how McDonald's began?

**D. McD.:** After a couple of business failures, my brother and I were an immediate hit when we opened up a small drive-in restaurant in San Bernardino, California, in 1940. Young families and teenage boys flocked to our place, but service was much too slow—a 20-minute wait for food.

**I:** Why did you think this was slow?

**M. McD.:** Our intuition told us that Americans would like speed. Everything was moving faster. As Americans were living farther from their workplaces than ever before, they were always in a rush. They wanted to eat faster.

**I:** How did you speed up production?

**D. McD.:** We looked for weaknesses in our operation. We fired the carhops (and happily lost the teenage boy customers who came primarily to flirt with them). Since eighty percent of our sales consisted of hamburgers and cheeseburgers, we decided to feature only hamburgers and cheeseburgers, make them a little smaller and choose the condiments ourselves: ketchup, mustard, onions and two pickles. When we added French fries and milkshakes, we were more successful than ever. Working-class families, thanks to our low prices, could afford to feed their families restaurant meals for the first time.

**I:** What else did you do to speed production?

**M. McD.:** We did with food what Henry Ford had done to automobiles. We turned our kitchen into an assembly line. Inside the kitchen everything was mechanized. Because we were pioneers we had to invent much of our own equipment, for example, the one-squeeze stainless steel pump that shot just the right amount of mustard or ketchup onto the burger. Much of our food was preassembled, kept hot with infrared lights.

**I:** Today there are thousands of McDonald's restaurants in the United States and even abroad. When did you begin to franchise your operation?

**D. McD.:** In 1952, we reluctantly sold our first franchise rights and we were surprised when the franchiser wanted to keep our name on his stand. At that time we were content with our lives and saw no reason to expand—we were making more money than we had dreamed; we had lovely houses and Cadillacs every year.

**I:** If the brothers started the McDonald's restaurants, how did Ray Kroc's name become so associated with the business?

## WORKSHEET 1D, THE SUCCESS OF McDONALD'S (CONTINUED)

**R. K.:** In 1954, I headed toward San Bernardino, California, to check out the McDonald's operation for myself. I was an ambitious salesman and McDonald's had bought eight of my "multimixers"—stainless steel machines that could make six milkshakes at once. As I watched the McDonald's operation, I became convinced that the future (and my future) was now in hamburgers. I applied for and got the job as manager of the franchising end of the business.

**I:** How did you expand the business and still keep control over quality?

**R. K.:** I was a fanatic on standardization. Every McDonald's looked the same; I developed equipment to test the quality of the meat at local stands. All menus and prices were exactly the same, and I demanded that the establishments be clean.

**I:** Didn't you eventually buy out the McDonald brothers?

**R. K.:** Yes, in 1961, I paid the brothers \$2.7 million to sell the name and company to me. It was a great deal of money; nevertheless, I sensed it was a bargain. The real glory years for the chain were just beginning. Some thirty-seven years after I took over the franchising, there were 8,600 McDonald's in America, and 12,000 in the rest of the world.

**I:** Your wealth has been estimated at \$600 million. Does it bring you great satisfaction?

**R. K.:** I have never worshipped money and I never worked for money. I worked for pride and accomplishment. Money can become a nuisance. It's a hell of a lot more fun chasin' it than gettin' it. The fun is in the race.

Adapted from David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 154-172. Reprinted by permission.



WORKSHEET 1D, THE SUCCESS OF MCDONALD'S (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

If you were a reporter listening to the above interview, what three questions would you want to address to the McDonald brothers or to Ray Kroc?

Question #1: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Question #2: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Question #3: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# Automation

Automation—the use of machines to control the manufacture of products—was a topic of concern to many Americans in the 1950s. Both a cartoonist and a songwriter address that topic below. In the spaces provided, state the viewpoint of each on automation.

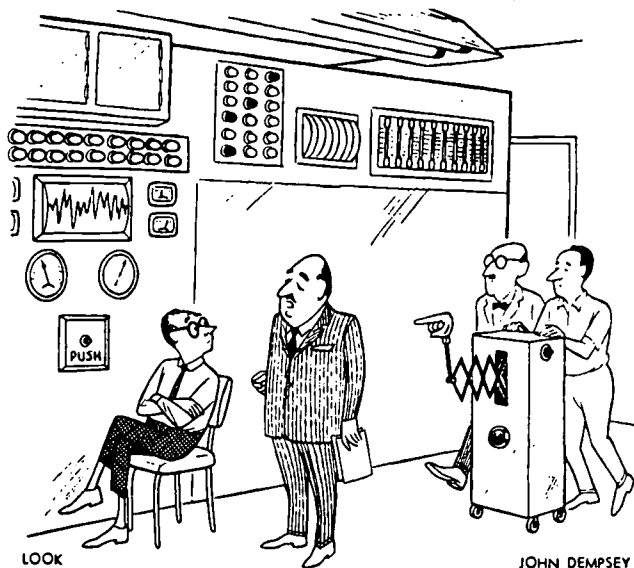
## The Workin' Machine

I was workin' real hard on my job  
one day  
When my boss came on the scene.  
He said, "Son, go in an' get yo' pay—  
An' make way!—for th' workin' machine."

I rolled my eyes—I sho' was sore  
My boss he sho' was mean.  
He said, "Son, you know I don't need you no  
more—  
You're fired!—cause I've got a machine.

Well, I got another job that followin' day  
A-workin' harder than you've ever seen—  
'Til I heard my boss in a loud voice say  
"Look out!"—It was another machine.

Now I'm workin' like a slave an' doin' real fine  
I'm gettin' these floors so clean,  
An' I'm hopin' to keep this job of mine  
Away!—from th' workin' machine.



*"Merfson, I'm afraid I have some rather unpleasant news for you"*

Historical Pictures Service.

"The Working Machine" by Jimmie Sherman from, *From the Ashes*, edited by Budd Schulberg. Originally published by *Los Angeles Magazine*, copyright June 1966 by Pacific West Publishing Company.

CARTOONIST'S VIEW:

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SONGWRITER'S VIEW:

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## Poverty Amidst Plenty

Not all groups shared in the fifties prosperity. Examine the Herblock cartoon below and answer the questions that follow it.

### The Still-Forgotten Man



Straight Herblock (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964.)

#### EXERCISE

- Who are the individuals in the lower part of the cartoon?

- 
- What are these individuals doing?

- 
- What is depicted in the upper part of the cartoon?

- 
- How does Herblock portray the “still forgotten man” in his cartoon?
- 
-

UNIT ELEVEN: THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM WORLD WAR II TO THE PRESENT

## Learning Activity 2

*How did Levittown symbolize a significant social trend in the postwar era?*

### THEMES

Culture; Struggle for Equality

### BACKGROUND

After World War II the returning veterans, economic prosperity, and the baby boom collectively created a critical housing shortage in the United States. In 1947 six million families were living with family or friends, and many others lived in Quonset huts or temporary housing. With money in the bank, babies on the way, and a government mortgage program for veterans, young couples went looking for the American dream—a home of their own.

To meet this demand, the housing industry accelerated home building. In 1944 single-family housing starts numbered only 114,000. By 1950 the number had risen to 1,692,000. Most of these houses were on the outskirts of the older cities, that is, in the suburbs.

An early pioneer of suburbanization was William J. Levitt, who bought a potato field on Long Island in 1949 and used mass production techniques to build single-family homes at affordable prices. Eventually the Levitt family would build over 140,000 homes in several states. These communities came to be known as Levittowns. Other developers followed the Levitts' example until the countryside around cities was being leveled by bulldozers at a rate, according to one estimate, of some 3,000 acres every day. However the trend toward suburbanization was not without its detractors. Some people criticized the conformity in architectural design of the houses, asserting that the homes were bland, identical structures that encouraged residents to look alike, act alike, and even hold similar opinions. Others assailed

discriminatory practices by the Levitt organization that for two decades excluded African-Americans from residency. In 1960 there was not one African-American among the 82,000 residents of Long Island's Levittown. Still others saw the flight of mostly white, middle class families to suburbia as a threat to urban stability and prosperity. Yet despite these criticisms, the rapid growth of suburban communities continued, becoming an important aspect of postwar America.

### MAJOR IDEAS

- While the local community retained its importance in people's lives, several trends served to weaken this importance.
- Levittown symbolized a significant social trend as large numbers of middle-class white Americans left cities to live in burgeoning suburban communities.

### CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture
- Diversity

### PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Discuss factors that led to the development of suburban "Levittown" communities.
- Explain why Levittown symbolized an important social trend in the postwar United States.
- Evaluate the impact of suburbanization on the lives of Americans both in the suburbs and in the cities.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 2A, “Suburbanization.” Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this worksheet tell us about the growth of suburbs after World War II?
  - How was Levittown a symbol of the trend toward suburbanization?
  - What role did technology play in the growth of suburbs? How did William Levitt put housing on the assembly line?
  - Why did thousands of families move out of the cities to suburbs after the war? What role did people’s values play?
  - Do the advantages of living in the suburbs outweigh the disadvantages?
  - Which lifestyle—urban or suburban—would you prefer?
  - Has the impact of suburbanization on the landscape of the United States been more positive or negative? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 2B, “Conformity in the Fifties.” If possible, play a recording of “Little Boxes” for the class. Have students read, examine the photo, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is the songwriter saying about the impact of suburbanization on the American people?
  - To what degree does the photo support her point?
  - Does suburban living, more than urban living, encourage conformity? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 2C, “Racial Segregation in the Suburbs.” Have students read selection 1 and complete the exercise.
  - Have volunteers role-play the scene from “A Raisin in the Sun” and then explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What do these selections tell us about the racial policies that were common in the suburbs in the 1950s?
    - How did William Levitt explain his organization’s racial policy?
    - In the 1950s, how would you have reacted to that Levittown policy?
    - What impact would racial policies like Levittown’s have on the inner cities? How would “white flight” to the suburbs affect the cities and people left behind in them?
    - What happened when the Younger family moved to a house in the suburbs? What form did discrimination against them take?
    - As a member of the Younger family, how would you have reacted to Mr. Lindner’s “offer”? Explain.
    - Racially segregated housing is illegal throughout the United States today, yet it continues in practice. Why? What can be done to end segregated housing?

## FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

Students can:

- Find out how particular suburbs near New York City were founded and how they grew. What ties do they have to the city? Bring in pictures of how these suburbs looked before they were developed and today.
- Research recent articles (for example, in the *New York Times Magazine*) on life in Levittown today. How has it changed?
- Debate the question of where the lifestyle is better—in the inner city or in the suburbs?

## Suburbanization

### The Journal

1946-1960

RETURNING VETERANS AND BABY BOOM CREATE  
CRITICAL HOUSING SHORTAGE

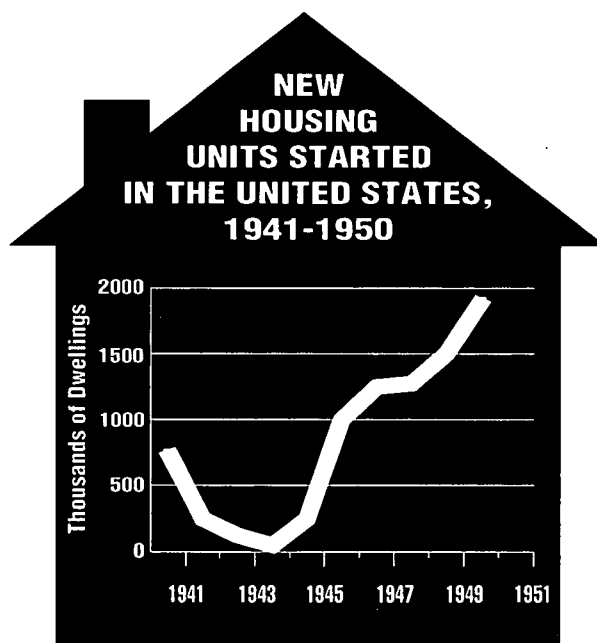
*Developers Build New Affordable Single Family Homes  
On Land Outside Cities*

THOUSANDS FLEE CITIES FOR NEW SUBURBS

**SPECIAL FEATURE ARTICLE: LEVITTOWN—  
SYMBOL OF A NATIONAL TREND**

**I**N 1946 READERS of a New York City newspaper spotted an advertisement for brand new houses on already landscaped lots. Thousands flocked to Levittown on Long Island to see the rows of cozy homes. They found that a veteran could buy a two-bedroom house for \$7,990 with \$90 down and \$58 a month for twenty-five years. In the first seven days, developer William Levitt sold 707 houses. Levitt kept costs down by applying mass-production techniques to home building. First, a fleet of earth-movers gouged out foundations. Then a squadron of cement trucks poured concrete slabs. Brigades of workers laid brick foundations, raised walls, and added roofs, shingles, and paint. Construction was so fast that eight new houses were ready each day. In just ten years, 17,000 houses sprung up on what was once a Long Island potato field.

Other builders adopted Bill Levitt's methods. Land once used for agriculture on the fringes of cities has given way to rows of box-like houses. Between 1950 and 60, one-quarter of the nation's people moved to the new suburbs.



Susan Dye-Lee, ed. *The Americans* (Evanston, Ill. McDougal, Littell, 1985), 338.

WORKSHEET 2A, SUBURBANIZATION (CONTINUED)

**LEVITTOWN RESIDENTS POLLED ON REASONS FOR MOVE TO SUBURBS**

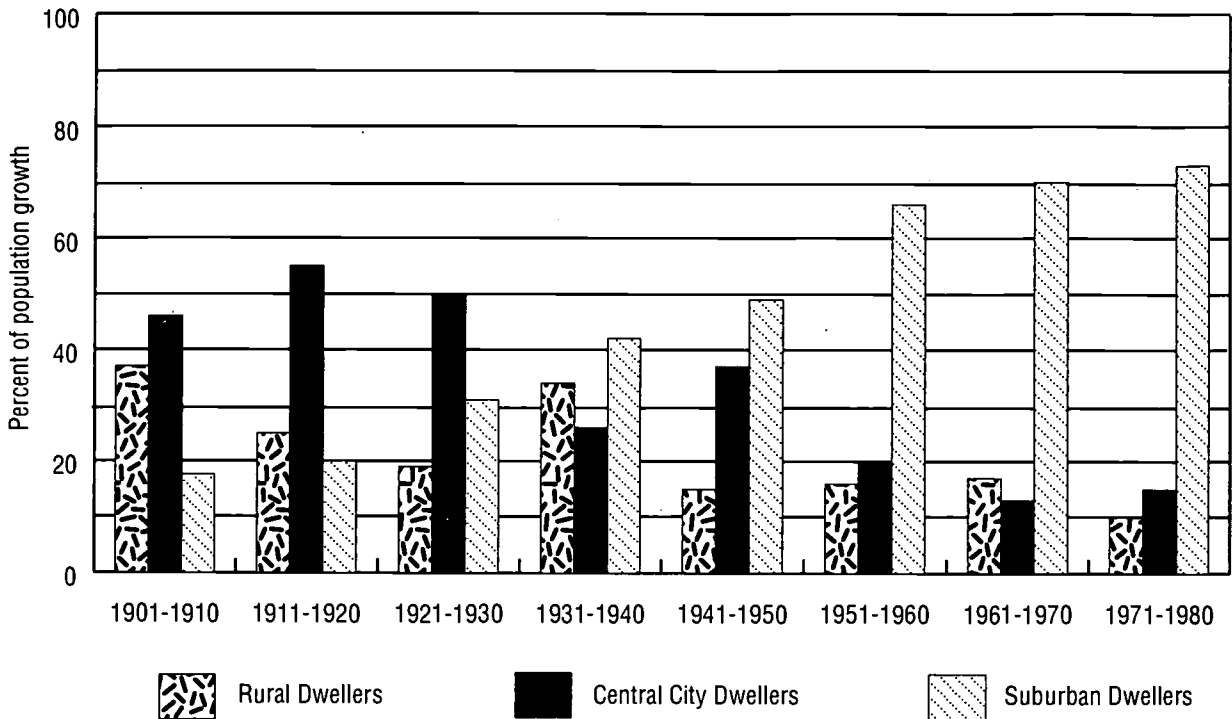
When asked what their main reason was for wanting to live in Levittown, men and women cited the following reasons:\*

	Percent	
	Women	Men
Comfort and roominess for family members in new house	25	15
Privacy and freedom of action in owned home	15	18
Furnishing and decorating the new house	4	1
Working around the house and yard, in garage and workshop	1	10
Carrying out normal family roles: being a homemaker (W); providing for family (M); a better place to raise children	8	7
Better family life: more time with and joint activity among family members	5	6
Better social life: making new friends, having good and sociable neighbors	10	5
Relaxed peaceful outdoor living	4	7
Using Levittown's recreation and shopping facilities; enjoying the convenience of its facilities	4	1
A new start or a better life; being part of a new community	2	1
Settling down in a community	1	1
Being active in churches and clubs	0	1
Being active in civic affairs; having a voice in the community	1	2
A shorter journey to work	0	5
Other	7	5
None	12	15

\* Numbers responding: 924 women, 864 men

Adapted from Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburbia*. Herbert J. Gans, Copyright© 1967 by Herbert J. Gans. Reprinted by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

**Suburbanization, 1901-1980**



**EXERCISE**

Base your answers to the following questions on the graph and table above.

- Which year marked the start of an upswing in the construction of new housing?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- In the 1920s, what was the percent of population growth of central city dwellers?  
\_\_\_\_\_

What was the percent of population growth of suburban dwellers?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- In the 1950s, what was the percent of population growth of central city dwellers?  
\_\_\_\_\_

What was the percent of population growth of suburban dwellers? \_\_\_\_\_

- What did the largest percentage of Levittown men cite as their main reason for wanting to live in that suburban community?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- What was cited by the largest percentage of Levittown women as their main reason for wanting to live there?  
\_\_\_\_\_



## ***Conformity in the Fifties***

Some critics saw suburbanization as one of the causes of the conformity of the 1950s. In 1962 songwriter Malvina Reynolds wrote the following song about the suburbs, that, like Levittown shown below, had sprung up around her:

### **Little Boxes (1962)**

*by Malvina Reynolds*

Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes  
made of ticky tacky,

Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes  
all the same.

There's a green one and a pink one and a  
blue one and a yellow one.

And they're all made out of ticky tacky  
and they all look just the same.

And the people in the houses all went to  
the university

Where they were put in boxes and they  
came out all the same;

And there's doctors, and there's lawyers  
and there's business executives

And they're all made out of ticky tacky  
and they all look just the same

And they all play on the golf course and  
drink their martini dry

And they all have pretty children and the  
children go to school

And the children go to summer camp  
and then to the university

Where they are all put in boxes and they  
come out all the same.



*Levittown, New York*

Schroder Music Co. (ASCAP) From the song "Little Boxes."  
Words and music by Malvina Reynolds. © Copyright 1962  
Schroder Music Co. (ASCAP) Renewed 1990. Used by  
permission. All rights reserved.

WORKSHEET 2B, CONFORMITY IN THE FIFTIES (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

In the 1960s many songwriters tried to deliver a “message” to the listener. Summarize below Malvina Reynolds’s message and explain why you agree or disagree with it.

Song’s message: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

I agree/disagree because: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Racial Segregation in the Suburbs

In the 1950s and 1960s, those who left the cities for the suburbs were mainly middle-class whites of various ethnic backgrounds. Often, African-Americans, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Jews were excluded. The two selections below address this problem of racially segregated housing in the suburbs.

**Selection 1:** The following is a statement by William Levitt in the early 1950s:

*...I have no room in my mind or heart for racial prejudice... But... I have come to know that if we sell one house to a Negro family, then 90 or 95 percent of our white customers will not buy into the community. That is their attitude, not ours... As a company our position is simply this: We can solve a housing problem, or we can try to solve a racial problem but we cannot combine the two.*

### EXERCISE

Use the space below to write a letter to William Levitt explaining your reaction to his organization's policy (which was in effect for two decades).

\_\_\_\_\_, 1950

Dear Mr. Levitt:

Concerning your company's policy of not selling houses to African-American families, I think \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I feel this way because \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Sincerely,

**Selection 2:**

Lorraine Hansberry's 1958 play *A Raisin in the Sun* shows an African-American family reaching for their dream of moving from an apartment in the inner city into a small house in a middle-class suburban neighborhood. Here, Walter and Ruth Younger and Walter's sister are visited by Mr. Lindner from their new neighborhood.

**Ruth:** (*Still innocently*) Would you like another chair—you don't look comfortable.

**Lindner:** (*More frustrated than annoyed*) No, thank you very much. Please. Well—to get right to the point I— (*a great breath, and he is off at last*) I am sure you people must be aware of some of the incidents which have happened in various parts of the city when colored people have moved into certain areas— (*Beneatha exhales heavily and starts tossing a piece of fruit up and down in the air*) Well—because we have what I think is going to be a unique type of organization in American community life—not only do we deplore that kind of thing but we are trying to do something about it. (*Beneatha stops tossing and turns with a new and quizzical interest to the man.*) We feel—(*gaining confidence in his mission because of the interest in the faces of the people he is talking to*)—we feel that most of the trouble in this world, when you come right down to it—(*He hits his knee for emphasis*)—most of the trouble exists because people just don't sit down and talk to each other.

**Ruth:** (*Nodding as she might in church, pleased with the remark*) You can say that again, mister.

**Lindner:** (*More encouraged by such affirmation*) That we don't try hard enough in this world to understand the other fellow's problem. The other guy's point of view.

**Ruth:** Now that's right. (*Beneatha and Walter merely watch and listen with genuine interest*)

**Lindner:** Yes—that's the way we feel out in Clybourne Park. And that's why I was elected to come here this afternoon and talk to you people. Friendly like, you know, the way people should talk to each other and see if we couldn't find some way to work this thing out. As I say, the whole business is a matter of caring about the other fellow. Anybody can see that you are a nice family of folks, hard working and honest, I'm sure. (*Beneatha frowns slightly quizzically, her head tilted regarding him*) Today everybody knows what it means to be on the outside of something. And of course, there is always somebody who is out to take advantage of people who don't always understand.

**Walter:** What do you mean?

**Lindner:** Well—you see our community is made up of people who've worked hard as the dickens for years to build up that little community. They're not rich and fancy people; just hard-working, honest people who don't really have much but those little homes and a dream of the kind of community they want to raise their children in. Now, I don't say we are perfect and there is a lot wrong in some of the things they want. But you've got to admit that a man, right or wrong, has the right to want to have the neighborhood he lives in a certain kind of way. And at the moment the overwhelming majority of our people out there feel that people get along better, take more of a common interest in the life of the community, when they share a common background. I want you to believe me when I tell you that

WORKSHEET 2C, RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE SUBURBS (CONTINUED)

race prejudice simply doesn't enter into it. It is a matter of the people of Clybourne Park believing, rightly or wrongly, as I say, that for the happiness of all concerned that our Negro families are happier when they live in their own communities.

**Beneatha:** *(With a grand and bitter gesture)*  
This, friends, is the Welcoming Committee!

**Walter:** *(Dumbfounded, looking at Lindner)*  
Is this what you came marching all the way over here to tell us?

**Lindner:** Well, now we've been having a fine conversation. I hope you'll hear me all the way through.

**Walter:** *(Tightly)* Go ahead, man.

**Lindner:** You see—in the face of all the things I have said, we are prepared to make your family a very generous offer...

**Beneatha:** Thirty pieces and not a coin less!

**Walter:** Yeah?

**Lindner:** *(Putting on his glasses and drawing a form out of the briefcase)* Our association is prepared, through the collective effort of our people, to buy the house from you at a financial gain to your family.

**Ruth:** Lord have mercy, ain't this the living gall!

**Walter:** All right, you through?

**Lindner:** Well, I want to give you the exact terms of the financial arrangement—

**Walter:** We don't want to hear no exact terms of no arrangements. I want to know if you got any more to tell us 'bout getting together?

**Lindner:** *(Taking off his glasses)* Well—I don't suppose that you feel ... **Walter:** Never mind how I feel—you got any more to say 'bout how people ought to sit down and talk to each other?... Get out of my house, man.

*(He turns his back and walks to the door)*

**Lindner:** *(Looking around at the hostile faces and reaching and assembling his hat and briefcase)* Well—I don't understand why you people are reacting this way. What do you think you are going to gain by moving into a neighborhood where you just aren't wanted and where some elements—well—people can get awful worked up when they feel that their whole way of life and everything they've ever worked for is threatened.

**Walter:** Get out.

**Lindner:** *(At the door, holding a small card)*  
Well—I'm sorry it went like this.

**Walter:** Get out.

**Lindner:** *(Almost sadly regarding Walter)*  
You just can't force people to change their hearts, son.

*(He turns and puts his card on a table and exits. Walter pushes the door to with stinging hatred, and stands looking at it. Ruth just sits and Beneatha just stands. They say nothing.)*

From Lorraine Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*. Copyright© 1959, 1966, 1984 by Robert Nemiroff. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

# Learning Activity 3

*How much did family life change  
in the United States in the postwar era?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Cultural Diversity

## BACKGROUND

Beginning in 1946 the United States experienced a baby boom – a dramatic rise in the birthrate. Between 1950 and 1956 the number of babies born per year increased from just over 3.6 million to more than 4.25 million. The birthrate hovered at that figure for several years before beginning to drop in the early 1960s.

A number of factors contributed to the postwar baby boom. Millions of returning veterans who had been forced by the war to postpone starting families were able after the war to get on with plans for marriage and child rearing. A steadily growing economy in the 1950s made jobs available for the majority of Americans, and this prosperity encouraged larger families. Couples were marrying earlier. In 1950, one-half of all women were married by the age of twenty.

The postwar baby boom had a major impact on the economy. Growing families needed homes, and the demand for housing led to a building boom and the growth of suburbs (examined in Learning Activity 2). As the number of children increased, so too did the need for schools. Towns and cities put up thousands of new schools, further helping the building boom. In addition to increasing production to keep up with the demand for building materials and furniture, factories increased their production of all kinds of child-oriented products – from bicycles to juvenile books.

Family roles and relationships were also affected by the postwar baby boom. The culture became child-centered and this was reflected in the popularity of child rearing advice books as well as music lessons, Little League, and Girl Scouts. In this child-centered society, women, who during World War II had entered the work force, were pushed by returning veterans back into the role of homemaker. Men were the breadwinners and “kings of their castles.” Advertisements of the era reflected these traditional roles and relationships.

## MAJOR IDEA

- Family behavior and roles continued to CHANGE in the years after World War II but the CHANGES were compatible with trends visible in earlier years.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain the postwar baby boom.
- Identify the traditional roles of family members in the postwar era.
- Discuss the impact of changes in family life on the United States economy in the postwar era.
- Evaluate the changes in American family life in the postwar years.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 3A, “A Child-Centered Society.” Have students complete the exercises and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these sources tell us about changes that occurred in the American family after World War II?
  - What does the graph show about the United States birthrate between 1940 and 1970?
  - How do you explain the baby boom that occurred after World War II?
  - How does the graph help explain the publication of Dr. Spock’s book in 1946?
  - What was Dr. Spock’s philosophy of child rearing? How did it differ from earlier ideas about raising children?
  - Do you agree that a “baby who doesn’t get loving will grow up to be cold and unresponsive”? Why or why not?
  - How would you answer critics of Dr. Spock who claimed that his approach produces spoiled children?
  - To what extent is Dr. Spock’s advice being followed today? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 3B, “The Baby Boom Years.” Have students complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these sources reveal about the role of children in the 1950s?
  - How does each cartoonist feel about the child’s role in the 1950s family?
  - Do the statistics support the cartoons’ messages? Explain.
  - Was the changing role of the child positive or negative for the child? For the family? For the nation?
  - Are families in the United States today as child-centered as they were in the 1950s? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 3C, “Family Chores: Then and Now.” Have students study the chart, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does the chart tell us about family chores in the city during the 1950s?
  - Which chore came closest to being a responsibility shared by husband and wife?
  - How do you account for the fact that some chores were almost always done by husbands and others almost always done by wives?
  - How fair was the division of labor in families of the 1950s?
  - Do you think the results of this survey might have been different if the poll had been taken in a suburb? A farm area?
  - How different do you think the results of this survey would be if it were taken today? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 3D, “Advertisements and the Postwar Family.” Have students study the advertisements and work in pairs to complete the exercise. Then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these advertisements tell us about the roles expected of men and women after World War II?
  - How does the first advertisement suggest that men after World War II were the “kings of their castles”?
  - How do you explain the fact that women who worked outside the home during World War II went back to their traditional homemaker role after the war?
  - How does the first typical family of the 1950s compare with the typical family today? How do you account for the differences?
  - Do you think that advertisements in *Life* magazine reflected all ethnic and socio-economic groups in the United States? Explain.
  - How happy would you be as a member of the traditional 1950s American family? Explain.

- Distribute Worksheet 3E, “The African-American Family in Advertising.” Have students examine the advertisement, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this advertisement tell us about expected roles in the African-American family during the 1950s and 1960s?
  - How do the roles suggested in *Ebony* compare with those suggested in *Life*? How do you account for the similarities?
  - As an African-American in the 1950s or 1960s, how would you have reacted to the advertisement shown here? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 3F, “Workingman’s Wife—1959.” Have students read and complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this selection tell us about the role of women in the 1950s?
  - How does this woman’s account of a typical day in her life reflect the charts, cartoons, and advertisements of the era?
  - Why do you suppose the book from which this selection was excerpted was

entitled *Workingman’s Wife*? Should a woman’s identity be determined in relation to that of her husband? Explain.

- If you had lived in the 1950s, would you have been satisfied with the role of women? Why or why not?
- Do you think that the fifties woman was a happy one?
- In the 1950s, what predictions would you have made for the future of women in the United States? Explain.

### FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

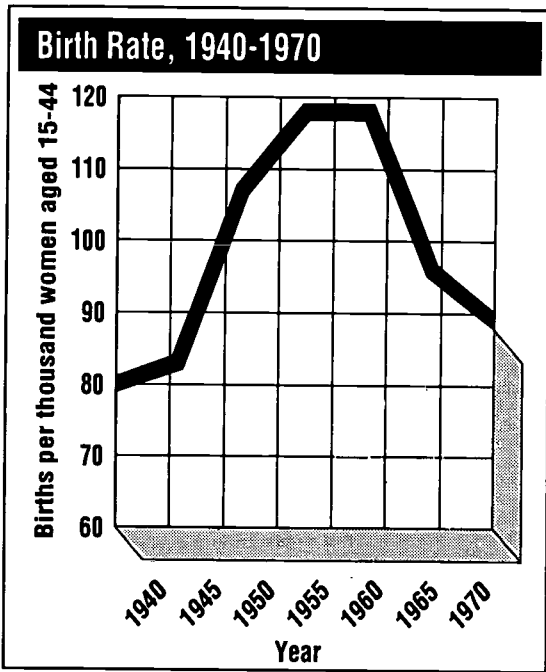
Students can:

- Clip advertisements depicting women today and compare and contrast them with advertisements of the 1950s.
- Poll their families to see who does repairs, bills, dishes, meal preparation. Record the results and compare to the 1950s.
- Compare advice books on parenting today with Dr. Spock’s advice in the first edition of *Baby and Child Care*.



## A Child-Centered Society

After studying the graph below and the excerpt from *Baby and Child Care* by Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose advice to parents in the 1950s was revolutionary, complete the exercise below.



United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Bicentennial Edition, Washington, D.C., 1975

1. In which five-year period did births show the sharpest rise? \_\_\_\_\_
2. When did births start to drop? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Why do you think the years from 1945-1960 were called the "baby boom" years?

### Enjoy Your Baby

Don't be afraid of him. You'd think from what some people say about babies demanding attention that they come into the world determined to get their parents under their thumb by hook or by crook. This isn't true. Your baby is born to be a reasonable, friendly human being.

Don't be afraid to feed him when you think he's really hungry. If you are mistaken, he'll merely refuse to take much. Don't be afraid to love him and enjoy him. Every baby needs to be smiled at, talked to, played with, fondled—gently and lovingly—just as much as he needs vitamins and calories. That's what will make him a person who loves people and enjoys life. The baby who doesn't get any loving will grow up cold and unresponsive.

Don't be afraid to respond to other desires of his as long as they seem sensible to you and as long as you don't become a slave to him. When he cries in the early weeks, it's because he's uncomfortable for some reason or other—maybe it's hunger or indigestion, or fatigue, or tension. The uneasy feeling you have when you hear him cry, the feeling that you want to comfort him, is meant to be part of your nature, too. Being held, rocked or walked may be what he needs.

Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care* (New York: Penguin, 1970), 4.

WORKSHEET 3A, A CHILD-CENTERED SOCIETY (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Answer the letter below that might have been written in the 1950s to Dr. Spock.

Dear Dr. Spock:

Please help me. My newborn baby cries all the time. There is no one to help me during the day; my mother lives in the city. She says I should let the baby cry and that it's silly to talk to a baby who can't possibly understand. Too much attention will spoil the baby, she says.

Please help me. You can say I'm just—

Frantic in Forest Hills

Dear Frantic:

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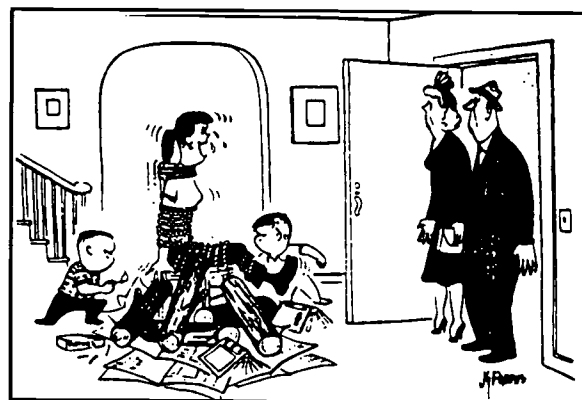
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## The Baby Boom Years

The cartoons and tables below help to tell the story of the baby boom years in the United States.



"Oh, Walt, just look at her! Doesn't the ten-dollars-a-lesson seem insignificant now?"



"Am I glad to see You!!!"

### PARENTS SPENDING ON THEIR CHILDREN

	1950	1960
ENCYCLOPEDIA SALES (millions of dollars)	72	300
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT SALES (millions of dollars)	86	149
JUVENILE BOOK SALES (millions of dollars)	32 est.	88

### GROWING POPULATION OF ACTIVE CHILDREN

	1950	1960
CHILDREN 5-14 (millions)	24.3	35.5
LITTLE LEAGUES	776	5,700
GIRL SCOUTS AND BROWNIES (millions)	1.8	4.0
BICYCLE PRODUCTION (millions)	2.0	3.8

Fortune Magazine

WORKSHEET 3B, THE BABY BOOM YEARS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

- How many millions of dollars worth of musical instruments were sold in 1950?  
\_\_\_\_\_ in 1960? \_\_\_\_\_
- How many more millions were made in encyclopedia sales in 1960 than in 1950?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- How many Little Leagues were formed between 1950 and 1960? \_\_\_\_\_

Now work with a partner to make up a math word problem using the information in these tables

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## Family Chores: Then and Now

The chart below shows responsibility for family chores in the 1950-1960 era.

FAMILY CHORES IN THE CITY*								
Who Does It?	Repairs	Lawn	Walk	Bills	Groceries	Breakfast	Living Room	Dishes
Husband always	73%	66%	61%	19%	7%	16%	1%	1%
Husband more than wife	11	9	13	6	7	5	1	2
Husband and wife exactly the same	6	6	8	34	29	4	17	13
Wife more than husband	3	6	7	11	20	7	15	12
Wife always	3	7	7	30	36	66	65	70
No answer	4	6	4	—	1	2	1	2

\*Based on a survey of 731 Detroit families.

Source: Robert O. Blood and Donald Wolfe, *Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living* (New York: The Free Press, 1960).

### EXERCISE

Use the above table to complete the following chart. Then indicate how each chore is dealt with in your own household today.

CHORE	1950s	TODAY
Does dishes after meals		
Shops for groceries		
Takes care of household bills		
Does repairs around the home		

How much has changed since 1960? Explain your answer.

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## *Advertisements and the Postwar Family*

After examining the two advertisements below, complete the exercise that follows.



Good things happen over coffee...

Back to his five-room kingdom comes  
Their Hero—and no roll of drums  
Could beat the welcome that he spies  
In all his loving subjects' eyes.  
And as his story fills the air,  
The steaming, zestful coffee's there!  
Its hearty flavor seems to say,  
"A PERFECT END FOR A PERFECT DAY!"

*Life* magazine, April 5, 1948, 18.

THE AIR YOU BREATHE SHOULD BE AS PURE AS THE WATER YOU DRINK

Whisk away cooking odors!

ILG

VENTILATION

● You'll want to shout to the skies about your new ILG Electric Ventilator. Quiet, powerful, economical—it whisks away cooking odors, excess heat, steam and smoke *before* they can spread to other rooms in your home. See your dealer or get *free* new booklet "For a clean, cool, well ventilated home."

**ILG ELECTRIC VENTILATING CO., 2801 N. Crawford Ave., Chicago 41, Ill.**  
Offices in more than 40 Principal Cities—Consult Classified Phone Directory.

Life magazine, April 5, 1948, 105.

**EXERCISE**

What does advertising of the postwar era show about the family at that time? Use the *Life* magazine ads to complete the chart below.

Aspects of Family Life	How Shown in <i>Life</i> Advertisements
Role of women	
Role of men	
The "ideal" or "model" family	

## The African-American Family in Advertising

The advertisement below appeared in 1949 in *Ebony* magazine, a periodical targeted at African-Americans. Examine how this ad shows the roles expected of family members.



**HAPPY FAMILY**

How they live —  
How Pet Milk Helps them enjoy  
Better Food at Lower Cost!



Big Little Appetites! Gladys finds that it's easy to give her growing youngsters extra milk nourishment with Pet Milk on cereal.

### The Pet Milk Photographer Visits The E. F. Slaughter family of St. Louis, Mo.

Life in the pleasant, comfortable Slaughter home centers naturally around Carol Jean, 5½, and Donald, 2½. But Gene Slaughter, owner of a fast-growing cleaning establishment, still finds time for his two hobbies, boating and a community basketball team; and Gladys Slaughter, busy with house and youngsters, works

overtime for PTA and Mothers' Club.

All four members of this healthy, active family enjoy the dishes that mother prepares with Pet Milk. And Gladys prefers Pet Milk for cooking because Pet Milk, whole milk concentrated to double richness, adds rich flavor to her family's favorite dishes.



"Bye, brother!"—with daddy at work, Donnie is man of the house—and loves it! "He's the athletic type," says Gene Slaughter proudly of his sturdy little son.



Just Like Mother! Proud of her cooking, Gladys wants Carol to learn, too, how to cook well and economically. Slaughters have better food at less cost with Pet Milk, which costs less generally than any other form of milk.



Story Time! End of a busy day for Carol and Donnie. Bright, sturdy, happy youngsters, they're typical of many children today growing up in homes where Pet Milk helps add extra milk nourishment in family meals.



**AMERICA'S FIRST  
EVAPORATED MILK**  
FOR BABIES...  
FOR COOKING...  
FOR COFFEE

*Ebony*, December 1949, p. 12



WORKSHEET 3E, THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN ADVERTISING (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

What does advertising of the postwar era show about the African-American family at that time? Use the *Ebony* magazine ad to complete the chart below.

Aspects of Family Life	How Shown in <i>Ebony</i> Advertisement
Role of women	
Role of men	
The "ideal" or "model" family	

## **Workingman's Wife—1959**

The excerpt below from *Workingman's Wife* was written by a 24-year-old in Levittown, New York, during the 1950s.

“

Well, naturally, I get up first, make breakfast for my husband and put a load of clothes in my washer while breakfast cooks. Then I wake him, give him his breakfast and he's off to work. Then I make breakfast for the children. After the children eat, I dress them and they go out to play. Then I hang the clothes up and clean lightly through the house. In between times I do the dishes—that's understood, of course. Then I make lunch for the children and myself and I bring them in, clean them up, and they eat. I send them out to play when they're done and I do the dishes, bring the clothes in, and iron them. When I'm ironing it's usually time to make supper, or at least start preparing it. Sometimes I have time to watch a TV story for half an hour or so. Then my husband comes home and we have our meals. Then I do dishes again. Then he goes out to work again—he has a part-time job—at his uncle's beverage company. Well, he does that two or three nights a week. If he stays home he watches TV and in the meantime I get the kids ready for bed. He and I have a light snack, watch TV awhile and then go to bed....

”

Lee Rainwater, et al., *Workingman's Wife* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1959), 27-28, 32. Permission pending.

### **EXERCISE**

Prepare a log indicating how your mother, or any adult female in your house (or extended family), spends a typical day. Use the above excerpt from the 1950s for ideas.

7 a.m. _____	3 p.m. _____
8 a.m. _____	4 p.m. _____
9 a.m. _____	5 p.m. _____
10 a.m. _____	6 p.m. _____
11 a.m. _____	7 p.m. _____
12 noon _____	8 p.m. _____
1 p.m. _____	9 p.m. _____
2 p.m. _____	10 p.m. _____

## Learning Activity 4

*How much did the cultural interests of people in the United States change during the postwar years?*

### THEME

Culture/Diversity

### BACKGROUND

A youth culture developed in the United States after World War II, fostered by the new prosperity, the baby boom, and by the 16.5 million Americans who were in their teens, a staggering number. A group this large could not escape the attention of industry, advertisers, and the media, and could not help but affect the larger culture.

In the early and mid-fifties, most age groups shared popular music tastes. Singers like Doris Day, Nat King Cole, Perry Como, and Patti Page were popular among most groups. Musical tastes were also affected by the pre-Castro immigration of Cubans to the United States, who popularized the mambo dance beat.

However, with the onset of rock 'n' roll, and especially the rise to fame of Elvis Presley, teenagers began to develop their own subculture. (Presley made rock, which had its roots in the African-American community, acceptable to white audiences.) Soon an immensely successful music market would be supported by teenagers alone.

Postwar prosperity created a new American consumer—the teenager—and business and industry catered to the youth market. Youngsters, especially those in the suburbs, became avid consumers of records, clothing, cars, and health and beauty products.

While many magazine and newspaper articles in the 1950s had as their dominant theme the conformity, the averageness, of the American teenager of the period, there were different elements among the younger generation. The image of the rebel, or the “juvenile delinquent,” became popular, feeding off the acting of Marlon Brando in *The Wild One* and the brooding performance of James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*.

In this new youth-centered culture, families with young children were more likely to stay at home, and the medium of television became an ideal entertainment. The popularity of television had risen dramatically since the first national network broadcast in 1949. During the 1950s almost seven million television sets were sold each year. Not everyone was happy about the growing popularity of television. However, despite the critics, millions of Americans enjoyed sitting in front of the “tube” and eating the new frozen TV dinners.

### MAJOR IDEAS

- A postwar “baby boom,” fostered by the nation’s prosperity, caused America to become a youth-oriented society.
- TECHNOLOGICAL advances affected CULTURAL trends.

### CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture
- Diversity
- Technology

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Identify examples of cultural trends following World War II.
- Explain the emergence of a youth-oriented culture in the 1950s.
- Assess the contributions of various racial/ethnic groups to the popular culture of the United States in the 1950s.
- Compare and contrast the popular culture of the 1950s with that of today's society.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 4A, "Teen Idol." Read the poem aloud to the class, or have students read it silently. Have students work in pairs or small groups to complete the exercise. Allow the groups to share.
- Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this poem tell us about James Dean's appeal to Americans in the 1950s?
  - Why did teenage boys in the 1950s look at themselves in mirrors and "see" James Dean?
  - What did the father mean when he said, "Nobody understood me either. I might have amounted to something if the folks had understood"?
  - How do you explain James Dean's appeal to Americans in the 1950s?
  - Was James Dean a good role model for teens?
  - To what degree are rebels like James Dean heroes to teenagers today? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 4B, "Teen Gallery." Divide the class into groups of four students each. Assign each student responsibility for two of the "exhibits" on the worksheet. After students have examined their assigned data, have them share with their groups and work together to complete the exercise on the worksheet. Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these "exhibits" tell us about popular styles in the 1950s?
  - What changes were occurring in leisure activities and popular entertainment?
  - How did these changes in entertainment reflect postwar prosperity?
  - How was business directing its efforts to the youth market? Why was it doing so in the 1950s?
  - How great an impact did technology have on popular styles?
  - If you had lived in the 1950s, what styles would have most appealed to you? least appealed to you? Explain.
  - To what degree is the youth market today a target for the entertainment industry and for business?
  - Does the culture of the 1950s continue to impact on youth today? Explain.
  - What memorabilia would you include in a 1990s "Teen Gallery"? Explain reasons for your choices.
- Distribute Worksheet 4C, "They Were Dancin' the Mambo." Have two students role-play the interview as the rest of the class reads along. Have students complete the exercises. Volunteers can be asked to demonstrate the mambo for the class. Then have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this worksheet tell us about another popular trend of the 1950s?
  - How do you explain the popularity of dances like the mambo in the postwar era?
  - How did the popularity of the mambo in the United States reflect the increasing diversity of the American population in the 1950s?
  - Why do you think Perez Prado was called the Mambo King?
  - How do you account for dance crazes? Are dance crazes as common today as they were in the 1950s?

- Distribute Worksheet 4D, “Rock ‘n’ Roll: Its African-American Roots.” Have students enact the role-play, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What does this dialogue tell us about the development of rock ‘n’ roll?
- How did rock ‘n’ roll develop from the earlier rhythm and blues?
- What role did Muddy Waters play in rock ‘n’ roll’s development? B.B. King? Chuck Berry?
- How important was Alan Freed’s contribution to the rock and roll industry?
- Why did the Memphis DJ think it was important to “get...out” to the audience the name of the high school that Elvis Presley attended?
- Why was the “covering” of black rock artists by white artists so common in the 1950s?
- Should restitution be made to the families of black artists whose music was “covered” by white artists? If so, what measures would you favor?

- Distribute Worksheet 4E, “TV in the 1950s.” Have students examine the photographs, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do we learn from this worksheet about television in the 1950s?
- How do you explain the popularity of shows like these in the postwar era?
- Would these shows be popular today? Why or why not?

- Distribute Worksheet 4F, “Television: Its Impact.” Have students read, complete the

exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do we learn from these statements about the impact of television?
- Why does Harriet Van Horne say that by the twenty first century “our people will be squint-eyed, hunchbacked and fond of the dark.” Do you agree or disagree?
- To what degree is television “homogenizing” our society, as Leo Rosten argues?
- How does television affect children, according to Alistair Cooke? How does it affect politics?
- Has television’s impact been mostly positive or negative? Explain.

### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Compare and contrast the roles of African-Americans in a television show of the 1950s like “Make Room for Daddy” with their roles on television today.
- Compare and contrast the rock ‘n’ roll of the 1950s with teen music today, including song lyrics and clothing of performers.
- Visit the Museum of Television and Radio to examine the history of television (25 West 52nd Street, NYC).
- Prepare a “Teen Gallery — 1990s.” Have students select items that reflect the current teen scene.
- Make a collage of current advertisements that appeal to teens and then compare and contrast today’s popular products, activities, dress, with those in the 1950s.

## ***Teen Idol***

The actor James Dean's brooding performance in "Rebel Without a Cause" made him the idol of millions of American teenagers in the 1950s. Below the poet John Dos Passos comments on Dean's continuing popularity even years after his untimely death.

### **The Lost Boy** *by John Dos Passos*

There is nothing much deader  
than a dead motion picture actor, and yet,  
even after James Dean had been some years dead,  
when they filed out of the close darkness  
and the breathed out air of the second and third  
and fourth run motion picture theatres  
where they'd been seeing James Dean's old films,  
they still lined up:

the boys in the jackboots and the leather jackets,  
the boys in the skintight jeans, the boys in broad  
motorbike belts, before the mirrors in the restroom  
to look at themselves and see James Dean;

the resentful hair, the deep eyes  
floating in lonesomeness, the bitter beat look,  
the scorn on the lip ...

The girls flocked out dizzy with wanting  
to run their fingers through his hair,  
to feel that thwarted maleness; girl-boy almost,  
but he needs a shave ...

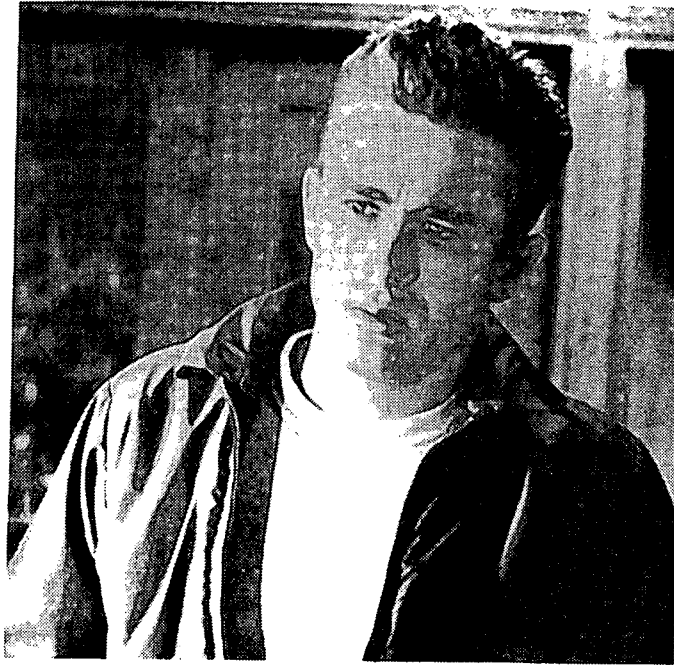
"Just him and me in the back seat of a car."

Their fathers snort, but sometimes they remember:  
"Nobody understood me either. I might have amounted  
to something if the folks had understood."

The older women struggle from their seats wet-eyed.

As found in Ezra Bowen, ed., *This Fabulous Century 1950-1960* (Alexandria, Va.: Time Life Books, 1970), 37. Permission pending.

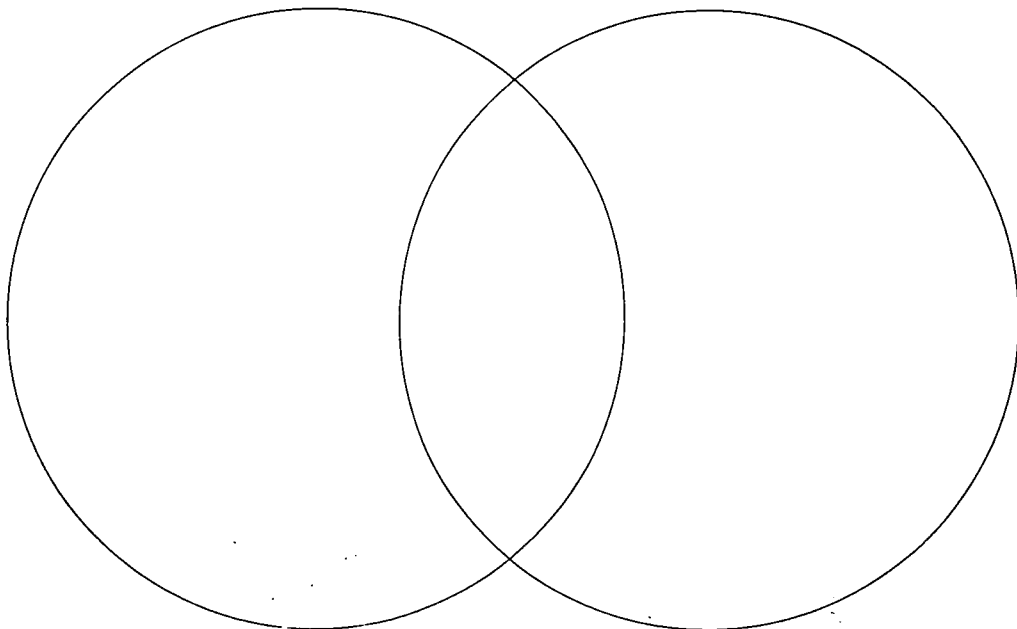
WORKSHEET 4A, TEEN IDOL (CONTINUED)



**EXERCISE**

Compare James Dean to a current teen idol by placing the name of a current star in the space provided. List likenesses where the circles overlap. List differences in the outer areas of the circles.

**James Dean**



## Teen Gallery

The memorabilia from the 1950s below might have been collected for a museum exhibit. After examining all of the material, give the exhibit a title. Then complete the exercise that follows.

Title: \_\_\_\_\_

### EXHIBIT A

A fifties fad was to try to squeeze as many teens as possible into a small space like this phone booth.



### EXHIBIT B

In 1958, 30 million Americans were spinning hula hoops, which cost \$1.98 each.





EXHIBIT C

Advertisement aimed at young people.

**BEHIND BY TWO POINTS ... AND 38 YARDS AWAY!**

THAT'S A ROUGH CROSSWIND. MY AIM HAS TO BE PERFECT.

WITH TIME FOR ONE PLAY. CAN CARL MAKE THE KICK GOOD FOR THE TITLE?

WHAT A KICK!

IT'S GOOD! WE WIN!

WHAT A MAN! CARL!

YOU HEARD THE CHEERS, CARL! YOU'RE A REAL HERO!

WITH MY FOOT MAYBE. BUT NOT WITH MY FACE. THESE PIMPLES REALLY RUIN MY CHANCES WITH THE GIRLS.

CARL, OY BOY, YOU NEED TACKLE! IT'S A MEDICATED CLEAR GEL, ESPECIALLY MADE FOR A MAN'S SKIN. NO GIRLIE COVER-UP... AND IT GOES ON LIKE AFTER-SHAVE.

MAN, TACKLE IS REALLY GREAT. I CAN FEEL IT WORKING ALREADY. IT'S INVISIBLE.

TACKLE REALLY GIVES PIMPLES THE BOOT.

I'M SO GLAD YOU COULD COME TO MY PARTY, CARL. YOUR BEING HERE HELPED MAKE IT A SUCCESS!

THANKS, BETTY. U-H-H EXCUSE ME, SUE AND I HAVE THE NEXT DANCE.

MMMM-THE MUSIC'S JUST RIGHT FOR A GIRL AND HER FOOTBALL HERO!

**TACKLE.** MEDICATED CLEAR GEL

HELPS CLEAR UP INFECTIOUS BACTERIA  
HELPS CLEAR UP SKIN PROBLEMS FAST

IT'S A GREAT MEDICATION TO HELP SOLVE A NUMBER OF SKIN PROBLEMS.

**SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER**  
ONE WEEK'S SUPPLY OF TACKLE 1/4 OZ. BEEZ UNIT 25¢  
Send twenty-two cents in cash, with your name and address and mail to TACKLE, P.O. Box 10, Chicago, Illinois 60633  
©1951 ONE TO TACKLE INC.

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### EXHIBIT D

Teens used these expressions in the fifties:

#### TEENAGE LINGO

**COOL** (also "neat," "smooth," "casual")  
—worthy of approval; poise or self-assurance.

**HANG LOOSE** (also "negative perspiration")  
—no sweat, don't worry.

**HAIRY**—formidable, as in a hairy exam.

**Clutch**—to panic, or lose one's cool.

**YO-YO** (also "square," "nerd," "turkey," "spastic," "blow-lunch," "nosebleed")  
—a dull person; an outsider.

**BLAST-OFF**—go away, get lost, drop dead (also "DDT" for "drop dead twice").

**DRAG**—anything, or anybody, that was considered dreary.

**WHEELS**—a car.

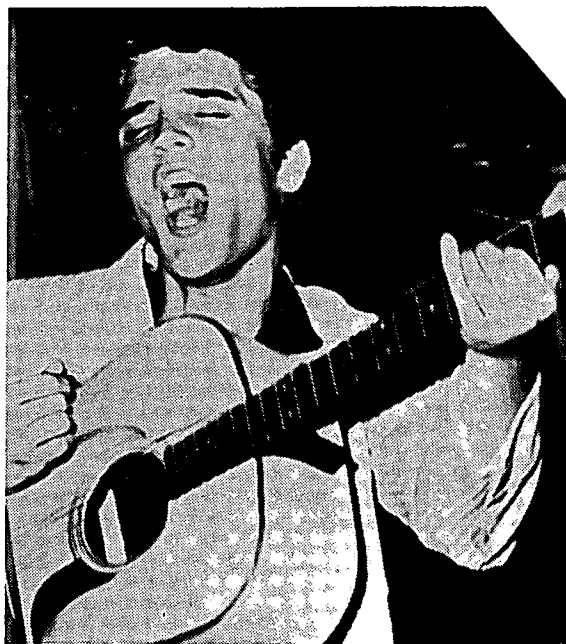
**PASSION PIT**—a drive-in movie.

**GROUNDNED**—unable to borrow the family wheels to take a hot date to the passion pit.

**SARC**—sarcastic; a sarc remark would be, "Wanna lose ten ugly pounds? Cut off your head."

**HARDEEHARHAR**—the sarc response to someone else's bad joke.

### EXHIBIT E



One of the many Elvis Presley hits to top the charts in the fifties:

#### LOVE ME TENDER

*Love me tender  
Love me sweet  
Never let me go  
You have made my life complete  
And I love you so.  
Love me tender  
Love me true  
All my dreams fulfilled  
For my darling  
I love you  
And I always will.*

Ezra Bowen, ed., *This Fabulous Century 1950-1960* (Alexandria, Va.: Time Life Books, 1970), 80.

Exhibit F

Music of the 1950s reflected many different tastes and resulted in changes in business, too.

JANUARY 1956 FEBRUARY

JANUARY

**11** The Coasters, formerly the Robins, record their first sides under their new name. The songs, "Down in Mexico" and "Turtle Dovin," are written and produced by Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller and engineered by Bunny Robyn in Hollywood, California.

**18** Little Richard enters the pop chart at #26 with "Tutti Frutti" (currently on the R&B chart). His original edges out covers by Pat Boone and Elvis Presley. The Top Fifteen pop album chart, dominated as usual by records like Jackie Gleason *Plays Music for Lovers Only*, Jackie Gleason *Plays Music to Make You Mazy* and Jackie Gleason *Plays Romantic Jazz*, lists its first rock & roll entry, Bill Haley and the Comets' *Rock around the Clock*, at #12.

**26** Buddy Holly's first recording session for Decca is held in Nashville.

**27** Probably the most star-studded R&B package tour to date gets under way in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Promoted by impresario Irvin Feld, the show features Bill Haley and the Comets, the Platters, LaVern Baker, Shirley and Lee, Red Prysock, the Drifters, Joe Turner, the Five Keys, Bo Diddley, Roy Hamilton and the Turbans. The ten-date tour through the South will conclude in Washington, D.C. on February 5.

RCA releases its first new Elvis Presley material: "Heartbreak Hotel," backed with "I Was the One."

**28** Elvis Presley makes his national television debut on "The Dorsey Brothers Stage Show" on CBS.

**30** Seventeen thousand country music fans ignore a four-inch snowstorm in Denver, Colorado, to attend a Coliseum concert featuring Webb Pierce, Red Foley, the Foggy River Boys, Ray Price, Floyd Cramer, Roy Hill, the Echo Valley Boys and others.

Jerry Lee Lewis plays piano for rockabilly singer Billy Lee Riley's Sun Studio session. They record "Red Hot," which will become Riley's most successful record. Earlier, Riley and his group, the Little Green Men, had a local hit with "Flying Saucers Rock 'n' Roll," one of the most unusual rockabilly songs ever recorded.

FEBRUARY

**1** The Rock and Roll Ice Revue, billed "the hottest production ever staged on ice," opens at the Roxy Theater in New York City.

**2** Atlantic Records signs the Coasters, made up of former Robins Carl Gardner and Bobby Nunn, along with Billy Guy and Leon Hughes, and rushes to release their first record, "Down in Mexico," backed with "Turtle Dovin," both written by new

Atlantic writers Leiber and Stoller.

**8** Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers' "Why Do Fools Fall in Love" and the Teen Queens' "Eddie, My Love" enter the R&B chart.

**12** Crypt-kicker Screamin' Jay Hawkins records "I Put a Spell on You" for Okeh Records in New York City.

**13** Alan Freed signs with Coral Records for the second time. He is to compile and promote four dance and party album sets his first year.

**16** The American Guild of Variety Artists' national administrative secretary, Jackle Bright, declares at a press conference in New York that "DJs who put on record dances are putting musicians out of work." He threatens to forbid guild members to cooperate with disc jockeys.

**22** *Billboard* reviews James Brown's debut record, "Please, Please, Please": "A dynamic, religious fervor runs through the pleading solo here. Brown and the Famous Flames group let off plenty of steam."

**24** Police in Cleveland, Ohio, invoke a 1931 ordinance barring people under eighteen years of age from dance



ing in public unless accompanied by an adult.

**25** Disc jockeys from fifteen cities meet in New York City to form the National Rhythm and Blues Disc Jockey Association of America to combat offensive song lyrics and payola, the practice whereby artists "pay" disc jockeys to play their records.

**27** Little Richard's first Number One R&B hit, "Slippin' and Slidin'," backed with "Long Tall Sally," is released on Specialty.

**29** Elvis Presley's "Heartbreak Hotel" enters the pop chart at #22; Carl Perkins' "Blue Suede Shoes" enters at #28.

Exhibit G

Three-D glasses were worn during movies.



From *The Rolling Stone Rock Almanac*, ©1983. By Straight Arrow Publishers, Inc. 1983. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

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**EXHIBIT H**

New magazines were directed to the spending power of youth.



Scholastic Search, Vol. 17, No. 8, May 1989, 27.

WORKSHEET 4B, TEEN GALLERY (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

For each of the exhibits in the "Teen Gallery," indicate whether the item still has an impact on teens today. Then give your reasons.

Exhibit Item	Impact Today		Reason
	Yes	No	
"Stuffing" into a phone booth			
Hula hoops			
Skin care products advertisement			
Teen-age slang			
Elvis Presley songs			
Rock, country, and rhythm and blues music; disc jockeys			
3-D movies			
<i>Mad</i> or other teen magazines			

## *They Were Dancin' the Mambo*

Even before the 1959 Cuban revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power, many Cubans had come to the United States seeking a better life. Perez Prado, one of these immigrants, became known as the Mambo King after he introduced a new dance craze to the United States.

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### *Multicultural Mosaic*

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STYLES OF THE TIMES, AUGUST 17, 1954

#### MEET MAMBO KING PEREZ PRADO

This exclusive interview is from the Palladium Ballroom in New York City where Perez Prado, the Mambo King, is entertaining throngs of locals and tourists.

**Reporter:** Where did the inspiration for your music come from?

**Prado:** The mambo beat is of African and Cuban musical heritage. I borrowed the rhythm from native Cuban sugar workers and now it is America's newest and hottest dance craze.

**Reporter:** How long have you been writing music?

**Prado:** Since 1943 I've written 200 mambos and have sold 2 million records.

**Reporter:** Are your friends in Cuba and the United States surprised by your success?

**Prado:** In Cuba people said I was crazy to think people would ever like the mambo but it has succeeded because it is new. In the United States you tire of the old rhythms. You wanted a new beat and this music has blood in it.

**Reporter:** Thank you and good luck. We're offering pairs of tickets to the Palladium to readers who submit two interview questions for the Mambo King. Lucky winners will be chosen at random on August 31! Submit your entries on the enclosed form. Keep on dancing using the basic steps printed along with this report.

#### EXERCISE

Win tickets to hear the mambo at the Palladium by submitting two questions for Perez Prado in the space provided below. Winners will be selected at random.

Question 1: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Question 2: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 4C, THEY WERE DANCIN' THE MAMBO (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Learn the mambo at home by following the dance steps outlined here. Then compare the mambo to a current dance craze by completing the chart below.



**Count One**

From a feet-apart position, man at Count One brings his left foot beside right, lady brings right beside left.



**Count Two**

The man steps backward with right foot as the lady steps forward with her left foot.



**Count Three**

Man taps once in place with left foot, shifting weight to left. Lady does likewise with right.



**Count Four**

Man moves right foot forward toward left foot, while lady brings left foot back toward right foot.



**Count Five**

Man brings his left foot back toward right, girl moves right foot toward left. Now goback to Count One.



**Count Six**

Man taps once with right foot, shifting weight to right. Lady taps with left, shifting weight to left.



**Count Seven**

The man steps forward with left foot while his partner steps backward with her right foot.



**Count Eight**

Partners are now back at same position as Count One., ready to repeat steps in opposite directions.

Dance	Reason for Popularity	Evidence of Popularity
Mambo		
Current dance		

## Rock 'n' Roll: Its African-American Roots

**Interviewer:** One of the most important cultural developments of the 1950s has been the emergence of rock 'n' roll music. Teens all over the United States are tuning into Top 40 radio and dancing to the new beat. How did this new music get started? What role did you play in rock 'n' roll's development?

**Muddy Waters:** The blues, a creation of enslaved Africans, formed the basis of rock 'n' roll. After World War I and again after World War II, thousands of southern blacks brought the blues to northern cities where this musical style was transformed.

When I moved in 1943 from the Mississippi delta to Chicago, I bought my first electric guitar and formed my first electric combo. I combined the blues of my Delta upbringing with the nitty-gritty, low-down, jumpy sound of the city. I gave the blues a little pep. My peppy blues became known as rhythm and blues.

**B.B. King:** I am one of the most successful of the rhythm and blues artists, producing dozens of R&B classics that rock guitarists later either copied or stole. I guess the earliest sound of blues that I can remember was in the fields while people would be pickin' cotton or choppin' or somethin.' When I sing and play now I can hear those same sounds that I used to hear as a kid.

**Chuck Berry:** If anyone could claim to be the father of rock 'n' roll it would be me. In my youth, I sang gospel at home with my family. In 1955 I traveled to Chicago, then the mecca of urban blues, where I met Muddy Waters, who was perhaps the greatest inspiration in the launching of my career. It was Muddy who advised me to see Leonard Chess of Chess records. The demo tape that I recorded for Chess included a song that became "Maybelline," a country song adapted to a boogie-woogie beat. Within weeks, my upbeat song had received

national airplay. I followed with "Roll Over Beethoven," and "Johnny Be Good."

**Alan Freed:** I was rock 'n' roll's super promoter. While a New York City DJ, I introduced thousands of young whites on the East Coast to black rhythm and blues music, which I called "rock-and-roll." By 1953, young teens were listening to disc jockeys like me on a new invention — the portable, transistorized radio. Craving the songs they heard and with money to spend, teens bought rock 'n' roll records with their allowances.

**Sam Philips:** It was as a disc jockey in Memphis, Tennessee that I "discovered" Elvis Presley. In 1953 an eighteen-year-old Elvis came to the recording studio of Sun Record Company, which I owned. When one of the first records he cut for me, "That's All Right, Mama," was played on the radio, all hell broke loose. In the words of the disc jockey who then interviewed the new local sensation: "I asked him where he went to high school and he said Humes. I wanted to get that out, because a lot of people listening thought he was colored."

**Bo Diddley:** Do you know that Elvis's hit "That's All Right, Mama" was actually written by Arthur Crudup, an African-American who remained poor, while the white artists who recorded his songs got rich?

The "covering" of black artists by white artists was a common occurrence in the early years of rock and roll. Blacks, like Muddy Waters, Chuck Berry, and myself, would get a hit record and the record companies would want to break it into the white market, but there was a color line at that time. Record producers would then get some white guy to "cover" the record. Black artists developed the music and got ripped off and the glory and the money would go to the white artists.

Based on information in David P. Szatmary, *Rockin' in Time: A Social History of Rock-and-Roll* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991).



WORKSHEET 4D, ROCK 'N' ROLL: ITS AFRICAN-AMERICAN ROOTS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Pretend that you are a lawyer who has just been contacted by an African-American rock artist whose songs were “covered” by white artists in the 1950s. He has asked for your advice on gaining what he feels is rightfully his. Below, outline the advice you would give him.

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## TV in the 1950s

Pictured below are scenes from some of the most popular television shows of the 1950s. Choose the statement that best describes each show and write its letter next to the picture.



**The Mickey Mouse Club**



**Dragnet**



**Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet**



**I Love Lucy**



**Playhouse 90**

The Youman/Shulman Collection. Permission pending.

- A. This situation comedy featured a scatterbrained housewife whose Cuban band leader husband refused to let her go to work.
- B. This show idealized life in the suburbs for the two-parent, two-child American family.
- C. This Walt Disney-produced children's show featured singing, dancing, and skits.
- D. Every week viewers watched as detective Sergeant Joe Friday and his partner solved crimes in the city of Los Angeles.
- E. For the first time, many Americans were able to experience theater when this show brought live dramas into living rooms around the nation.

## **Television: Its Impact**

The statements below concern the effect of television on the people who watch it.

### **A. Columnist Harriet Van Horne:**

Our people are becoming less literate by the minute... As old habits decline, such as reading books and thinking thoughts, TV will absorb their time. By the 21st century, our people doubtless will be squint-eyed, hunchbacked and fond of the dark.

### **B. Leon Rosten, writing in 1963:**

What of television's effects in the future? I think that television will "homogenize" our society in a way the pre-television world could hardly have imagined. How else can it be, when 20 to 40 million Americans are exposed to the same programs, the same styles of speech and inflection, the same jokes, the same implicit values? We may expect regional differences to decline; Americans will probably become more alike in dress, speech, manners.

**C. Alistair Cooke**, a British-American observer of life in the United States, in a 1975 interview:

**Q.** Mr. Cook, what are the most striking effects on Americans of a quarter century of widespread television?

**A.** The most striking thing to me is that television has produced a generation of children who have a declining grasp of the English language but also have a visual sophistication that was denied to their parents. They learn so much about the world that appeals immediately to their emotions, but I'm not sure it involves their intelligence, their judgment...

**Q.** Basically, what is television's impact on politics?

**A.** Well, it gives people an enormously wider knowledge of the way our society is governed. Certainly, we have seen the face of injustice and of crime and of poverty in ways that unimaginative people would never have picked up from newspaper reports. In this way, the medium itself is a means of great reporting: You see a mother break down; you see a miner's miserable village. It forces you to take in more than you would ever care to read...

Left (B)  
Leo Rosten. "What Television Can—And Cannot—Do," *TV Guide*, October 6, 1962. Permission pending.

Right (C)  
Alistair Cooke. From "What TV Is Doing to America," in *U.S. News & World Report*, April 15, 1974. Permission pending.

WORKSHEET 4F, TELEVISION: ITS IMPACT (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

List below the positive and negative effects of television suggested by the above statements. You can then add to these lists, using the space provided.

TELEVISION	
POSITIVE EFFECTS	OTHER POSITIVE EFFECTS
NEGATIVE EFFECTS	OTHER NEGATIVE EFFECTS

# Learning Activity 5

*Did the black Civil Rights movement achieve its goals?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

The modern-day Civil Rights movement can be traced to the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), in which a black man contested the segregation laws of the South as they related to public transportation. The defeat in that case became a focus for civil rights organizers, who were able to overturn the de jure system of segregation as a result of the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954).

It was during the Plessy era that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was organized. The goals of the organization were to enhance the lives of blacks through legislative, educational, and cultural programs as well as to increase black voter registration.

During the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, the two African-Americans whose words resonated most were Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Their goals and the methods they advocated to achieve those goals differed fundamentally. Dr. King, a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, believed in racial integration and nonviolent resistance. Malcolm X, a forceful advocate of Black Muslims, believed in advancement only through self-help, including black nationalism and self-defense. After a trip to Mecca and Africa in 1964, however, Malcolm, who had changed his name to Al Hajj Malik al-Shabazz, began to change his approach. He agreed to cooperate with other civil rights groups and whites to achieve his goals. But he held fast to the need for a revolution in the United States. According to Malcolm, the method of change—peaceful or violent—was ultimately up to whites.

Since the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, African-Americans have achieved large gains in many areas, including politics and government, business, and the arts. Yet, disparities between the incomes, health, and educational levels of black and white Americans remain.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- While prosperity reinforced the vision Americans had of their country as a special place with the resources to solve almost any problem, some groups in society shared the vision but lacked the resources to make it a reality.
- Striving for HUMAN RIGHTS is an important step in American evolution toward true democracy.

## CONCEPTS

- Citizenship
- Human rights
- Justice

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Describe the situation of African-Americans in the period following World War II.
- Explain the development and evolution of the Civil Rights movement, giving examples of major events.
- Compare and contrast the goals and methods of prominent movement leaders.
- Evaluate the degree to which the struggle of African-Americans for equality has been achieved.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 5A, “Separate But Equal?” Have students examine the photos, read the selection, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these pictures and the reading selection tell us about life for African-Americans in the 1950s?
  - How do you explain the fact that conditions like those shown in the photographs existed in America after World War II?
  - As an African-American veteran of World War II, how would you have reacted upon your return to McMinnville? Explain.
  - Why does the author refuse to condemn Harvey Faulkner, a black man, for running a segregated cafe?
  - Why does the author call McMinnville “a good town”?
  - What might African-Americans have done in the 1950s to correct the situation shown in the photographs and described in the reading? What methods would have been effective? Explain.
- Divide the class into groups of four students each. To each group distribute one of the following “Major Events in the Movement” worksheets: Worksheet 5B, “School Desegregation”; Worksheet 5C, “Montgomery Bus Boycott”; Worksheet 5D, “Student Sit-ins”; Worksheet 5E, “Selma-Montgomery March”; Worksheet 5F, “Voter Registration”; and Worksheet 5G, “Urban Riots.”
- Instruct each group to read its assigned worksheet and work together to complete the exercise.
- Have spokespersons from each group report to the class on the part played in the Civil Rights movement by the events about which they read. Reports can take the form of: a role-play, debate, mock TV news show, or mock interview.
- Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these selections tell us about events in the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and ‘60s?
  - How important was each of these events in the development of the movement?
  - How did the Brown decision reverse the Supreme Court’s 1896 “separate but equal” ruling?
  - What role did students like Elizabeth Eckhardt play in the Civil Rights movement?
  - How does the story of Rosa Parks illustrate the impact that one individual can have on history?
  - What is your reaction to the boycott as a method of protesting segregated busing?
  - Did the results of the Montgomery boycott indicate that nonviolent methods of dealing with racism, advocated by Dr. King and his fellow church leaders, were better than other methods? Explain.
  - How did black students use nonviolence to integrate the Woolworth’s lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi?
  - Why did these students “take” the beatings and abuse without fighting back? How effective do you think this strategy would be?
  - After the Pettus Bridge incident, how did the feelings of the Selma marchers at the church change? How did songs help the people of Selma that night?
  - If you had gone to Selma in 1965, would you have been willing to follow the principles of nonviolence? Why or why not?
  - Why do you suppose students like Bob Moses believed that voter registration would be the best strategy for civil rights organizations to use in rural Mississippi in 1964?
  - How do you explain the fact that black voter registration was met with such hostility and violence on the part of many whites?

- Should Bob Moses have felt “morally responsible” when a local NAACP chapter member, Herbert Lee, was murdered? Why or why not?
- As a Northern college student (black or white) listening to Bob Moses speak at the training session, how would you have reacted? Would you have been willing and eager to go into Mississippi? Why or why not?
- Three young Summer Project volunteers—Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney—were murdered soon after they arrived in Mississippi. How do you think their sacrifice can best be remembered?
- How do Bayard Rustin and Dick Gregory explain the urban riots of the 1960s?
- What does each man see as the impact of the riots?
- In your opinion, have nonviolent or violent methods been more important as weapons in the Civil Rights movement? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 5H, “Civil Rights Movement Timeline. Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do you learn about the Civil Rights movement from this timeline?
  - Which actions of African-Americans do you consider most important in the struggle for Civil Rights? Which had the greatest impact on government?
  - Which government actions brought about the most important changes in civil rights?
  - In your opinion, can new laws change the way people act and think? Why or why not?
  - To what degree have the goals of the Civil Rights movement been achieved?
  - Are new civil rights laws needed today? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 5I, “Dr. King and Malcolm X.” Have students work in pairs to complete the exercise; review it with the class.
- Have students write two questions that they would have asked Dr. King and two questions they would have asked Malcolm X. Have volunteers pose their questions. Other students can give the answers they think Dr. King and Malcolm X would have given.
- Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do the words of Dr. King and Malcolm X tell us about the struggle for civil rights during the 1960s?
  - How did the goals of Dr. King and Malcolm X compare?
  - How did their methods compare?
  - Why was each considered an effective leader?
  - Why do you suppose some African-Americans criticized Dr. King’s nonviolent approach in the 1960s?
  - How do you react to the ideas of these two leaders? If you had been an African-American living in the 1960s, how would you have reacted to these ideas?
  - Whose ideas do you think African-Americans should have followed?
  - Whose ideas do you think are the wisest for people who are oppressed today to follow? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 5J, “Profile of African-Americans Today.” Have students, working in pairs, examine the statistics and complete the exercise.
- Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information about the situation of African-Americans in the 1990s do you get from this worksheet?
  - What conclusions can you draw from the figures about income? about education?

- How do you account for the differences between the income levels of whites and blacks? between the educational levels of whites and blacks?
- How do you explain the figures on life expectancy?
- Why do you suppose the leading types of African-American businesses are auto dealerships and food and beverage businesses?
- How do you explain the differences in the occupations of African-American men and women?
- After studying the statistics here, how would you rate the status of African-Americans compared to other groups in the United States? To what degree has the struggle for equality been achieved? Explain.
- How does the future for African-Americans look?
- What could you as an individual or as a member of a community group do to bring conditions closer to equality?

- If you were a government leader, what could you do to help bring about equality of opportunity for all Americans?

### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

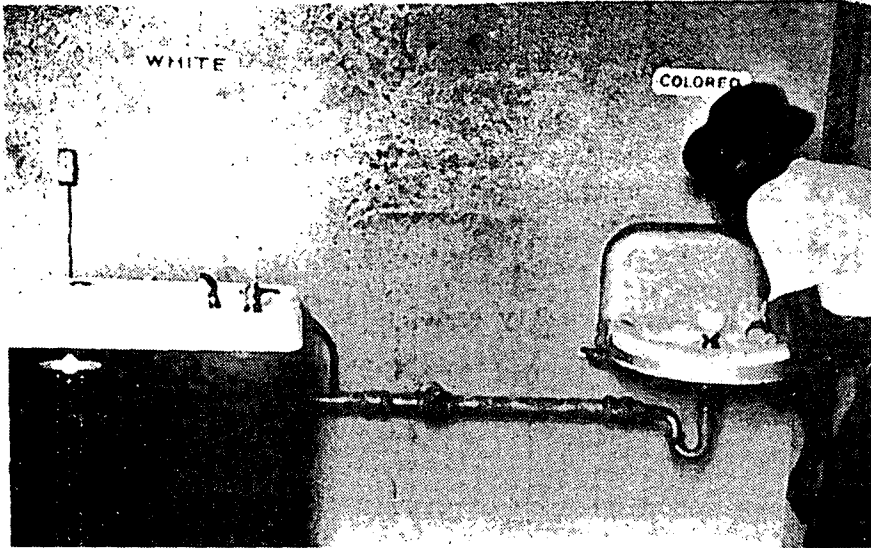
Students can:

- View and discuss segments of *Eyes on the Prize*, a documentary film on the Civil Rights movement.
- Tape record the oral histories of individuals (family and friends) who lived in the segregated South. Have them relate their experiences, their recollections of the Civil Rights movement, and comment on how they were personally affected by the changes.
- Role-play discussions between Dr. King and Malcolm X at different points in their respective careers.
- Interview family and community members about what changes they would like to see for the future of African-Americans, then present their findings.



## *Separate but Equal?*

The following photographs suggest the racial situation in the South in the 1950s. This situation had been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court in its 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" ruling. The reading selection describes race relations in a Southern town in the early 1950s.



## A good town... 1951

I returned to McMinnville, to the familiar gravel streets that I had walked for almost two decades. I returned to frame houses with decaying foundations, to yards bare of grass; and even the tiniest hovel with the farthest-away privy had its nostalgic meaning. Some were houses where human beings—people I knew—lived like rats, and where rats outnumbered the people. Some were houses I knew by the starred flags of World War II, which still hung dusty in windows. They were houses where my schoolmates lived, or once had lived...

I went to a dumpy little cafe that townspeople called "The Slobbery Rock." There, at... The Slobbery Rock, gathered ninety-nine percent of Negro McMinnville's youth, out for their weekend entertainment...

When I was a youth, Negro youngsters had two choices for away-from-home entertainment. They went to one of the two segregated movies, where they sat in a balcony not even provided with a restroom; then they either went home or to "The Rock." It takes no sociologist to guess which course they usually chose. McMinnville did have one other Negro cafe, but it was too small for dancing and usually closed very early. There was a skating rink—barred to Negroes. There was a tax-supported swimming pool—barred to Negroes...

The McMinnville of 1951 was little different, I found "The Rock" was still "the place to go." There was one new place, Harvey's Bar B-Q Stand. Harvey's was clean and the food delicious, but a resentful Negro community talked of boycotting it because the place, run by Harvey Faulkner, a Negro, was segregated. Negro youngsters complained that when they asked for straws in their soft drinks they were told none was available. On the other side of Harvey's, however, whites sipped through straws...

I asked Faulkner why he ran a Jim Crow place. Most cafes run by whites bar Negroes entirely, a few allowing them to enter by the back door for food to take out. A Negro ordering hamburgers at the Serv-All must stand on the street and wait until they are cooked. Harvey Faulkner knew all this as well as I. He leaned on the counter, studying my question; then, as if the answer had popped out of nowhere, snapped: "I've got to live; white folks represent nearly half my trade."

What McMinnvillian could condemn Faulkner? He had set no precedent; Negro McMinnville had done that in many ways. Had not Bernard High School annually set aside front seats for white guests who came to see our closing-of-school plays? Had not the Church of Christ reserved many of the front seats for whites who came to its tent revival? I stood in Harvey's, on the colored side, peeking around the counter into the white side, and I realized that his Jim Crow establishment was just another sacrifice offered up to the Southland's deity, segregation...

McMinnville [is] a "good Southern town," in the words of her Negro citizens. They mean that for a quarter century there have been no lynchings, no race riots... But McMinnville is a peaceful town, I found in 1951, because, in the words of a former river-buddy, "no Negro in his right mind" would show up at the city swimming pool with trunks and the intention of swimming. And McMinnville Negroes still do not go to the tax-supported public library, ask for a book, and sit down and read... And when a street is blocked off for square dancing, Negroes watch from a distance.

From Carl T. Rowan, *South of Freedom*. Copyright 1952 by Carl T. Rowan. Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf Inc.

## Major Events in the Movement: School Desegregation

In the 1940s African-American lawyers for the NAACP, one of whom was Thurgood Marshall, who would later become a Supreme Court justice, filed lawsuits proving that Southern black schools were not equal to those provided to whites. On May 17, 1954, the NAACP won its most important victory. The Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* that:

“Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. (Separating children) solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone.”

Thus, this historic decision reversed the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that had legalized “separate but equal” facilities for blacks and whites.

Although the Brown decision was to be enforced “with all deliberate speed,” three years later Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus used National Guard troops to prevent nine African-American students from enrolling at Little Rock’s Central High School. One of these students, Elizabeth Eckford, 15, recalls her experience:

**T**HE CROWD was quiet. I guess they were waiting to see what was going to happen. When I was able to steady my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He didn’t move. When I tried to squeeze past him he raised his bayonet and then the other guards closed in and they raised their bayonets.

They glared at me with a mean look and I was very frightened and didn’t know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me.

They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, “Lynch her! Lynch her!”

I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob—someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me.



Elizabeth Eckford

They came closer, shouting, “No [black girl] is going to get in our school.”

I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn’t get help from them. Then I looked down the block

Elizabeth Eckford. From *The Long Shadow of Little Rock* (New York: David McKay, 1962.) Permission pending.

WORKSHEET 5B, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (CONTINUED)

and saw a bench at the bus stop. I thought, "If I can only get there I will be safe."

When I finally got there, I don't think I could have gone another step. I sat down and the mob crowded up and began shouting all over again. Someone hollered, "Drag her over to this tree! Let's take care of [her]." Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me and patted my shoulder. He raised my chin and said, "Don't let them see you cry."

Then a white lady—she was very nice—she came over to me on the bench. She spoke to me but I don't remember now

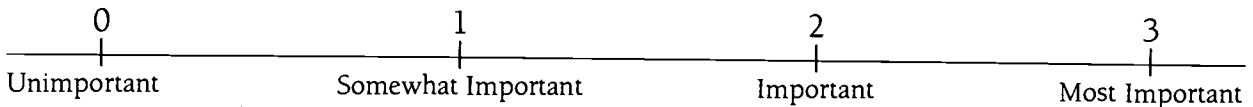
what she said. She put me on the bus and sat next to me. The next thing I remember I was standing in front of the School for the Blind, where Mother works.

I ran upstairs, and I think some teachers tried to talk to me, but I kept running until I reached Mother's classroom.

Mother was standing at the window with her head bowed, but she must have sensed I was there because she turned around. She looked as if she had been crying, and I wanted to tell her I was all right. But I couldn't speak. She put her arms around me and I cried.

**EXERCISE**

The selection above describes events in the Civil Rights movement. On the scale below rate the importance of these events in the movement and then explain in the space provided.



Your Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_  
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## **Major Events in the Movement: Montgomery Bus Boycott**

### **THE STORY OF ROSA PARKS**

Rosa Parks was a black seamstress in a downtown Montgomery, Alabama, department store. She rode the bus every day to and from work. One evening in December 1955, Mrs. Parks boarded her bus as usual and found there were no seats in the rear. Negroes were required to sit in the rear of Montgomery buses or in a sort of "neutral" zone in the middle of the bus—provided no white people required the "neutral" seats. Mrs. Parks sat in the "neutral" zone, but only for a short time. Boarding white passengers demanded that she give up her seat. But Mrs. Parks had worked hard all day, and her feet hurt. She refused to budge. The driver stopped the bus and had Mrs. Parks arrested. As she was being taken off to jail, the news of what had happened spread quickly through the Negro section of Montgomery.

E.D. Nixon, former state N.A.A.C.P. president, bailed Mrs. Parks out of jail and then got busy telephoning Negro leaders in the city. One of the men he called was the twenty-seven-year-old minister of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King had grown up in Atlanta, Georgia, gone to college there, and studied for the ministry in Pennsylvania. He had lived in Montgomery for only one year but was already acknowledged as a leader of its Negro community. Nixon and King got together forty of Montgomery's most influential Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

*In Stride Toward Freedom*,<sup>2</sup> Dr. King described the action decided upon by Montgomery's black leaders:

**BY THE NEXT AFTERNOON**, the news of the arrest of Mrs. Parks was becoming public knowledge. Word of it spread around the community like an uncontrolled fire. Telephones began to ring. By two o'clock a group had mimeographed leaflets describing the action agreed upon. By evening, these leaflets had been widely circulated. One of them read:

-----  
**DON'T RIDE THE BUS TO WORK, TO TOWN, OR ANY  
 PLACE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 5TH. IF YOU WORK,  
 TAKE A CAB OR SHARE A RIDE OR WALK.**  
 -----

1. Robert B. Goldstein, *The Negro Revolution* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968), 206-7.
2. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: HarperCollins)

WORKSHEET 5C, MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT (CONTINUED)

**ACTIONS TAKEN:** The news stories below describe the action decided upon by Montgomery's black leaders and its results:

1956...

**MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT**

Montgomery, Alabama, July 3— The boycott of Montgomery's only bus line by this city's 50,000 Negroes has been effective. The local bus company had carried about 20,000 Negroes a day before the boycott began. Since then, Negro bus riders have averaged 200 a day.

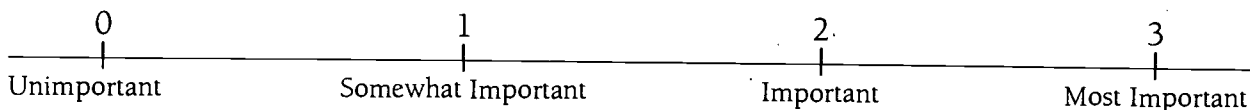
1956...

**SUPREME COURT RULES  
SEGREGATED BUSES  
UNCONSTITUTIONAL**

Montgomery, Alabama, December 18— Today the Negro boycott of Montgomery's city bus line organized by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. ended. After 381 days of walking, taking taxies and car pooling, Negroes were able to ride buses to work, sitting in any part of the bus they wished. All this has been the result of a Supreme Court ruling declaring the segregation of buses unconstitutional.

**EXERCISE**

The selections above describe events in the Civil Rights movement. On the scale below rate the importance of these events in the movement and then explain in the space provided.



Your Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_  
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Edwin Fenton, *The Americans* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975), 417.

## Major Events in the Movement: Student Sit-ins

In her autobiographical novel, Anne Moody describes her involvement in the Woolworth sit-in in Jackson, Mississippi. In the aftermath of that sit-in, Medgar Evers, the Mississippi NAACP leader, was murdered.

**S**ECONDS BEFORE 11:15 we were occupying three seats at the previously segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. In the beginning the waitresses seemed to ignore us, as if they really didn't know what was going on. Our waitress walked past us a couple of times before she noticed we had started to write our own orders down and realized we wanted service. She asked us what we wanted. We began to read to her from our order slips. She told us that we would be served at the back counter, which was for Negroes.

"We would like to be served here," I said.

The waitress started to repeat what she had said, then stopped in the middle of the sentence. She turned the lights out behind the counter, and she and the other waitresses almost ran to the back of the store, deserting all their white customers. I guess they thought that violence would start immediately after the whites at the counter realized what was going on. There were five or six other people at the counter. A couple of them just got up and walked away. A girl sitting next to me finished her banana split before leaving. A middle-aged white woman who had not yet been served rose from her seat and came over to us. "I'd like to stay here with you," she said, "but my husband is waiting."...

A crowd of cameramen and reporters had gathered around us taking pictures and asking questions, such as Where were we from? Why did we sit-in? What organization sponsored it? Were we students? From what school? How were we classified?

I told them that we were all students at Tougaloo College, that we were represented by no particular organization, and that we planned to stay there even after the store closed. "All we want is service," was my reply to one of them...

At noon, students from a nearby white high school started pouring in to Woolworth's. When they first saw us they were sort of surprised. They didn't know how to react. A few started to heckle and the newsmen became interested again. Then the white students started chanting all kinds of anti-Negro slogans. We were called a little bit of everything. The rest of the seats except the three we were occupying had been roped off to prevent others from sitting down. A couple of the boys took one end of the rope and made it into a handyman's noose. Several attempts were made to put it around our necks. The crowds grew as more students and adults came in for lunch.

We kept our eyes straight forward and did not look at the crowd except for occasional glances to see what was going on. All of a sudden I saw a face I remembered—the drunkard from the bus station sit-in. He took out a knife, opened... it, put it in his pocket, and then began to pace the floor. At this point, I told Memphis and Pearlina what was going on. Memphis suggested that we pray. We bowed our heads, and all hell broke loose. A man rushed forward, threw Memphis from his seat, and slapped my face. Then another man who worked in the store threw me against an adjoining counter.

WORKSHEET 5D, STUDENT SIT-INS (CONTINUED)

Down on my knees on the floor, I saw Memphis lying near the lunch counter with blood running out of the corners of his mouth. As he tried to protect his face, the man who'd thrown him down kept kicking him against the head. If he had worn hard-soled shoes instead of sneakers, the first kick probably would have killed Memphis... Pearlana had been thrown to the floor. She and I got back on our stools after Memphis was arrested. There were some white Tougaloo teachers in the crowd. They asked Pearlana and me if we wanted to leave. They said that things were getting too rough. We didn't know what to do. While we were trying to make up our minds, we were joined by Joan Trumpauer. Now there were three of us and we were integrated... Some

old man in the crowd ordered the students to take us off the stools.

"Which one should I get first?" a big husky boy said.

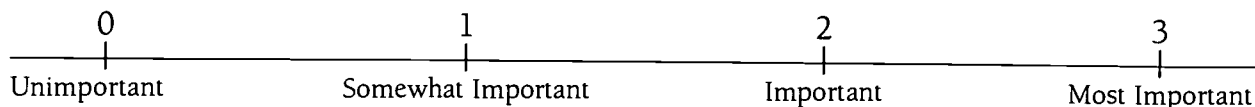
"That white nigger," the old man said.

The boy lifted Joan from the counter by her waist and carried her out of the store. Simultaneously, I was snatched from my stool by two high school students. I was dragged about thirty feet toward the door by my hair when someone made them turn me loose. As I was getting up off the floor, I saw Joan coming back inside. We started back to the center of the counter to join Pearlana...

We sat there for three hours taking a beating...

**EXERCISE**

The selection above describes an event in the Civil Rights movement. On the scale below rate the importance of this event in the movement and then explain in the space provided.



Your Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* 426-31.



## **Major Events in the Movement: Selma–Montgomery March**

In Selma, Alabama, a march was called for Sunday, March 7, 1965, to protest police brutality as well as denial of voting rights. Sheyann Webb was just an eight-year-old at the time... On what became known worldwide as “Bloody Sunday,” her mother brushed her hair, hugged her, and let her go out to join the march from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. The marchers, 600 strong, moved through downtown, turned south, and headed for Pettus Bridge arching over the Alabama River. At the bridge troopers ordered the marchers to disperse. When they pressed on, they were attacked. Years later, while in college, Sheyann recalled what happened next.

**A**LL I KNEW is I heard all this screaming and people were turning and I saw this first part of the line running and stumbling back toward us. At that point, I was just off the bridge and on the side of the highway. And they came running and some of them were crying out and somebody yelled, “Oh, God, they’re killing us!” I think I just froze then. It seemed like just a few seconds went by and I heard a shout. “Gas! Gas!” and everybody started screaming again. And I looked and I saw the troopers charging us again and some of them were swinging their arms, throwing canisters of tear gas. And beyond them I saw the horsemen starting their charge toward us. I was terrified. What happened then is something I’ll never forget as long as I live. Never. In fact, I still dream about it sometimes.

I just turned and ran. And just as I was turning the tear gas got me; it burned my nose first and then got my eyes. I was blinded by the tears. So, I began running and not seeing where I was going. I remember being scared that I might fall over the railing and into the water. I don’t know if I was screaming, but everyone else was. People were running and falling and ducking and you

could hear the horses’ hooves on the pavement and you’d hear people scream and hear the whips swishing and you’d hear them striking people.

When I got into the house my momma and daddy were there and they had this shocked look on their faces and I ran in and tried to tell them what had happened. I was maybe a little hysterical because I kept repeating over and over, “I can’t stop shaking, Momma, I can’t stop shaking,” and finally she grabbed me and sat down with me on her lap.

In the evening the people gathered in church. Everyone was quiet, stunned. Nobody was praying, nobody was singing. Was the will to go on lost?... It was like we were at our own funeral.

But then later in the night, maybe nine-thirty or ten, I don’t know for sure, all of a sudden somebody there started humming. It was real low, but some of us children began humming along slow and soft. At first I didn’t even know what it was, what song, I mean. Then I recognized it—“Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me ‘Round.” I’d never heard it or hummed it that way before. But it just started to catch on, and the people began singing the words. We sang, “Ain’t

WORKSHEET 5E, SELMA-MONTGOMERY MARCH (CONTINUED)

gonna let George Wallace [the Governor of Alabama] turn me 'round.'"... "Ain't gonna let no state trooper turn me 'round."

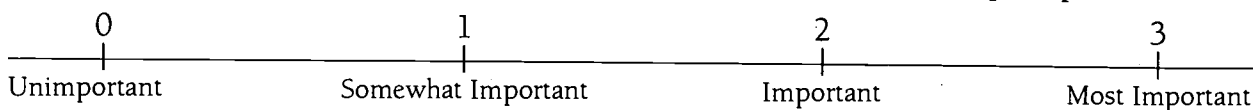
"Ain't gonna let no horses ...ain't gonna let no tear gas—ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round." *Nobody!*

We was singing and telling the world that we hadn't been whipped, that we had won.

Just all of a sudden something happened that night and we knew in that church that—Lord Almighty—we had really won, after all. We had won!

**EXERCISE**

The selection above describes an event in the Civil Rights movement. On the scale below rate this event's importance in the movement and then explain in the space provided.



Your Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_

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## Major Events In The Movement: Voter Registration

In 1964, Bob Moses was director of the Mississippi Summer Project, sponsored by a coalition of civil rights organizations. The goal of the Summer Project was to teach disenfranchised blacks at “freedom schools” about their constitutional rights and to stage a massive voter registration drive.

Pretend that you are one of the hundreds of Northern students, mostly white, who volunteered for the Mississippi Summer Project and Bob Moses delivers the following remarks to your group:



Bob Moses

**Y**OU WILL SOON be going into the state of Mississippi—this nation’s most entrenched segregationist society. Let me tell you about Mississippi.

Like yourselves, I came from the North. I set out alone on my first trip through the Deep South in 1960. I had been warned by other SNCC [Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee] field workers about the indignities of Southern segregation, but I was not prepared for the region’s grinding poverty. Having grown up in Harlem, I hadn’t expected to be surprised by new horrors, yet I was startled to see the terrible quality of life in the Black Belt, the “niggertowns” of tarpaper and wood shacks where an inadequately fed, clothed, and educated people clung to existence.

Sharecropper families coaxed a meager living from the earth. At cotton-picking time, cheap black labor was useful to the white landowners, but the rest of the year many black folks had nothing to do. I was most disturbed by the plight of the children who played in the dirt yards of tacked-together houses, were stupefied by malnourishment, unwashed, barefoot, and kept out of school so they could work the fields. Mississippi blacks were so beaten down that they believed their lives would never improve and that they had no alternatives.

Upon my arrival in Mississippi, the first person I looked up was Amzie Moore. Unlike other small-town NAACP organizers, Moore welcomed SNCC’s idea of the student movement coming to Mississippi. But he did not want us to stage demonstrations and sit-ins as SNCC and other organizations had done elsewhere in the South. In rural Mississippi, he said, marches and sit-ins would be instantly put down by the police. And the Delta was too cut off from the rest of the world to attract the kind of publicity that was the lifeblood of sit-ins.

Moore had a better idea. He explained that only 5 percent of Mississippi’s half-million blacks were registered to vote, and only 25 percent of registered blacks voted, compared to 60 percent of registered whites. In the Third Congressional District—the Delta—67 percent of the adult population was black, but only 3 percent of the black adults were registered to vote.

Amzie Moore explained his vision: The students of SNCC would launch a major, sustained voter registration campaign in the Delta. This effort, Moore said, would draw fierce opposition,

## WORKSHEET 5F, VOTER REGISTRATION (CONTINUED)

but the resulting conflict would expose to the nation the malignant reality of blacks not being able to vote in Mississippi. Surely, once they knew of it, the majority of Americans would not tolerate the systematic denial of so fundamental a right to their fellow citizens.

During the week I spent with Moore, I learned about the laws that the Mississippi State legislature had passed in 1957 making it more difficult than ever for blacks to register to vote. A citizen who wanted to register would be presented with a twenty-one-question application that had to be completed in the presence of the county registrar. Question 17 was the stumper. It called on the would-be voter to interpret an amendment to the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar. Many of these individuals so enjoyed their authority that they made up their own questions in place of number 17. "What is the mayor's middle name?" they would ask, or "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?"

I left Mississippi in 1960, but returned the following year to the town of McComb where the first SNCC voter registration school opened with myself as the instructor. The work was very difficult.

When an elderly black farmer and two middle-aged women were denied the opportunity to fill out the voter registration form, I returned with them to the courthouse. As I stepped to the side, the three were permitted after a long wait to fill out their forms, but then the registrar announced that none of the three Negroes had passed the test.

We hadn't driven very far from the courthouse when a patrol car pulled us over. I was arrested on a trumped-up charge, found guilty, and, after I refused to pay five dollars in court costs, was sentenced to spend two days in jail.

On another occasion I walked with two more people to the registrar's office. Three white men

approached us and challenged me: "What are you trying to do?" Before I could answer, one man hit me on the head with the blunt end of a knife. Then I was kicked and beaten until my assailant "got tired."

Perhaps the incident that summer that depressed and sickened me most was the murder of Herbert Lee. An active NAACP chapter member, Lee was shot and killed by his neighbor, Mississippi State Representative Eugene H. Hurst. Although another man had pulled the trigger, I felt morally responsible for Herbert Lee's death. My coming to the region to mount the voter registration drive had almost certainly been the catalyst for the growing bitterness between Lee and Representative Hurst. I had stirred black people—who for better or worse had learned to live with the white man—into lethal agitation. As a result, a father of nine lay dead. But to give up now, I realized, would be to demean Lee's death.

I became more committed than ever before. When the students of the Pike County Nonviolent Movement decided to organize a mass demonstration against the segregated and grossly inferior education available to blacks, I and other SNCC workers joined in. On hand that day was the first white SNCC field secretary, a twenty-two-year-old Alabaman, Robert Zellner. The appearance of a white man with the blacks instantly became the focus of the march to city hall. A group of toughs closed in on Zellner. One of them began choking him while another gouged his eyes. Then we were all dragged away by the police, arrested, tried, found guilty of disturbing the peace, and sentenced to six months in jail.

In four months, only twenty people had been registered to vote—meager results purchased at the cost of punishing jail terms, beatings, and loss of life.

Adapted with the permission of Simon and Schuster from *We Are Not Afraid: The Story of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney, and the Civil Rights Campaign for Mississippi*, by Seth Cagin and Philip Dray. Copyright © 1988 by Seth Cagin and Philip Dray.



## Major Events in the Movement: Urban Riots

Between 1964 and 1967, riots occurred in 58 American cities. Below Bayard Rustin and Dick Gregory comment on the causes and effects of the riots.

### BAYARD RUSTIN

The riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles last August continued for six days, during which 34 persons were killed, 1,032 were injured, and some 3,952 were arrested. Viewed by many of the rioters themselves as their "manifesto," the uprising of the Watts Negroes brought out in the open, as no other aspect of the Negro protest has done, the despair and hatred that continue to brew in the Northern ghettos despite the civil-rights legislation of recent years and the advent of "the war on poverty."

What is truly impractical and incredible is that America, with its enormous wealth, has allowed Watts to become what it is. And what is most impractical and incredible of all is that we may very well continue to teach impoverished, segregated, and ignored Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of America is to rise up in violence.

Adapted from Bayard Rustin, "The Watts 'Manifesto' and the McCone Report," *Commentary* XLI, No. 3 (March, 1966), 29, 35.

### DICK GREGORY

It's not just poverty, brothers, it's insult. If some Nazi killed my daddy in 1943, that same Nazi can come here and live where my daddy never could and I can't now. Insult! You dig? Charles Drew was a Negro you never heard of, but he helped invent blood plasma. Yet Charles Drew died in the waiting room of an Atlanta hospital from lack of blood, just sitting there waiting to be treated. Insult!

The system has herded the black man into the ghettos but refuses to take the consequences. It's like a man lying wounded in the street and you tell him to stop bleeding! That man is bleeding for a reason. When a baby cries, it cries for a reason. You can't order a baby to stop crying; you got to change the diaper. That is nature. The ghetto is crying, brother, and that, too, is nature. That was nature working in Watts and Detroit and Newark. And don't tell me those riots didn't accomplish anything. They blew up Chicago a while back because the kids couldn't play with water in the streets. Since that riot, you can't walk in that section without stepping into a swimming pool.

Nonviolence is not an obligation, brothers. The white man has got to learn that because, unless he does, the black man is going to burn him down, house by house, and city by city!

Excerpt from Eliot Asinof, "Dick Gregory Is Not So Funny Now," *New York Times Magazine*, March 17, 1968, 38-42. Copyright © 1968 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.



## Civil Rights Movement Timeline

Events in the Struggle	Changes in the Law
	1896—Supreme Court declares segregation legal in <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> . “Separate but Equal” becomes law of the land.
1910—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is organized to struggle for civil rights in the United States.	
1948—Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP launches legal attack on school segregation.	1954—In <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas</i> , Supreme Court declares that segregated schools can never be equal.
1955—Start of the Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott.	
1957—President Eisenhower sends federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, to protect black students integrating Central High School.	1957—First civil rights law passed since the Civil War. Sets up commission to investigate civil rights violations.
1960—Black students begin to “sit-in” at segregated lunch counters. 1961—Interracial teams of Freedom Riders challenge segregated buses and terminals. 1962—James Meredith integrates the University of Mississippi. 1963—Campaign to integrate Birmingham, Alabama.	



WORKSHEET 5H, CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TIMELINE (CONTINUED)

Events in the Struggle (cont.)	Changes in the Law (cont.)
1963—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leads March on Washington where he delivers “I have a dream” speech.	
<p>1964—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., wins Nobel Peace Prize.</p> <p>1964—Mississippi summer voter registration campaign.</p> <p>1964—Malcolm X becomes most forceful spokesman of the Black Muslims. Stresses self-determination and self-defense by African-Americans.</p> <p>1964—Malcolm X murdered at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem.</p>	<p>1964—24th Amendment to the Constitution outlaws poll taxes in federal elections. Southern states can no longer prevent poor blacks from voting by imposing tax.</p> <p>1964—Federal Civil Rights Act prohibits segregation in public accommodations and employment.</p>
<p>1965—Dr. King leads march from Selma to Montgomery to press for African-American voting rights.</p> <p>1965—For six days, violence rips through Los Angeles ghetto of Watts, fueled by charges of police brutality.</p> <p>1965—SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael coins phrase “Black Power.”</p>	1965—Congress passes Voting Rights Act.
<p>1966—A new militant political party—the Black Panthers—is organized.</p> <p>1968—Dr. King is murdered while organizing sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee.</p>	

WORKSHEET 5H, CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TIMELINE (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Choose any two events from column A and explain how they may have helped bring about the changes described in column B.

Events in the Struggle	Impact on U.S. Law
1.	
2.	

## Dr. King and Malcolm X

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X were among the most prominent Civil Rights leaders of the 1960s. Read the following excerpts from their speeches. In the passages below, identify each man's goal for African-Americans, then tell whether you agree or disagree with the ideas expressed and explain your position. Then, for the passages on the next page, identify each man's method for achieving that goal and again tell whether you agree or disagree with the ideas expressed and explain your position.

### Dr. King

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama... will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and girls and walk together as sisters and brothers....

This will be the day when all of god's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing..."

"I Have a Dream" copyright © 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr., copyright renewed 1991 by Coretta Scott King. Reprinted by arrangement with The Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr., c/o Joan Daves Agency, New York

Dr. King's goal: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Your position: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### Malcolm X

I'm a black nationalist. Now the political philosophy of black nationalism only means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community.

And the economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that our people need to be re-educated into the importance of controlling the economy of our own community.

And the social philosophy of black nationalism means that we have to become socially mature to the point where we will realize the responsibility is upon us to elevate the condition, the standard of our community, to a higher level, so that our people will be satisfied to live in our own social circles ... instead of trying to force our way into the social circles of those who don't want us.

Paraphrased from *Malcolm X Speaks*, © 1965 and 1989 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

Malcolm X's goal: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Your position: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Dr. King**

It must be emphasized that nonviolent resistance (to evil) is not for cowards. If one uses this method because he is afraid or merely because he lacks the weapons of violence, he is not truly nonviolent. No individual or group need submit to any wrong, nor need they use violence to right a wrong. This is ultimately the way of the strong man....

Nonviolence does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him. To strike back in the same way as his opponent would do nothing but increase the existence of hate in the universe. Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate.

*Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 3-85. Copyright © 1958 by Martin Luther King, Jr., copyright with The Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr., c/o Joan Daves Agency, New York.

Dr. King's method: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Your position: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Malcolm X**

I have to respect the believer in nonviolence because he is doing something that I don't understand. It would be equivalent to putting handcuffs on me and putting me in the ring and telling me to fight Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) or Sonny Liston nonviolently. I don't think I could do it. But all I am saying is this, whenever you're dealing with an enemy, you have to be able to communicate. You want to speak the language that the other person understands. When you're in Mississippi speaking the language of morality or the language of nonviolence, you are not communicating, you are talking a language that they don't understand.

Paraphrased from *Malcolm X Speaks*, © 1965 and 1989 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

Malcolm X's method: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Your position: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# Profile of African-Americans Today

A: THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION		
TOTAL U.S. POPULATION	248,709,873	Percent of Total
AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION	29,986,060	12

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census,  
1990 Census of Population and Housing.

B: INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS IN 1990 DOLLARS			
	1970	1990	
<b>WHITE FAMILIES</b>			
Over \$50,000	24.1 %	32.5 %	
\$35,000-\$50,000	24.1 %	20.8 %	
\$25,000-\$35,000	20.6 %	16.5 %	
\$15,000-\$25,000	16.9 %	16.0 %	
Under \$15,000	14.3 %	14.2 %	
Median Income	\$34,481	\$36,915	
-----			
<b>BLACK FAMILIES</b>			
Over \$50,000	9.9 %	14.5 %	
\$35,000-\$50,000	13.9 %	15.0 %	
\$25,000-\$35,000	17.6 %	14.0 %	
\$15,000-\$25,000	24.0 %	19.5 %	
Under \$15,000	34.6 %	37.0 %	
Median Income	\$21,151	\$21,423	

C: AFRICAN-AMERICAN-OWNED BUSINESSES	
BUSINESS	PERCENTAGE
Auto Dealerships	37.07
Food/Beverage	30.48
Media	6.40
Manufacturing	5.67
Computer/Office Supplies	5.43
Construction	4.94
Health and Beauty Aids	2.53
Entertainment	2.20
Transportation	1.60
Telecommunications	1.35
Miscellaneous	1.33

Ranking based on millions of dollars to the nearest thousand. "1990 Black Enterprises June 1992. Copyright © June 1992. The Earl G. Graves Publishing Co., New York. Reprinted by permission.

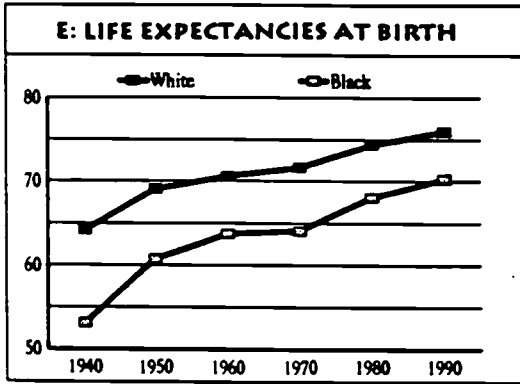
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D: YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY RACE AND SEX AMONG 25-34 YEAR OLDS IN 1990				
SCHOOLING	MALE		FEMALE	
	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
8 yrs.	2.92%	4.70%	2.65%	3.98%
1-3 yrs. High School	13.70	9.27	16.75	8.61
4 yrs. High School	50.40	40.66	42.58	41.21
1-3 yrs. College	21.03	20.80	25.63	21.99
4 yrs. College	8.89	16.20	9.39	17.97
5+ yrs. College	3.08	8.38	3.02	7.23

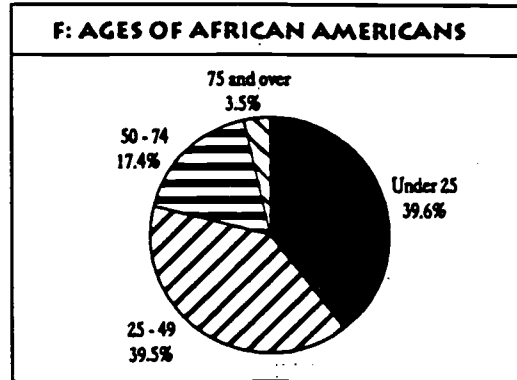
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Money Income of Household, Families, and Persons in the U.S.: 1990*, September 1991, Series P-60, No. 174, Table 29.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

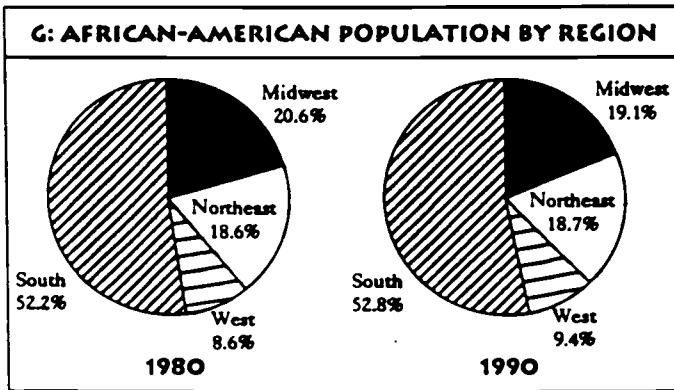
WORKSHEET 5J, PROFILE OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS TODAY (CONTINUED)



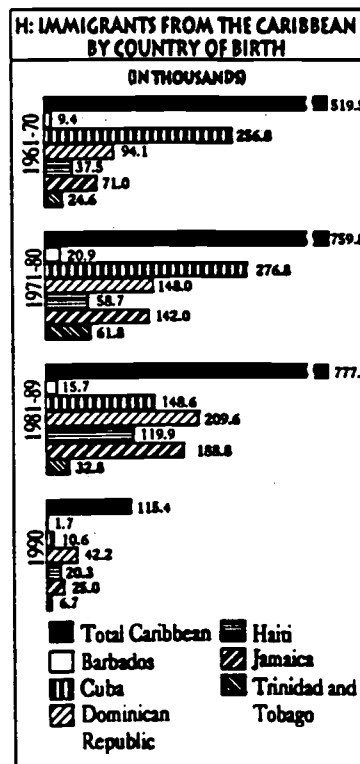
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U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Population of the U.S., Age, Sex, Race, 1988-2080" 1991 Census Population Survey. Series P-25. No. 1018.



U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, 1990.



Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990: The National Data Book. Government Printing Office, p. 11.

### I: OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS (EMPLOYED, 16 YEARS AND OLDER)

OCCUPATION	PERCENT		
	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
Managerial and Professional Specialty	16.1	13.4	18.8
Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support	28.9	18.5	39.2
Service Occupations	22.9	18.6	27.2
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair	9.0	15.8	2.3
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	21.7	31.1	12.4
Farming, Forestry, and Fishing	1.4	2.6	.2

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Jan. 1991, p. 38.



# Learning Activity 6

*How did Native American Indians create a movement  
to change their conditions?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Culture/Diversity

## BACKGROUND

In the 1960s and 1970s Native American Indians were the poorest people in the United States. Their average life expectancy was six years below the average. Their average annual income was only 25 percent of the national average. Their unemployment rate was ten times the national average. Compared to other groups in the United States, twice as many Native American Indian children dropped out of school.

Many Native American Indians lived on isolated reservations that were dominated by federal government bureaucracies. The quality of schools, health care, and housing was poor. Their traditions were being threatened by developers who wanted to exploit valuable natural resources. Native cultures were being destroyed in government boarding schools. Meanwhile, the conditions faced by Native American Indians were generally ignored by the other residents of the United States.

In response to these conditions and to lessons learned from the African-American struggle for civil rights, Native American Indian peoples began to organize for greater control over their own lives, to preserve their cultures, to reclaim lands that they believed they had never ceded, to defend treaty rights that local governments were ignoring, and to challenge stereotypical images of Native American Indians.

Native American Indian protests included lobbying government agencies for changes in laws, engaging in peaceful protests, and occupying federal property claimed by Native American Indian peoples. The American Indian Movement (AIM) has been a leading organization in Native American Indian struggles. Sometimes protests became violent

and protesters, bystanders and police were injured or killed. The most publicized incident was the Battle of Wounded Knee: In a small village on the Pine Ridge reservation of the Lakota people, near Oglala, South Dakota, two FBI agents and one Native American Indian man died in a shoot-out.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- Striving for HUMAN RIGHTS is an important step in the American evolution toward true democracy.
- The 1960s and 1970s brought a new spirit to Native American Indians centuries of struggle to keep their treaty rights and maintain their culture.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Human rights
- Power

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Summarize the living conditions of Native American Indians in the 1960s and 1970s.
- Identify factors that contributed to the emergence of the new movement for Native American Indians rights.
- Recognize point-of-view in different treatments of the same event (the BIA Building takeover in 1972).
- Evaluate the degree to which the Sioux siege at Wounded Knee in 1973 was justified.
- Analyze conflicting interests in a recent Native American Indian land claim case.



## DEVELOPMENT

- Divide the class into groups of four students each. To each student in a group distribute one of the following: Worksheet 6A, "Native American Indian Education;" Worksheet 6B, "Caught Between Two Cultures;" Worksheet 6C, "Life on the Reservation;" and Worksheet 6D, "Government Actions and Economic Conditions." Distribute one copy of Worksheet 6E, "Native American Indian Living Conditions," to each group. Have students read their assigned worksheet, share, and work together to complete the exercise on Worksheet 6E.
- Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these worksheets tell us about the living conditions of Native Americans in the 1960s and 1970s?
  - How well were Native American Indians being educated in the postwar period?
  - What does George Mitchell mean by his statement that at boarding school, although "they did their best to beat the Indian out of us, [they actually] beat the Indian into us"?
  - What does the fact that in 1953 Navaho youngsters at a John Wayne movie clapped as the cavalry shot the Indians tell us about the education they were receiving?
  - Why did many Native American Indians feel caught between two cultures?
  - Do you think it is important for Native American Indians to retain their cultures? Why or why not?
  - What was life like on a typical reservation? How was the Native American Indian family affected?
  - What impact did the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act have on Native American Indians? Why was the Bureau of Indian Affairs the target of Native American Indian criticism?
  - How did the advantages of the United States government's 1953 "termination" policy compare with the disadvantages?
- What recommendations would you have made to Congress and the president in the 1960s and 1970s to improve conditions for Native Americans? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 6F, "Beginnings of the Native American Indian Rights Movement." Have students read, complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from this worksheet about the beginnings in the postwar era of a new Native American Indian rights movement?
  - Why did a new movement Indian rights develop in the 1950s and 1960s? Of all the contributing factors, which one was most influential? Explain.
  - What do you think was the most important event in the early years of the movement? Why?
- Distribute Worksheet 6G, "AIM Comes to Pine Ridge." Have students read, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about AIM from this account?
  - How does Mary Brave Bird describe the members of AIM who came to her reservation?
  - How does she feel about AIM? How do you know?
  - How did the Sioux and members of AIM learn from each other?
  - What were some of the actions taken by AIM in the early years? Do you consider these actions justified? Explain.
  - Would you have joined AIM in the 1970s? Why or why not?
- Divide the class into pairs. Give one student Worksheet 6H, "Newsweek Reports BIA Building Takeover." Give the other member of the pair Worksheet 6I, "From Inside the BIA Building." Give each pair one copy of Worksheet 6J, "Point of View Comparison Chart." Instruct students to read their assigned account, share the likenesses and

differences in each account, and work together to complete Worksheet 6J.

- Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What happened at the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972?
  - How did *Newsweek's* account of the takeover compare with the account of the Native American Indians inside?
  - Was the takeover of the BIA building justified? Why or why not?
  - How important were the differing points of view in affecting your opinion of the takeover?
  - How would you know which account is more accurate?
  - Do accounts (media and other) of current events today differ? Explain.
  - Was Mary Crow Dog right when she said that as long as you behave nicely, the media pays no attention? Is violence the only way to get the media's attention?
  - Are people justified in breaking the law to get media attention for their cause? Why or why not?
- Divide the class into groups of four students each. To one student in each group assign Worksheet 6K, "Wounded Knee II: What Happened;" to another, Worksheet 6L, "Poem Composed at Wounded Knee;" to another Worksheet 6M, "Support from the Iroquois;" and to another, Worksheet 6N, "Inside the Knee." Have students read their assigned worksheet, share within their group, and then work together to prepare a role-play, based on their readings, of one of the following situations, which they will act out for the class:
  - Dialogue between AIM leaders and FBI at Wounded Knee in February—soon after a list of demands was submitted and federal troops surrounded the village.
  - Meeting of AIM leaders and Iroquois supporters at Wounded Knee.
  - Rachel Hollow Horn, a Wounded Knee resident, whose grandfather died at the first

Wounded Knee massacre, telling her children why she stayed in the village for the duration of the 1973 siege.

- After groups have presented their role-plays, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these sources tell you about the siege at Wounded Knee in 1973?
  - Why do you think Wounded Knee was selected as the place for AIM to make its demands?
  - What does the poem tell us about the feelings of Native American Indians for what happened at Wounded Knee?
  - Why did Rachel Hollow Horn want to remain at Wounded Knee?
  - Why does Mary Crow Dog want to have her baby at Wounded Knee?
  - What evidence is there here that the activists expected to die at Wounded Knee II?
  - Was Wounded Knee II a justifiable protest? As a Native American Indian in 1973, would you have lent your support? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 6O, "Connecticut Land Claims." Have students read, work in pairs to complete the exercise and then explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from this article about the recent struggles of some Native American Indians?
  - What claims were made in 1993 by the Paugussett Indians?
  - How do the Paugussett justify their land claims?
  - Why are Connecticut property owners taking the Paugussett's land claims very seriously?
  - How are the finances of families that live in the claimed area being affected?
  - As the federal district court judge in this case, would you rule for or against the Paugussett? Explain your reasoning.

## **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Research and report on the land claims of the Native American Indians in New York State.
  - Research and debate the claims of the Native American Indians to have the Black Hills returned to them.
- Debate the issue of whether providing Native American Indians with the right to run gambling casinos on their lands is a solution to their economic problems.
  - Research what happened to the leaders of AIM or Mary Crow Dog.

## **Indian Education**

In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, most native American Indian children attended government-run boarding schools. The selections below tell about conditions in these schools.

**A.** They made us line up and march everywhere, even to the shows, and they did their best to beat the Indian out of us. Actually, I think they beat the Indian into us, at least in my case. We had Chippewa and Sioux there, and a lot of Cree who spoke Cree or French, and before long we could all speak one another's languages, even though they beat anybody they caught speaking Indian.

Statement by George Mitchell, cofounder of AIM describing his experience at boarding school in the 1940s; from Robert Brunette and John Koster, *The Road to Wounded Knee*, p. 48.

**B.** My visit was on Career Day. High school students were choosing careers. Boys had a choice of dry cleaning worker, laundry worker, or janitor. The choices for girls were dry cleaning worker, laundry worker, nurse's aid, or dishwasher. They learned by working at the school without pay. That night the school showed a John Wayne movie. The Navaho kids cheered and clapped as the cavalry shot the Indians.

A white student visiting Intermountain Indian School in Utah in 1953.

**C.** We are shocked at what we discovered... These cold figures make a stain on our national conscience, a stain which has spread slowly for hundreds of years. They tell a story, to be sure. But they cannot tell the whole story. They cannot, for example, tell of the despair, the frustration, the hopelessness... of children who want to learn but are not taught; or of nine-year-old children sent thousands of miles away to remote and alien boarding schools.

- The average educational level for all Indians under federal supervision is five school years.
- Only 18% of the students in federal Indian schools go on to college; the national average is 50% (although there are BIA scholarships available).
- Only 3% of Indian students who enroll in college graduate.
- The Bureau of Indian Affairs spends only \$18 per year per child on textbooks and supplies, compared to a national average of \$40.

1969 report from the Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.

## Caught Between Two Cultures

In the selections below, two Native American Indians who became prominent in the Native American Indian rights movement tell what it was like to be “caught between two cultures.”

It's not the big, dramatic things so much that get us down, but just being Indian, trying to hang on to our way of life, language, and values while being surrounded by an alien, more powerful culture.

Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdos, *Lakota Woman* (New York: Grove Atlantic, Inc., 1990), 4.

...Once the land is gone, then we are gone too. The Sioux used to keep winter counts, picture writings on buffalo skin, which told our people's story from year to year. Well, the whole country (around Grass Mountain) is one vast winter count. You can't walk a mile without coming to some family's sacred visions hill, to an ancient Sun Dance circle, an old battleground, a place where something worth remembering happened... But you can't live forever off the deeds of Sitting Bull or Crazy Horse. You have to make your own legends now. It isn't easy.

Mary Crow Dog, pp. 10-11.

I grew up on the St. Regis Reservation in New York, near the Canadian border. It's a big reservation six miles square, with 3,000 people and 3,000 problems. ...I went to the school... until I was sixteen, but the system never offered me anything that had to do with being an Indian. They didn't teach me how to hunt, how to skin deer, how to tan hides. All they wanted me to do was to become a part of the machinery, to make me into what they wanted; a white Indian...

Richard Oakes (leader of the takeover of Alcatraz) “Alcatraz Is Not An Island,” *Ramparts*, p. 35.

### Aimlessness

by Yellow Bird

I am roaming,  
Roaming,  
Restless,  
Aimless.  
In the snow I see  
My Ancestors'  
Bloody footprints,  
Moccasin prints.  
My old boots are worn.  
And down at the heels.  
On what road am I?  
The white man's road  
Or the Indians?  
There are no signposts.  
The road is uphill,  
And the wind in my face.  
Still I go on.

Mary Crow Dog, p. 55.

## ***Life on the Reservation***

Mary Crow Dog describes life on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota when she was a child in the 1960s.

... We wound up with our grandparents. We were lucky. Many Indian children are placed in foster homes. This happens even in some cases where parents or grandparents are willing and able to take care of them, but where the social workers say their homes are substandard, or where there are outhouses instead of flush toilets, or where the family is simply "too poor." A flush toilet to a white social worker is more important than a good grandmother. So the kids are given to wasicun [white] strangers to be "acculturated in a sanitary environment." We are losing the coming generation that way and do not like it.

[My grandfather]... worked as a janitor in the school and had little money to take care of a large family, his own and that of his son. Nine people in all, plus always some poor relatives with no jobs. I don't know how he managed, but somehow he did.... We had no electricity, no heating system, no plumbing. We got our water from the river.... They never seemed to have money to buy much food. Grandpa Moore and two of his brothers were hunting all the time. It was the only way to put some fresh, red meat on the table... Our cabin was small. It had only one room which served as our kitchen, living room, dining room, parlor, or whatever. At night we slept there, too. That was our home—one room. Grandma was the kind of woman who, when visitors dropped in, immediately started to feed them. She always told me, "Even if there's not much left, they gonna eat."

Mary Crow Dog, pp. 17-18.

## Government Actions and Economic Conditions

If a Native American Indian college student during the 1960s had written a letter back to his brother on the reservation, it might have read as follows:

Dear Brother,

College and living in the city are opening my eyes to the conditions of Native American Indians in the United States.

As you know, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 established the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This act was intended to help save Indian land by giving Indians more self-government. Instead it took power away from the traditional leaders and forms of government. All actions, except taxing the people, have to have the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. So the BIA superintendent keeps all the power.

We all know that the BIA is corrupt and that in case after case elected tribal councils and presidents have worked with the superintendent of the BIA, giving jobs to relatives, skimming off government funds so that conditions for most people on the reservations do not improve. Just as they did in the past, families today sell the land they had received under the Dawes Act to keep from starving.

The government's 1950 "relocation" policy for Indians has been a disaster. That policy is one in which the government pays the relocation expenses of any Indians who want to leave the reservation. The result around the country is Indian ghettos with high poverty, alcoholism, and unemployment. Many young people become roamers, drifting from city to city, or back and forth from city to reservation.

I have learned that the unemployment rate for reservation Indians varies between 50 and 80 percent. There are no figures for Indians who left the reservation to live in cities. In 1973, according to the BIA, the average yearly income for reservation Indians was \$1,500 per person. Some Indians tell me that the average is really much lower, that the \$1,500 figure is inflated by people with oil and mining on their lands, who are much wealthier than most Indians.

Do you remember our tribe's struggle some years ago to defeat being "terminated" by the Bureau of Indian Affairs? I did not really understand why at the time; after all, we did not want to take responsibility for our own affairs! The government in 1953 announced that the progress of each tribe would be examined and then a bill terminating their special status would be passed. But our Indian elders knew that termination would just mean economic disaster, that is, Indians entering the welfare system. You may know that President Richard Nixon recently spoke out against termination and this policy has been stopped.

Conditions for American Indians are truly dire. Radical young Native Americans have come to my college, asking us to join their movement for change. I will make a decision soon.

## ***Native American Indian Living Conditions***

In the 1960s Americans were increasingly getting their news from television. Use the information that you have shared to write a brief script for a television "special news report" on the "LIVING CONDITIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE 1960s AND 1970s."

INTRODUCTION:

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ON INDIAN EDUCATION:

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ON BEING CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO CULTURES:

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ON RESERVATION LIFE:

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ON U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY:

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---

ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:

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---



## ***Beginnings of the Native American Indian Rights Movement***

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### ***The Multicultural Mosaic***

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#### ***1944–1971***

- 1944-45:** Native American Indian veterans return from World War II to find the same discrimination and exploitation as they experienced before.
- 1944:** The National Congress of American Indians is formed to lobby for change.
- 1950s:** Indians from many different tribes leave reservations and begin to meet in cities; find they have problems in common.
- 1950s/60s:** Native American Indians see African-Americans become militant in their struggle for equality; some significant gains are made.
- 1960s:** Native American Indians who attended BIA schools in 1940s and '50s angry that schools had tried to force them away from their own cultures.
- 1961:** National Indian Youth Council, first all-Indian youth protest group, formed in New Mexico.
- 1965:** Native American Indians of Puyallup nation, who depend on fishing for food, stage a "fish in" to protest game warden's keeping them off river. They are arrested, tried, and acquitted.
- 1968:** American Indian Movement (AIM) formed in Minnesota to deal with problems of urban Indians. Members are militant; call for "Red Power."
- 1969:** Richard Oaks of the St. Regis reservation in New York organizes takeover of Alcatraz island by a group of college students. Students claim right to Alcatraz under old law stating that Native American Indians have right to reclaim abandoned federal land (Alcatraz was shut down as a prison). Students want to make Alcatraz a Native American Indian cultural center. Joined by other Native American Indians from all over, students hold Alcatraz until May 1971 when federal marshals finally move them out.
- 1971:** The Onondaga stop building of Route 81 across their reservation outside Syracuse, New York.

**EXERCISE**

The headlines above mix early events in the Native American Indian rights movement with factors influencing the beginnings of that movement. On the chart below, list in order of their importance three events in the early years of the movement. Also list in order of their importance three factors that influenced the movement's development.

Beginnings of the Native American Indian Rights Movement	
Significant Events	Factors Influencing Movement
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

## ***AIM Comes to Pine Ridge***

Below, Mary Crow Dog tells of her feelings when the American Indian Movement came to her Pine Ridge reservation in 1971.

**T**HE AMERICAN INDIAN Movement hit our reservation like a tornado, like a new wind blowing out of nowhere, a drumbeat from far off getting louder and louder. It was almost like the Ghost Dance fever that had hit the tribes in 1890... spreading like prairie fire...

A new world is coming,

A nation is coming,

The eagle brought the message.

I noticed that almost all of the young men wore their hair long, some with eagle feathers tied to it. They all had on ribbon shirts. They had a new look about them, not that hangdog reservation look I was used to. They moved in a different way, too, confident and swaggering, the girls as well as the boys. Belonging to many tribes, they had come in a dilapidated truck covered with slogans and painting. They had traveled to the Sun Dance all the way from California, where they had taken part in the occupation of Alcatraz Island.

...Leonard Crow Dog\* spoke, saying that we had talked to the white man for generations with our lips, but that he had no ears to hear, no eyes to see, no heart to feel. Crow Dog said that now we must speak with our bodies and that he was not afraid to die for his people... Some people wept. An old man turned to me and said, "These are the words I

always wanted to speak, but had kept shut up within me."

I asked one of the young men, "What kind of Indians are you?" "We are AIM," he told me, "American Indian Movement. We're going to change things."...

AIM was born in 1968. Its fathers were mostly men doing time in Minnesota prisons, Ojibways. It got its start in the slums of St. Paul taking care of Indian ghetto problems. The early AIM people were mostly ghetto Indians, often from tribes which had lost much of their language, traditions, and ceremonies. It was when they came to us on the Sioux reservations that they began to learn about the old ways. We had to learn from them, too. We Sioux had lived very isolated behind what some people called the "Buckskin Curtain." AIM opened a window for us through which the wind of the 1960s and early '70s could blow, and it was no gentle breeze but a hurricane that whirled us around. It was after the traditional reservation Indians and the ghetto kids had gotten together that AIM became a force nationwide. It was flint striking flint, lighting a spark which grew into a flame at which we could warm ourselves after a long, long winter.

\* The narrator, then Mary Brave Bird, was later to marry Leonard Crow Dog, a Lakota medicine man

Adapted from Mary Crow Dog, pp. 73-76.

## ***Newsweek Reports BIA Building Takeover***

In 1972 militant American Indians occupied the office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. Read below how *Newsweek* magazine reported the event.

"The Trail of Broken Treaties," they called it, a caravan of some 500 Indian men, women and children in buses and station wagons wending their way toward Washington from the West and South. The object, so it seemed, was a peaceful demonstration for reform of Indian programs. But from the moment the strident American Indian Movement, AIM, arrived, everything seemed to go wrong. Before they departed, the Trail of Broken Treaties had lengthened into a path of stunning wreckage through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Damage was estimated at \$2.28 million, making AIM's rampage the third most costly incident of destruction of federal property in history...

The atmosphere was strained from the start: the demonstrators complained about their lodgings, the Army refused to allow a memorial service for two Indian war heroes at Arlington National Cemetery. By the time Administration negotiators arrived for a discussion of grievances with protest leaders at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, things were out of hand. "Suddenly it was wall-to-wall Indians," a White House aide recalled; within an hour, the building was occupied by hundreds of militants proclaiming it "The Native American Embassy."

Interior Department officials wanted to clear the building immediately with police; but White House aides, fearful of a donnybrook (fight) and mindful of Election Day, ordered a waiting game. The occupation stretched on for a week. Weapons (pistols, spiked clubs fashioned from chair legs) appeared, war paint was applied, tom-toms boomed above the traffic noise on Constitution Avenue. Black revolutionary Stokely Carmichael turned up to proffer aid. Interior Secretary Rogers Morton was sure at one point that the building was about to be blown up.

In the end, it was only vandalized. Furniture, files, typewriters, windows, toilet fixtures were smashed. The walls were scrawled with slogans ("Custer had it coming and so do some others"). A prized collection of Indian art was broken into; some of it was shredded, some stolen. Cartons full of government documents—"incriminating," the demonstrators called them—were carted off. Finally the occupation was called off, after the Administration agreed to set up a study group to review Indian grievances.

## ***From Inside the BIA Building***

In 1972 militant Native American Indians occupied the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in Washington, D.C. Read below how one of the Native American Indians inside the BIA building viewed the events that occurred.

**TRAVELED AMONG** friends from Rosebud and Pine Ridge. When we arrived in Washington we got lost. We had been promised food and accommodations, but due to government pressure, many church groups which had offered to put us up and feed us got scared and backed off. It was almost dawn and still we were stumbling around looking for a place to bed down... I could hardly keep my eyes open.... We were finally given a place to sleep in an old dilapidated and abandoned church. I had just crawled into my bedroll when I saw what I thought to be a fair-sized cat walking over it. I put my glasses on and discovered that it was a big rat, the biggest and ugliest I had ever seen. The church was in an uproar. Women screamed. Mine was not the only rat in the place... the toilets were broken. It was the first week of November and there was no heat... People were saying, "They promised us decent housing. Look how they're treating us. We ain't gonna stand for this.... Somebody suggested, "Let's all go to the BIA." It seemed the natural thing to do, to go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs building... They would have to put us up. It was "our" building after all. Besides, that was

what we had come for, to complain about the treatment the bureau was dishing out to us.

(According to the narrator, no important official is willing to meet with them. They are refused permission to conduct a ceremony at the grave of Ira Hayes, the Pima Indian who had won the Congressional Medal of Honor at Iwo Jima and who had died forgotten in a ditch.)

Russell Means (one of AIM's leaders) remarked to some reporters that the media were ignoring us: "What do we have to do to get some attention? Scalp somebody?"... I learned that as long as we "behave nicely" nobody gave a damn about us, but as soon as we became rowdy we got all the support and media coverage we could wish for... we pushed the police and guards out of the building... the occupation turned into a siege... The whole building was surrounded by helmeted police armed with all kinds of guns. A fight broke out between the police and our security. Some of our young men got hit over the head with police clubs and we saw the blood streaming down their faces.

WORKSHEET 6I, FROM INSIDE THE BIA BUILDING (CONTINUED)

There was a rumor, which turned out to be true, that we had received an ultimatum: "Clear out—or else!"

I heard a woman screaming, "They are coming, they are going to kill us all." ...

We barricaded all doors and the lowest windows with document boxes, Xerox machines, tables, file cabinets, anything we could lay our hands on... Some young men were singing and yelling, "It's a good day to die!"...

## ***Point of View Comparison Chart***

Compare and contrast the points of view presented in the two accounts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building takeover (Worksheets 6H and 6I) by completing the chart below.

	NEWSWEEK ACCOUNT	NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN'S ACCOUNT
Summary of Viewpoint		
Differences		
Similarities		

## **Wounded Knee II: What Happened**

**February 6, 1973:** Russell Means and Dennis Banks, with other activists, come to Custer, South Dakota, to protest the killing of Wesley Bad Heart Bull. They find that the alleged killer is only being charged with second degree manslaughter. The Indians react; some claim that police clubbed and knocked down the mother of the dead man. Fighting between police and the activists breaks out. Three buildings are burned and two police cars are damaged.

**February 27:** AIM's leaders, Russell Means and Dennis Banks, with two hundred followers capture the tiny village of Wounded Knee where, in 1890, unarmed Sioux women and children had been killed by the army. They take eleven white residents hostage. They submit a list of demands that include:

- That the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hold hearings on alleged federal violation of 371 treaties with Native American people.
- That the Oglala Sioux be able to elect their own leaders to replace the "puppet" government.

Russell Means announces, "Either negotiate with us for meaningful results, positive results, or you're going to have

to kill us, and here at Wounded Knee is where it's going to have to happen."

**February 28:** Federal marshals and FBI agents surround the village. They use armored personnel carriers (tanks). They cut off electricity and stop anyone from going into or out of Wounded Knee. They intend to cut off food supplies.

Images of Native American Indians again taking up arms against the United States to demand justice flash around the world. Supporters come from all over. Native American Indians sneak in and out during the cover of night, unstopped by the federal barriers.

Fire fights break out. Each side claims the other shot first. Shots are exchanged nearly every day. Two Native American Indian activists are killed during the siege.

Many supporters come to Wounded Knee, such as the black activist Angela Davis, but are not allowed through the road blocks. Only the Iroquois are allowed through, claiming their treaty rights grant them free passage.

**May 8, 1973:** The siege ends when 146 of the activists are arrested and taken to Rapid City. Russell Means had escaped by then. He was later given sanctuary on the Onondaga reservation in New York.



## ***Poem Composed at Wounded Knee***

sneaking into  
wounded knee  
thru the creekbed  
meeting headfirst  
the spirit of the women fleeing  
83 years ago  
with the children  
the future  
killed  
slaughtered so far from  
the field of  
"battle"  
stones  
stained with the  
blood of  
minneconjou women  
the trees, the brush  
every blade of prairie grass  
filled with haunting spirit  
of a nation slaughtered  
    a nation watching  
    a nation rising  
spirit of the minneconjou  
find me worthy  
that i may  
fight in your place  
that i may avenge  
(with vengeance & rage  
grown only of love)  
speak to me  
so that i  
may help in the rebirth  
of this nation  
& if need be  
show me the true  
way to Die!

Karoniaktatie (composed at Wounded Knee)

## *Support from the Iroquois*

On March 19 a delegation from the Iroquois Six Nation Confederacy arrived at Wounded Knee. They made the following statement in support of those holding Wounded Knee.

**W** E ARE a free people. The very dust of our ancestors is steeped in our tradition. This is the greatest gift we gave to you, the concept of freedom. You did not have this. Now that you have taken it and built a constitution and country around it, you deny freedom to us. There must be some one among you who is concerned for us, or if not for us, at least for the honor of your country. The solution is simple: be honest, be fair, honor the commitments made by the founding fathers of your country. We are an honorable people—can you say the same?

You are concerned for the destruction of property at the BIA building and at Wounded Knee. Where is your concern for the destruction of our people, for human lives? Thousands of Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohicans, thousands of Cherokees on the Trail of Tears, Black Hawk's people, Chief Joseph's people, Captain Jack's people, the Navajos, the Apaches, Sand Creek Massacre (huddled under the American flag seeking the protection of a promise), Big Foot's people at Wounded Knee. When will you cease your violence against our people? Where is your concern for us?

What about the destruction of our properties? The thousands of acres of land, inundated by dams built on our lands, the raping of the Hopi and Navajo

territories by the Peabody strip mining operation, timber cutting, power companies' water pollution, and on and on. Where is your concern for these properties?

The balance of the ledger is up to you. Compare the damage of the BIA and Wounded Knee against the terrible losses we suffered and tell us that we are wrong for wanting redress. We ask for justice, and not from the muzzle of an M-16 rifle. Now what is to occur?

Remove the marshals and the FBI men. They are hostile, and eager to exercise the sanctions of the United States to subjugate the Indian people. Do not prosecute the Indians for the methods used to gain your attention, for the fault actually lies with the Government of the United States for ignoring Indians for so long...

We have not asked you to give up your religions and customs for ours. We have not asked you to give up your language for ours. We have not asked you to give up your ways of life for ours. We have not asked you to give up your government for ours. We have not asked that you give up your territories to us. Why can you not accord us with the same respect? For your children learn from watching their elders, and if you want your children to do what is right, then it is up to you to set the example. That is all we have to say at this moment.

## *Inside the Knee*

**A** We heard the Cesna planes in the distance. They flew low and many of us thought they were going to bomb or gas us. Ten bundles were pushed from the planes and floated down on colorful parachutes. Some of us guessed that it might be poisoned flour or blankets infected with small pox as had been done to our people in the past. But it turned out to be food air-lifted to us by people from the anti-war movement who included a letter of support and praise. We gathered the bundles... it was the first fresh food we had seen in a long time.

Mary Crow Dog

**B** “Why did you stay in Wounded Knee the whole time?”

“Because I have a wound that was never healed. Back in 1890 my grandfather was in that massacre. And my dad’s three older brothers were shot and killed. My grandfather escaped with wounds. He died later. I wasn’t actually in the fighting but I stayed because I didn’t want to see them die alone. ‘If they are going to be wiped out,’ I said, ‘I want to be one of them.’”

Rachel Hollow Horn, Wounded Knee resident. *Akwesasne Notes: Voices from Wounded Knee.*

**C** The young men tied eagle feathers to their braids, no longer unemployed kids, juvenile delinquents, or winos, but warriors. I thought of our old warrior societies—the Kit Foxes, the Strong Hearts, the Badgers, the Dog Soldiers. The Kit Foxes—the Tokals—used to wear long sashes. In the midst of battle, a Tolkala would sometimes dismount and pin the end of his sash to the earth. By this he signified his determination to stay and fight on his chosen spot until he was dead, or until a friend rode and unpinned him, or until victory. Young or old, men or women, we had all become Kit Foxes, and Wounded Knee had become the spot upon which we had pinned ourselves. Soon we would be encircled and there could be no retreat. I could not think of anybody or anything that would “unpin” us. Somewhere out on the prairie surrounding us, the forces of the government were gathering, the forces of the greatest power on earth. Then and there I decided that I would have my baby at Wounded Knee no matter what.

Mary Crow Dog. p. 126.

## Connecticut Land Claims

In recent years, Native American Indians throughout the United States have brought to the courts their claims to thousands of acres of land. The story of one of the most recent Native American Indian land claims is described in the article below.

### Return of the Natives

#### Connecticut Land Grab

Take a drive through the Connecticut countryside, and eventually you'll come to Trumbull, an affluent suburban community about 90 minutes from Manhattan.

Yet amidst Trumbull's rolling lawns one encounters an odd sight—a dilapidated log cabin, shoehorned onto a weedy, quarter-acre lot festooned with junked and rusting cars. A sign in front of the cabin reads: GOLDEN HILL RESERVATION, PAUGUSSETT INDIANS. ESTABLISHED 1659. OLDEST CONTINUING RESERVATION IN CONNECTICUT.

Few folks have ever heard of the Paugussett Indians, but that is now starting to change, and in a big way...

In the case of the Paugussetts, one finds a handful of African-American Indians staking claim to thousands of acres of some of the choicest real estate in America—on the ground that the land was stolen from their ancestors by greedy white settlers more than 300 years ago.

To redress this perceived abuse, lawyers for the Paugussetts have filed deed liens and land claims to much of downtown Bridgeport—the state's largest city—as well as the whole of three surrounding suburban towns and parts of three others.

The claims have now clouded the titles of more than 400 individual property owners, hundreds of businesses, and even the federal and Connecticut state governments—both of which have substantial property holdings in the affected areas.

In filing their claims, the Paugussetts are asserting that the lands in question were taken from them in violation of a seventeenth-century decree of the British Crown and an eighteenth-century statute of Congress.

The claims sound frivolous, but they are not. Using similar tactics, Indians in recent years have successfully brought land claims in courts in upstate New York, in Maine, and elsewhere. Some 30 additional lawsuits, affecting title to more than 35 million acres of land—an area larger than all of South Carolina—have been filed in various courts, and the Paugussett claim is the latest. The federal district court judge in the case has already admonished the property owners to take the matter seriously and has refused to dismiss the Paugussett claims...

Seizing the lands of local property owners seems simply to be a way to get officials in both Washington and Hartford to pay attention to the Paugussetts' demands. Having now done so, the Paugussetts want to negotiate a compromise settlement that would give them recognition as a tribe, along with some land in

downtown Bridgeport. In return, they would abandon their land claims against everyone else.

It's a tactic that government officials call extortion and say they will refuse to yield to. By contrast, the Indian side claims that this approach is regrettable but necessary, even though it is wreaking havoc on the finances of families throughout the area.

"I've tried to get title insurance on my home, and I can't," says Marcia Harrison, a resident of Orange, Connecticut. Now she wonders if she can even sell the place. Harrison says she is also unable to get any bank to give her a home-equity loan on the dwelling. More of this may be coming. According to one of the Indian's lawyers, William Wechsler of Hartford, the Paugussetts have claims covering potentially 20 percent of the entire state, and if federal and state officials don't sit down and negotiate a compromise, more claims will be filed. One tribal official says that the next shoe to drop will be a claim covering fifteen more square miles and 1,500 more property owners. The tribe's "council chief," a Connecticut social worker named Aurelius Piper, Jr., who styles himself Chief Quiet Hawk, confirms that such a filing is imminent, as does Wechsler...

Christopher Byron, *New York* magazine, July 12, 1992.

WORKSHEET 60, CONNECTICUT LAND CLAIMS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Use the space provided below to write a dialogue between the Paugussett chief, Aurelius Piper Jr., and a homeowner living in the area that the Paugussett claim.

Paugussett Chief: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Connecticut Homeowner: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Paugussett Chief: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Connecticut Homeowner: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# Learning Activity 7

*Has the feminist movement achieved its goals?*

## **THEME**

Struggle for Equality

## **BACKGROUND**

During World War II many women were doing work that had usually been reserved for men. The shortage in manpower caused by war resulted in employment opportunities for women. However, this trend would be reversed after World War II ended. Between June and September 1945, one out of every four employed female workers was fired or quit. By 1947 the female labor force had decreased by about 5 million. While 22 million women continued to work during the 1950s, most were in low-paying clerical or service jobs. In 1956 the median annual wage for women was \$1,363, while the average man earned \$3,552.

In 1963 Betty Friedan published her book *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan wrote that this “mystique” suggested that women should be nurturing, passive and accepting of male domination. Furthermore, the highest value for a woman was to be committed to the housewife-mother ideal. During the fifties and sixties, this message was reinforced by radio, TV, magazines, books, psychology, sociology, and advertising. In 1950, one-half of all women were married by the age of 20. In the Christmas 1956 edition of *Life* magazine psychologists wrote that career women were maladjusted and not properly accepting of the feminine role. The percentage of women attending college in comparison to men dropped from 47 percent in 1920 to 35 percent in 1958. Despite the “mystique,” many women did work and some had successful careers. Oveta Culp Hobby was appointed Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare by President Eisenhower, and Ivy Baker Priest served as United States Treasurer.

The 1960s and early 1970s were years of great change in the lives of many American women. Women’s rights groups, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Black Feminist Organization, were formed. These groups, and others, worked to change attitudes and conditions affecting women. Also, wide-ranging legislation attempted to end economic, social, and political discrimination against women. For example, the Tax Reform Act of 1976 permitted homemakers to establish retirement accounts. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1976 prohibited discrimination based on gender or marital status in obtaining credit, and the 1978 amendment to the Civil Rights Act included a prohibition against employment-related discrimination on the basis of pregnancy or childbirth. Collectively, these actions caused women and men to look carefully at their lives and to examine and question their behavior and attitudes. Although some Americans continued to believe that women belonged in the home, many others came to realize that each person, female or male, should be allowed to choose the role that suits her or him best.

## **MAJOR IDEAS**

- Striving for HUMAN RIGHTS is an important step in the American evolution toward true democracy.
- While there were significant CHANGES in the role of women in the economy and politics, many individuals still felt that the woman’s place was “in the home”; this attitude bestowed second-class CITIZENSHIP on them.

## **CONCEPTS**

- Change
- Citizenship
- Identity

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain factors that caused the emergence of the modern feminist movement.
- Discuss their own feelings and attitudes concerning sexual equality and equal opportunity.
- Analyze the impact of the feminist movement on the role of women in American society, politics and the economy.
- Assess the degree to which the feminist movement's goals have been achieved.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 7A, "What's Your Attitude?" Have students answer the survey as directed on the worksheet. Have students pair off and share their answers with a partner. Ask volunteers to tabulate the percentages of students in the class who give a certain answer.
- Distribute Worksheet 7B, "Status of Women Poll Results." Have students read. Compare the results of the class survey with these national results. Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do the results of the national polls tell us about the status of women and male/female relationships in the United States?
  - How do your attitudes about women compare with the attitudes of the Americans surveyed?
  - Which of the national results surprised you most? Explain.
  - Which of the national results could be used by a feminist in the 1990s to argue for greater equality between the sexes?
  - Which of the national poll results might be used by a critic of "women's liberation"?
  - Are polls like this a good way to measure public opinion on important issues? Should the results of polls guide public policy? Why or why not?

- Distribute Worksheet 7C, "The Feminine Mystique." Have students read, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does Betty Friedan tell us about American women in the fifteen years after World War II?
  - How was a woman supposed to gain fulfillment?
  - How did women at that time feel about careers outside the home? How did they feel about world affairs?
  - Why did women in the 1950s blame themselves if their lives were not satisfactory?
  - Do you think that women of all racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups in the 1950s and '60s could relate to the "ideal American woman" that Betty Friedan described in her book? Why or why not?
  - Do you think that the "feminine ideal" that Ms. Friedan described should be the goal of American women? Why or why not?
  - Many feminists today consider Betty Friedan's book the inspiration behind the modern feminist movement. How do you explain the tremendous popularity of Betty Friedan's book with women in the 1950s?
- Distribute Worksheet 7D, "History of the Modern Feminist Movement." Assign students to play the various roles. Have students complete the exercise and then explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this dialogue tell us about the beginning and development of the modern feminist movement?
  - Why did women in the 1960s begin to join together to demand equal rights?
  - What role did Betty Friedan play in the movement? Gloria Steinem? Martha Griffiths? Aileen Hernandez?
  - Why did some African-American women distrust the feminist movement? Should they have?

- Would you have supported the Equal Rights Amendment? Why or why not?
- In your opinion, has the modern feminist movement helped or hurt American women? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 7E, “Letters to Ms.” Divide the class into groups of four students each. Assign a different letter to each group. Instruct group members to read their assigned letter and then work together to compose a letter in response. Have a spokesperson from each group share with the class, then have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these letters tell us about some of the issues that American women faced in the 1970s?
  - To what degree was each of these women affected by the feminist movement of the 1960s?
  - Why did the husband and wife object to being asked which one was “head of the household”?
  - Why did the Mexican-American woman decide to raise her own children differently from the way she was raised?
  - Why was the young woman’s realization that being harassed by men on the street was not her fault such an important one?
  - Why does the Oakland gas station attendant see other women as more of a problem in her work than men?
  - As the black, female Ph.D. job applicant, how would you have felt being asked, “But do you type?”
  - According to Ellen Quick, how do the problems of Native American women compare with those of other American women?
  - Do the problems and issues identified in these letters of the 1970s exist today? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 7F, “African-American Women and the Feminist Movement.” Have students work in pairs—one partner assigned to read “Position 1” and the other partner to read “Position 2.” Instruct students to share with their partners, complete the exercise, and then explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from these statements about the reactions of African-American women to the women’s liberation movement?
  - How does Shirley Chisholm’s position on feminism compare with Renee Ferguson’s?
  - How do you account for their differing views?
  - Shirley Chisholm spoke in 1969; Renee Ferguson wrote in 1970. Are their viewpoints any more or less valid in the 1990s? Explain.
  - Do you agree with Shirley Chisholm that while prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable, prejudice against women is still acceptable?
  - Do you agree with Renee Ferguson that black women cannot afford to become competitive with black men and that the priorities of black and white women are necessarily different?
  - Should African-American women in the 1990s be feminists? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 7G, “How Far Have Women Come?” Have students examine the graphs and charts, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these graphs and charts tell us about the situation of American women in the 1990s? How far have women in the United States come since 1900?
  - What achievements do the graphs show?
  - How do the charts show that women still have a long way to go to reach equality with men?
  - If you were president of this nation, what steps would you take to bring about greater equality between the sexes? Explain.



## **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Research and report on prominent women in the United States today, for example, Sandra Day O'Connor, Ruth B. Ginsberg, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Anita Hill, Carol Moseley Braun, and Janet Reno.
- Examine women's issues that have recently come to the fore, such as sexual harassment

in the workplace; sexual harassment at school; date rape; domestic violence or the threat of violence; lack of attention to women's health issues.

- Examine television and print advertisements and identify stereotypical sex roles.
- Interview both males and females about work in the home. Who is doing it today?

## What's Your Attitude?

How do you view the status of women in America and relations between the sexes?  
Answer the questions in the following poll:

QUESTION	YOUR ANSWER
1. Do you think that women in this country have equal job opportunities or not?	1. _____ _____ _____
2. If you were taking a new job and had your choice of bosses, would you prefer to work for a man or a woman?	2. _____ _____ _____
3. Agree or disagree: Women are capable of being just as successful as men in the workplace.	3. _____ _____ _____
4. Do you think sexual harassment of women employees by male bosses happens: a) very often in this country; b) fairly often; c) not very often; d) not often at all?	4. _____ _____ _____
5. Agree or disagree: It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.	5. _____ _____ _____
6. Do you think a working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work?	6. _____ _____ _____
7. Do you think it is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself?	7. _____ _____ _____
8. Agree or disagree: Women who have careers end up sacrificing too much of their family and personal life.	8. _____ _____ _____

These questions and the answers found on Worksheet 7B are from *Scholastic Update*, March 12, 1993, p. 2. Permission pending.

WORKSHEET 7A, WHAT'S YOUR ATTITUDE? (CONTINUED)

<p>9. Among the following list of household chores, who usually does each job in your household, a man or a woman? a) laundry; b) preparing meals; c) paying bills; d) making financial decisions; e) washing dishes; f) doing yard work; g) minor home repairs; h) grocery shopping; i) cleaning house; j) keeping the car in good condition.</p>	<p>9. _____          _____          _____          _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>10. Agree or disagree: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women.</p>	<p>10. _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>11. If a woman were nominated for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?</p>	<p>11. _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>12. Should women in the military be allowed to have jobs that might take them into combat?</p>	<p>12. _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>13. Name three characteristics you think describe men more than women, and three that describe women more than men.</p>	<p>13. _____          _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>14. Do you think the women's movement has made it easier, harder, or no different for women to lead satisfying lives?</p>	<p>14. _____          _____          _____</p>
<p>15. All things considered, who has a better life in this country, men or women?</p>	<p>15. _____          _____          _____</p>

## Status of Women Poll Results

Here's how the American people responded to the questions posed above.

(Note: Percentages don't always add up to 100 because some people expressed no opinion.)

1. According to a 1990 Gallup Poll, 56 percent thought women do not have equal job opportunities; 42 percent thought women do.
2. Gallup found that 48 percent of Americans would rather work for a man than a woman; 14 percent said they'd prefer a female; 54 percent of the women polled said they'd prefer a male boss; 12 percent of the men said they'd prefer a female boss.
3. Gallup found that 91 percent agree that women can be as successful as men.
4. According to a 1991 poll by Louis Harris and Associates, 33 percent of Americans said sexual harassment was "very common," 44 percent said it "happens fairly often," 17 percent said it happens "not very often," and 3 percent said "not often at all."
5. According to a 1991 poll by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), 56 percent disagree, while 41 percent agree.
6. According to the NORC survey, 57 percent said yes, while 33 percent said no.
7. Sixty-nine percent of the public said no, while 29 percent said yes, according to NORC.
8. Sixty-nine percent of all Americans agreed.
9. Gallup's 1990 poll asked men and women separately. The percentage of women who said they usually performed the chores in question: a) 79; b) 78; c) 65; d) 38; e) 68; f) 21; g) 16; h) 72; i) 69; j) 22. The percent of men who said they usually performed the chores in question: a) 27; b) 26; c) 47; d) 41; e) 31; f) 63; g) 74; h) 26; i) 22; j) 81.
10. According to the NORC survey, 71 percent of Americans disagreed; 25 percent agreed.
11. Eighty-six percent of those polled by NORC said they would; 9 percent said they wouldn't.
12. Fifty-five percent of Americans favor allowing women in combat, according to a 1992 Gallup Poll, while 42 percent were opposed.
13. According to Gallup, the 10 most frequently named characteristics for men were, in order: aggressive, strong, proud, disorganized, courageous, confident, independent, ambitious, selfish, and logical. The 10 most frequently named characteristics for women were: emotional, talkative, sensitive, affectionate, patient, romantic, moody, cautious, creative, and thrifty.
14. In Gallup's 1990 poll, 56 percent said "easier," 35 percent said "harder," and 3 percent saw no change.
15. Men have it better, according to 49 percent of the people responding to a 1990 Gallup Poll; 22 percent thought women had a better life, and 21 percent thought they were equal.

## The Feminine Mystique

Books have often stirred people to action. In 1963 such a book was published—*The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan. In her book Ms. Friedan very bluntly described the position of women in the United States after World War II. An excerpt follows.

**T**HE PROBLEM lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—“Is this all?”

The suburban housewife—she was the dream image of the young American woman and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American housewife—freed by science and labor-saving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of.

In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husbands good-bye

in front of the picture window, depositing their stationwagons full of children at school, and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over the spotless kitchen floor.

They baked their own bread, sewed their own and their children’s clothes, kept their new washing machines and dryers running all day. They changed the sheets on the beds twice a week instead of once, took the rug-hooking class in adult education, and pitied their poor, frustrated mothers, who had dreamed of having a career. Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers, their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine problems of the world outside the home; they wanted the men to make the major decisions. They gloried in their role as women, and wrote proudly on the census blank: “Occupation: housewife.”

If a woman had a problem in the 1950s and 1960s, she knew that something must be wrong with her marriage, or with herself. Other women were satisfied with their lives, she thought. What kind of a woman was she if she did not feel this mysterious fulfillment waxing the kitchen floor? She was so ashamed to admit her dissatisfaction that she never knew how many other women shared it. If she tried to tell her husband, he didn’t understand what she was talking about. She did not really understand it herself....

Adapted from Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1963), 15-19. Used by permission.

## ***History of the Modern Feminist Movement***

**SCENE:** A television studio in New York City in the 1990s. Leaders of the feminist movement have gathered to discuss the history of the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

**CHARACTERS:** Betty Friedan, first president of the National Organization for Women; Martha Griffiths, congresswoman; Aileen Hernandez, founder of Black Women for Action; Toni Morrison, African-American author; Diane Sawyer, news anchor; Gloria Steinem, founder of *Ms.* magazine; Leonor K. Sullivan, congresswoman.

**Sawyer:** We are fortunate to have with us today women who each made important contributions to the modern feminist movement. Betty Friedan, you are called the "mother of the new feminist movement." How did that movement start?

**Friedan:** The feminist movement of the 1960s and '70s was inspired by the Civil Rights movement. Gender discrimination was deeply embedded in American life, so deeply that most men — and many women — were not even aware of how fundamentally it shaped their lives. My book, *The Feminine Mystique*, began to increase awareness when I pointed out the terrible discontent of the American housewife who was supposed to find total fulfillment in taking care of the house and children.

**Sawyer:** Why did you start the National Organization for Women?

**Friedan:** One reason was to make sure that women were enjoying the equal rights that they were guaranteed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

**Sawyer:** Congresswoman Griffiths, what role did you play in the movement?

**Griffiths:** I added the provision outlawing sex discrimination to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which was originally designed to end discrimination against blacks.

**Sawyer:** An Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was drafted over half a century ago. Didn't women get equal rights then?

**Griffiths:** The original ERA was defeated. The new wave of feminism in the 1960s brought the Equal Rights Amendment back to the attention of the American public.

**Sawyer:** The modern Equal Rights Amendment failed to meet its 1982 ratification deadline. Why?

**Sullivan:** I opposed the ERA because I think it would have hurt the American family. Women would have been forced to work outside the home because men would no longer be required to support their families.

**Sawyer:** Ms. Morrison, what do African-American women feel about women's lib?

**Morrison:** Distrust. Too many movements and organizations have tried to enroll blacks and have ended up by rolling them. We don't want to be used again to help somebody else gain power.

WORKSHEET 7D, HISTORY OF THE MODERN FEMINIST MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

**Sawyer:** Ms. Hernandez, do you agree with Ms. Morrison?

**Hernandez:** In the 1970s I replaced Betty Friedan as president of NOW. My concern was to change the middle-class image of NOW to include the concerns of working-class women. In 1973, I founded Black Women for Action, which focused more directly on everyday concerns, such as daycare and job training.

**Sawyer:** In 1971 Gloria Steinem was famous all over the United States as leader of the new women's liberation movement. Ms. Steinem, how did you become involved in the movement?

**Steinem:** In the late 1960s I became angry when I realized that I was indeed a second-class citizen. I was angry at receiving less pay than a man. I was angry at being asked why I didn't quit my job and get married. In many states married women could not get credit, start a business, or even use their maiden names. I felt that women had to start protecting themselves.

**Sawyer:** You started Ms. magazine.

**Steinem:** Yes. I wanted the magazine to report about job discrimination, the stereotyped way women were portrayed in all forms of media, changing sex roles, and the need for women to work together. Ms. wasn't like other women's magazines about cooking, fashions, housekeeping, and strategies to attract men. The name of the magazine was the form of address most feminists preferred to "Mrs." or "Miss." "Ms." allows women to be identified as individuals, not by their marital state.

**Sawyer:** What do you consider some of the major achievements of the modern feminist movement?

**Steinem:** Large numbers of women had their consciousness raised. They began to look at their lives in new ways. Women started to move into business, law, and medicine in greater numbers.

**Hernandez:** Schools began to require that new textbooks be free of sexist as well as racist stereotypes.

**Steinem:** In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court guaranteed women the right to an abortion.

**Morrison:** Not all women agree that abortion should be legal.

**Sullivan:** As a result of the feminist movement, women today are expected to be "superwomen." They are expected to have full-time jobs outside the home while continuing to handle all the housework and child care.

**Steinem:** Women are becoming the men we wanted to marry. Years ago we were training to marry a doctor, not be one.

**Sawyer:** That is an enormous change in perspective. Our audience will have to decide whether the goals of the women's liberation movement have been achieved. Are American women truly equal partners with men?

**EXERCISE**

Pretend that you call the television show to answer Diane Sawyer's final question, "Are American women truly equal partners with men?" Write your answer below.

Yes/No because

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Formulate a question for any one of the show participants.

Question for Ms. \_\_\_\_\_

My question is:

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## Letters to Ms.

The letters below were sent in the 1970s to Ms. Magazine, a feminist magazine founded by Gloria Steinem. Respond to the letter you are assigned in the space provided.

1

The census taker came to our door today, counting noses as he went. Having established that we were a married couple, he was required to find out who was the "head of the household." First, he asked if I, the husband, were the head of the household. My wife politely explained to him that we do not believe that a household needs a "head," or that the husband, by virtue of male genes, is somehow naturally endowed as head of any household, or that his wife is naturally subordinate to him.

Our determined census taker scratched his head awhile, considered our answer, and then asked my wife if she were the head of the household. My wife answered no, for the same reasons. Undaunted, he tried again: was it that she was the head of the household but let me think that I was?

An immediate protest call to the local Census Bureau office produced the explanation that someone must be designated as "head of the household," or else the computer won't know how to relate the various members of a household to one another.

The net result of the whole matter was that, somehow, my wife was listed as "head of the household," and I as "other relative."

John Michael Brounoff (other relative)  
Patricia Seed (head of household)  
Madison, Wisconsin  
March 1975 Issue

2

Because I was brought up in a traditional Mexican-American family, where the men were served first, I made up my mind, early on during my own children's formative years (and my husband's formative years as a husband), that I would never favor my three sons or my husband by feeding them the biggest, best portions of dinner while my daughter and I would eat or be served last. No way!

When we eat tortillas (which is often), I heat them up, wrap them in foil, and set them on the table so that I may sit down and eat with my family. Never have I stood warming tortillas while my family eats.

My daughter and I get the drumsticks as often as the others. Many times I serve her first. Other times my sons serve us, as does their father. My sons will either grow up to hate the kitchen or to learn to shift for themselves. But best of all, my daughter will grow up with a feeling of self-worth, which in itself is worth the effort.

Merrihelen Ponce-Adams  
Tujunga, California  
June 1980 Issue

WORKSHEET 7E, LETTERS TO MS. (CONTINUED)

3

Why do some men bother women they don't know, and what can women do about it? By *bother*, I mean all those things a man can do to a woman without violating the law: staring, whistling, smacking the lips, making comments—from almost complimentary to downright crude—approaching her and trying to start a conversation against her will, feeling a woman in a crowd while walking swiftly in the other direction, and following her to her home, car, or place of business.

My methods of coping with these situations are unsatisfactory, but they are the best I've come up with. I ignore the starers, whistlers, smackers, feelers, and rude comment makers. At first (and isn't this typical?), I thought maybe all this was my fault—something I was doing was causing these men to annoy me. But I've found that many other women share my experience, including my mother ...

Joyce Williams  
Chicago, Illinois  
April 1975 Issue

4

I work part time at a gas station in Oakland. I pump gas, wash windows, put air in tires, check and charge batteries, check transmissions, change oil, hub jobs, and other basic things. I don't claim to be a mechanic; I'm not. But I'm getting a little tired of women asking me to get "one of the men" to check their tires, water, and oil. I have been trained on the job to do these things. Men seem to trust and accept my service much more willingly than the women. One woman asked me to check her transmission. I did and found that it was completely empty and suggested she add a quart of transmission fluid. She didn't believe me and asked that I get "one of the men" to check it out. So I did, and he told her the same thing. This happens every day. I wish there was something that could be done. It is hard enough for women to seek positions in fields that are dominated by men without having to deal with mistrust and lack of support from other women.

Name Withheld  
September 1973 Issue

5

Young, gifted, black, educated, and qualified no longer appear to be magical words that suddenly open doors of corporate worlds. After years of struggle to complete my Ph.D., I was asked recently, when I attempted to volunteer for a local task force on mass transportation, the inevitable question: "But do you type?" Yes, but I also can analyze data, write research reports, evaluate programs, write proposals, and train personnel. All irrelevant skills to my listener's ear.

I am now my own boss. Still struggling, but loving every minute of it.

Marion T. Johnson, Ph.D.  
Performance Systems Associates  
Dallas, Texas  
February 1982 Issue

WORKSHEET 7E, LETTERS TO MS. (CONTINUED)

6

There are some beautiful, strong women out here in the Dakotas and other western states. Our problems are somewhat different from most of the problems you talk about. We are much closer to the land and have to deal directly with an intensely masculine society. We have the problems of dealing with cowboys and some of us (myself included) have problems because we are Indians, especially in dealing with our Indian men. With the recent upsurge of a return to traditionalism, we have a very rough time deciding what is truly best for us as Indian women.

Still I know women who are trying to develop an abortion-counseling service, women who break and train horses; women who dance men's-style Indian dances; a woman who is a lawyer on a reservation; and women who work to help bring political and legal changes in state and federal governments. There are also women trying to organize a feminist movement in states where the norm is still in the 1950s. We are backward out here, but we are growing and dealing with our own special problems and attributes.

For most of us, Ms. is our only contact with the feminist movement. We could use a little support from our sisters.

Ellen L. Quick  
Pierre, South Dakota  
March 1974 Issue

**EXERCISE**

Pretend that you are an editor at Ms. magazine and use the space provided below to write a response to the letter that you were assigned.

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

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Sincerely,

From *Letters to Ms.*, 1972-87, by Mary Thom, Copyright ©1987 by Ms. Foundation for Education and Communication, Inc., and the Miller Press, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Henry Holt and Co. Inc.

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## ***African-American Women and the Feminist Movement***

African-American women have held varying positions on the women's liberation movement.

### **Position 1**

—Shirley Chisholm (*Congresswoman*)

When a young woman graduates from college and starts looking for a job, she is likely to have a frustrating and even demeaning experience ahead of her. If she walks into an office for an interview, the first question she will be asked is, "Do you type?"

There is a calculated system of prejudice that lies unspoken behind that question. Why is it acceptable for women to be secretaries, librarians, and teachers, but totally unacceptable for them to be managers, administrators, doctors, lawyers, and members of Congress?

The unspoken assumption is that women are different. They do not have executive ability, orderly minds, stability, leadership skills, and they are too emotional.

It has been observed before, that society for a long time discriminated against another minority, the blacks, on the same basis—that they were different and inferior...

As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in

the political world I have been far more often discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black.

Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable although it will take years to eliminate it. But it is doomed because, slowly white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs as "for men only."

More than half of the population of the United States is female. But women occupy only two per cent of the managerial positions. They have not even reached the level of tokenism yet. No women sit on the AFL-CIO council or Supreme Court. There have been only two women who have held Cabinet rank, and at present there are none. Only two women now hold ambassadorial rank in the diplomatic corps. In Congress, we are down to one senator and ten representatives.

Considering that there are about 3.5 million more women in the United States than men, this situation is outrageous.

Shirley Chisholm, Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressional Record (Daily Digest), 91st Congress, 1st Sess., 21 May 1969, 115, no. 83: E4165-E4166.

**Position 2**

—Renee Ferguson (*Writer*)

The women’s liberation movement touches some sensitive nerves among black women—but they are not always the nerves the movement seems to touch among so many whites.

At a time when some radical white feminists are striving for a different family structure, many black women are trying to stabilize their families. They are making a special effort, in a great number of cases, to assume the wife and mother role more effectively. Whether a black woman feels that she can relate to the women’s liberation movement and the extent to which she is or is not involved in it may well depend on her age and her experiences.

Howard University senior and Student Association Secretary Pamela Preston doesn’t think that the women’s liberation movement has any meaning for black women. “As far as I’m concerned the women’s liberation movement is trite, trivial and simple. It’s just another white political fad,” Miss Preston says. “Black people have some of the same problems that they had when they were first brought to this country. That’s what we’ve got to deal with....”

In a 1963 article which appeared in the *Washington Post*, the President of the National Council of Negro Women, Dorothy Height, said, “A Negro woman has the same kind of problems as other women, but she can’t take the same things for granted. For instance, she has to raise children who seldom have the same sense of security that white children have when they see their father

accepted as a successful member of the community. A Negro child’s father is ignored as though he didn’t exist.”

The instability of the black inner-city family has been the subject of concern and study by sociologists for years...

Local singer Marjorie Barnes, in citing the problems of the instability of black families as one of her main reasons for noninvolvement in the women’s liberation movement, says, “I don’t think that black women can afford to be competitive with their men—especially now. Competing with them for jobs would just add to the problem that already exists. Black women have been able to find work when their husbands couldn’t and have often been the head of the family not because they wanted to be but out of economic necessity. Some of those women’s lib girls are asking for jobs that black men haven’t been able to get.

Perhaps the lack of involvement of black women in the women’s liberation movement can best be explained in terms of priorities. The priorities of black women versus the priorities of white women.

Obviously the first priority of virtually all black people is the elimination of racial prejudice in America—in effect the liberation of black people. Second in importance is the black family problem of establishing a decent way of life in America as it exists today. When racism in America is eliminated, then perhaps the black family’s stability problem will disappear and more black women will be able to give first priority to the elimination of oppression because of sex.

**EXERCISE**

Both Shirley Chisholm and Renee Ferguson state their positions on the modern women's liberation movement and then present several arguments to support those positions. In the space provided, summarize each woman's position and two of their supporting arguments.

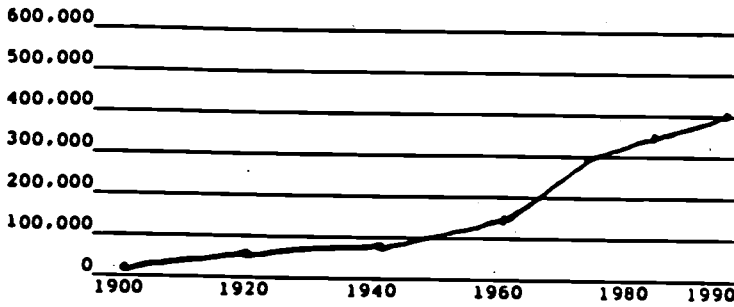
Shirley Chisholm	Renee Ferguson
POSITION:	POSITION:
SUPPORTING ARGUMENT 1:	SUPPORTING ARGUMENT 1:
SUPPORTING ARGUMENT 2:	SUPPORTING ARGUMENT 2:

Renee Ferguson, "Women's Liberation Has a Different Meaning for Blacks," *The Washington Post*, October 3, 1970.

## How Far Have Women Come?

Study the graphs and charts below to determine how far American women have come and how far they need to go.

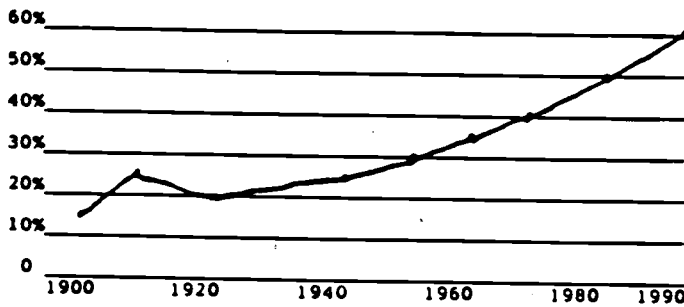
Women Earning College Degrees



Percentage of Job Holders Who are Women

Cashiers	79.3%
Elementary School Teachers	95.4%
Receptionist	97.3%
Registered Nurse	94.3%
Secretary	99.0%
Table Server	79.6%
Doctors	20.4%
Lawyers	21.4%
Managers of top companies	5.0%
Chief executives of companies	.15%
Mayors	17.1%
Members of Congress	11.0%
Governors	6.0%

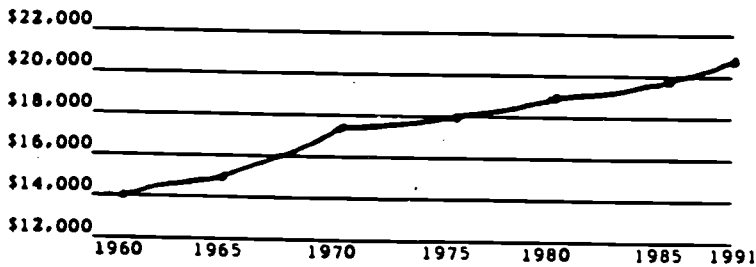
Percentage of Women Who Work



Average Annual Salary for Women and Men

	Women	Men
Some high school	\$15,381	\$22,564
Completed high school	\$18,954	\$26,043
4 years of college	\$26,911	\$44,554
Some graduate work	\$35,827	\$55,000

Average Annual Pay for Women



Percentage of People Living in Poverty

Men	12.3%
Women	16.0%
Single-mother families	50.1%

Scholastic Update, March 12, 1993, pp. 6-7. Permission pending.

### EXERCISE

- How many American women went to college in the year 1990? \_\_\_\_\_
- What percentage of American women worked outside the home in 1940? \_\_\_\_\_
- How much more on average were American women earning in 1990 than in 1960? \_\_\_\_\_
- What percentage of all doctors in the United States are women? \_\_\_\_\_
- How much of a gap is there between the average salaries of men and women college graduates?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- What percentage of single-mother families lived in poverty in 1991? \_\_\_\_\_

# Learning Activity 8

*How has the gay and lesbian civil rights movement worked to achieve political and social reforms?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

The beginning of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement is often dated from June 27, 1969, the night of the Stonewall rebellion in New York City. But gay community organizations, like the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, date back to the 1950s, an era of intensified anti-gay activity.

By the late 1960s, American social movements had developed a new spirit, one of radicalism. Anti-war protestors, student activists, Black Power advocates, Red Power advocates, and women's liberationists had all developed the politics of "taking it to the streets." This had not been a strategy of the gay movement because many gay people opted for the relative security of "passing" as straight to avoid the discrimination and hostility directed at those who "came out."

But in June 1969, when New York City police executed another in a series of raids on Village bars, patrons and neighbors of the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village fought back and a new militancy in the gay civil rights movement was born. In the following June of 1970 the first mass action by gay people occurred when some 10,000 people participated in the Christopher Street Gay Pride March from Greenwich Village up the Avenue of the Americas to Central Park. Almost twenty years later, in March 1987, between 200,000 and 700,000 (estimates vary widely) lesbians and gay men marched on Washington to demand equal rights.

Gay organizations have worked to change laws that allow discrimination against homosexuals, in addition to providing gay people a forum where they can meet to talk over their problems. In 1971 a bill for gay and lesbian civil rights was

introduced in the New York City Council. Repeatedly voted down, it was finally approved in 1986. While there have been gains for homosexuals in several states, other states in the 1990s have moved to prevent legislation aimed at protecting the rights of gay people.

Today, gays and lesbians are focusing on a range of objectives to secure full equality of rights and equal protection under the law. These include the right to serve in the military and more funding for AIDS research.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- Striving for HUMAN RIGHTS is an important step in the American evolution toward true democracy.
- The lesbian and gay rights movement is a response to discriminatory attitudes and practices directed at homosexuals.

## CONCEPTS

- Human Rights
- Change

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain causes for the development of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement.
- Assess the impact of prejudice and discrimination on the lives of gay men and women.
- Evaluate the progress that has been made in securing civil and human rights for homosexuals.



## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 8A, “Birth of the Gay Rights Movement.” Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this newspaper article tell us about the Stonewall Inn incident?
  - How did the police explain their raid on the Stonewall Inn?
  - Why did gays at the inn react so strongly to the police raid?
  - The emergence of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement is often dated from June 29, 1969, the date of the Stonewall Inn clash. How can you explain this?
  - Can you cite other human or civil rights movements that were sparked by a particular event? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 8B, “Attacks Against Gay People.” Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this poster tell us about the situation of gay people in our nation?
  - How do you account for the attack on Dan Guling?
  - Do you agree or disagree that “Education is the only lasting weapon against bigotry”?
  - Should the public schools play a role in educating people about the problems homosexuals face in the United States? Why or why not?
  - In New York City, the Harvey Milk High School was created for gay teens, partly because of violence against them that made it impossible for them to stay in their neighborhood schools. Do you think the creation of a special school is an effective solution to this problem? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 8C, “Gay Rights Laws.” Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this worksheet tell us about civil rights for gay people in New York City and around the nation?
  - How did the 1986 homosexual rights law change the situation for New York City’s gay people?
  - Why do you think it took 15 years before a homosexual rights bill was passed?
  - Why do you suppose one- and two-family homes were exempted from the 1986 law? Should they have been exempted? Why or why not?
  - Do you agree or disagree with Mayor Koch’s statement that “You don’t have to love them [homosexuals] but you have to respect their rights”? Explain.
  - Why did Colorado’s homosexuals feel betrayed by the 1992 measure passed by voters there?
  - How do you react to the argument put forth by backers of the anti-gay Colorado measure? Are gays asking for special rights when seeking equal protection under the 14th Amendment?
  - Why did the Massachusetts law finally pass the State Senate in 1993, after being defeated twice before?
  - Should New York State pass a law like the Massachusetts law? Why or why not?
  - Based on what you have read here, how much further do gays and lesbians have to go to secure equal rights in our city, state, and nation?
- Distribute Worksheet 8D, “Right to Serve in the Military.” Divide the class into groups of four students each. Have students in each group read the worksheet and work together to complete the exercise.
- Have one member of each group report the group’s recommendations.

- Tell students that in July of 1993 a compromise on the issue of gays in the military was reached. Recruits will not be asked to declare their sexual orientation and merely being a homosexual will not be considered grounds for dismissal. All investigations into the sexual preferences of personnel who break no military rules will end. (See Unit 12, Worksheet 3I for the full policy.)
- Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did this activity and worksheet tell us about the struggle of gay people to serve in the military?
  - Lt. Thorne sued the United States Navy for reinstatement and won his case in 1993. How important was Lt. Thorne's law suit to the cause of gay rights?
  - What impact do you think Sgt. Zuniga's statement had on attitudes about gays in the military?
  - Why do some people feel that the issue of gays and lesbians in the military is a complicated one? Do you think the issue is complicated?
  - Is the compromise that was arrived at an acceptable one? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 8E, "The Power of One." Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - Why does this writer entitle her op-ed piece "The Power of One"?
  - Why does the author think Sgt. Jose Zuniga had an important impact when he announced that he was a gay soldier?
  - How much courage do you think Sgt. Zuniga's statement showed?
  - Do you agree with the author that some people will decide that Sgt. Zuniga is the exception?
  - Have you ever been in a situation in which someone considered you OK but you knew that person was prejudiced against other members of your group? How did you feel?
  - What is wrong with that kind of stereotypical thinking?
  - Do you agree with the author's statement that the way peoples' feelings will change is by knowing someone (like Sgt. Zuniga) who is gay or lesbian and who does not fit their negative stereotype? Explain.

#### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES:**

Students can:

- Collect articles on the current objectives of gays and lesbians and present a panel discussion on the goals and the methods they are using to achieve their goals.
- Choose a gay or lesbian figure in history or a contemporary figure. Write or present a report on how you think that person may have helped to break stereotypes of gays and lesbians.

## **Birth of the Gay Rights Movement**

Some people mark the event reported below in the *New York Times* as the beginning of the gay rights movement in the United States. Read the article and complete the exercise that follows.

### **The New York Times**

**June 29, 1969**

#### **Four Policemen Hurt in 'Village' Raid**

Hundreds of young men went on a rampage in Greenwich Village yesterday after a force of plainclothes men raided a bar that the police said was well-known for its homosexual customers. Thirteen persons were arrested and four policemen injured. The police had a search warrant for investigating reports that liquor was being sold illegally at the bar, the Stonewall Inn. The police estimated that 200 young men had been removed from the bar. The crowd grew to close to 400 during the melee, which lasted about 45 minutes, they said. The raid was one of three held on Village bars in the last two weeks. Groups of men were outside the inn last night, reading aloud statements blaming the police. A sign on the door said, "This is a private club. Members only." Only soft drinks were being served.

Adapted from *The New York Times*, June 29, 1969. Copyright © 1969 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

### **EXERCISE**

Responsible news reports give all sides of a conflict, allowing readers to make up their own minds on the issues. For the conflict reported above, state the arguments that would be offered by both sides, as well as any evidence in the article that would support those arguments.

SIDES	POSITION/ARGUMENTS	EVIDENCE
NYC Police		
Gays at Inn		

## ***Attacks Against Gay People***

The Lesbian and Gay Public Awareness Project is one of the many organizations that work on behalf of gay rights. The poster below is one that they distribute.



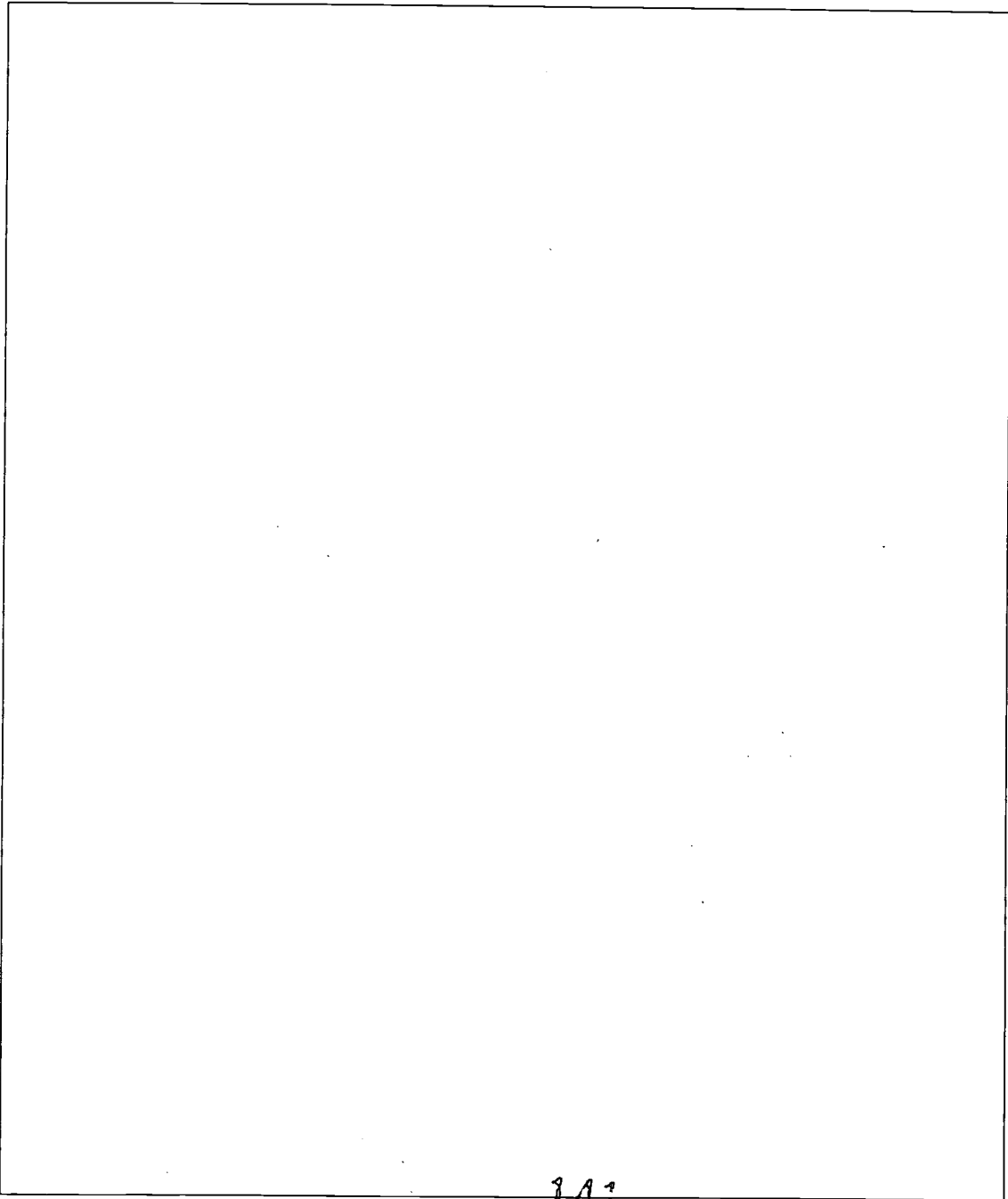
**Dan is gay.  
So they  
crippled him  
for  
LIFE.**

**S**ix years ago in San Antonio, Texas, Dan Guiling was attacked by a pair of gay hating young men. They stabbed him and left him for dead. He has a severed spinal cord and is paralyzed for life. Dan is just one of thousands of gay men and lesbians who fall victim to hate crimes each year. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force catalogued a record 7,248 incidents nationally during 1988 ranging from harassment to homicide. Education is the only lasting weapon against bigotry. Don't let this happen to someone you love. We are fighting ignorance and baseball bats with hearts and minds.

WORKSHEET 8B, ATTACKS AGAINST GAY PEOPLE (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Suppose you were going to start a campaign to stop bias crimes in your community. Remember that bias crimes are often directed at people because of their religion, race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. Design a poster that expresses your opinion about bias crimes and be ready to explain its meaning.



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## Gay Rights Laws

Read below about the struggle in New York City, as well as in other parts of the nation, to make discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation illegal.

### The Journal

1986—1993

1986

#### KOCH SIGNS HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS BILL INTO LAW

Applicants for military service will no longer be asked or required to reveal if they are homosexual or bisexual, but applicants will be informed of the conduct that is proscribed for members of the armed forces, including homosexual conduct.

With hundreds of protesters waving banners and shouting slogans outside City Hall, Mayor Koch yesterday signed into law the homosexual rights bill.

Under the new law, effective immediately, discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations based on "sexual orientation" is illegal. But there are exemptions for owners of one- and two-family homes.

The measure has been at the center of a long and often emotional battle by rights activists who have seen similar bills defeated by the Council every year for 15 years. At the signing yesterday, the Mayor said that people's fears about the legislation were "unwarranted."

"This legislation simply says that people with a different life style have rights," Mr. Koch said. "You don't have to love them but you have to respect their rights."

Adapted from Suzanne Daley, *The New York Times*, April 3, 1986, sect. 2, p. 3 Copyright © 1986 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

1992

#### COLORADO HOMOSEXUALS FEEL BETRAYED

They sat around a cafe table two days after the election, but nobody felt much like eating. It seemed like they had just been on trial. And the verdict was not pleasant.

"I feel like I've been kicked in the stomach," said Lawrence Pacheco, a 23-year-old gay man. "Do they really hate us that much?"

In a state usually known for its live-and-let-live spirit, gay men and lesbians in Colorado searched for a meaning behind the anti-homosexual-rights measure passed by Colorado voters.

The measure prohibits the Legislature and every city from passing anti-discrimination protection for homosexuals. It also repeals gay-rights ordinances in Denver, Boulder, and Aspen. Officials in those cities have vowed to challenge the measure in Federal Court under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees equal protection under the law.

Backers of the anti-gay-rights measure, led by a group called Colorado for Family Values, said they did not endorse discrimination against homosexuals. "Our objectives have never been to discriminate," said Will Perkins, the leader of the group. "Our position is that sexual orientation is not an acceptable criterion for special rights."

Robert Bray, a spokesman for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, predicted that right-wing groups would "try to export the

Colorado measure to other states." He pointed to Oregon, where a much harsher measure that would have required the state to "discourage" homosexuality was soundly defeated, and noted that Lon Mabon, who led the anti-gay measure in Oregon, vowed to return with a "Colorado-style" measure.

Seven states (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont and Wisconsin) have measures banning discrimination in jobs or housing on the basis of sexual orientation. Dozens of cities and counties have similar provisions.

Gay-rights groups expressed concern that the measure would spur violent attacks on homosexuals and lead to discrimination in housing and employment.

Organizations that work with people with AIDS say clients have been calling with fears about losing insurance or being evicted from their homes. But beyond the legal meaning of the measure, gay people said what hurt most was the knowledge of scorn from so many neighbors and co-workers.

"I don't think the voters understand how painful this is—to be told that you're inferior, a second-class citizen," said Glenda Russell, a psychologist, who is a lesbian.

Adapted from Dirk Johnson, *The New York Times*, November 8, 1992, 38L. Copyright © 1992 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

1993

**RIGHTS FOR GAY STUDENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SCHOOL**

Without any of the fanfare that had been expected, Gov. William F. Weld quietly signed into law last week a bill that makes Massachusetts the first state in the country to outlaw discrimination against gay and lesbian students in public schools.

The law is intended to affirm the rights of openly gay students to all the same rituals of school life as heterosexual students—to form alliances and clubs, to take a date to the prom, to participate freely in sports. Sexual orientation becomes the latest category to be protected against discrimination in school; other categories include religion, national origin, race, color and sex.

In 1989, Massachusetts became the second state, after Wisconsin, to enact gay rights legislation that bans discrimination against gay men and lesbians in housing, credit and employment.

While Governor Weld has been a staunch supporter of the bill, it had twice failed to pass the State Senate. What made the difference

this year was an extraordinary lobbying campaign by the students themselves. Hundreds of them—gay and lesbian, as well as heterosexual—wrote letters to their legislators, staged rallies and candlelight vigils at the State House, and met personally with all 40 Senators or their

aides. What made the lobby so compelling was the stories of the students' anguish. They told of being spat upon and called names, of being physically threatened and attacked, of feeling isolated and alone. Some had dropped out of school.

The students' involvement in government drew high praise last week. Bob Parlin, a history teacher at Newton South High School, who is the adviser to his school's gay student alliance, said, "These are some of the most courageous students I've ever seen."

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Sara Rimer, *The New York Times*, December 12, 1993, 2E. Copyright © 1993 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

WORKSHEET 8C, GAY RIGHTS LAWS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Use the space provided to write a letter to the editor expressing your opinion of recent gay rights legislation.

Dear Editor:

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## ***Right to Serve in the Military***

In July of 1992, Lt. Tracy Thorne admitted that he was gay on the TV show "Good Morning America." The Navy immediately started the process of removing him from service.

When Bill Clinton was elected to office in November 1993, gays and lesbians had reason to believe that what happened to Lt. Thorne and many other homosexuals would not happen again. Clinton had pledged in his campaign to lift the military's ban on homosexuals. When he moved to do so soon after taking office, however, senior military commanders raised objections. In April of 1993, thousands of gay and lesbian marchers streamed by the White House in a demonstration for gay rights, including the right to serve in the military. The following is a statement made at the march by Sergeant Jose M. Zuniga:

“

Two years ago 50,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines marched shoulder-to-shoulder down Constitution Avenue as America honored its Gulf War heroes. I was among those proud men and women. Today, I will march along much the same route. This time, however, the march is not part of a victory celebration. I march instead for the rights of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals to serve their country without facing persecution. I return to our nation's capital as an active-duty soldier to make clear to America the irrationality of an Army that last month honored me as Sixth Army Soldier of the Year, but which today, now that I am announcing I am gay, will condemn me. I am not an activist; I am a soldier who wants to continue a distinguished career but who happens to be gay.

”

**EXERCISE**

Pretend that you are on a committee trying to work out an agreement between the military commanders who are opposed to allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military and President Clinton's staff who support the right of gays and lesbians to serve in the military. Consider the following.

AGAINST GAYS IN MILITARY	FOR GAYS IN MILITARY
Gays and lesbians make straight people uncomfortable. The rights of the majority outweigh the rights of the minority.	Our country is supposed to protect the rights of the minority. At one time women and African-Americans were not allowed to serve. Then they had to serve in separate units. This is just a repeat of the same struggle with a different group.
You cannot force change. There will be violence if a measure is passed that people do not want to obey.	Maybe you cannot force people to change how they feel. But laws can change how people behave. President Kennedy called out the national guard so that African-American students could not be kept out of schools. Even if the majority of white students weren't "comfortable" with African-Americans as equals, the law was enforced.

Now choose *one* of the following recommendations, state your position and explain.

- I recommend that gays and lesbians have the right to serve in the military with no conditions because: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- I recommend that gays and lesbians not be allowed to serve in the military because: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- I recommend that we compromise by not asking people to declare their sexual orientation, and not dismissing gays and lesbians from the military merely because of their sexual orientation because: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- I recommend that \_\_\_\_\_  
because \_\_\_\_\_

## The Power Of One

The following op-ed piece was written about Sergeant Jose Zuniga and his impact on breaking down stereotypes about gay people.

**N**O ONE'S HEAD is truly turned around by a faceless sea of folks seen from a distance marching on the capital, or by numbers on sexual behavior from a research center.

It's the power of one that does it.

It's the power of one man like Sgt. Jose Zuniga, who was the Sixth Army's 1992 Soldier of the Year and a medic in the Gulf War. Before the march, he stood before the television cameras and so before the world and said, with a chest full of medals, that he was proud to be a soldier and he was proud to be gay. Right that minute, maybe, some fellow vets and fellow Americans wrote him off. But there have to be people who have worked with him, trained with him, fought with him, who are now forced to re-examine their attitudes toward gay men, to compare their prejudices with what they know of this one individual.

Maybe in the beginning those people will decide that Sergeant Zuniga is the exception. They may embrace the old "OK, but..." which we have seen with blacks, with latinos, with women and now with gay people. It goes like this: "Jose is OK, but the rest of them..." And then one day your best friend from college, the one your kids adore, comes out to you. And the ice of your closed mind begins to crack.

Day by day, this is how the world will change for gay men and lesbians, with the power of one—one person who doesn't fit into the straight world's fact pattern and so alters it a tiny bit.

The numbers in Washington were not as important as the faces, one person after another stepping forward, saying: Look at me. I am a cop, a mother, a Catholic, a Republican, a soldier, an American. So the ice melts. The hate abates. The numbers, finally, all come down to one.

Adapted from Anna Quindlen, *The New York Times*. April 28, 1993. Copyright © 1993 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

### EXERCISE

In the space provided, identify one individual (contemporary or historical) and explain how that person helped to break down stereotypes about the group to which he or she belonged.

The "One" Individual: \_\_\_\_\_

"Power" of This One: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Learning Activity 9

*How well have Puerto Rican migrants since World War II  
adjusted to life on the mainland?*

### THEMES

Movement of People; Struggle for Equality

### BACKGROUND

Inspired by the black civil rights movement, Puerto Ricans living on the mainland in the 1960s and 1970s also turned to social activism in their quest for greater equality and an end to discrimination. The efforts of organizations like *Aspira, Inc.*, and activist groups like the Young Lords Party called attention to the educational needs of young Puerto Ricans and ultimately resulted in reform.

Although significant numbers of Puerto Ricans had migrated to the mainland United States with the passage of the Jones Act in 1917, the "Great Migration" to the continental United States occurred after World War II. Three factors encouraged this exodus of Puerto Ricans to the mainland. First, Puerto Rico's economy was as yet underdeveloped. Operation Bootstrap had begun in the late 1940s, but its ambitious goals for strengthening the economy by moving it from agricultural to industrial were far from accomplished. Meanwhile, thousands of Puerto Ricans were leaving the rural areas for factory jobs, which did not yet exist in the island's cities. Second, after World War II a great many jobs for unskilled and semiskilled workers were available on the U.S. mainland. And third, air transportation expanded rapidly after the war, meaning that large numbers of Puerto Ricans could fly from San Juan to New York City in a matter of hours, and at relatively low costs.

Toward the end of the 1950s, as automation began reducing the number of jobs for unskilled laborers in the United States, and as such jobs became increasingly available on the island, the migration of Puerto Ricans slowed down

markedly. In some years, more Puerto Ricans returned to the island than came to the mainland—a phenomenon known as reverse migration. Yet, 900,000 Puerto Ricans were living on the U.S. mainland in 1960, the vast majority of them in New York.

While Puerto Ricans have experienced some of the same adjustment problems that other migrants to the United States have experienced, their situation is in some ways peculiar. Puerto Ricans arrive on the mainland already citizens of the United States. Furthermore, some argue that the ease with which large numbers of Puerto Ricans travel back and forth to the island makes their adjustment to mainland culture more difficult than it has been for other groups. The continuing close ties of mainland Puerto Ricans to the island was demonstrated in 1993 when New York Puerto Ricans, unable to vote in the plebiscite on the island's political future, announced their plan to hold a separate vote to give people of Puerto Rican descent living outside the island a voice in the battle over statehood.

### MAJOR IDEAS

- Changes in Puerto Rico's economy, low-cost transportation, and opportunities on the United States mainland led to increased Puerto Rican migration after World War II.
- International migrations often resulted in cultural diffusion or conflict between ethnic groups.
- Striving for HUMAN RIGHTS is an important step in United States evolution toward true democracy.
- In every plebiscite, Puerto Ricans have voted to continue commonwealth status, but some have called for statehood and independence.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture
- Human Rights
- Choice

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain the causes of increased Puerto Rican migration to the mainland United States after World War II.
- Describe the adjustment problems experienced by Puerto Rican migrants during the 1950s and '60s.
- Evaluate methods used by Puerto Ricans to facilitate their adjustment to life on the mainland.
- Discuss the results of the 1993 plebiscite on the political status of Puerto Rico.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 9A, "Puerto Rican Migration to the Mainland." Have students examine the table, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these figures tell us about the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland United States between the years 1900 and 1979?
  - Why do some refer to the 1950s as the period of Puerto Ricans' "Great Migration" to the mainland?
  - What guesses would you make to explain this great increase in Puerto Rican migration?
  - What guesses would you make to explain the leveling off of Puerto Rican migration after 1960?
- Distribute Worksheet 9B, "The Great Migration's Causes." Have students work cooperatively in groups of three, with each student initially responsible for examining one of the sources, and then sharing the information. Have the groups work together

to complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do these sources tell us about the reasons for the great increase in Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland during the 1950s?
  - How did economic changes on the island "push" Puerto Ricans toward the mainland?
  - How did economic opportunities on the mainland "pull" Puerto Rican migrants?
  - What impact do you think inexpensive postwar airfares had on the migration of Puerto Ricans?
  - How do you think Ricardo Sanchez reacted when he stepped off the plane at Idlewild (Kennedy) airport?
  - What problems do you suppose Ricardo Sanchez and his family faced in New York? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 9C, "Iris Morales Describes Spanish Harlem." Have students read the selection, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What do we learn from this selection about the experiences of Puerto Rican migrants on the mainland?
    - Why did Mr. Morales migrate to New York City in the postwar era?
    - How did Iris Morales act as the "go-between" for her parents in New York?
    - Why did Mrs. Morales tell Iris that life in Puerto Rico "was much nicer" than life in New York?
    - Why do you suppose the Morales family never did move back to Puerto Rico?
    - How would you describe the family's living conditions in New York City?
    - Why did Iris become ashamed of her parents and her home?
    - How did Iris experience prejudice when she visited her school friend's home? How did she feel? How would you have felt?
  - Distribute Worksheet 9D, "The Young Lords." Have students read the selection,

complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do we learn from this selection about the goals of the Young Lords?
- What methods did the Young Lords support to win their goals?
- How did the Young Lords feel about the school system on the mainland? about the pressure to “speak English”?
- The Young Lords, like other minority group activists during the 1960s, were inspired by the Black Civil Rights movement. How do you explain this?
- As a Puerto Rican migrant living in New York City in the 1960s, would you have supported the program of the Young Lords? Why or why not?

- Distribute Worksheet 9E, “The Aspira-New York City Consent Decree.” Have students read the selection, work in pairs to complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What does this worksheet tell us about the efforts of Aspira, Inc., in the 1970s on behalf of New York City’s Latino school children?
- What charges did Aspira bring against the New York City Board of Education?
- How just was the consent decree which was entered into by Aspira and the Board?
- Are bilingual programs, like the one mandated in the Aspira consent decree, best for Spanish-language-dominant students? Why or why not?

- Volunteers might prepare to debate the issues surrounding bilingual education before the class.

- Distribute Worksheet 9F, “Moving Back to the Island.” Divide the class into groups of four and assign to each student in the group one of the four “diary entries.” Instruct students to read them and summarize the reason(s) for Puerto Rican reverse migration.

- Have group members share their ideas. Then have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do these “diary entries” tell us about the reasons why in some years more Puerto Ricans returned to the island than migrated to the mainland?
- Do you think the reasons for return migration expressed here are valid? Why or why not?
- Are the experiences of other immigrant groups in the United States similar to or different from the experiences described here?
- How is return migration a greater possibility for Puerto Ricans than for other groups?
- Would knowing that you can return to Puerto Rico tend to speed up or to slow down your adjustment to mainland United States culture?

- Distribute Worksheet 9G, “Puerto Rico’s Political Status.” Have students read the article, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What does this article tell us about the wishes of Puerto Ricans concerning the island’s political relationship with the United States?
- Why did Puerto Ricans narrowly choose to continue as a commonwealth of the United States?
- What did commonwealth supporters mean when they characterized that political status as “the best of both worlds”?
- How would Puerto Rico’s relationship to the United States be different if it became the fifty-first state?
- How would the island’s relationship be different if it were an independent nation?
- If you were a Puerto Rican living on the island, would you favor commonwealth, statehood, or independence? Explain.
- Do you agree or disagree with Representative Jose Serrano, Democrat of the Bronx, that eventually Puerto Rico’s commonwealth status is going to be a problem for the United States? Explain.

## **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Poll friends and relatives from Puerto Rico to get their point of view on the political status question.
- Debate the question: "Should Puerto Rico be an independent nation, a state, or remain a commonwealth?"
- Create a bulletin board display showing the contributions made by Puerto Ricans to economic, political, and cultural life in the United States.
- Write to Aspira of New York, Inc., for literature explaining that organization's current goals and activities.

## ***Puerto Rican Migration to the Mainland***

The table below shows the numbers of Puerto Ricans who moved from the island to the mainland United States from the year 1900 to 1979. Study the table and complete the exercise below.

<b>NET MIGRATION* FROM PUERTO RICO TO THE UNITED STATES 1900-1979</b>	
PERIOD	MIGRATION
1900 - 1909	2,000
1910 - 1919	11,000
1920 - 1929	42,000
1930 - 1939	18,000
1940 - 1944	16,000
1945 - 1949	35,000
1950 - 1954	137,000
1955 - 1959	193,000
1960 - 1964	58,000
1965 - 1969	67,000
1970 - 1979	85,199

\* Net migration = number of Puerto Ricans moving to the mainland minus those returning from the mainland to the island.

Source: Puerto Rican Family Institute, Inc. The First Forum on the Human Rights of the Puerto Rican Migrant Family—Official Proceedings.

### **EXERCISE**

- After which decade was the increase in Puerto Rican migration to the mainland greatest? \_\_\_\_\_
- During which ten-year period was the number of Puerto Rican migrants to the mainland greatest? \_\_\_\_\_
- What happened to the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland after 1960?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



## The Great Migration's Causes

Between 1950 and 1965 Operation Bootstrap took place in Puerto Rico. This plan, subsidized by United States investments, industrialized the island, but paid little attention to agriculture.

The three sources below reveal some of the aspects of Operation Bootstrap, as well as causes for the "Great Migration" of Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland in the period following World War II.

①

<b>PROFILE OF PUERTO RICO'S ECONOMY, 1940-1970</b>				
	1940	1950	1960	1970
Labor force (thousands)	602	686	685	827
Jobs (thousands) in:				
Manufacturing	56	55	81	141
Agriculture	230	216	125	74
Commerce	54	90	97	138
Government	19	45	62	113
Other fields	177	190	177	272
Unemployment rate	11%	13%	11%	11%

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Planning Board, Socioeconomic Statistics of Puerto Rico.

②

### Wages in Manufacturing: Puerto Rico and the United States

	<i>Average Hourly Wage</i>				
	<i>Puerto Rico</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>PR Ave. as % of U.S. Ave.</i>	<i>U.S. Minimum Wage</i>
1950	\$ 0.42	\$ 1.50	\$ 1.08	28.0%	\$ 0.75
1955	0.56	1.91	1.38	29.3	1.00
1960	0.94	2.30	1.36	40.9	1.00
1965	1.26	2.64	1.38	47.7	1.25
1970	1.78	3.37	1.59	52.8	1.60
1975	2.59	4.40	1.81	58.9	2.10
1977	3.11	5.60	2.49	55.5	2.30
1979	3.58	6.54	2.96	54.7	2.90

USDC, *Economic Study* 2:56, table 4; PREDA, *Manufacturers Ready Reference File*, 1979, "Labor" folder.

3

**STORY OF RICARDO SANCHEZ—1950s MIGRANT TO U.S.**

**R**ICARDO SANCHEZ came from where the sugarcane is higher than a man to the plaza in old San Juan where the buses marked “Aeropuerto” stop. He came with his wife, two daughters, three suitcases, and the promise from a brother in Harlem, New York, that there was work to be found in “fábrica” (the clothing industry). The work in the sugarcane business was over for the season and Ricardo had found nothing else. The government would pay him \$7.00 every two weeks before the season began, and then during the season, he would get \$3.60 a day for eight hours in the hot sun. Ricardo said, “It is no good to be poor.”

The journey from the island had become more promising after World War II, because there were more jobs in the United States and air travel was available. Airplanes could make the 1,600 mile trip in only eight hours for about \$75.00. Ricardo held for himself and his family tickets on the \$52.50 night coach Thrift Flights to Idlewild (Kennedy) Airport . It leaves six nights a week from San Juan at eleven o'clock and arrives in New York at seven o'clock the next morning.

Ricardo was one of a growing number of Puerto Ricans who left the sugarcane fields for the city. Many continued their search for opportunity in the United States. The desire to escape the backbreaking work of cane cutting was very strong.

Dan Wakefield. *Island in the City*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 23-25. Permission pending.

**EXERCISE**

List below at least three causes, suggested by the above sources, for the “Great Migration” of Puerto Ricans from the island to the mainland during the 1950s. Next to each cause, identify it as a factor that would PUSH Puerto Ricans from the island or PULL them to the mainland.

CAUSAL FACTORS	PUSH OR PULL
1.	
2.	
3.	

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## *Iris Morales Describes Spanish Harlem*

In the case study below, Iris Morales describes her childhood in Spanish Harlem.

**M**Y FAMILY just happens to be a very straight type of Puerto Rican working-class family... Both my mother and father came to New York in 1947. They met here at a dance, got married, and in 1948 I was born. In Puerto Rico my father was a [sugar] cane cutter. He was the oldest son of about nine children, so when things got rough, he came over here to make some money to be able to send back to the family... My father worked in a hotel when he first came here, as a dishwasher. Then I guess he graduated to elevator operator—and he's been there ever since...

My mother didn't speak any English—she still doesn't—so I became the one that translated. It meant that she was ashamed to go to school because she couldn't speak English and talk to the teachers, and she didn't look as good as the other Americans, the other mothers...

I was the one that was the go-between. This happens to a lot of older children in Puerto Rican families—they become the link between the Puerto Rican culture and the American culture... For example, when the landlord comes to the house to pick up the rent, it's the oldest one who speaks English who has to translate for the mother. When they go down to the unemployment office, it's the oldest child who goes as a translator, or when they go to the hospital... So the oldest child usually comes in contact with all these institutions, and feels, you know, the way that Puerto Rican people are treated.

My mother worked in the factories and my father worked two jobs in the hotel. He would leave the house about five-thirty in the morning, and he wouldn't come home till four or five.

In the beginning I remember they used to talk a lot about going back to Puerto Rico. When I was four we went [to visit], and then after six years we went again. My mother would always tell me how, although it was hard for her there, it was much nicer—she didn't have to deal with the cold and people who spoke English and people who were in the factories. That at least she would be among her own. My father... wanted to go back and show that he had made good here, and buy a house and maybe some

land and stuff like that. But as we got a little older we started seeing that it was kind of a fantasy, so that now my mother just talks about going back there to live.

When I went to school I was placed in a class where I was the only Puerto Rican... [and] as a result I became very ashamed of my family, because they weren't what it was to be American.

You know, we lived in a typical kind of ghetto apartment—no hot water. Sometimes we would go for days without taking a bath, and I would see myself next to the other kids and feel that I was dirty, because I was not white. Or, you know, there'd be rats, and I'd stay up sometimes hoping that the rats wouldn't get into the baby's crib. I'd keep the light on all night and take turns watching with my sister. My sister and I slept in one room that was divided by a curtain into two. The baby slept on the other side of the curtain, and my sister and I slept in the same bed...

I started blaming my parents for not giving me anything better. I started hating them—feeling that it was their fault and that they were stupid and that if they really worked hard they could have gotten something better, rather than realizing that they were just being victimized and that there was no place for them to go, there was nothing for them to do...

I was supposed to always come home right from school. I could never visit anyone and no one could visit me—you don't have strangers in the house because of the fear of strangers, the feelings of inferiority. And I developed these feelings too. I wouldn't have people over to my house—especially the kids that I went to school with, the white kids—because I felt that my house didn't live up to their standards.

When I was in seventh grade, I was very friendly with this girl named Susie whom I'd known since kindergarten. She knew that her parents didn't like Puerto Ricans, but she was gonna show them that I was okay—so she took me to her house for lunch. I went and I was very uncomfortable, because I didn't know all this table etiquette...

WORKSHEET 9C, IRIS MORALES DESCRIBES SPANISH HARLEM (CONTINUED)

At home we usually ate on the bed or on the floor or in front of the TV or wherever we could eat, 'cause the kitchen wasn't big enough to hold the whole family. I had tried to dress right and speak correctly and not let my accent show, and I thought everything went okay. But that afternoon at school, her father came in and told me that he had a pair of gloves lying on the

kitchen table when I was there and when I left they weren't there anymore, and did I know where they were. So I got very indignant and said, "Yeah, that's all we Puerto Ricans do is steal."... Eventually the gloves were found and he wrote me a letter apologizing for this, but I just couldn't accept it.

From "I Became The One That Translated... The Go-Between," by Iris Morales in *PALANTE: Young Lords Party*, by Michael Abramson and The Young Lords Party. (McGraw-Hill, 1971.) Reprinted with permission of McGraw Hill.

**EXERCISE**

Choose the *ONE* aspect of her childhood experience—either home, school, or community—that you think had the *most important* effect on Iris Morales's development and explain your choice.

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## The Young Lords

The Young Lords, a Puerto Rican street gang in New York City, turned to social activism in 1969. They cleaned up the streets of their neighborhood, organized free breakfast programs for children, and began health-care drives. The passage below is from *Palante*, a 1971 book by the Young Lords Party.

**A**T THE SAME TIME that the cultural values of America are exalted, the cultural values of Puerto Rico are downgraded. People begin to feel ashamed of speaking Spanish. Language becomes a reward and punishment system. If you speak English and adapt to the cultural values of America, you're rewarded; if you speak Spanish and stick to the old traditional ways, you're punished.



Member of Young Lords

In the school system here, if you don't quickly begin to speak English and shed your Puerto Rican values, you're put back a grade—so you may be in the sixth grade in Puerto Rico but when you come here, you go back to the fourth or fifth. You're treated as if you're retarded, as if you're backward—and your own cultural values therefore are shown to be of less value than the cultural values of this country and the language of this country...

...We see a need to create our own school system, a school system based on developing each person to the fullest potential that they have, and bringing out the beauty that we know is inside our people, that's being buried in the American school system.

...Many of our people see that our culture has been destroyed by this country, and they react in an extreme way, and become cultural nationalists—whose sole purpose in life is to revive the culture of the Puerto Rican nation and to keep it alive, to speak only Spanish, to relate only to our music, to dress the way we dressed when we lived on the island.

Now, our feeling is that nationalism is important—that we have to be proud of our nation, our history and our culture—but that pride alone is not gonna free us, the ability to play congas is not gonna free us, the ability to speak Spanish fluently is not gonna stop landlords...

We know that just going back to our culture is not gonna make it in and of itself. We have to use our culture as a revolutionary weapon to make ourselves stronger, to understand who we are, to understand where we came from, and therefore to be able to analyze correctly what we have to do in order to survive in this country.

From *Palante Young Lords Party* by Michael Abramson and the Young Lords Party. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.) Permission pending.

### EXERCISE

List below two goals of the Young Lords Party, stated in the above selection. Check (✓) whether you would support or oppose each goal and explain your reasons.

YOUNG LORDS' GOALS	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	YOUR REASONS
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

## ***The Aspira-New York City Consent Decree***

In the early 1970s, Aspira, Inc., a Puerto Rican advocacy group, sued the New York City Board of Education on behalf of approximately 182,000 Hispanic students in the New York City public schools. The suit alleged that the school system had failed to teach Spanish-speaking children in a language they understood, or to provide them with the English language skills needed to do well in school. Plaintiffs charged that they were faced with unequal treatment based on language, and thus were denied equal educational opportunity as compared with English-speaking students.

With the approval of the court, the parties entered into a consent decree on August 29, 1974, which provided that:

- The Board of Education would identify and classify students whose English language deficiency prevents them from effectively participating in the learning process, and who can effectively participate in Spanish.
- By September 1975, the Board of Education was to provide all the children described above with:
  - a. a program to develop their ability to speak, understand, read, and write English;
  - b. instruction in Spanish in major courses such as mathematics, science, and social studies;
  - c. a program to reinforce and develop the child's use of Spanish, including reading comprehension in Spanish, where an assessment of reading readiness in English indicates the need for such development.

### **EXERCISE**

Pretend you are the lawyers involved in the suit described above. Write the arguments that you think would have been made on each side.

ASPIRA, INC.	NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION
Argument #1	Argument #1
Argument #2	Argument #2
Argument #3	Argument #3

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## Moving Back to the Island

In the 1960s Puerto Rican migration to the mainland began to level off. In some years more Puerto Ricans returned to the island than migrated to the mainland. There are several reasons for this. First, jobs for unskilled workers on the mainland were becoming increasingly scarce. Second, the goals of Operation Bootstrap were finally being realized. As more and more industries were established, unemployment on the island decreased and living standards rose.

The diaries of Puerto Ricans who returned to the island after living for years on the mainland would suggest additional reasons for this return migration. Next to each "diary entry," summarize the reason(s) it suggests for Puerto Ricans' return migration to the island.

#1 Dear Diary,

"When I was a boy I walked to school barefoot. Seven miles! My father had a farm. We were poor. We were very poor. That was when I thought I had problems. But it wasn't. When I went to the United States, that was when I had problems. There is something worse for a man than being poor. This is not being respected as a man."

#2 Dear Diary,

"I thought I was a Puerto Rican, living in New York. But when I came home I was an outsider. Puerto Ricans on the island are friendly, kind, and generous. Puerto Ricans in New York steal the smiles off each other's faces."

#3 Dear Diary,

"Life is more real here. In the United States everything is not real. People are not real. Sometimes I think that the only thing that is holding the United States together is money. Without money everything there would fall apart."

#4 Dear Diary,

"If a man loses his job, he goes home. If a woman has marriage problems, she goes home. If there is family trouble, the family goes home. More than anything else, we can return home because of the affordability of the airfare. Everyone would go home if they could afford it."

### REASONS FOR RETURN MIGRATION

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Adapted from Stan Steiner, *The Islands* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, New York: 1974), 493-496.

## Puerto Rico's Political Status

The article excerpted below describes the 1993 vote in Puerto Rico over the island's political status.

### PUERTO RICO VOTES TO RETAIN STATUS AS COMMONWEALTH

STATEHOOD NARROW LOSER

Island Elects to Keep 41-year  
Relationship With U.S.—  
Some Changes Expected

by **LARRY ROHTER**

Special to the New York Times

SAN JUAN, P.R., Nov. 14—Rebuffing their Governor and his efforts to make this Caribbean island commonwealth the 51st state, Puerto Ricans voted narrowly today to continue their existing ambiguous relationship with the United States.

By choosing to maintain the commonwealth status that has been in place here for more than 40 years, Puerto Ricans made it clear that they prefer "the best of two worlds," in the words of a pro-commonwealth campaign slogan, to the prospect of more intimate ties with the United States. By an overwhelming margin, they also rejected independence, the third option that had been offered to them in the nonbinding vote today.

With all votes counted, the commonwealth option won 48 percent of the vote, compared with 46 percent for statehood. Independence accounted for about 4 percent of the vote, with a small number of ballots being deliberately cast blank or spoiled as a protest against the plebiscite.

#### Problems of Statehood

"Commonwealth is the formula that is most convenient for Puerto Rico," said Angel Casanova, a 52-year-old woodworker, after voting this morning

### Rethinking Puerto Rico, Politically

In yesterday's nonbinding plebiscite, Puerto Rico grappled again with whether to remain a commonwealth of the United States, to become the fifty-first state, or to become an independent nation.

#### Political History

Puerto Rico became a United States territory in 1898, after the Spanish-American War. It was ruled by a governor appointed by the president until 1947.

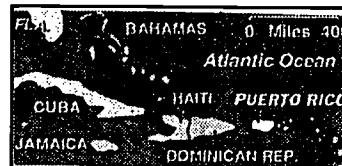
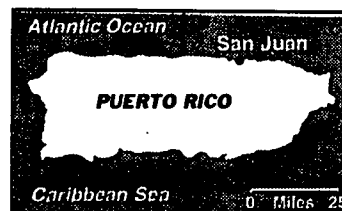
Since 1900 the island has been represented in the United States Congress by a nonvoting, locally elected resident commissioner.

Puerto Ricans became United States citizens in 1917, but they cannot vote for president, are exempt from federal taxes, and get only limited federal aid.

#### Commonwealth

In 1952 the current Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was drafted by its elected Constituent Assembly, approved in referendum by 80 percent of voters, and ratified by the United States Congress.

As a commonwealth, Puerto Rico is part of the United States for purposes of international trade, foreign policy, and



war (including military service), but has its own laws, taxes, and representative government.

#### Economy

The island's annual per capita income in 1989 was \$6,200, the highest in Latin America but about half that of the United States mainland. Many manufacturing jobs, notably in pharmaceuticals, depend on Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code, which shelters profits made in Puerto Rico from federal taxes.

in Bayamon, a San Juan suburb. "Statehood would only result in more problems."

Gov. Pedro Rosselló acknowledged the defeat in a speech at the headquarters of his New Progressive Party a few hours after the voting ended this afternoon. "The people have spoken, and I have to obey," he said. He added that by turning out in large numbers and peacefully exercising their right to vote, "in the eyes of the whole world the people of Puerto Rico have shown their class and their commitment to democracy."

#### A Majority for Neither

Nevertheless, the result threatens to usher in a period of political uncer-

tainty here and change Puerto Rico's relations with Washington. Thanks to the showing of the Puerto Rico Independence Party, neither of the two main parties here can claim to represent a majority of the island's 3.7 million people.

In addition, Mr. Rosselló and Puerto Rico's non-voting delegate to Congress, Carlos Romero-Barceló, will now be expected to ask Washington to enhance Puerto Rico's existing commonwealth status after having spent the last three months attacking the status quo as a "shameful" remnant of colonialism.

(continued on next page)



WORKSHEET 9G, PUERTO RICO'S POLITICAL STATUS (CONTINUED)

(continued from previous page)

Today, leaders of the pro-commonwealth Popular Democratic Party called on Mr. Rosselló to begin discussions with them over how those enhancements should be pursued in Washington.

Since 1952 Puerto Rico has been a commonwealth of the United States, a unique arrangement that gives the residents of Puerto Rico some, but not all, of the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship. With commonwealth status, Puerto Ricans are subject to the military draft, but do not vote in Federal elections and do not pay Federal taxes so long as they live here (in Puerto Rico).

An additional 2.6 million Puerto Ricans live on the American mainland and are treated like all other citizens. Mr. Rosselló, who campaigned on a

statehood platform when he won office a year ago, had made that one of his main arguments for statehood, saying it was time to end Puerto Rico's "second class" status.

The Popular Democratic Party, in contrast, offered a slightly modified version of commonwealth. They vowed to seek restoration of tax benefits that Congress reduced earlier this year to cut the Federal budget deficit. The party also said it would fight for an increase in Federal aid to the elderly, the disabled and the poor.

Throughout the campaign, backers of commonwealth status also argued that statehood would require Puerto Rico to relinquish both its use of the Spanish language and its cultural identity. They also said that statehood would bring with it a federal income tax and increased federal levies on gasoline, cigarettes and liquor.

Though three former Republican Presidents had urged voters here to choose statehood, President Clinton remained neutral during the campaign, saying only that he would respect the will of Puerto Rico's people. "Whatever they want, I want," Mr. Clinton told the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in September.

What voters apparently did not want was a substantial change, said Representative Jose Serrano, Democrat of the Bronx, who is one of three Puerto Ricans in congress.

But Mr. Serrano, who did not take a public position on the issue, added: "I question how long we can keep this kind of relationship. Essentially, we have a colony in the Caribbean. We go around the world talking about democracy but we still have a colony. Eventually it's going to be a problem for us."

**EXERCISE**

In the chart below, write two reasons — cited during the debate on Puerto Rico's political relationship with the United States — for the island to remain a commonwealth or to become the fifty-first state. Then write two arguments that would have been used by pro-independence Puerto Ricans.

COMMONWEALTH	STATEHOOD	INDEPENDENCE
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.

The New York Times, Nov. 15, 1993, pp. A1, B8. Copyright © 1993 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

# Learning Activity 10

*Was the American public's loss of confidence after 1965 in government's ability to solve economic problems justified?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

During the 1930s there was a fundamental shift in the idea of government responsibility for national economic health. Under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, Americans increasingly accepted that government had the responsibility to actively intervene to shape, manage, regulate, and stimulate the nation's economy.

The main economic theory supporting this idea was developed by a British economist, John Maynard Keynes. Keynes argued that governments should use fiscal policy (spending on social programs and/or military programs and changes in tax rates) and monetary policy (regulating interest rates and the supply of money) to keep an economy healthy and growing. Government spending to stimulate the economy became known as "pump priming."

The idea of active government intervention in the economy through investment in social programs became a basic principle of Democratic presidential administrations, including President Truman's "Fair Deal," President Kennedy's "New Frontier," and President Johnson's "Great Society." Republican presidents, including President Eisenhower, President Nixon, and President Ford, also accepted that government had to regulate the economy; however they tended to concentrate on monetary and tax policy rather than social programs.

By the 1970s, the United States and world economies had changed, new economic problems had emerged, and traditional Keynesian economic remedies no longer seemed to work effectively. Economic issues in this period included the emergence of new technologies—the use of wage and price controls to limit inflation,

increasing foreign competition that produced a decline in American manufacturing, an unfavorable foreign trade balance, high rates of unemployment, dependence on foreign oil, and an increasing national debt.

These new economic problems led some Americans to blame active government involvement in the economy for the nation's economic stagnation. In his 1981 inaugural address, President Ronald Reagan announced his intention "to make it (government) work with us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back." He pledged to reduce economic regulations, the national debt, taxes, and government spending on social programs.

Overall, the national economy appeared to revive during the Reagan presidency. However much of its recovery can be attributed to the massive government spending on the military. President Reagan's policies also produced serious problems. The national debt grew enormously, state and local governments faced bankruptcy, the banking system went into a prolonged crisis, the foreign trade imbalance worsened, and the gap between rich and poor in the United States widened.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- Misperceptions about the limits of growth resulted in CHANGING attitudes among Americans toward their own society and the rest of the global community.
- CHANGING patterns in the nation's economy resulted in CHANGES in the nature of work and employment.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Scarcity
- Technology
- Interdependence

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Describe major economic problems facing the United States from the late 1960s to the present.
- Explain the impact of these economic problems on the attitudes of Americans toward their society and government.
- Assess the degree to which the public's loss of confidence in government to solve the nation's social and economic problems was justified.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 10A, "The Age of Limits." Have students read the headlines, complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these headlines tell us about changes in the economy of the United States beginning in the late 1960s?
  - How did the United States economy in the 1950s and early 1960s compare with the economy after 1965?
  - Why is this worksheet entitled "The Age of Limits"? Is this an appropriate title?
  - As a citizen during this era, how would you feel about your nation's economic and social capabilities?
  - How would you feel about your government's ability to solve the nation's economic and social problems?
  - Based on this worksheet, was the American public's loss of confidence after 1965 in the government's ability to solve the nation's economic and social problems justified? Why or why not? Give examples.
- Divide the class into cooperative learning groups of four students each. To each student in a group, distribute one of the following: Worksheet 10B, "Inflationary Pressures," Worksheet 10C, "Energy Crisis," Worksheet 10D, "The Decline of Industry and Shifting Employment Patterns," and Worksheet 10E, "The Balance of Trade."
- Instruct students to read and examine their assigned worksheets, complete the exercises, and share the information presented with members of their group.
- Have group members work together to complete the task outlined on Worksheet 10F, "Impact of Economic Problems on the American People."
- Have a spokesperson share each group's "public service advertisements" with the class. Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from these worksheets about economic problems facing the United States after 1965?
  - How was inflation a problem for Americans during that period: for working people? for retired people on fixed incomes?
  - As an American living at that time, how would you feel about your government's ability to solve the problem of inflation?
  - Why did the United States experience an energy crisis during the 1970s?
  - How did President Carter attempt to deal with the energy crisis?
  - Jimmy Carter was president from 1977 until 1981. How successful were his attempts to solve this nation's energy crisis?
  - How would you account for the decline in American manufacturing since World War II?
  - What problems would the decline of heavy industry (like automobiles) cause for American workers?
  - What lessons should young people in the 1990s learn from statistics on labor force trends?
  - Why do you think the gap between United States imports from and exports to Japan was widening in the 1980s?
  - How was this unfavorable balance of trade a problem for American workers?

- As United States president during the 1970s and 1980s, how would you have tried to solve the nation's economic problems?
- Distribute Worksheet 10G, "Living Standards in the '80s." Have students examine the table, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this table tell us about living standards in the United States from 1979 through 1987?
  - How did the standard of living change for the bottom fifth of American families? For the top fifth?
  - How might the attitude toward government of Americans in the top fifth of families compare with that of Americans in the bottom fifth? Explain.
  - Why might critics of the Reagan administration point to the information in this table as a justification of their complaints?

## **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Research and report on the condition since World War II of United States manufacturing industries other than the automotive industry, for example, clothing, electronics, computers.
- Research and report on how the decline of industry has affected specific American communities. Examples: the decline of automobile manufacturing and its impact on communities in the Midwest; the impact of the decline of the apparel industry on New York City; the impact of the closing of General Motors in Tarrytown (in Westchester County) on that community.
- Design a bulletin board display showing the changing nature of the American labor force and highlighting the service-related jobs that are expected to offer opportunities.
- Clip and summarize current newspaper articles that update the economic problems of the '70s and '80s.

## The Age of Limits

### The Journal 1960-1993

- Early 1960s** U.S. economy most dynamic in world. U.S. produces a third of world's industrial goods. Inflation (rate of increase in prices for goods and services) low, at 2%.
- 1965** Rate of inflation rises to 6%. As prices rise, buying power of dollar falls. President Johnson's spending on Vietnam War and social programs blamed.
- 1969** President Nixon tries to control inflation. Cuts government spending. Puts lid on wage and price increases. Inflation rate dips, then rises again to 12%.
- 1973-74** Cost of energy rises steeply, as Arab nations stop shipping oil to nations that support Israel. OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) also triples price of oil.
- 1975** President Ford tries to cut government spending and slow down economy. Rate of inflation falls to 7%, but nation's industrial output drops. Millions of Americans lose jobs.
- 1977-1980** President Carter tries to reduce unemployment by increasing federal government spending and cutting taxes. Inflation rises to 18%. Real income of Americans declines.
- 1970s-80s** U.S. industries suffer as Japan and West Germany become more competitive. Americans buy European and Japanese goods instead of similar but more expensive products made in the U.S.A. American plants close and workers laid off.
- 1980** Ronald Reagan elected president. Promises to improve economy. Cuts taxes. Reduces federal government spending on social programs.
- 1980s** Rate of inflation falls, but unemployment rises. National debt skyrockets, as President Reagan, with less money coming in, increases military spending. Income of richest fifth of U.S. families rises 29%. Poorest fifth suffers drop in income of 13.2%.
- 1988-1990** U.S. faced with \$3 trillion national debt. Promising at first not to raise taxes, President Bush tries to balance federal budget by cutting government spending and increasing taxes. With less money coming from Washington, cities continue to suffer. Problems of homelessness, poverty, health care critical.
- 1993** As President Clinton takes office, federal debt reaches more than \$4 trillion.

WORKSHEET 10A, THE AGE OF LIMITS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

For each of the pairs of statements below, identify one as the cause and the other as its effect.

\_\_\_\_\_ In 1965, prices of U.S. goods and services rose at rate of 6%.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Buying power of the U.S. dollar fell.

\_\_\_\_\_ In the early 1970s, the United States experienced an energy crisis.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Arab nations imposed an oil embargo on nations that supported Israel.

\_\_\_\_\_ President Reagan cut taxes and increased military spending.  
\_\_\_\_\_ The U.S. national debt skyrocketed.

\_\_\_\_\_ The federal government cut monies to state and local governments.  
\_\_\_\_\_ U.S. cities suffered problems of poverty and homelessness.

## *Inflationary Pressures*

On June 19, 1978, *Time* magazine reported how American people, old and young, were coping with inflation (illustrated by the graph).

**L**INDA COLLINS, wife of a Chicago steelworker and mother of two small children, has reluctantly gone to work as a night waitress on weekends to cover living expenses. Gladys Glazer, a retired secretary in Orlando, Fla., shops where second-quality vegetables and fruits are offered at reduced prices, and even there she shuns strawberries as an extravagance. Manhattan lawyer Arthur Alexander delivers some letters in person to nearby business offices to save on postage.

These are several of the ... ways in which Americans are struggling to adjust to accelerating inflation. Most people are winning the battle—for the moment...

To some old folks with scant savings, inflation means hardship. Helene Forrone, 68, a retired apartment-house manager, exhausted most of her savings during her late husband's long siege with cancer. Now, struggling to live on Social Security, she is trying to reduce the \$60 a month that she must spend on medicines for a variety of ailments. Says she: "When I'm having a good day I try to cut down on the painkillers for my arthritis, though the doctor says I shouldn't, because the medicine should stay in my bloodstream all the time to be effective."

Working people are moonlighting [working at second jobs] or putting in overtime. Unable to pay his \$220 rent

out of the \$164 a week that he takes home working five days as a New York City doorman, Benny Lescher now puts in a sixth day as an elevator starter. Charles Ogasapain, owner of the Arlington Candy Co., in Woburn, Mass., cannot afford additional help, because rising costs of labor and materials are chewing up his profits. So he works twelve hours a day himself. Cynthia Bako could not earn enough as a waitress in Portland, Ore., to put herself through college, so she joined the Army to get free courses in electronics. Says she: "The Army is the young person's only hedge against being steam-rolled by the cost of living."...

A few Americans are exempt from the ravages of inflation. In some cities a nouveau riche [new rich] class is rising: childless young couples entering professions in which salaries are shooting up. Says Mary Rothschild, 26, a Seattle editor: "A few years back when I was in school, I owned two pairs of jeans and three shirts." Now she and her lawyer-husband Peter, 30, earn \$40,000 a year; they own two cars and a half-interest in a sailboat, and they eat at good restaurants frequently.

These people, however, are in the minority; for most, inflation means a cramped lifestyle in the present, and fear about the future.

Excerpted from "Inflation: How Folks Cope," *Time*, Vol. 111, No. 25 (June 19, 1978), 69-70. Copyright © 1978 Time Inc. Reprinted by permission

WORKSHEET 10B, INFLATIONARY PRESSURES (CONTINUED)

**BUYING POWER OF THE DOLLAR, 1960-1975**

As the graph shows, inflation means that a dollar buys less and less as prices go up.



US Bureau of Labor Statistics

**EXERCISE**

List below three ways that inflation in the 1970s affected Americans:

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

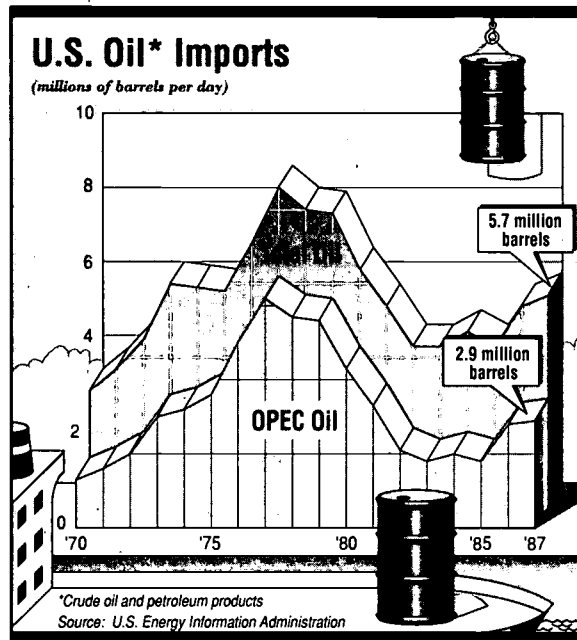
**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**



## Energy Crisis

Study the two graphs below, which suggest some of the causes of the energy crisis experienced in the United States in the late 1970s. Answer the questions that follow each one.

GRAPH 1



### EXERCISE

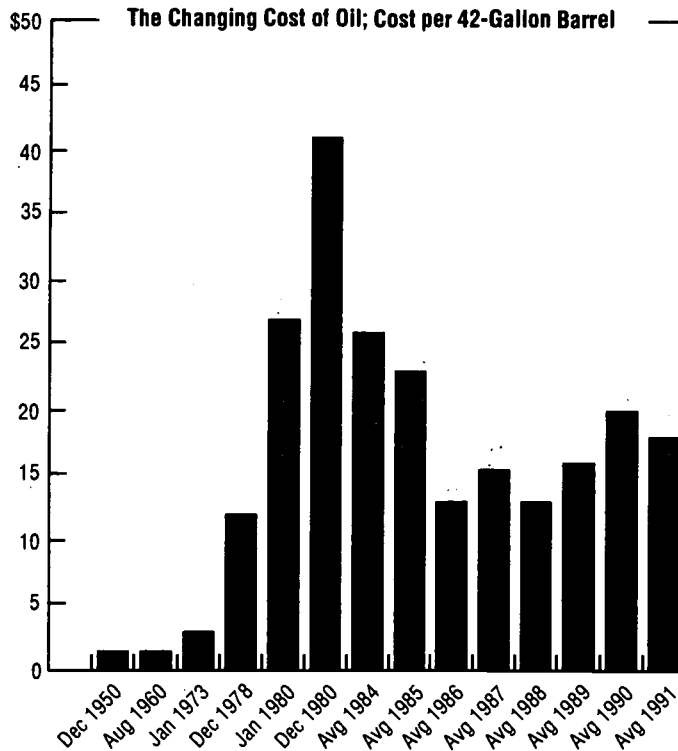
- What was the total amount of oil imported by the United States in 1975?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- How many millions of barrels of oil per day did the United States import from OPEC nations in 1975? \_\_\_\_\_

- What does this graph show about United States dependence on foreign oil?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- In what year did United States oil imports begin to drop sharply? \_\_\_\_\_

**GRAPH 2**



*International Petroleum Encyclopedia, Petroleum Intelligence Weekly, and Commodity Research Bureau Commodity Yearbook, 1992.*

**EXERCISE**

- What was the cost of oil per 42-gallon barrel in December of 1978? \_\_\_\_\_
- What happened to the price of imported oil between 1973 and 1980?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- What happened to the price of imported oil between 1980 and 1991?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- How would the information in Graph 1 and the information in Graph 2 help explain why an “energy crisis” occurred in the U.S. during the 1970s?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 10C, ENERGY CRISIS (CONTINUED)

One of the first priorities of President Jimmy Carter's new administration was dealing with the nation's energy crisis. Below Rosalyn Carter describes her husband's energy program.

**J**IMMY knew that... the oil supplies of the world were exhaustible, and we had to develop an energy program for the United States to ensure against a disastrous future. We had done our best to set an example in the Governor's Mansion [in Georgia]. We had turned off lights, decorated at Christmas with natural, old-fashioned decorations. ... We switched from big, gas-guzzling state cars to smaller ones...

When we arrived at the White House, Jimmy informed me that we were going to set an example again. He said that in his first address on national television, which would be a fireside chat, he was going to ask the American people to turn down their thermostats to 65 degrees during the day, 55 at night. He had already ordered all the thermostats in the White House turned down, including those in our living quarters. I couldn't believe it; I had been freezing ever since we moved in. My offices were so cold I couldn't concentrate, and my staff was typing with gloves on... Every time I turned on the news since we moved to Washington, there were stories about its being one of the coldest winters on record, and I believed it. Now it was going to be colder...

In Jimmy's first address to the people as President, he wore a sweater and sat in front of a

real fire in the library on the ground floor. He wanted it to be an informal talk, but his message on energy was sobering when he pointed out that "the United States is the only major industrial country... without a comprehensive, long-range energy policy."

Two months later, in April 1977, he submitted his energy program to Congress, calling the effort to make the United States energy-independent "the moral equivalent of war."

We knew from the beginning that Jimmy's energy campaign was politically risky. People want to believe that everything is going to be fine, that they are not going to have to make any sacrifices, that the future is always going to be better than the present. They don't want to hear about crises or problems, but without an aroused public, Jimmy knew he would never be able to prevail over the powerful oil companies and other lobbyists to develop an effective energy policy. There was no natural constituency for his program, parts of which were unpopular with everyone. He had to fight the oil companies, the automobile industry, the power companies—even consumers—when he decontrolled oil and natural gas. It was very difficult...

Excerpt from *First Lady from Plains*. Copyright © 1984, by Rosalynn Carter. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co. All rights reserved.

**EXERCISE**

List below three steps that Jimmy Carter took to deal with the nation's energy crisis in the late 1970s. Star (\*) the one step you believe might have been most effective.

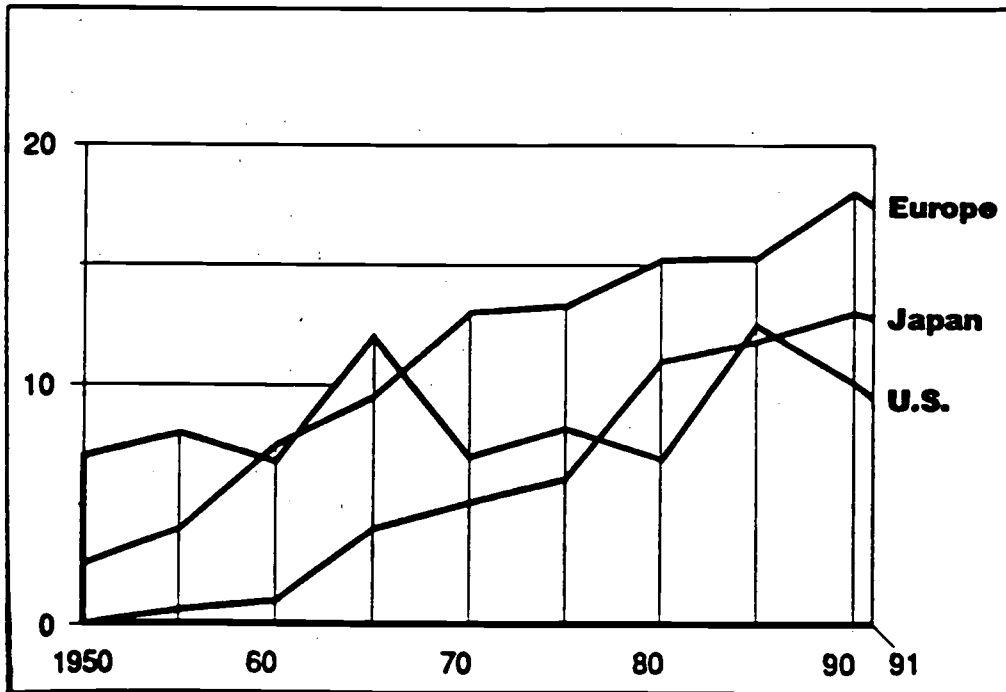
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_

## ***The Decline of Industry and Shifting Employment Patterns***

The automobile industry can serve as a case study for what occurred in major United States manufacturing industries after World War II. Study the graphs below and answer the questions that follow

**GRAPH 1**

**CAR PRODUCTION: THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, AND EUROPE**



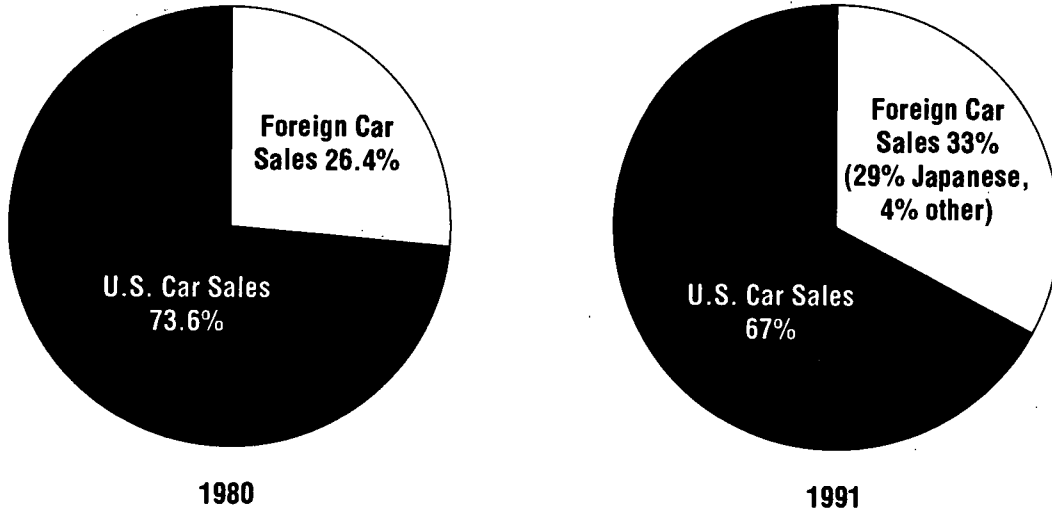
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1991.

- In 1950, which nation or region produced the greater number of cars?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- In what year did United States production of cars peak? \_\_\_\_\_
- What trend does the graph show about the number of cars produced in Japan between 1950 and 1991?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- In 1991, which nation or region produced the lower number of cars?  
\_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 10D, THE DECLINE OF INDUSTRY AND  
SHIFTING EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS (CONTINUED)

**GRAPH 2**

**U.S. AUTOMOBILE MARKET: 1980 AND 1991**

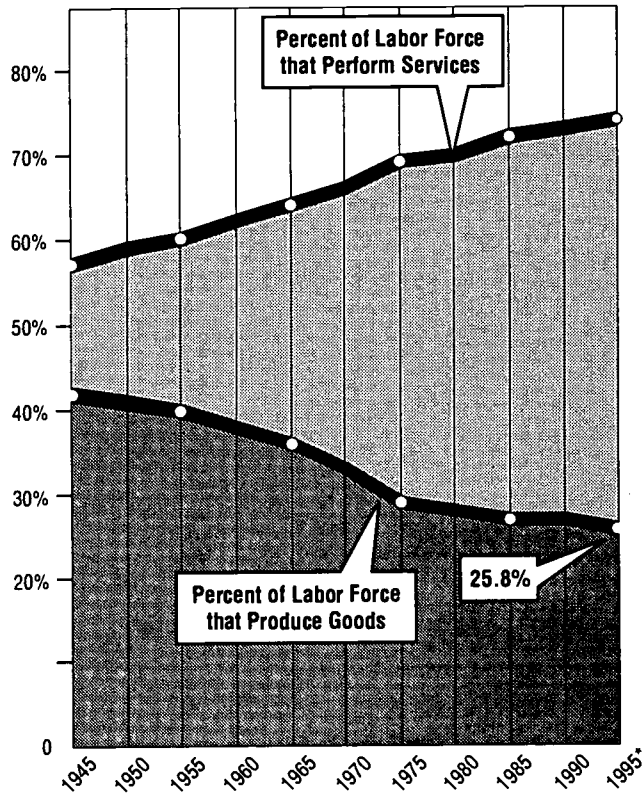


- What percentage of cars sold in the United States were imported in 1980? \_\_\_\_\_
  - What percentage of cars sold in the United States were imported in 1991? \_\_\_\_\_
  - What trend is shown by these figures? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 10D, THE DECLINE OF INDUSTRY AND SHIFTING EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS (CONTINUED)

Study the graph below which shows how the decline of heavy industries in the United States, like steel and automobile manufacturing, affected the labor force. Then answer the questions that follow.

**The Shift to a Service Economy**



Source: Department of Labor \*Estimate  
 \*Service industries include: computer operation and repair, information processing, accounting, hotels and restaurants, insurance, and banking.

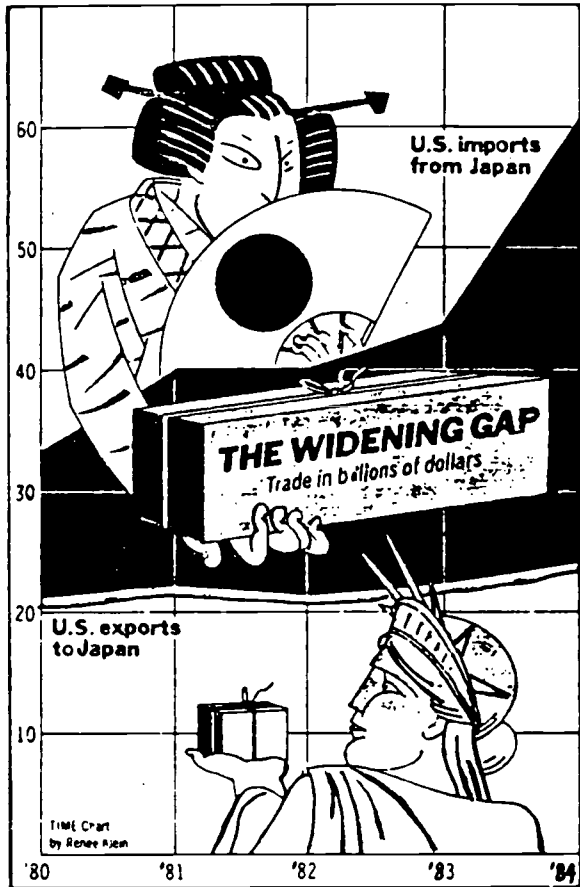
- What percentage of the United States labor force produced manufactured goods in 1945? \_\_\_\_\_
- What estimated percentage of the labor force will produce goods in 1995? \_\_\_\_\_
- What percentage of the United States labor force performed services in 1945? \_\_\_\_\_
- What estimated percentage of the labor force will perform services in 1995? \_\_\_\_\_
- What labor force trends are shown by this graph? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**



## The Balance of Trade

The graph/illustration below shows the trade relationship between the United States and Japan during the 1980s. Examine it and answer the questions that follow.



Time, March 25, 1984, p 54. Copyright 1985 Time Inc. Reprinted by permission.

- In the year 1980, how many billions of dollars in products did the United States export to Japan?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- In the year 1980, how many billions of dollars in products did the United States import from Japan?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- In 1984, how many billions of dollars in products did the United States export to Japan?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- In 1984, how many billions of dollars in products did the United States import from Japan?  
\_\_\_\_\_

- Why does the illustrator place different-size packages in the hands of the two figures?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- What does the phrase written on the larger package mean? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_





## *Living Standards in the '80s*

The table below shows changes in living standards between 1979 and 1987. Study the table and answer the questions below it.

**CHANGING LIVING STANDARDS, 1979-1987**

	Private Income	Government Benefits	Taxes Paid	Standard of Living
<b>Bottom Fifth of Families</b>	- 8%	- 9%	no change	- 9%
<b>Top Fifth of Families</b>	+ 16%	no change	- 3%	+ 19%

- Which two groups of families are compared in the table?

---

- For which group did private income drop during the period shown?

---

For which group did it rise?

---

- How did the standard of living change for the bottom fifth of American families?

---

For the top fifth?

---

# Learning Activity 11

*Will the environmental movement succeed in  
conserving and protecting the world's resources?*

## THEME

Culture/Diversity

## BACKGROUND

For most of the history of the United States, Americans in their pursuit of industrial productivity took for granted natural resources such as trees, land, and minerals. But by the 1960s and 1970s, it became clear that serious damage had been done to the most essential of all the natural resources—air, water, and the earth itself.

Major credit for arousing public concern belonged as much to Rachel Carson as to any other individual. In her bestselling book, *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, she warned that “along with the possibility of the extinction of mankind by nuclear war, the central problem of our age has... become the contamination of man's total environment.” This warning received nationwide attention and began to influence the thinking of many government officials and private citizens.

Many concerned citizens worried not just about pollutants added to the environment but also about resources removed from it. Some resources, such as timber, are renewable. Others, such as metals, can be recycled. Still others, such as coal, can be used only once, and then they are gone forever.

The Kennedy and Johnson administrations responded to these concerns with new programs. In 1970, during Nixon's first term, Congress created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). In addition, state and local governments stepped up their environmental efforts. By the mid-1970s an impressive body of federal, state, and local laws had been enacted.

Not all Americans, however, felt that increased action by the federal government was necessary. As economic conditions in the nation worsened in the late 1970s, many people called for easing of environmental regulations. Critics argued that meeting strict clean air and clean water requirements would cost billions of dollars. They claimed that foreign businesses that did not have to meet these standards could produce goods more cheaply and gain a larger share of the world market. These critics said that the cost of complying with strict environmental regulations should be weighed against the benefits they produce.

## MAJOR IDEA

- Increased awareness of environmental limitations resulted in organized attempts to conserve and protect the world's resources.

## CONCEPTS

- Choice
- Culture
- Environment
- Scarcity

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain the emergence of an environmental movement in the United States in the 1960s.
- Discuss issues that characterized the movement.
- Compare and contrast pre-1970 American attitudes toward the environment with the attitudes of Native Americans.
- Evaluate the degree to which the ecology movement will succeed in protecting and conserving the world's resources.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 11A, “Dangers to the Environment: Case Studies.” Have students read it, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these news articles tell us about threats to the environment over the last two decades?
  - Why do you suppose increasing numbers of Americans during that time became concerned about protecting the environment?
  - Why weren’t Americans so concerned about protecting the environment before 1970?
  - Why do you suppose news reports about Love Canal stirred people to action?
  - As a resident near the Indian Point nuclear power plant, how would you have reacted to the testimony of the two scientists in 1982?
  - How did lawyers for Con Edison respond to the scientists’ testimony? Were their arguments valid? Why or why not?
  - How was the environment affected by the Exxon Valdez oil spill?
  - Can we protect the environment and still meet our energy needs?
  - How is acid rain causing problems between the United States and Canada?
  - As a United States government leader in the 1970s and 1980s, what steps would you have taken to protect the environment? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 11B, “Environmental Movement’s Inspiration.” Have students read it, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did Rachel Carson say about the environment in her 1962 book?
  - How do you explain the fact that *Silent Spring* was instrumental in launching the environmental movement in the United States?
    - How do you think you would have reacted to reading *Silent Spring* in 1962?
    - Why does Ms. Carson say that chemicals “... should not be called *insecticides*, but *biocides*”?
    - Was Rachel Carson right when she stated that pollution of the environment is “for the most part irreversible”? Why or why not?
- Distribute Indian worksheet 11C, “The Native American Indian Perspective.” Have students read it and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did Native American Indians in the 19th century say about the natural environment and humankind’s relationship to it?
  - What is your Indian reaction to the Native American Indian perspective on the environment?
  - How does the Native American Indian perspective on the environment compare and contrast with American attitudes, especially before 1970?
  - What did Chief Seattle mean when he wrote “Continue to contaminate your bed and you will one night suffocate in your waste”? Do you agree? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 11D, “Government’s Response.” Have students read it, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - How did the federal government respond to environmental issues in the 1960s and 1970s?
  - Which of the laws described here was the most important government response to environmental problems? Explain.
  - Is protecting the environment the federal government’s responsibility? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 11E, “The Debate.” Have students read it, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What are some of the major issues in the debate over environmental cleanup?
- Should economic considerations take priority over environmental issues?
- Should polluters pay the cost of environmental cleanup? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 11F, “Individual Responsibility.” Have students read it and complete the questionnaire as directed on the worksheet. Tally the results and discuss. Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this survey show about your attitudes concerning the individual’s responsibility for protecting the environment?
  - What have you actually done to protect the environment?
  - Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for improvements like better sewage treatment systems?
  - If a company wanted to build a factory that would create hundreds of new jobs in your community, but that factory would pollute the environment, would you be in favor of the factory? Why or why not?
  - Will the environmental movement succeed in conserving and protecting the world’s resources? Why or why not?
- Copy and cut out Dilemma Cards on Worksheet 11G, “Eco-Ethics.”
  - Divide the class into groups of four and give each group one stack of Dilemma Cards. Place them face down at the center of the group.
  - Have each student draw a card from the top of the stack, study the situation described, decide what he or she would do, and formulate his or her reasons.
  - When students are ready—typically less than two minutes—instruct students, in turn, to read the situation and options aloud to the rest of the group, give the decision chosen, and briefly describe the reasoning involved. Invite the group to comment and discuss.
  - Have students draw the last four cards from the stack and repeat the procedure.

### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

- Choose one of the following environmental issues: depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, global warming. For the issue chosen, students should research and write the cause of the problem, an effect of it, and a step toward solving it.
- Compose a song about an environmental issue and sing it for the class.
- Set up a recycling center at the school.
- Brainstorm ways to encourage increased recycling in their home neighborhoods and take steps to implement some of those ideas.

## Dangers to the Environment: Case Studies

Beginning in the late 1960s, more and more Americans became aware of the need to protect the natural environment. A few of the events that brought environmental issues to the attention of the American people are described below.

### The Journal

AUGUST 1, 1978

## UPSTATE WASTE SITE MAY ENDANGER LIVES

NIAGARA FALLS, NY—Twenty-five years after the Hooker Chemical Company stopped using the Love Canal here as an industrial dump, 82 different [chemical] compounds, 11 are thought to cause cancer, have been seeping up through the soil. Their containers are rotting and the chemicals are getting into the backyards and basements of 100 homes and a public school.

Children and dogs have received chemical burns playing on the canal site, and large numbers of miscarriages and birth defects have been found among families living there. Tomorrow, the State Health Department will tell the Governor if he should declare a health emergency and evacuate families with small children.

The canal was used as a toxic-waste dump by the Hooker Chemical Company from 1947 to 1952. Thousands of drums were dropped directly into the water or buried in its banks.

JULY 9, 1982

## SCIENTISTS CITE NUCLEAR PLANT PERILS

By **MATTHEW L. WALD**  
Special to The New York Times

WHITE PLAINS, NY—A special panel of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission heard two scientists testify today that a major release of radioactivity from either of the two operating Indian Point nuclear power plants could render thousands of square miles uninhabitable for decades.

Dr. Jan Beyea, a physicist and senior energy scientist for the National Audubon Society, and Brian Palenik, an assistant, also said that such a release could cause thousands of fatal cancers within 50 miles of the plants.

They testified on behalf of the Audubon Society and two other groups that favor shutting the plants, the New York Public Interest Research Group and the Union of Concerned Scientists, as well as for the New York State Attorney General, whose office has joined the proceedings as an interested party.

### Challenged by Lawyers

Dr. Beyea's testimony was attacked by lawyers for the Consolidated Edison Company, which owns Indian Point 2, and the State Power

Authority, which owns Indian Point 3, as being based on an extremely improbable event and being overly pessimistic about the biological effects of radiation.

Dr. Beyea and Mr. Palenik also testified that some residents near the plant could die of radiation sickness within weeks of such an accident even if the emergency evacuation plans functioned as well as expected by the utilities.

Two basic issues in the hearings are whether a major release of radiation is a credible event and whether the emergency plans—required for all nuclear plants since the 1979 accident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania—could protect the public.

"In addition to the possible occurrence of some early deaths, we show that, for a wind blowing towards New York City, 6,000 to 50,000 delayed cancer deaths and 400,000 to 2 million delayed cases of thyroid nodules would be expected from doses received relatively soon after the accident," Dr. Beyea said in testimony submitted in writing for today's hearing.

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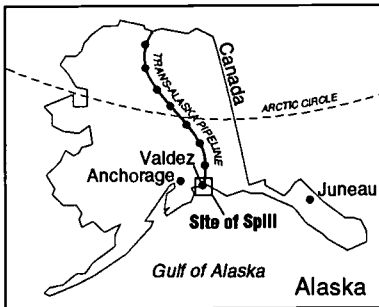
MARCH 25, 1989

## Exxon Oil Ship Hits Reef

By Philip Shabecoff

A tanker filled with crude oil ran aground and broke open yesterday sending oil into water rich in marine life. By evening the ship, the Exxon Valdez, had sent more than 270,000 barrels of oil (one barrel is 42 gallons) into Prince William Sound, making this the largest tanker spill in United States history.

Dying birds have been reported. Sea otters have been seen swimming through the huge oil slick rubbing their eyes. Otters can die if their coats are damaged. Herring (a type of fish) are moving through Prince William Sound now and salmon are active in the area. Young salmon are moving out to sea, while other mammals and fish are following the herring.



MARCH 1, 1982

## U.S./Canada Relations Strained by Acid Rain

**C**ANADIANS are inundated with U.S. brand names, rock songs and sitcoms, and they usually take it pretty quietly. But these days Canada suddenly has its own message to get across. Activists have been shipping thousands of posters and sponsoring snappy radio commercials in the massive media market to the south. This week a clutch of Canadian politicians flies to Washington for what Ottawa labels a "turning point" confrontation. The issue is acid rain, a form of pollution that is gradually damaging the environment on both sides of the border. What drives the Canadians particularly wild is their perception that nobody in the Reagan Administration really wants to hear about it. "I am very frustrated by the apparent belief of the Administration that what is needed is more research," says Canada's Environment Minister John Roberts—"rather than *action*."

U.S. officials concede that there is a problem. Industrial smokestacks in the United States disgorge sulfur dioxide gas, which changes in the atmosphere to sulfuric acid. The result—downwind of the tall stacks—is a poison rain or snowfall on large parts of Canada and the northeastern United States that kills fish and endangers forests. While Canada shares some of the blame for the mess, the United States is the major culprit, "exporting" about four times as much sulfur dioxide as it "imports" from Canada each year. But Reagan Administration officials say they will not be pushed into quick, inefficient and expensive fixes; they insist that any treaty or agreement with Canada is too important to be rushed. "It is a continental undertaking," says one U.S. negotiator. "Nothing like it has ever been tried before."

Newsweek, March 1, 1982, p. 48.

WORKSHEET 11A, DANGERS TO THE ENVIRONMENT: CASE STUDIES (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

For each article above, identify the problem described, its cause, the proposed solution (or if no solution was proposed, your suggested solution to the problem).

SELECTION	PROBLEM	CAUSE	SOLUTION
<p><b>UPSTATE WASTE</b></p>			
<p><b>NUCLEAR PLANT PERIL</b></p>			
<p><b>EXXON OIL SHIP</b></p>			
<p><b>U.S./CANADA RELATIONS</b></p>			

## ***Environmental Movement's Inspiration***

More than any other individual at that time, Rachel Carson in her 1962 book *Silent Spring* alerted the world to the dangers of environmental pollution. Her book, excerpted below, was instrumental in launching the environmental movement in the United States.

**T**HE HISTORY OF life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings. To a large extent, the physical form and the habits of the earth's vegetation and its animal life have been molded by the environment. Considering the whole span of earthly time, the opposite effect, in which life actually modifies its surroundings, has been relatively slight. Only within the moment of time represented by the present century has one species—man—acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world.

During the past quarter century this power has not only increased to one of disturbing magnitude but it has changed in character. The most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers, and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials. This pollution is for the most part irrecoverable; the chain of evil it initiates not only in the world that must support life but in living tissues is for the most part irreversible.

Excerpt from *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson. Copyright © 1962 by Rachel L. Carson, renewed 1990 Roger Christie. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co. All rights reserved.

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

These sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes—nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the "good" and the "bad," to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in the soil—all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life? They should not be called "insecticides," but "biocides."

### **EXERCISE**

Identify the main idea of Rachel Carson's book, excerpted above. Then identify two ideas that support the main idea.

Main Idea:
Supporting Idea:
Supporting Idea:



## The Native American Indian Perspective

- A.** In 1855, Young Chief, a member of the Cayuses, gave the following speech describing Native American Indian beliefs about the relationship between people and the earth.

I wonder if the ground has anything to say? I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said? I wonder if the ground would come alive and what is on it? Though I hear what the ground says. The ground says, It is the Great Spirit that placed me here. The Great Spirit tells me to take care of the Indians, to feed them (well). The Great Spirit appointed the roots to feed the Indians on. The water says the same thing. The Great Spirit directs me, Feed the Indians well. The grass says the same thing, Feed the Indians well. The ground, water and grass say, The Great Spirit has given us our names. We have these names and hold these names. The ground says, The Great Spirit has placed me here to produce all that grows on me, trees and fruit. The same way the ground says, It was from me man was made. The Great Spirit, in placing men on the earth, desired them to take good care of the ground and to do each other no harm...

*Touch The Earth, a Self-Portrait of Indian Existence, T. C. McLuhan.*

- B.** Also in the 19th century, Chief Seattle of the Duwamish wrote the following letter to President Franklin Pierce.

The Great Chief in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. How can you buy or sell the sky—the warmth of the land? The idea is strange to us. Yet we do not own the freshness of the air or the sparkle of the water. How can you buy them from us? Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shiny pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people.

... There is no quiet place in the white man's cities. No place to hear the leaves of spring or the rustle of insect wings. But perhaps because I am savage and do not understand—the clatter only seems to insult the ears. And what is there to life if a man cannot hear the lovely cry of the [birds] or the arguments of the frog around the pond at night?

... Continue to contaminate your bed and you will one night suffocate in your waste.

Chief Seattle of the Duwamish, Letter to President Franklin Pierce.

## Government's Response

The chart below lists and describes selected laws protecting the environment passed by the federal government in the early years of the environmental movement.

### Selected Federal Environmental Legislation 1961-1975

NAME OF LAW	YEAR ENACTED	DESCRIPTION
Clean Air Act	1963	Gave federal government control over air pollution that affected more than one state
Clean Water Restoration Act	1966	Provided federal government money for building water treatment plants.
Air Quality Act	1967	Set standards for air quality.
National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)	1969	Made "productive harmony between man and the environment" a national policy. Said that all federal projects had to consider their impact on the environment. Established the Council on Environmental Quality.
Water Quality Improvement Act	1970	Banned dumping oil in waters traveled by ships. Required plans for cleaning spills.
Clean Air Act	1970	Required standards for clean air. Gave Environmental Protection Agency power to enforce laws.
Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act	1972	Set up rules for making and using pesticides.
Noise Control Act	1972	Set up noise standards and research on the effects of noise pollution.
Safe Drinking Water Act	1974	Set up standards for taste, odor, and appearance of water. Made a survey of rural drinking water quality.

*Amazing Century*, Book Four, 1960-1975, p. 89. Reprinted by permission of Contemporary Books, Inc.

### EXERCISE

Identify the three laws described above that you consider most important in the movement to protect the environment. Explain your reasons for selecting these laws in the space provided.

	LAW	REASON
1.		
2.		
3.		

## The Debate

Read the following debate on the environment, and underline the issues that characterize both sides of that debate.

---

### The Debate: Environment

---

#### Should Economic Considerations Take Priority Over Environmental Issues?

##### PRO

Although a clean environment is important, excessive regulations hurt the economy. The United States must provide jobs, expand industry, and compete with foreign businesses that are not constrained by tough regulations. The cost of meeting environmental standards is too high.

##### CON

Environmental regulations have improved the air and water quality without ruining the economy. In fact, the antipollution industry has created jobs. Without regulations, the cost in health and economic losses would far surpass the cost of enforcement.

---

#### Should the United States Act to Reduce Acid Rain?

##### PRO

Acid rain is destroying forests and lakes in the northeastern United States and in Canada. The increased damage to buildings and bridges is expensive to repair. We should cooperate with Canada, whose timber industry is threatened by pollution generated in the United States, to reduce acid rain. It is the price Americans must pay for having a sound environment.

##### CON

The causes of acid rain are not fully understood. Proposals to reduce acid rain are far more expensive than repairing the damage caused by acid rain. Americans cannot afford higher utility rates, and the United States should not decrease its use of a domestic source of energy—coal—to reduce acid rain. The government should study the problem more before committing billions of dollars to programs that may not work.

---

#### Should Polluters Pay the Cost of Environmental Cleanup?

##### PRO

The American taxpayer should not have to pay for the mistakes of polluters. The government cannot allow industries to pollute the environment without penalty. Proper cleanup of environmental hazards is one of the costs of doing business and not a cost that can be passed along to the public through higher taxes or health risks.

##### CON

One way or another, the cost of cleaning up the environment will fall on American citizens. Companies will either pass on the expense to consumers through higher prices, or they will go out of business, leaving the government to pay. The government is the best and most reliable agent to clean up toxic waste.

*Current Issues, Close-up Foundation*

## ***Individual Responsibility***

Complete the following questionnaire by checking (✓) whether you would (yes) or would not (no) engage in the actions listed. Then write your reasons.

INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS	YES	NO	MY REASONS
1. Use durables rather than disposables: no paper napkins, paper towels, paper plates.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
2. Recycle plastics and aluminum, bottles, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3. Keep pesticides out of your home.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4. Boycott convenience foods.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
5. Grow and preserve as much of your own food as possible.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
6. Eat vegetables rather than animal protein.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
7. Shower instead of bathing; wet yourself, turn the shower off while you lather, wash it off.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
8. Wait until a dish- or clothes-washer can be filled to capacity before you turn it on.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
9. Use minimum detergent quantities; boycott enzyme detergents.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
10. Buy the smallest, lowest-power car you can.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

WORKSHEET 11F, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY (CONTINUED)

INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS	YES	NO	MY REASONS
11. Learn and use the tricks of economy-minded drivers, e.g., do not exceed 50 m.p.h.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
12. Use a bicycle.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
13. Use both sides of the paper in letters.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
14. Compost all organic waste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
15. Give away outgrown toys and clothes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
16. Use cloth diapers instead of paper ones.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
17. Buy secondhand whenever possible.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
18. Garden without pesticides and herbicides.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Adapted from *Man, Nature and Ecology* (1969).

## ***Eco-Ethics***

The Dilemma Cards below describe problems related to the environment. Although each card asks you to select the action you would take, also think about what would be the right thing to do in response to the problem.

### **DILEMMA CARD**

You are an influential member of the community. On your way home from work, you are stopped by a police officer and cited for having excessive auto emissions. Would you:

- use your influence to have the ticket invalidated?
- sell the car to some unsuspecting person?
- work to change the law?
- get your car fixed and pay the ticket?
- other? (specify)

### **DILEMMA CARD**

You are having a picnic with your family at the beach and you see another family leaving to go home, without having picked up their own trash. It is clear that the other family is going to leave litter all around. Would you:

- move quickly and ask them to pick up the trash before they leave?
- wait for them to leave and pick up the trash for them?
- do nothing?
- other? (specify)

### **DILEMMA CARD**

You are president of a large corporation. You are very interested in pollution control and have assigned a task force to study the pollution your plant is creating. The task force reports that you are barely within the legal requirements. The plant is polluting the community's air and water. To add the necessary equipment to reduce pollution would cost so much that you would have to lay off 50 employees. Would you:

- add the equipment and fire the employees?
- not add the equipment?
- wait a few years to see if the costs of the equipment will drop?
- hire an engineering firm to provide further recommendations?
- other? (specify)

### **DILEMMA CARD**

Your favorite lunch spot continues to use polystyrene food containers. You are aware that the production of polystyrene releases chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) into the atmosphere. CFCs are responsible for destroying the atmosphere's protective ozone layer and contributing to global warming. Would you:

- stop buying food at that cafe?
- talk with the manager about switching to more ecologically sound containers?
- do nothing?
- other? (specify)

WORKSHEET 11G, ECO-ETHICS (CONTINUED)

**DILEMMA CARD**

Your friend has just given you a lovely ivory necklace that she purchased on a trip to Africa. You are aware that African elephants are being slaughtered for their ivory tusks and are now an endangered species. Would you:

- accept the necklace and wear it often?
- accept the necklace but keep it in a drawer?
- explain to your friend why you do not wish to accept her gift?
- other? (specify)

**DILEMMA CARD**

Your cafeteria at school has attempted to prepare food items that are popular with students (hamburgers, hot dogs, pepperoni pizza, fried chicken, etc.). While you and your friends enjoy these foods, you know that most of these items are high on the food chain, requiring intensive amounts of water and energy to produce. You are also aware that much of the grain produced in this country is used to feed livestock, while much of the world suffers from hunger and malnutrition. Would you:

- meet with school administrators to suggest having more meatless lunches served each week?
- bring your own lunch and not worry about the cafeteria menu?
- eat whatever is served?
- other? (specify)

**DILEMMA CARD**

You live in a densely wooded area where you enjoy seeing squirrels, deer, chipmunks, rabbits and several varieties of birds on a regular basis. The house next door has just been sold to a family that wants to cultivate a large, green lawn on their entire property. This would require them to cut down over an acre of trees surrounding their home. Would you:

- tell them lawns waste water and energy?
- plead with them to preserve their wildlife habitat?
- do nothing?
- move?
- other? (specify)

**DILEMMA CARD**

You own a popular golf course in a semi-arid area. The area has had below-average precipitation for some time and area officials are recommending that businesses and individuals conserve water. Without regular watering your golf course will turn brown and you may start to lose business. Would you:

- ignore the conservation recommendation and continue watering your golf course daily?
- sacrifice the beauty of your golf course by watering less often?
- sell your golf course?
- other? (specify)

From *Earth Matters: Studies for a Global Future* by Zero Population Growth, Inc., © 1992. Adapted from Project WILD. The original activity, "Ethi-Reasoning," appears in Project WILD's *Secondary Activity Guide*, Western Regional Environment Council, copyright 1983, 1985, 1987.

# Learning Activity 12

*Can recent immigrants to the United States succeed in this nation as earlier waves of immigrants did?*

## THEMES

Movements of People; Culture/Diversity; Contributions

## BACKGROUND

Since 1965, more than a million immigrants have settled in New York City, most of them from the West Indies, Latin America, and Asia. Unlike earlier waves of immigrants, these immigrants have been arriving during a period in United States history characterized by some as an "Age of Limits." United States citizens no longer take economic growth and prosperity for granted. There is recognition that resources are scarce and need to be protected. Among other economic problems, the United States has experienced a sharp decline in manufacturing—the economic sector that provided earlier waves of immigrants with opportunities for advancement.

The composition of the recent immigrant population is very different from that of earlier immigrant waves. This is a result of the fact that in 1965 the immigration policy of the United States changed dramatically. The principle of national origins as a basis for selecting immigrants was rejected. Instead, immigrant visas were issued on a first-come-first serve basis. Additional changes in immigration law in 1976 eliminated the last vestiges of immigration discrimination based on nationality.

Many factors help explain why the United States, and especially New York City, became the destination of choice for recent immigrants. Economic factors in their native countries, such as limited job opportunities, the prospect of continued low wages, low living standards, overpopulation, and high unemployment spurred many to seek better lives in the United

States. Political factors included terror and repression, religious intolerance, and lack of basic human rights. As in the past, New York City has been a major destination for new immigrants including such diverse groups as Russian Jews, Colombians, English-speaking West Indians, Haitians, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cubans. The availability of employment opportunities in the City continues to draw new immigrants, although there has been a sharp decline in the City's manufacturing base over the last twenty years, mirroring national trends.

New York is also appealing because new immigrants do not stand out in the City. Many seek a sense of security that they can get by living in an established immigrant community and are attracted by the possibility of help from their fellow countrymen. Relatives already settled in New York often sponsor new immigrants, providing for jobs and housing, and offering emotional support. Family reunification brings many immigrants to the City.

The move to New York City affects the lives of immigrants in many ways. Ethnic neighborhoods provide a basis for communal life. Formal associations are found in many immigrant neighborhoods; and shops, restaurants, and street corners are informal meeting places. Ethnic neighborhoods also provide economic opportunities in the form of customers and, in some cases, workers for immigrant businesses. Large immigrant populations have resulted in the establishment of small businesses that serve the needs of new arrivals ranging from Jamaican bakeries in East Flatbush, Brooklyn to Korean vegetable stands in Flushing, Queens.



## MAJOR IDEAS

- Quotas based on national origins were eliminated by post-1965 immigration legislation, resulting in a dramatically CHANGED United States immigrant population.
- The experience of recent immigrants to the United States is both similar to and different from the experiences of earlier immigrant waves.
- New immigrants have CHANGED the face and culture of New York City and the United States.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture
- Empathy

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Describe changing patterns of immigration to the United States since 1965.
- Compare and contrast the experiences of various post-1965 immigrant groups; and compare their experiences with those of earlier waves of immigrants.
- Assess the impact of recent immigration on New York City.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 12A, "Immigration at a Glance." Have students read it, examine the graphs and map, complete the exercises, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from these sources?
  - How did the pattern of immigration to the United States change after 1965?
  - How do you explain the change in origins of immigrants?
  - Do you agree with President Johnson that the National Origins Quota System was "... incompatible with our basic American tradition"? Explain.

- What factors might account for the numbers of immigrants coming from the countries illustrated on the chart in the years 1983-86? Do you think this immigration can best be explained by conditions in the United States or conditions in the countries from which the immigrants came?
- What impact might the changing pattern of immigration have on the culture of the United States?

- Divide the class into cooperative learning groups of four students each. Distribute Worksheet 12B, "Post-1965 Immigrant Experiences." Assign to each student in the group one of the selections on the worksheet. Instruct each student to read his or her assigned selection. Have each student in the group teach the others what has been learned about the experiences of the assigned immigrant group.
- Distribute one copy of Worksheet 12C, "Comparing Immigrant Experiences," to each group. Have group members work together to complete the chart. All members of each group should sign the chart in the space provided to signify their contribution to the activity, and charts should be collected and the students in each group given a collective grade.
- Invite groups to role-play a conversation among the four immigrants to the United States, sparked by an "inquiring reporter's" question: "What has been your experience as a recent immigrant to the United States?" Then have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these stories tell us about the experiences of post-1965 immigrants to the United States?
  - How do the experiences of these immigrants compare? What similarities do you see? What differences? How do you explain the differences in these immigrants' experiences?
  - In comparison to these recent immigrants, did immigrants at the turn of the century have a harder or easier time adjusting to life in this nation?

NOTE: If students completed the chart on Worksheet 9C in Volume I of this Grade 8 guide, they can use it to compare turn-of-the-century with post-1965 immigration.

- The most recent wave of immigrants comes to the United States during an “Age of Limits.” What impact has this factor had on their adjustment to life here? Does this factor make their experience in the United States significantly different from the experiences of earlier waves of immigrants? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 12D, “Impact on New York City.” Have students read it, examine the map, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from these sources?
  - How are immigrants changing the “face” of New York City?
  - How are recent immigrants having an impact on life in New York? on education? on religion? on the economy? on the media?
  - Why do you suppose large numbers of immigrants continue to settle in New York City?
  - If present immigration trends continue, what would you expect New York City to be like in the year 2010?

- What evidence is there that immigrants are making a positive contribution to your own community?

### FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

Students can:

- Choose any one of the diverse immigrant groups that has recently settled in significant numbers in New York City, e.g., Russian Jews, Colombians, English-speaking West Indians, Haitians, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cubans. Students can research and report on that group’s history and cultural background; factors in the country of origin that “pushed” immigrants to the United States; factors that “pulled” members of that culture to the United States; and the group’s adjustment to their new home.
- If they themselves or their families are recent (post-1965) immigrants, tell their classmates their own story of immigration and adjustment to a new nation and culture.
- Gather demographic information about immigration in their own community or in the community surrounding the school, e.g., the number of immigrants moving to the area during the past 20 years; where they have come from; which businesses they own; in which jobs they work; numbers of immigrants graduating high school and going on to college, etc.

## ***Immigration at a Glance***

From 1924 through 1965 immigration to the United States was governed by a quota system under which each nation was assigned a set number of people who could migrate to the United States. Western European nations were allowed high quotas. The rest of the world was permitted very few immigrants.

In 1965, arguing that the quota system “is incompatible with our basic American tradition,” President Lyndon B. Johnson helped launch a campaign that resulted in the following new law:

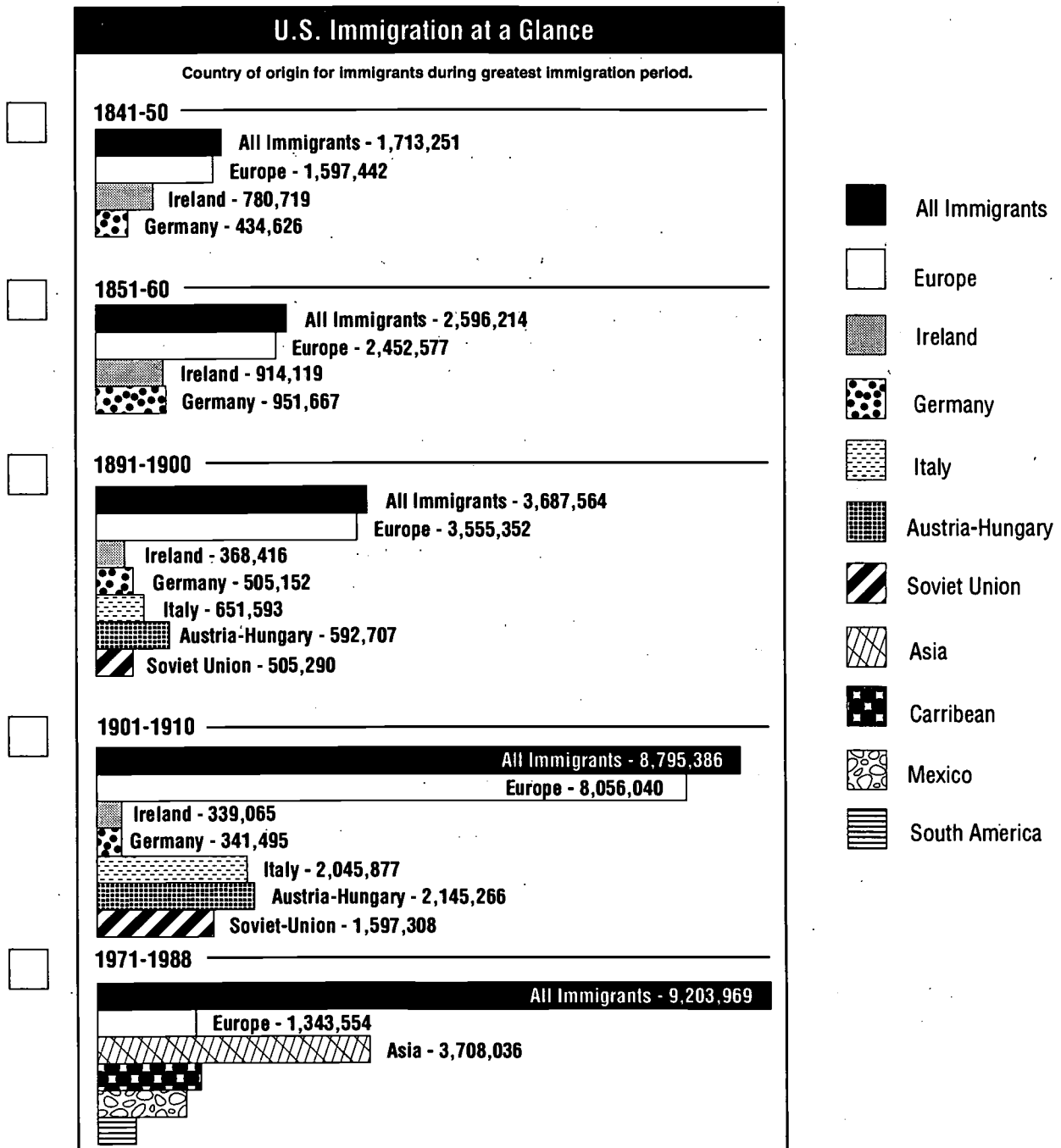
# The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965

Be it so enacted by the Congress of the United States assembled, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 provides the following:

- Henceforth, the National Origins Quota System is ended. From this day forward, immigrants will be permitted into the United States on a first-come-first-serve basis—without regard to their country of origin.
- Preference will be given to the following categories of immigrants:
  - ¶ members of families of United States citizens.
  - ¶ people with specialized skills needed in the United States.
  - ¶ refugees, that is people made homeless by racial, religious, political or social persecution.

WORKSHEET 12A, IMMIGRATION AT A GLANCE (CONTINUED)

The graph below shows countries of origin for immigrants to the United States during the heaviest immigration periods. Place a check (✓) at the left next to the period that showed the greatest CHANGE in the pattern of immigration.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WORKSHEET 12A, IMMIGRATION AT A GLANCE (CONTINUED)

The chart and map below give information about immigration to the United States in the 1980s. On the map, circle the region from which the largest number of immigrants to New York City came. Place an X on the region from which the fewest immigrants came.

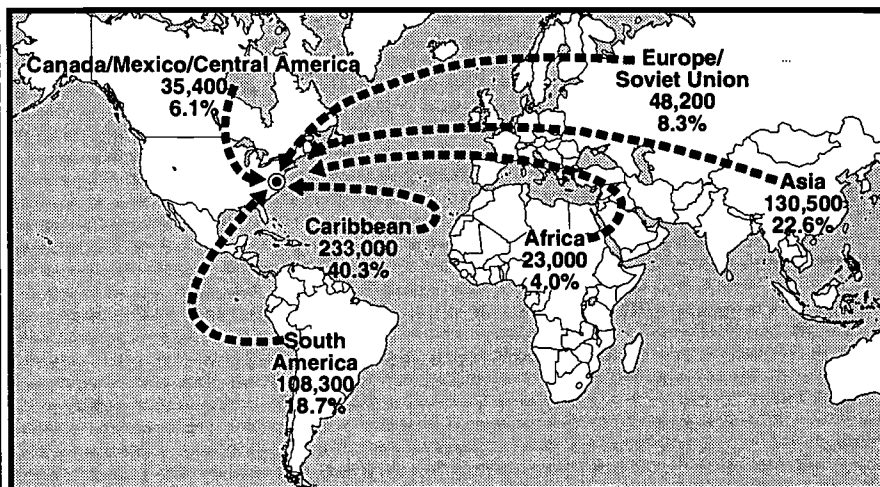
**Where They're From**

Number of persons receiving green cards in New York City, ranked by country of origin (1983-86). Only countries responsible for at least 1 percent of immigrants are listed.

Country	Total	Percent
Dominican Republic	59,399	17.6
Jamaica	34,620	10.2
China (Mainland)	25,783	7.6
Guyana	25,471	7.5
Haiti	20,767	6.1
Colombia	12,725	3.8
India	10,309	3.0
Korea	9,807	2.9
Ecuador	8,985	2.7
Philippines	6,116	1.8
U.S.S.R.	5,942	1.8
Trinidad & Tobago	5,675	1.7
China (Taiwan)	5,070	1.5
Hong Kong	4,796	1.4
United Kingdom	4,468	1.3
El Salvador	4,198	1.2
Honduras	4,038	1.2
Barbados	4,028	1.2
Poland	3,805	1.1
Israel	3,797	1.1
Pakistan	3,573	1.1
Peru	3,301	1.0

SOURCE: New York City Dept. of Planning

Regions the immigrants came from, based on the number of legal immigrants between 1980 and 1986 who stated an intention to reside in New York City.



SOURCE: Immigration and Naturalization Service

## Post-1965 Immigrant Experiences

A. The Cantave family from Haiti is torn by immigration:

**J**EAN ROOSEVELT CANTAVE, a lowly clerk at an automobile dealership in Port-au-Prince, left his wife, Virginia, and his four young children in 1982 to seek his fortune in New York. He fled an economy devastated by mismanagement and plundered by official corruption under the rule of dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier. In a country with 50 percent unemployment, where the average per capita income is just \$370 a year, Cantave was better off than most. Still, he could hardly support his growing family on the \$20 a week he brought home from the dealership.

Like tens of thousands of other Haitians, Cantave left the land where he was born for what Haitians—with longing for home in their voices—call the diaspora. He took a road that had been traced before him not just by strangers but by a network of kin. He had a godmother in Canada and two half-brothers and a half-sister in New York and Connecticut. He knew that when he got to America he would not be entirely alone. They had prepared the way.

They encouraged him to come, but they had been through too much themselves to offer him false hopes. “They told me it’s a very hard country,” says Cantave, 47, a slight, shy man with a goatee who likes to wear a French-style black beret.

When he left, he promised that some day he would send for his wife and children, and they would be reunited in New York.

It hasn’t worked out that way.

Three years ago, Cantave brought his children to his small apartment in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. But their mother was left behind. She is still waiting for her turn to come, and sometimes she wonders if it ever will.

The Cantaves are a family torn apart by immigration: They have one foot in the new land and one in the old, and they aren’t sure the wound will ever heal. Their story is not new. Generations of other families—whether Greek or Polish,

Dominican or Chinese—have gone through the same ordeal. They have been separated by world wars, civil wars, famine and poverty. Some get back together, some don’t. Some succeed in the new world, others don’t. But for the latest generation of immigrants, economists and social scientists say, the chances of failing may be greater than ever before.

Jean Cantave is not one of the fabled immigrant success stories. Eight years after arriving in New York, he is still struggling. He works the night shift in an electronics factory in Melville, L.I., earning \$8 an hour, barely enough to pay for food and rent. He commutes more than an hour each way, leaving home at 2:00 in the afternoon, while the children are at school, and returning at 2:00 in the morning, long after they have gone to bed.

Sometimes, he regrets that he ever came to New York. He clings to the American dream, hoping that his children, at least, will do better. But for him, the new world is not a land of plenty. It is a land of scarce resources, shrinking opportunities and frightening social problems.

After 20 years of sharp decline in New York’s manufacturing base, the unskilled jobs available to Cantave are the ones that Americans don’t want. They are dead-end jobs, often doing piecework: sewing sleeves on jackets; filling and corking tiny sample vials of perfume; or, as in Cantave’s case, cleaning and sorting nuts and bolts for a contraption whose final shape remains a mystery. The finished product might be a lamp, or it might be a hydraulic pump; he doesn’t need to know, and the boss doesn’t tell him.

He must deal with the isolation and humiliation of not knowing English well, of being forced to rely on his children to communicate with store owners, his landlord or his boss. And he is distressed by the clash between his children, who are growing up American, and the values and traditions that he brought with him from Haiti.

Excerpted from *New York Newsday*, June 25, 1990.

## B. Victor Goris's sad farewell to Santo Domingo and joyful reunion in New York:

**V**ICTOR GORIS tucks his belongings—10 shirts, 14 pairs of pants and two pairs of shoes—into a red overnight bag, slides the zipper shut and puts the bag on the concrete floor next to his bed.

On the porch of his family's house, Goris's mother, Maria Alta Gracias, sits alone, unable to look at her eldest son. He is about to join the Dominican exodus to New York City, *el lugar de las maravillas*, the land of marvels.

"She is very upset," says Goris, a 30-year-old tailor leaving his homeland to join his wife in New York. "I am upset, too. I'm not taking anything but clothes. No photographs, no mementos, no memories. No. The memories are too difficult."

In Goris's teeming Santo Domingo neighborhood, Los Mina, dirt roads intersect paved streets. Roosters and goats tread over mounds of garbage, which is picked up about once a month. Most of his neighbors live in bare, brightly painted wooden shacks.

The Dominican Republic is a land of almost unrelenting poverty—the third-poorest country in Latin America.

Sugar cane, the staple crop, grows wild, but Dominicans cannot find sugar in the stores. People shove and claw to get it when a truck dispenses some on the street. Patients bring their own syringes to unsanitary hospitals. School children are without books. Motorists push cars through four-hour gas lines. There are power outages of up to 20 hours a day.

For cutting 16 suits—working 6 a.m. to dusk with an hour off for lunch—Goris earns 2,000 pesos, or \$200 weekly. This is a windfall compared with the \$250-a-month that many Dominican professionals—doctors, lawyers, engineers—earn amid the nation's economic chaos.

So many Dominicans are determined to leave their country—last year 27,000 legally came to the United States—that the waiting list for some of them to get permission is 12 years. Most people in the Dominican exodus come to New York, making them the largest single group entering the city.

Goris emigrates legally on a Pan Am flight. As the jet lifts off, he takes a deep breath.

Five hours later, the flight touches down at Kennedy Airport. Goris fills out forms, stamps his fingerprints on a piece of paper and, armed with his precious visa, makes his way to the baggage carousel.

He emerges from Customs, sees his wife Jocelyn, and lifts her into his arms in a joyous embrace. It had been eight months since he had held her. In their four-year marriage, they had seen each other only one month a year.

Goris sees New York for the first time out of a car window. He is driven through Queens, over the Triborough Bridge and past the Manhattan skyline, to a three-bedroom apartment on 188th St., off St. Nicholas Ave. in Washington Heights. He is moving in with his wife's family—four brothers and sisters, and her mother and father.

Three days later, Goris, chilled by the 60-degree weather, sits on a

couch in a borrowed blue warmup jacket zipped to his chin. The weather, not the neighborhood, has been his greatest shock. Washington Heights, he says, is not as tough as he imagined. He had pictured Beirut.

Instead, he has found a little *quisqueya*, the native word for the island of Hispaniola, which the Dominican Republic shares with Haiti.

On his second day in the city, Goris ran into two friends from his old neighborhood. Familiar smells waft past him as cooks fried up plantains and yuca. Store owners speak in lightning-quick Spanish. Even the local cafeteria greets him with paper placemats featuring a map of the Dominican Republic.

In the Dominican community, newcomers can often rely on the help of their fellow countrymen. Within a week, Goris's father-in-law, Victor Liriano—who works as a tailor at the Ralph Lauren boutique on Madison Ave.—got him a job sewing shirts in a small shop in the Bronx.

The job pays \$175 a week, \$60 of which he hopes to send to his mother so she might be able to buy a generator or a new gas tank for her stove.

Goris, like most Dominican expatriates, wants to return to his homeland. Many do not become American citizens. That would make them feel like traitors, they say. In five years, Goris hopes to have saved \$20,000—enough to open his own tailor shop in Santo Domingo. But once here, it isn't always easy to go home again.

Adapted from *The New York Daily News*.

## C. The Jian Family of China confronts life in New York.

**T**HE ALBUM weighs heavy on his knee, and Jian Ru-shan runs his fingers among the photos, longing for all he left when he brought his wife and youngest child to New York from Guangzhou, China.

A few yards away, Jian's 12-year-old daughter, Min-hua, sits in front of a mirror, teasing her long, black hair with puffs of hair spray, and attending to the decidedly American fashion accouterments on her desk.

As Min-hua's hair dryer begins to whirr, her mother, Hung-lai, looks up from the kitchen table, hands moist from preparing dumplings.

Shrugging, Hung-lai speaks a few words in Cantonese, that, loosely translated, mean, "Kids will be kids."

In their tiny basement apartment in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, the Jians paint a portrait of one immigrant family's struggle to live here.

Tied to old ways and traditions, Jian is a reluctant New Yorker at best.

"Every day, I go to the factory, take the subway and come back home," he says. "It's like staying in jail. People back home could never imagine such a life."

While she has not fully embraced New York, Hung-lai accepts it as home, perhaps because, unlike Jian, she comes from a family of small village peasants.

"This is my home," she says. "I want to settle down and stay. Life is much more convenient here."

And, although she doesn't understand English, finds school difficult and has gotten lost on the subway, Min-hua is finding her way into American teenage culture. She would never go back to Guangzhou.

"Except for a visit," she says. "But not to stay."

Jian worries about his daughter becoming Americanized. "We're worried we're not spending enough time with the child," he says. "Spending too much

time at work. She's being shaped by her cousins and the old landlord's daughter."

In a crowded, noisy sixth-floor garment factory on Mulberry St., the Jians take their place on the assembly line as a team.

Jian, 62, moves deliberately, tediously collecting freshly pressed garments and hanging them on a rack.

Hung-lai, 51, works efficiently, fastening each garment's buttons, trimming loose threads and affixing tags with a tagging gun.

Min-hua, standing on a milk crate, pulls a plastic wrap over each finished article of clothing.

By the end of the day, the Jians have tagged and bagged 300 heavy denim jumpers. At 13 cents a jumper, they have earned \$39.

Typically, they work from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m., and weekend work is common. Min-hua comes only after school, but lately has been staying home with her friends and cousins.

"One Saturday, we worked from 9 in the morning to 10:30 at night," Jian says. "Between us, we made \$80. That was our best day since we came here."

Since their arrival, the family has worked at eight garment factories, always hoping for a better job. Now Jian says, "It's better to settle down. All the jobs are the same, anyway."

Except for garment factories, there are few jobs available for people like the Jians; they don't speak English, and are too old to get better-paying work in a Chinese restaurant.

"This family's experience is very typical, unfortunately," observes John Kouwei Tchen, a historian and the acting director of the Asian/American Center at Queens College.

In China, Jian was a college-educated, white-collar worker in a pharmaceutical firm. His circle of friends included professors and newspaper editors.

"In China, I just do desk work, giving people ideas," he says. "Now I'm doing this totally meaningless work."

Once, the Jians lived in a fourth-floor walkup apartment in Guangzhou. They didn't have a refrigerator or hot water, but they found it hard to miss what they never had. They lived near their four grown children, and, as a respected elder in the community, Jian was called "Grandpa Jian."

They decided to leave because Min-hua suffers from neurofibromatosis, commonly known as elephant man's disease. She is virtually blind in one eye and is vulnerable to developing tumors in the brain, spine and optic nerve. Here, she will get treatment not available in China.

Jian also came to pave the way for his two sons, who remain in Guangzhou. He has applied for them to emigrate, and when he becomes a citizen, Jian will petition to bring his two oldest daughters, too. Under immigration rules, they must wait because they are married.

In the last decade, mainland Chinese have flocked to the U.S. under the Chinese government's relaxed policies.

From 1982 to 1987, at least 52,000 Chinese immigrated to New York. About 74% are from mainland China, and the rest about equally split between Taiwan and Hong Kong.

In the Jians' last days in Guangzhou, the family visited an American-owned hotel, gazing at its lobby and snapping pictures of its magnificent facade.

"Mainland China, especially in places like Guangzhou, has this mythology that this country is very wealthy," says Tchen. "People from mainland China tend to have a glossy image of America, and are less prepared to deal with the realities when they get here."

But if Jian went home, he would return a failure. "They gave us a 22-table farewell banquet when we left," he says. "I can't go back empty-handed. If I go back, I'll be looked down on by everybody."

Adapted from *The New York Daily News*.



## D. Members of the Staroselsky-Epelbaum family, Russian Jewish immigrants, find traditions they never had.

IT WAS THE FIRST night of Passover at the little apartment on Avenue N in the Midwood section of Brooklyn. Recently arrived from the Soviet Union, the 11 members of the Staroselsky-Epelbaum family were preparing themselves for a seder at the nearby home of an orthodox Jewish family they had never met.

Vladimir Staroselsky, 65, a family elder, settled a borrowed yarmulke on his head and admired himself in the mirror. It was the first time he had worn one.

His daughter-in-law, Elena, 27, looked at him with bemusement. Elena, too, knows little of Jewish tradition. She had first seen the words "Bar Mitzvah" just a few years ago and had to look them up in a dictionary. Elena, who has flowing red hair, dresses modishly and speaks fluent French, had never been at a seder or in a synagogue.

"We are more Russian than Jewish," she says. "They made us forget what it is to be Jewish."

But now Elena, who arrived in New York three months ago with her husband, Yakov, and his parents, Vladimir and Riva, is trying to forget what it is to be Russian and learn what it is to be American. She and Yakov are pounding the streets in search of jobs and English courses.

To those knowledgeable about New York City's rapidly growing Soviet Jewish community, now estimated at nearly 100,000, the arrival of the Staroselsky-Epelbaum family was a familiar yet still stirring story. But they, like thousands of other recent Soviet refugees, continue to surprise many in New York's Jewish community who had expected them to be carbon copies of their immigrant grandparents.

Like most Soviet Jews coming to New York, the members of the Staroselsky-Epelbaum clan—engineers, a physician, a computer programmer, only one child among them—bear little resemblance to the 2 million Eastern European and Russian Jewish immigrants who poured into the Lower East Side from 1880 to 1914, filling its streets with pushcarts and children, its homes and halls with Yiddish culture and socialist debate.

"The Jewish community thought these people were coming for religious reasons," says psychologist Misha Galperin, who emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1976. "No so. Being Jewish in

the Soviet Union doesn't mean having a mezuzah on the door. It means having a portrait of Albert Einstein on your wall."

But in one respect at least, the Staroselsky-Epelbaum family is like those who have poured into New York for centuries. A tentative few came first to establish a foothold, then started bringing over the rest.

The family came in three waves from the western Soviet city of Minsk.

"Now we are complete, said Eric, a thin, soft-spoken man of 40, as he hoisted a glass of strong Armenian brandy in a thankful toast the night they landed. The table in his apartment was laden with salads, herring, cold cuts, and several bottles of vodka and whiskey. "This is a dream come true. We are together."

It doesn't take long to find out why the family came here: Each member has a tale to tell of discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union. Their nationality was listed as Jewish on the internal passport each Soviet citizen must carry—leading them, they feel, to be sold inferior goods and refused good jobs. The nationality of non-Jewish residents of Minsk, in contrast, was listed as Byelorussian, for the republic where Minsk is located.

Elena, Eric, Yakov and Margarita all tell the same depressing story about having to study engineering or computer programming in technical school, despite honor grades in high school. All wanted to be doctors like Riva, who was a pediatrician in the Minsk. But none could penetrate the thicket of obstacles to medical school.

\* \* \* \* \*

Headquarters for the extended family is Eric and Margarita's sparsely furnished third-floor, walk-up apartment in Midwood. According to Margarita, a thin, energetic woman in her 30s who speaks limited but authoritative English, the step-by-step plan is simple: Find a place to live, learn English, find a job, move to the suburbs or a smaller city where they could own a house, Oleg becomes a doctor.

The Epelbaums came to Midwood, like many other recently arrived Soviet Jews, because Brighton Beach, the center of New York's Soviet Jewish culture, is now beyond the reach of most new immigrants. Housing there is growing scarce, and some rental housing has

been converted to privately owned co-ops or condos. But Brooklyn remains the borough of choice—81 percent of all Soviet Jewish refugees who came to New York last year settled there—and Midwood, a heavily Jewish neighborhood, still has some vacant apartments, though they, too, are increasingly hard to find.

Eric and Margarita followed their plan carefully, although they say they were shocked by the homeless, the dirty streets, the subway and the drumbeat of crime on TV.

"It was very tough when we came," says Margarita. "We felt very alone."

Distant relatives put them up briefly, then found the Avenue N apartment for them. They studied English feverishly and set about to find jobs.

"Speak English," commands the handwritten sign on their kitchen wall. It is the slogan of their two-year struggle, and the wall is plastered with the evidence of the battle: neatly scrawled phrases that strike them or Oleg as proper for an American to know.

"Let's go, buster."

"Freeze."

"Get out of the city."

"Don't be ridiculous."

"Subway really horrible."

English, for them, is the key to success. "I don't know why they're having such a big problem finding a job," Eric says of beggars in the subway. "Their English is perfect."

Margarita was lucky. A friend from the Soviet Union told her about a midtown Manhattan engineering firm that was hiring Soviet immigrants, and she now works there as an industrial designer, the same job she had in Minsk.

It was tougher for Eric, who couldn't find an engineering job. He paid another Soviet immigrant \$30 an hour to teach him how to repair sophisticated hospital equipment, then worked as a volunteer at Bellevue Hospital Center to build up experience. Now he has a management level job at St. Luke's Roosevelt Hospital Center.

Things have been somewhat easier for family members who arrived in their wake. Eric and Margarita wrote weekly to prepare them for New York. They have helped them find apartments, English courses and jobs.

Adapted from *New York Newsday*, July 5, 1990.

## ***Comparing Immigrant Experiences***

Use the chart below to compare and contrast the experiences of the four post-1965 immigrants (Haitian, Dominican, Chinese, and Russian Jew) whose stories you have read. Write as much information as you can.

<b>Aspect of Immigrant Experience</b>	<b>Haitian</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Russian Jew</b>
Reasons for immigrating				
Expectations upon arriving				
Living conditions where settled				
Work and working conditions				
Adjustment of immigrants to life in the U.S.				

We hereby certify that the following group members have contributed to the completion of the above chart.

Signatures: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## Impact on New York City

A. In almost every area of our lives immigrants are having a profound impact. Number, in order of importance, the five areas listed below in which immigrants, in your opinion, are having the greatest impact on the culture of New York City.

- business                       entertainment                       religion  
 politics                               education

### THE POWER OF THEIR PRESENCE

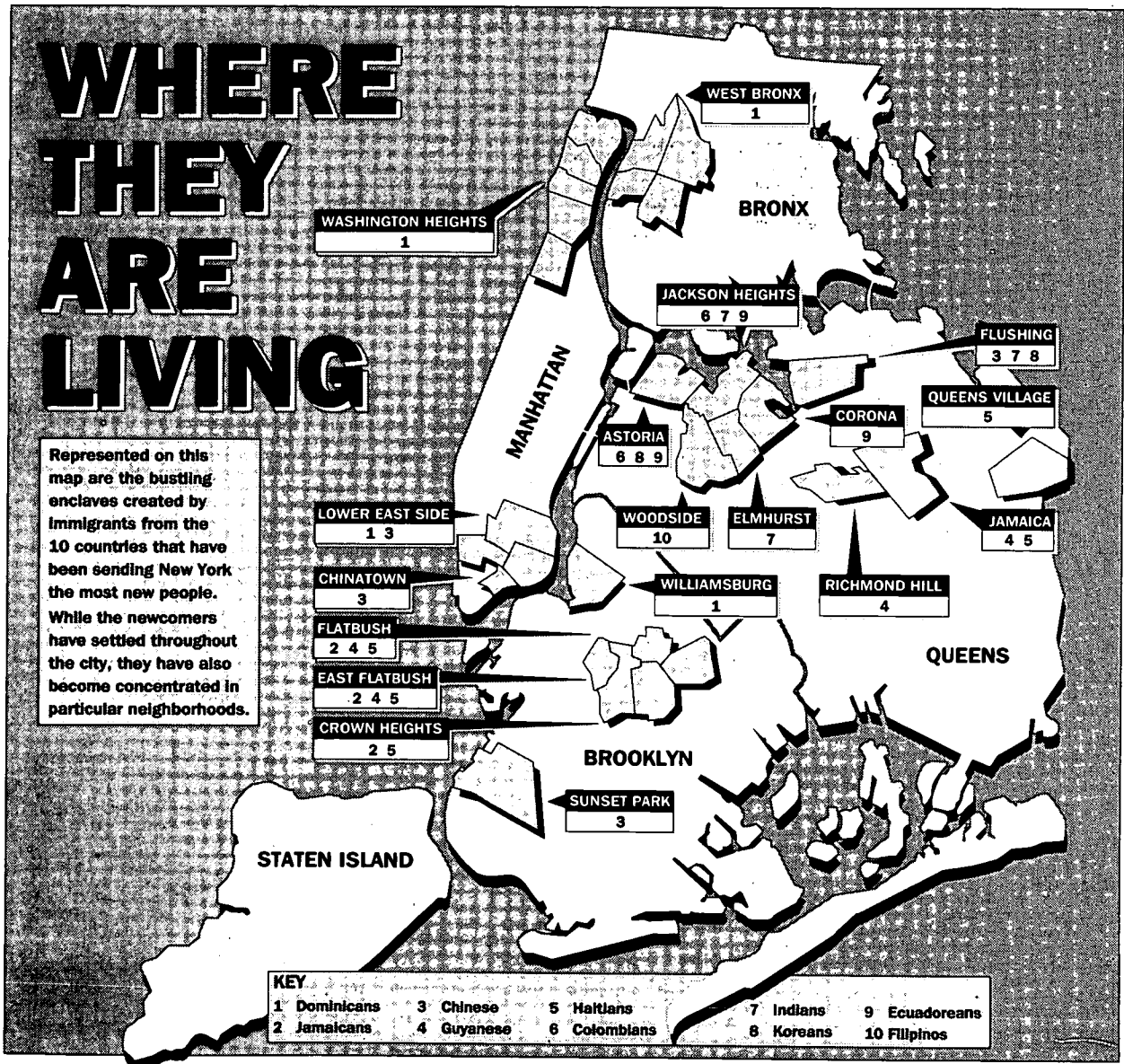
- The chances are nearly 9 in 10 that your next cab driver will be an immigrant.
- More Jamaicans live in New York than Kingston, the country's capital.
- The number of Soviets [sic] here is expected to triple to 300,000 by decade's end, accounting for 30% of the Jewish population.
- The Brooklyn Catholic Diocese offers Mass in 17 languages, including Creole, Hindi, Korean, Vietnamese and two Chinese dialects.
- Local cable TV features more than 500 hours of ethnic and foreign language programming each week.
- In the last five years, the city's schools have produced 63 Westinghouse Science Talent Search finalists—29 of them immigrants, including 12 from Taiwan.
- There are 78 Indian-run shops on two square blocks in Jackson Heights, Queens.
- In 1960, there were 20,000 Chinese in New York. In 1980, there were 85,000, and 7,500 more arrive each year.
- Immigrants now make up one third of the City University's 194,000 students.
- The number of Haitians in New York climbed from 3,000 in 1960 to 50,200 in 1980—a 1,571% jump. An additional 5,000 arrive each year.
- Thirty-seven foreign-language and ethnic newspapers have been founded here since 1970, bringing the total to 80.

- There are 40 mosques in New York City, including two under construction—one in Flushing, one on the upper East Side.
- Sixty-five per cent of the members of the Newsstand Operators' Association are Indian or Pakistani.
- Since 1985, membership in the Caribbean-American Chamber of Commerce and industry has risen from 10 to 600.
- During a recent 13-hour period, 22 babies were delivered at City Hospital Center at Elmhurst. One mother was a native New Yorker.
- Manhattan criminal courts provide translations in 41 languages, including Afghan; Urdu, the official language of Pakistan; Cambodian; and Woloff, spoken in Senegal.
- There are 31 banks in Chinatown, and the three Citibank branches hold \$750 million in deposits, topping all neighborhoods.
- Caribbean women make up nearly a quarter of the city's domestic household workers.
- Pakistani cable TV earned a 4 share in the Nielsen ratings one afternoon last June, beating out the Fox 5 Movie Club and a "Baretta" rerun.
- New York City has more than half the Barbadians, Trinidadians, Haitians and Guyanese in America. It also has more than three-fourths of the Dominicans.
- Most of the 400 Ph.D.-level scientists and 6,000 engineers who came from the Soviet Union last year cannot find work in their specialties.

*The New York Daily News.*

WORKSHEET 12D, IMPACT ON NEW YORK CITY (CONTINUED)

B. In the key, circle the immigrant groups that have settled in your home neighborhood or in that of your school.



The New York Daily News. Permission pending.

# Learning Activity 13

*Can the choices we make in the 1990s affect the future of our nation?*

## THEMES

Culture/Diversity; Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

Change is by definition an unsettling experience, but change during the second half of the twentieth century, in its very swift rate, has uprooted traditional values, beliefs, and the behavior of people in the United States and people everywhere on this planet.

The rate of change has been particularly rapid in the areas of science and technology. According to one estimate, 90 percent of all the scientists who have ever lived were alive and active in the 1980s. This intense scientific activity throughout the world has brought new discoveries, new ideas, new processes, and new inventions in ever-growing numbers.

The space program, which was launched in the United States in the late 1950s, greatly advanced American technology; government and private industry quickly adopted advances learned from the space program. The space program would not have been possible without computers, which when they were first made in the 1940s were huge, slow machines that filled a room.

The exploration of outer space has been paralleled by equally dramatic discoveries in the medical sciences. For example, the laser, an amplified beam of light often used in communications and industry, has become a major medical tool used in eye surgery and many other kinds of procedures. Organ transplants and new human reproductive technologies are becoming commonplace. Genetic research continues to result in new knowledge and hope for prevention of disease and illness.

People everywhere are facing the challenges of adapting their personal lives and their institutions—religious, educational, social, economic, and political—to the demands of

changing ways and times. Difficult choices are being made today, many of which involve competing values, that will profoundly affect life on our planet in the twenty-first century.

## MAJOR IDEA

- CHANGE that affects every aspect of life in the United States, New York, and the local community necessitates that citizens develop new skills and methods for planning.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Choice
- Culture
- Diversity
- Technology

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Analyze major societal trends affecting the United States in the 1990s.
- Discuss projections about the United States in the twenty-first century.
- Identify the projections they believe are most likely or least likely to occur.
- Assess the degree to which individuals and groups can make choices that will change societal trends.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 13A, "National Trends." Have students, working in pairs, study the graphs and complete the exercise. Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these graphs show about major trends affecting the United States into the twenty-first century?

- What projections about life in the twenty-first century would you make based on the trends shown here?
- Can the trends shown here be changed? How?
- Distribute Worksheet 13B, “Our Nation’s Future” and Worksheet 13C, “United States 2000: Reaction Sheet.” Have students read and work in pairs to complete Worksheet 13C. Follow up by having students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - According to these futurists, what will life in the United States be like at the turn of the twenty-first century? How did they reach their conclusions?
  - How valid are the specific projections made here? Do you think these outcomes will, in fact, occur? Why or why not?
  - How are projections different from predictions? Is one more valid than the other? More useful?
  - Should Americans (New Yorkers) be concerned about the projections made by these authors? Why or why not?
  - Would projected changes in the labor force affect life in New York City? How would these changes affect your personal life?
  - Would projected changes in the family affect life in New York City? Would they affect your own personal life? Explain.
  - What impact would projections 11 and 12 have on life in the United States? On your own personal life?
  - Do the changes projected by these authors make you optimistic or pessimistic about our nation’s future? Explain.
  - What are people and governments doing today to deal with the changes projected here? What should be done? What are you doing personally to prepare for life in the twenty-first century?
- Distribute Worksheet 13D, “The Problem with Projections.” Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is the problem with projections? Why didn’t the projections made in 1900 come about?
  - Can you think of other factors that can interfere with current trends and make forecasting a problem?
  - What lessons can be learned from an examination of the forecasts that did not occur? (Encourage students to formulate a generalization such as, “Human actions, technological changes, and outside events can influence any societal trend in positive or negative ways.”)
- Distribute Worksheet 13E, “A Technological Controversy.” Have students enact the play in front of the class, then work together in cooperative learning groups to write their own endings for the play. Have groups act out their endings and compare and contrast these. Finally have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is this play about?
  - What are some of the advances in science and technology that are mentioned in this play?
  - Why don’t the Stocktons like Ken?
  - Why are many people troubled by scientists’ increased ability to understand genes and “control” life?
  - What are some questions that are likely to arise in the future as our scientific knowledge keeps growing?

### **FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

Students can:

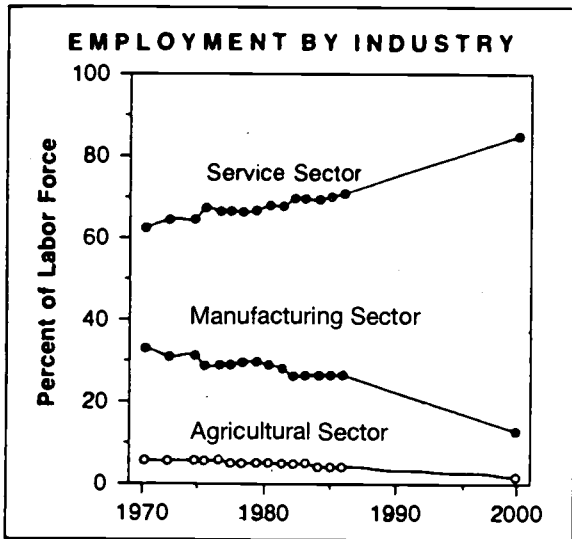
- Collect news articles on such value-laden scientific questions as genetic engineering, animal-human transplants, the “right to die,” test tube babies, surrogate mothers, fetal research, etc.
- Write short stories about what they think the United States will be like in the year 2050.

## National Trends

As we approach the year 2000, people called futurists or forecasters are trying to determine what the United States will be like in the twenty-first century. They do this by studying past and present events to identify trends and then stretch these trends into the future. The conclusions they reach are called projections.

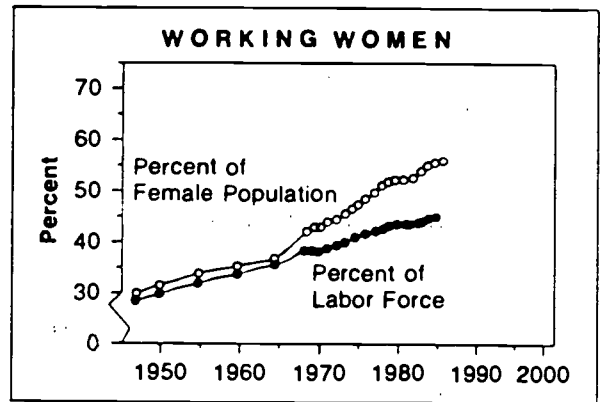
The graphs below show some of the major long-term trends affecting the United States into the twenty-first century.

Pretend that you are a futurist. Next to each graph, identify the trend shown, and based on that *trend* make one *projection* about life in the United States at the turn of the twenty-first century.



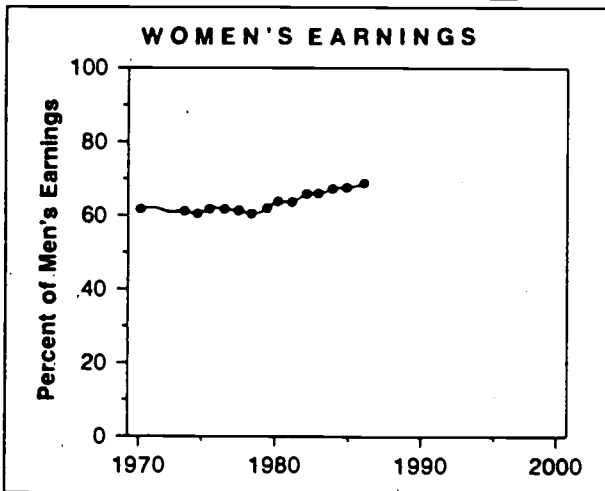
TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_

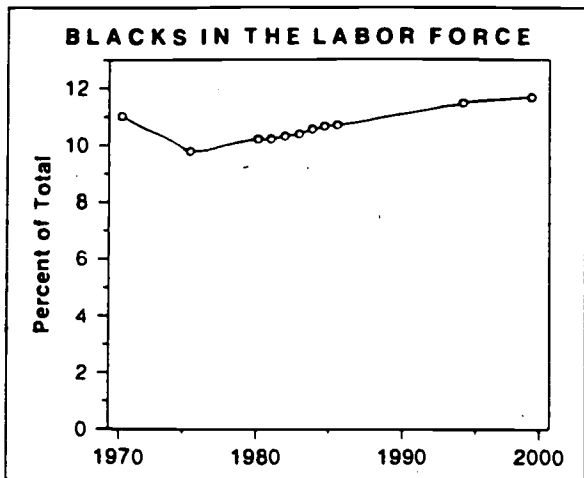


TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_

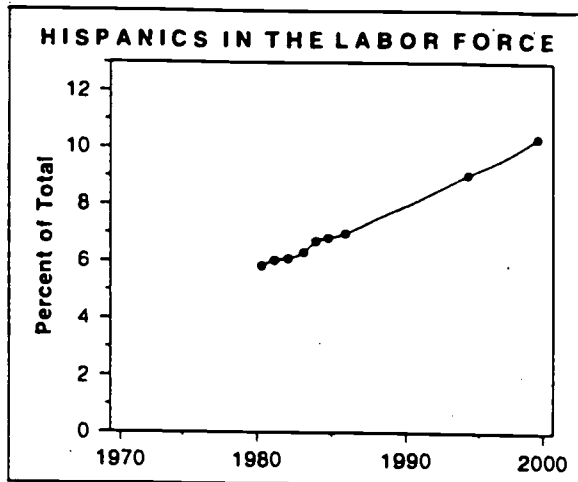
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WORKSHEET 13A, NATIONAL TRENDS (CONTINUED)



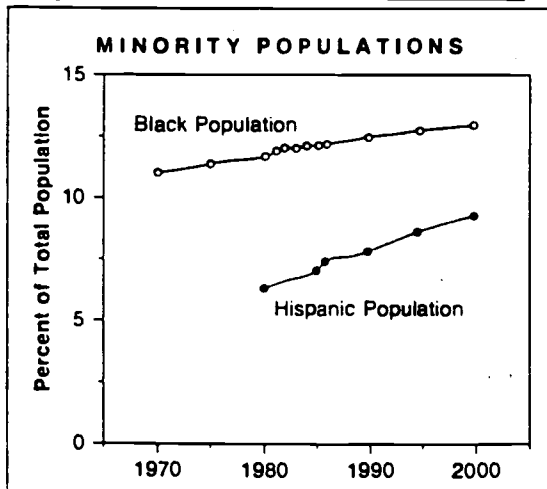
TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



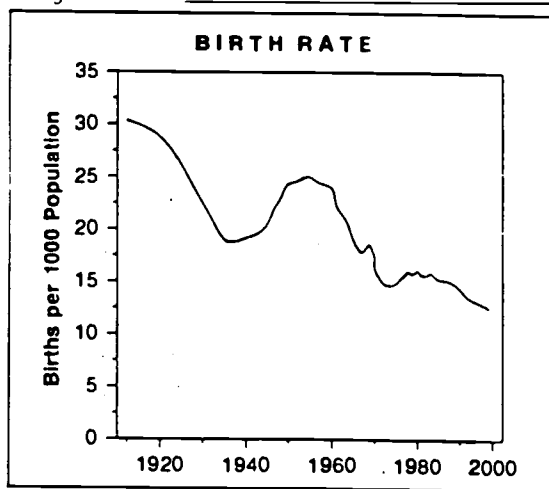
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PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



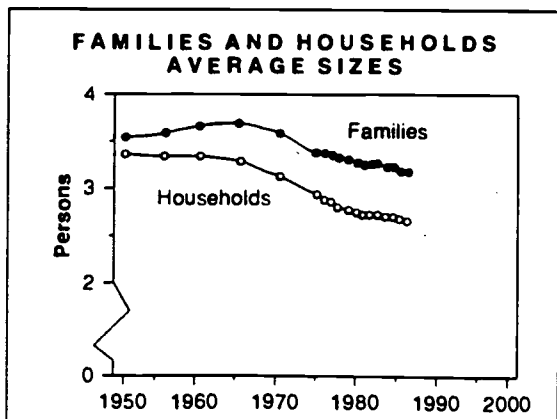
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PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



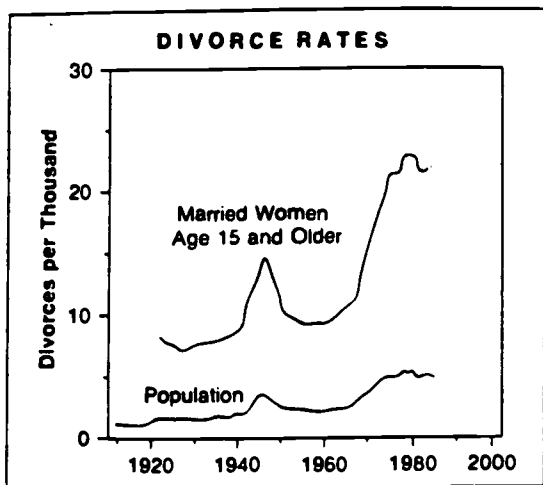
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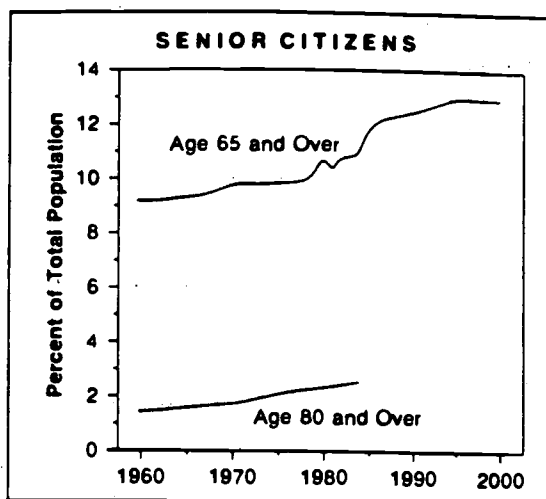


WORKSHEET 13A, NATIONAL TRENDS (CONTINUED)



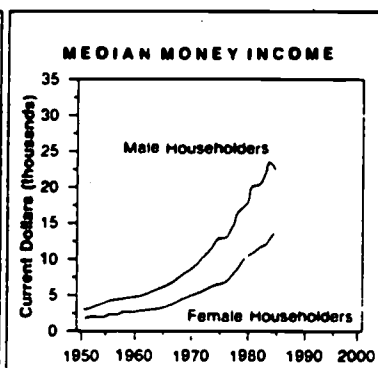
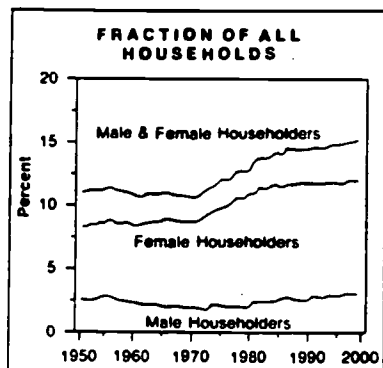
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PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



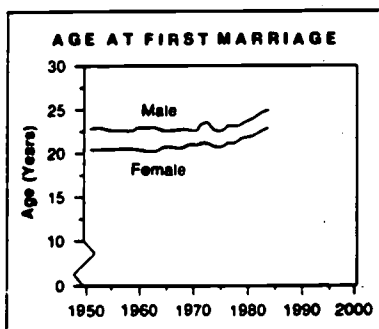
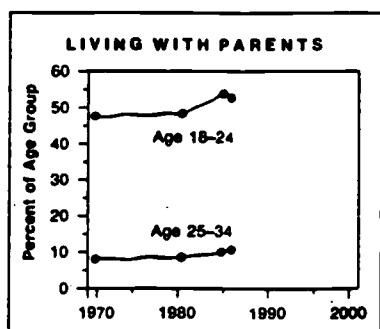
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PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_



TREND: \_\_\_\_\_

PROJECTION: \_\_\_\_\_

All graphs from Marvin Cetron and Owen Davies, *American Renaissance: Our Life at the Turn of the 21st Century*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989) Copyright © 1989. Reprinted with permission of St. Martin's Press, Inc.

## ***Our Nation's Future***

In 1989, futurists Marvin Cetron and Owen Davies wrote *American Renaissance: Our Life at the Turn of the 21st Century*. In this book, the authors studied current trends in important areas such as the family, employment and work patterns, and education. They then projected these trends to the turn of the twenty-first century.

**NOTE:** There is an important difference between a *prediction* and a *projection*. In a projection, current trends are simply extended into the future. A prediction tries to take into account all the things that might change a trend and then estimates what the outcome will be.

Read below some of the projections made by Cetron and Davies.

1. Personal robots in the home will appear by the year 2000. Ordinary service jobs and environmentally dangerous jobs will be done by robots.
2. There will be much growth in the engineering, technology and health industries; many new biotechnology jobs will open up.
3. With the evolution of computers, robotics, and semiconductors, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing will disappear.
4. By the year 2000, 85% of the labor force will be working in the service sector. Of that 85%, 43% will be working in the information industry, 22% of whom will be working at home.
5. There will be fewer and fewer well-paying jobs not requiring advanced training.
6. People will get used to the idea of changing jobs several times in their lifetimes.
7. Schools will train both children and adults around the clock: The academic day will be lengthened to seven hours for children; adults will be working a 32-hour work week and preparing for their next job in the remaining hours.
8. Personal computers will be used for voting, filing income tax returns, applying for auto license plates, and taking tests such as college entrance exams.
9. Middle age will be "in" by 2000; the "youth culture" will be "out."
10. Retirement age will rise to 70 by the year 2000.
11. The old idea to conform, to blend in with the group, will give way to pride in cultural heritage and a general acceptance of differences in all aspects of society.
12. Minorities will exert more influence on the national agenda.

WORKSHEET 13B, OUR NATION'S FUTURE (CONTINUED)

13. More activist Baby Boomers will call for solutions to major environmental problems such as air pollution, acid rain, loss of forests, and depletion of the ozone layer.
14. Personal wellness, disease prevention, and self help will be the watchwords for a more health-conscious population. Interest in participant sports, exercise equipment, home gyms, and employee fitness programs will create mini-boom industries.
15. Women will exercise greater political power. The effect will be: more child care services, greater employment opportunities, and equal male-female pay rates.
16. The marriage rate will increase; divorce rates will decrease.
17. Adolescence will be extended, as young people, for social and economic reasons, leave the nest later than their parents did.
18. The economic burden on single parents, especially mothers, will become increasingly acute.
19. The number of people living in a U.S. household will continue to get smaller.
20. As more older people are able to stay active and independent, the extended family will continue to be replaced by the nuclear family and other living arrangements.

Adapted from Marvin Cetron and Owen Davies, *American Renaissance: Our Life at the Turn of the 21st Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989) Reprinted with permission of St. Martin's Press, Inc.

## United States 2000: Reaction Sheet

**EXERCISE**

Use the chart below to record your reactions to the projections made by Cetron and Davies. Place a check (✓) in the "possible" column if you believe the projection could become reality, and check the "probable" column if you believe it is likely to happen. Then, decide whether each projection is "desirable" or "undesirable." Finally, decide how great an impact it would have on your own life.

PROJECTIONS	WILL IT OCCUR?		WHAT DO YOU THINK?		IMPACT ON YOUR LIFE?	
	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE	DESIRABLE	UNDESIRABLE	LITTLE	GREAT
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
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16.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

## ***The Problem with Projections***

Most of the projections made by journalist John Elfreth Watkins, Jr. and published in *Ladies Home Journal* in 1900 have proven to be surprisingly accurate, especially his projections of developments in science and technology. However, even this remarkable thinker made some mistakes.

Below are examples of his projections made in 1900 that did not occur. In the space provided, briefly explain what was wrong with these projections.

1. There will probably be from 350,000,000 to 500,000,000 people in the United States and its possessions by the turn of the next century. Nicaragua will ask for admission to the United States after the completion of the great canal. Mexico will be next. Europe, seeking more territory to the south of us, will cause many of the South and Central American republics to be voted into the United States by their own people.

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2. Strawberries as large as apples will be eaten by our great-grandchildren for their Christmas dinners a hundred years hence. Raspberries and blackberries will be as large. One will be enough for the fruit course of each person.

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3. The city house will practically be no more. Building in blocks will be illegal. The trip from suburban home to office will require a few minutes only. A penny will pay the fare.

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4. There will be air-ships, but they will not successfully compete with surface cars and water vessels for passenger or freight traffic. They will be maintained as deadly war-vessels by all military nations.

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Adapted from John Elfreth Watkins, Jr., *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1900.

## ***A Technological Controversy***

Read the following play and then write an ending by making up dialogue and actions, or adding characters.

### **ROMEO AND JULIET: A PLAY ABOUT THE FUTURE**

**NARRATOR:** It is a big night for the Stocktons. Their daughter Sue is bringing her husband-to-be home for dinner for the first time. Robot servants have been busy all day cleaning and polishing the apartment on the 20th floor of Soleri, the newest floating city. There are plastic flowers everywhere. A special chemo-steak dinner has been prepared. For once, no one is watching dreamies. The Stocktons are too excited for that.

**MRS. STOCKTON:** I wish she let us know sooner. I knew she was dating this Ken what's-his-name. But I had no idea it was so serious.

**MR. STOCKTON:** Why, we don't even know the boy!

**RON:** I met him last month at the mini-submarine races off Hawaii. He's okay.

**MR. STOCKTON:** Wait a minute! Andretti? Andretti? I don't suppose he's any kin to Charlie Andretti, the organic foods man.

**RON:** That's his father.

**MR. STOCKTON:** Then I won't have him marry my daughter! I don't even want him in my house!

**MRS. STOCKTON:** But why dear?

**MR. STOCKTON:** Don't you remember? It was on 3-D TV years ago, just after the government passed the first Superior Babies Act. Charlie Andretti was saying that his two children were going to be natural borns (Enbees) no matter what the experts said!

**MRS. STOCKTON:** Oh, yes, I remember now. He held up an organic tomato in front of the camera and he said, "Natural parents are always the best." Oh, he made a real fool of himself! Then this Ken must be an Enbee! Oh, poor Sue! I'm sure she doesn't know it.

**RON:** Of course she knows it. What's wrong with you two anyway? Some of my best friends are Enbees.

**MR. STOCKTON:** What's wrong? You can't ask that! Just think of all the bad genes, the weaknesses that the Enbees have. The government should have outlawed them years ago, instead of letting parents choose how they would have their children.

**MRS. STOCKTON:** No daughter of mine is going to marry an Enbee!

**RON:** You're going to have trouble selling that to Sue. She loves Ken.

**NARRATOR:** Just then Sue and Ken land on the balcony outside. They take off their flying belts, then enter the apartment.

**SUE:** Hello Mom, Dad - this is Ken.

From District 21's *Whose Values Anyway*, 1993, pp. 154 & 155.



# Learning Activity 14

*Will the recent North American Free Trade Agreement benefit the United States, Canada, and Mexico?*

## THEMES

Culture/Diversity; Movement of People

## BACKGROUND

In January 1989, the United States and Canada entered into the Free Trade Agreement. This accord marked continuation of friendly relations between the two countries spanning 175 years. Ratification of the agreement created the largest bilateral trade partnership in history. In 1987, the United States and Canada exchanged \$161 billion worth of goods and services. An objective of the Free Trade Agreement was to increase trade even further. Additionally, the ten-year plan would end almost all trade barriers between the two nations.

During the 1980s there was an increase in business and trade between the United States and Mexico. The Mexican government adopted an economic policy that favored more open trade with other nations. This was especially beneficial for some United States companies planning to invest in new facilities in Mexico. For example, during the 1980s, Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors invested billions of dollars in plant construction and modernization to produce vehicles primarily for sale in the United States. However, some American unions expressed concern that jobs would also move to Mexico putting United States workers on unemployment lines.

In August 1992, Canada, Mexico, and the United States reached an historic new trade accord called the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The goal of this plan is to remove all tariffs and trade barriers between the three nations by the early twenty-first century. NAFTA is expected to link 360 million consumers into one \$6 trillion market. Prior to NAFTA, Canada and Mexico were already two of

the top three United States trading partners (Japan is the other). It should be noted that NAFTA comes on the heels of the European open trade agreement of 1992 called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. NAFTA has been touted by some as an exemplar of the Bush administration's program for United States economic development. However, NAFTA is not without its detractors. Opponents of NAFTA argue that there will be difficulties putting the theory of the accord into practice. Still others warn of the further loss of United States jobs to Mexico where United States companies are attracted by lower wages and less stringent environmental laws. Yet despite the controversy, NAFTA has ushered in an unprecedented period in relations between the three North American nations.

## MAJOR IDEA

- CHANGES affecting our hemispheric neighbors affect the United States because of INTERDEPENDENCE among countries.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Culture/Diversity
- Interdependence

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Compare and contrast economic indicators for the United States, Canada, and Mexico.
- Discuss the nature and background of the North American Free Trade Agreement.
- Evaluate arguments for and against NAFTA from the perspectives of the United States, Canada, and Mexico.



## DEVELOPMENT

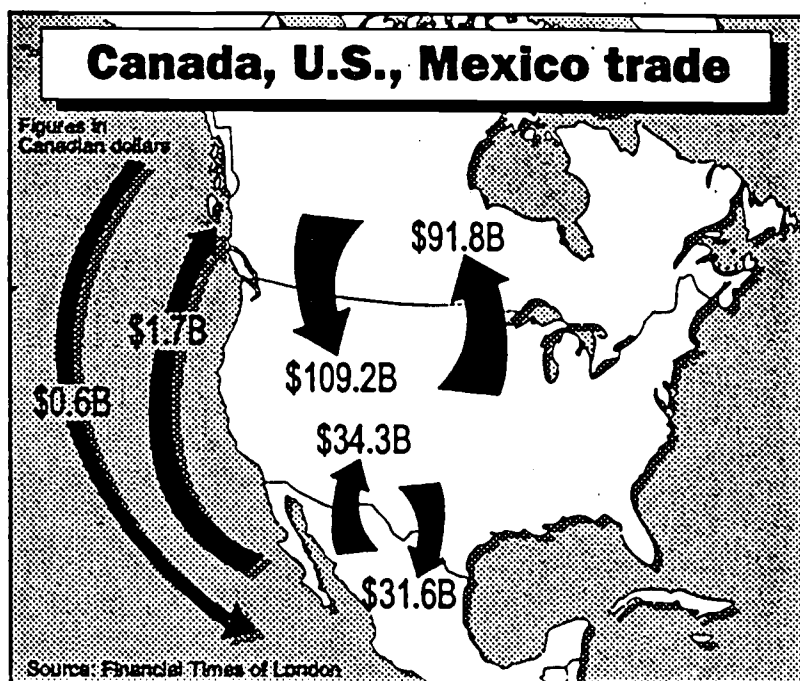
- Distribute Worksheet 14A, "The United States, Canada, and Mexico: Economic Indicators." Have students study the map and chart, complete the exercises, and then explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from the map about trade in 1990 between Canada, the United States, and Mexico?
  - How did the balance of trade between the United States and Canada compare with that between the United States and Mexico and between Canada and Mexico?
  - What does the chart tell us about the three nations?
  - How do the United States, Canada, and Mexico compare with regard to population, GNP, etc.?
  - What reasons for these three nations entering into a free trade agreement are suggested by the map and chart?
  - What potential problems or obstacles to a North American Free Trade Agreement are suggested by the chart? Explain.
- Distribute Worksheet 14B, "Canadian/American Opinion Poll." Have students read, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about American and Canadian attitudes from this poll?
  - How do you explain the fact that so many more Canadians than Americans opposed the two nations becoming one country?
  - Why do you suppose more than half of the Canadians polled believed that the 1989 Free Trade Agreement had hurt their country? What issues do you think concerned Canadians?
- Divide the class into cooperative learning groups of three students each. To each student distribute Worksheet 14C, "North American Free Trade: Reaching an Agreement."
  - Have all students read "NAFTA Background." Assign each of the three students in a group to take one of the following roles: United States negotiator, Mexican negotiator, Canadian negotiator. Instruct them to read their corresponding "Perspective on NAFTA."
  - Instruct each group to conduct "free trade negotiations" by sharing and discussing, in their assigned roles, the various perspectives on NAFTA of the three nations.
  - Distribute one copy of Worksheet 14D, "NAFTA Vote," to each group. Have members of the group, in their roles, vote for or against adoption of NAFTA and explain their reasons. Have all members of the "negotiation team" sign the ballot.
  - Finally, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What did this activity tell us about the North American Free Trade Agreement?
    - How would NAFTA create a free trade zone in North America? What would "free trade" mean?
    - How do the perspectives of the United States, Canada, and Mexico on NAFTA compare? How do you account for the differences?
    - Why do you suppose a free trade agreement was reached among the three nations, despite significant opposition in each one?
    - In your opinion, will the North American Free Trade Agreement be good for the United States? for the Western Hemisphere? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 14E, "Mexican Border Town Views NAFTA." Have students read, complete the exercise and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does this article tell us about how NAFTA was viewed by Mexicans across the border?
  - Why are residents of the town of Matamoros worried about the North American Free Trade Agreement? Why do they fear for their jobs?

- How would Ms. Vázquez and Mr. Lozano have answered Ross Perot's criticisms of NAFTA?
- If residents of Matamoros were polled on the question of Mexico and the United States becoming one nation, how would they answer? What evidence for their attitudes on this issue can you find in the article?
- Do you think that the United States, Mexico, and Canada will one day join into a "super country?" Is this possible? Desirable? Why or why not?
- Distribute Worksheet 14F, "NAFTA's Impact on New York Region." Have students read, examine the graphs, complete the exercise, and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from this article about the impact that NAFTA is expected to have on the New York region?
  - Why will textile and old steel and machinery producing communities in the region continue to suffer? What will be the impact on women, African-Americans, and Hispanics?
  - Why do chemical companies in the region expect few job losses?
  - Why aren't high technology manufacturers in the region worried about NAFTA?
  - Why do securities firms, banks, and other service industries like management consulting, public relations, and law firms think NAFTA will be a plus for them?
  - Should NAFTA's impact be a consideration for anyone entering the job market in the New York region during the next decade? Explain.

## ***The United States, Canada, and Mexico: Economic Indicators***

In 1989, the United States and Canada entered into a free trade agreement that lowered or eliminated all tariffs (taxes on imports) on products traded between the two nations. In 1992, Canada, the United States, and Mexico negotiated a new trade agreement called NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement).

The figures on the map and chart below are for 1989/1990.



- What was the value of United States exports to Canada in 1990?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- What was the value of Mexico's imports from the United States in 1990?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which nation had an unfavorable balance of trade (imports more than it exports) with both other nations?  
\_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 14A, THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND MEXICO:  
ECONOMIC INDICATORS (CONTINUED)

	How They Measure Up		
	Canada	United States	Mexico
Population (millions)	26	246	84
*GNP (billions)	\$522	\$5,816	\$212
GNP/person	\$20,352	\$23,808	\$2,212
Inflation rate (1990 est.)	5.2%	5.5%	27%
Infant deaths (per 1,000 live births)	7	10	46
Literacy rate	99%	99%	88%
* Gross national product: the total value of all goods and services in 1989			
Source: The Royal Bank of Canada. <i>World Bank Development Report</i> ; Infometrica Ltd.; <i>World Almanac 1990</i> .			

- Which nation had the highest rate of inflation in 1990?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which nation had the lowest percentage of citizens who could read and write?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which indicator at the left tells most about health conditions in a nation?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which nation had the poorest health conditions, as indicated here?  
\_\_\_\_\_

## **Canadian/American Opinion Poll**

In 1990, *Maclean's*, a Canadian magazine, published the results of a poll that was taken to see what Canadians and Americans thought about a number of issues. One thousand people in each nation were questioned. The answers of Americans and Canadians to two questions are charted below. In the space provided at left, check (✓) the answers you would have given.

1. Would you strongly oppose, oppose, favor, or strongly favor Canada and the United States becoming one country?

	Americans	Canadians
<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly oppose	11%	51%
<input type="checkbox"/> Oppose	32%	30%
<input type="checkbox"/> Favor	41%	14%
<input type="checkbox"/> Strongly favor	6%	4%

2. As you may know, Canada and the United States entered into the Free Trade Agreement in 1989. From what you can tell, has this agreement hurt, made no difference, or helped create jobs and improve economic conditions in the United States/Canada?

	Americans	Canadians
<input type="checkbox"/> Hurt (own country)	8%	57%
<input type="checkbox"/> Made no difference	58%	54%
<input type="checkbox"/> Helped (own country)	14%	7%
<input type="checkbox"/> Didn't know or had no answer	20%	3%

## **North American Free Trade: Reaching an Agreement**

In November of 1993, the Congress of the United States approved a historic new trade pact called the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA. The agreement had been negotiated by Canada, Mexico, and the United States back in August of 1992. (Three years earlier, Canada and the United States had signed a free trade agreement, which now is superceded by the new pact.)

The goal of NAFTA is to remove all tariffs and trade barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico by the early twenty-first century. NAFTA is expected to link 360 consumers into one \$6 trillion market. It should be noted that NAFTA comes on the heels of the European free trade agreement of 1992 called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Though it was approved by Congress and became effective January 1, 1994, NAFTA remains controversial in all three nations.

### **PERSPECTIVES ON NAFTA**

#### *The United States Perspective*

#### **Arguments For NAFTA**

1. Tariffs on United States products will be eliminated making it cheaper to export United States products, particularly electrical equipment, machinery, auto parts, and food products to Mexico and Canada.
2. More Americans will get jobs to meet the increased demand for American goods in Mexico and Canada.

#### **Arguments Against NAFTA**

1. United States companies will take plants and jobs to Mexico where wages are lower.
2. Air and water pollution will increase as United States and Canadian plants move to Mexico where environmental laws are not as strict.

*The Canadian Perspective*

**Arguments For NAFTA**

1. Canadian companies have expertise in areas that will be very important to Mexico's economic development, e.g., telecommunications, public transport, water and environmental technologies.
2. Freer trade within North America will strengthen the economies of the three nations and put the hemisphere in a position to compete more effectively internationally.

**Arguments Against NAFTA**

1. Cheap Mexican labor will threaten Canadian jobs in manufacturing (e.g., garment and auto parts industries).
2. Free trade will wipe out Canada's culture. Canadian literature (publishing) and film have to remain protected, or United States culture will dominate.

*The Mexican Perspective*

**Arguments For NAFTA**

1. The Mexican economy will grow as jobs in industries such as clothing and auto parts move south of the border. Illegal Mexican immigration to the United States will decrease.
2. Foreign investors will be reassured that it is safe and profitable to invest in the modernization of Mexico.

**Arguments Against NAFTA**

1. NAFTA is not a solution to all of Mexico's problems. By dropping barriers to trade and investment, it will draw only enough new capital to increase the nation's annual growth rate by 1%.
2. The rich will benefit but the poor will not, as Mexican salaries will not be brought up to United States levels. Immigrants from Central America will flood Mexico looking for newly created low-wage jobs.

## NAFTA Vote

### EXERCISE

In your role as a negotiator (for the United States, Mexico, or Canada), cast your vote on NAFTA. Sign your name and explain the reasons for your vote in the space provided. Tally your negotiating team's votes.

NAFTA VOTES	FOR	AGAINST	REASONS
United States Negotiator's Signature			
Canadian Negotiator's Signature			
Mexican Negotiator's Signature			

**TOTAL**



## Mexican Border Town Views NAFTA

**ON BORDER, MEXICANS ARE FEARFUL TOO**  
By Anthony DePalma

MATAMOROS, Mexico, Nov. 15 — Just two miles from “the other side,” in a dusty border slum called Hope, Maria Isabel Vázquez and Gilberto Lozano are trying to plan their future.

He works in an American-owned auto parts factory here, making dashboards for Cadillacs he never sees because they aren’t sold in Mexico. Every Monday and Friday she goes to a hiring hall to see if one of the 76 assembly plants in Matamoros has accepted her application for work. Together, they make about \$5,000 a year.

Their dreams remain simple: to marry, to have children and to stay close to their families, possibly as close as a house in Colonia Esperanza, which in Spanish means Neighborhood of Hope.

### THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION

As a key vote on a free trade agreement with the United States and Canada has drawn near, attention has been focused on the way Mexicans live. In his debate with Vice President Al Gore last week, Ross Perot explained his opposition to the pact in part by challenging the Administration’s assumptions that Mexicans will buy more goods from the United States if tariffs are removed.

“People who don’t make any money can’t buy anything,” he said. But as Miss Vázquez pointed out, they do have some money, and they already spend some of it on American products.

“Like everybody else, we’d like to have something more,” Miss Vázquez, 22, said. “But I don’t think that we’re living in poverty. We have food every day, we have the clothes we need, we have lights and

water. We may not have everything, but I think we live well.”

People here, one of the most American of Mexican cities just across the Rio Grande from Brownsville, Tex., have already seen one economic invasion from “the other side,” as they call the United States. In the early 1970’s American manufacturers started building big plants called maquiladoras along the border because new laws allowed them to assemble parts here and ship them back to the United States without paying taxes.

### FACTORIES EMPLOY 36,000

Now more than 36,000 people in Matamoros work in those factories, and whole communities, like Esperanza, have sprung up along a network of rutted streets that surround the industrial parks. They have come from Veracruz and Monterrey and many other parts of Mexico, lured by work.

What they found were jobs like Mr. Lozano’s, which even after nine years working at the same plant pays around \$100 a week. Esperanza is a place where pigs roam filthy streets, houses rarely have glass windows and an ammonia smell from two nearby chemical factories sours the air.

Mr. Perot and others who oppose the agreement say the factories here dump toxic wastes that poison the water and cause birth defects. They say low wages in Mexico will cost Americans jobs because factories will relocate here. But fear clearly crosses the border. Mr. Lozano said the rumor around his factory and others here is that if the pact is passed, on Jan. 1—the day it is supposed to take effect—salaries at the plant will be cut almost in half and people will have to work a sixth day a week.”...

*The New York Times*, Nov. 16, 1993. Permission pending.

### THE FUTURE IS WORRISOME

... As elsewhere in Mexico, Sunday is a day of family and friends in Hope. After Mass, Miss Vázquez went to her grandmother's tiny house, with just a hint of paint on its often-patched walls. Soon it was filled with people, including her cousin, Cristián Dávid Barajas, who five months ago came from Veracruz, about 700 miles away on the Gulf Coast, to look for work.

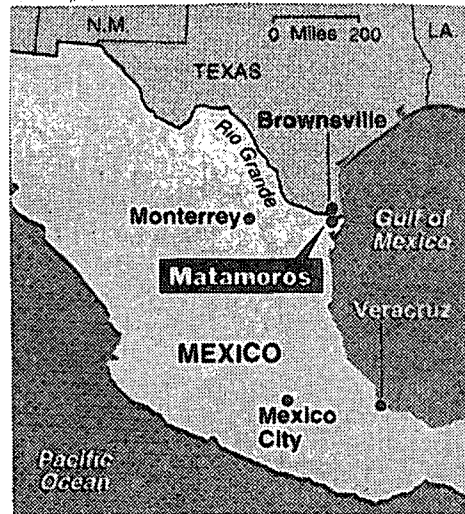
Last week he finally found a job in a plastics factory called Nova/Link making toy cars and dolls. He earns \$7.80 a day working from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. Saturdays are obligatory and nobody gets paid overtime.

### WHERE IT'S WORSE

"It's hard here but it's worse, much worse, in Veracruz," said Mr. Barajas, also 22. He can survive for now because he lives with his grandmother, saving even the \$65 a month he might expect to pay in rent here.

While most of the debate on the trade pact has taken place in the United States, Mexicans too are uncertain about what it means. A family friend who had stopped by said he thought a pact would make Mexico, and especially the industrialized northern border region, a beacon for people looking for work, a prospect that makes him worry for his own job.

"People from all over Central America will be coming here," Ramón López Muñoz, 31, said. "And you watch. Because there is so much unemployment in the United States, things are going to turn around and it's the Americans who will become wetbacks trying to come here."



Inside the homely cottage at 46 Gómez Palacio, mention of the United States is enough to fire up a debate on culture and values. None of the participants has ever lived on "the other side" or intends to, even though they could walk there and sometimes do, to go shopping.

"Sure, we go to buy Levis, or to look at what clothes they have, but to live? No," Miss Vázquez said. "I don't like it there. The style of life is so closed. People have their air-conditioning and their cars. There's never anybody on the street."

"Besides, if something happened to me here, I know I could go to my mother's house, or my friends'. On the other side, if something happens you're all alone."...

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**

**EXERCISE**

Pretend that you are a resident of the Mexican border town of Matamoros and write a "Letter to the Editor" of a newspaper in the United States expressing your feelings about the North American Free Trade Agreement

**LETTER TO THE EDITOR**

Matamoros, Mexico

Dear U.S. Editor:

I would like to share with citizens of the United States how Mexicans living along the border feel about the North American Free Trade Agreement. We feel that NAFTA

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Mexicans feel this way about the new agreement for the following reasons:

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Sincerely,

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## NAFTA's Impact on New York Region

### BUSINESSES SAY MOST JOBS NOW EXIST IN INDUSTRIES TRADE ACCORD WILL HELP

By Thomas J. Lueck

Though labor unions and many small manufacturers are braced for the worst, economists and business people generally predict that New York, New Jersey and Connecticut will benefit far more from the North American Free Trade Agreement than the region will be hurt by losing jobs to low-wage Mexican workers.

Seldom has a region of America undergone a more profound economic transformation than these three states. Over a generation or so, they have moved from an economy fueled by factory production to one dominated by banking and finance, law and accounting, publishing and entertainment, telecommunications and advanced research in fields like pharmaceuticals and biotechnology.

These are the cornerstones of what economists call the information economy, as vital today as were the steel mills, railroad yards and garment lofts of yesteryear.

In the last five years, according to Federal data, the region has lost one million jobs, with the deepest cuts coming in the manufacturing industries that will remain most vulnerable to foreign competition. Those losses followed 25 years of decline.

In New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, where 12.6 million people work, the shrunken assortment of manufacturers that still survive now employ fewer than 1.8 million workers.

#### Poor Industries to Get Poorer

By contrast, the industries that can expect a boost from the trade agreement, including banks, insurance companies and other service companies, employ more than 4.8 million people.

The accord is expected to worsen the problems of many communities already staggered by lost factory jobs and pockmarked with abandoned plants. Few will toast the pact in the once-vibrant brass and textile towns of central Connecticut, in the old steel and machinery-producing cities of western New York, or in the New Jersey cities of Edison, Trenton and Linden, where Detroit's auto assembly operations long paid the rent.

"As an American, I am in favor of NAFTA, but as a businessman, I know it's going to hurt," said Justin Israel, the owner of Knitwaves Inc. His Manhattan clothing company has manufactured in Brooklyn for 43 years and never made a stitch abroad.

Mr. Israel said that he was certain that some New York competitors would set up production in Mexico, and that the region's garment makers would experience even more severe competition. "You don't need to employ brain surgeons to make apparel," he said.

#### Auto Losses Inevitable

In basic manufacturing, auto executives say, production will move to Mexico, as it has before. For the region's auto makers, textile workers, metal fabricators, foundry workers and other production ranks, job losses are

inescapable — as they would be even without the agreement, industry executives say.

The Linden General Motors plant has cut its work force in half, to 2,500 from 5,500, since 1985. But it has survived while the major auto companies are abandoning North Tarrytown, Syracuse and Trenton and have already shifted large-scale production to Mexico and other countries.

According to job data, these days the region's two largest manufacturing industries are publishing, which stands to benefit from the trade agreement, and chemicals, based largely in New Jersey. Publishers employ 220,000 people in the region, and chemical companies, 189,000.

Executives in chemicals say they expect few jobs losses, largely because the cost of moving the plants would far exceed savings from lower wages.

"It costs \$80 million to build a catalytic converter, and if you've got one in New Jersey you are not going to build a new plant in Mexico," said Hal Bozarth, executive director of the Chemical Industry Council of New Jersey, a trade group.

But in textiles, "the people most at risk in this industry are predominantly women, blacks, and Hispanics," said Herman Starobin, research director for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York City, where 80,000 workers make clothing. "These are people who need the jobs most."

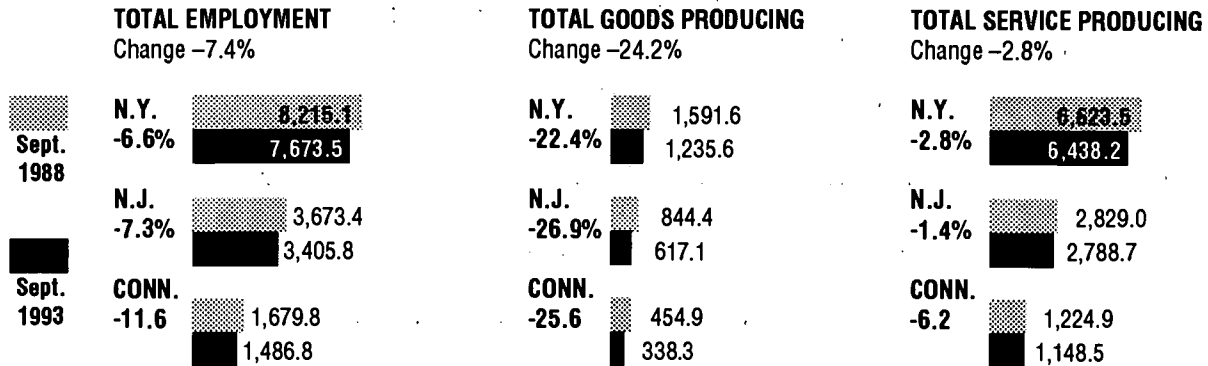
But high technology is a different story.

*The New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1993, p. A22. Copyright © 1993 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

WORKSHEET 14F, NAFTA'S IMPACT ON NEW YORK REGION (CONTINUED)

**In the New York Region: A Changing Job Market**

In Thousands



As president of Locknetics Inc., a company in Bristol, Conn., that makes the card-activated locks for computerized building security systems, James J. Scott said competition from companies paying low wages in Mexico would be nothing new.

**"Control We Have Here"**

"We already have competitors in Taiwan," he said, adding that his company had just built a new plant in Bristol and had no plans to move. "The advantage we have here is the control we have here and the quality we produce."

Like most high-technology manufacturing in the region, Mr. Scott says the agreement will benefit his company: by stimulating the Mexican economy, it will increase demand for his products in Mexico's airports, universities, factories and office buildings.

Another benefit for high-technology concerns like I.B.M., based in Armonk, and more than a dozen major pharmaceutical companies will be the requirements that the Mexican government protect patents and intellectual property.

Because it often takes more than 10 years to bring a drug to market, "protecting intellectual property is critical to us," said Kevin Cogan, a spokesman for Merck & Company, the nation's largest drug maker. If the agreement expands markets for its products in Mexico, he added, the company, based in Rahway, N.J., may well increase its investment and jobs in the state.

**Securities Firms Interested**

Marc E. Lackritz, president of the Securities Industry Association said there would be other benefits, adding, "It will be terrific for New York employment, because so much of it is based in and around finance."

The only American bank that now has a wholly owned Mexican subsidiary is Citibank, with five branches in Mexico that it opened in 1929, before foreign ownership was restricted.

Now, Citibank plans to open more. "And the overall growth in Mexican prosperity will help us more," said Jack Morris, a Citibank spokesman. The bank plans to expand its credit card business with Mexican customers, leading to an expansion of its United States credit processing operations.

**Closer to Clients**

A vast assortment of professional service firms, from management consulting and public relations to law and marketing, are poised to seek new business in Mexico.

Many law firms also have long experience with foreign clients and hope to lure more in Mexico. While they are likely to attract clients who need assistance in international business law, they will also seek lucrative new business in the enforcement of Mexican environment laws and in the revised intellectual property rights the pact calls for.

Besides creating a larger market in Mexico, the trade accord will also provide critical copyright protection and help reduce recurrent piracy, including mass duplication of books and magazines and brisk sales of re-recorded records and home videos.

"This is one of those industries that is not moving out of the New York area," said Donald D. Kummerfeld, president of the Magazine Publishers of America, representing 220 publishers, most of them in this region. "NAFTA is not a big thing for us, but it is a plus," he added.

WORKSHEET 14F, NAFTA'S IMPACT ON NEW YORK REGION (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

In November of 1993, the United States Congress took its final vote on the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In the role of a Congressional representative from New York, cast your vote and explain.

I would vote \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ against NAFTA.

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# **Unit Twelve: Citizenship in Today's World**

# Learning Activity 1

*How has the role of the federal government in American society changed since the beginning of the 1930s?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

The people of the United States have long debated the proper role of the federal (national) government. After the Revolutionary War the Articles of Confederation assigned most governmental authority to the states and provided for a limited national government. The new Constitution that went into effect in 1787 provided for a much more powerful central government. However, to insure that it would not become too powerful, power was divided between the national government and the states. In addition, a Bill of Rights was put into effect, limiting the power of the national government over individuals. Yet despite all of these provisions, the proper role of the national government is still an issue today.

Under President Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal policies, the national government greatly expanded its authority and responsibility for addressing the problems of the nation. After the Depression, Roosevelt's policies and his concept of an active federal government were expanded by Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon. Opponents of their policies charged that they were creating a huge and inefficient federal bureaucracy that was very expensive to operate and did not serve the nation well.

More recently, Presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton have called for a reevaluation of the concept of an active federal government. During their administrations they have tried to limit federal authority and shift some responsibilities to the states, to localities, and to the private profit-making sector. Opponents of their policies accuse them of abandoning the nation's

commitment to meet the needs of all its people and of allowing private interests to prosper while the nation as a whole declines.

As an introduction to this learning activity, it will be beneficial to review the Constitution and the concepts of federalism and the division of powers. Materials dealing with these topics may be found in *Grade 7 United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective Volume II* Unit Four, a publication of the Board of Education of the City of New York.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- The United States Constitution states the purpose, functions, and limitations of the federal government.
- The United States Constitution has endured, with relatively few modifications, because of built-in procedures to accommodate CHANGES in American society.
- The actions taken as part of the New Deal represented a significant CHANGE in the role played by the federal government in American society.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Political System
- Power

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Give examples of the expanding role played by the federal government in American life since the 1930s.
- Explain why the extent of the federal government's power over the lives of Americans has been a recurring issue since the inception of the New Deal.



- Compare and contrast the views of presidents beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt on the proper role of the federal government in American society.
- Express their own views on the proper role of the federal government in American life.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 1A, “Survey on Role of the Fed.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet. Ask students by a show of hands their opinions regarding the issues on the worksheet. Then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - How can you explain why people in the United States have such strong feelings about these issues?
  - If you were the governor of a state, how would your job affect your opinions on these issues? What arguments might you make to support the position that the state government should play a greater role in the lives of Americans than the federal government?
  - Can you give any specific examples to show that these issues are being discussed today?
  - Which of the positions on this worksheet are you most strongly in favor of?
  - Which of the positions on this worksheet are you most strongly against?
- Distribute Worksheet 1B, “The Federal Government’s Expanding Role.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from this worksheet?
  - What does the quotation by Jefferson mean?
  - What evidence can we find on this worksheet that presidents since the Great Depression would not have agreed with Jefferson?
  - Examine the list of programs begun by the federal government since 1932. Which problems were they intended to solve?
- How did the Great Depression result in the government taking a greater role in American life? What else in our history might explain the government expanding its role in American life?
- Why might some people argue that the programs described on this worksheet have taken away some of our freedoms? What are other arguments against these programs?
- In which areas of our lives has the government played the greatest role?
- In which areas do you think government interference is most justified?
- In which areas do you think government interference is least justified?
- To what degree do you think it is the state rather than the national government that should have the power to set minimum wages, determine who can vote in an election, and decide whether or not schools should be segregated by race?
- Has federal government interference since Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidency had an overall good or bad effect on life in the United States?
- How would the United States today be different if the federal government did not become so involved in peoples’ lives?
- Distribute Worksheet 1C, “Interview with President Reagan.” Select students to play the following roles: Teacher, President Reagan, Student 1, Student 2, Student 3, Student 4, and Student 5. Have students act out the play in front of the class. Then divide students into groups of four. Have two students work together to write an article describing President Reagan’s views about government under the headline at the top of the page. Ask the other two group members to write their opinions of Reagan’s views in the section labeled “Editorial.” Then in the class discussion ask students to

explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do we learn from the play about President Reagan's views about the increasing power of the federal government?
  - How would you compare Reagan's views with those of the presidents who came before him?
  - Why does Reagan feel that the federal government's increased role in American life has been bad for the people? Which groups of Americans would agree with this view?
  - Which groups of Americans would disagree with Reagan? What arguments would they use to support their point of view?
  - To what extent do you agree with Reagan's views about the role of the federal government?
- Distribute Worksheet 1D, "Reagan Programs." After students complete this survey in class, have them get the views of at least 10 adults, from diverse groups, as described on the worksheet. Have students use the information gained from the survey of adults to explain their answers to the following questions, and then role-play a debate between supporters and opponents of Reagan's programs.
    - What do we learn about Reagan's programs from this worksheet?
    - How did these programs act to reduce the power and size of the federal government?
    - Which groups in your survey were most opposed to Reagan's programs?
    - Which groups were most in favor of Reagan's programs?
- Would you have been a Reagan supporter or opponent?
- Distribute Worksheet 1E, "Save Our Cities! Save Our Children." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What is the poster about?
    - According to this poster what conditions exist in cities that require help from the federal government?
    - What demands are made of the federal government in this poster? How justified are these demands?
    - What arguments are made in this poster supporting the view that it is the job of the federal government to "save the cities?" Do you agree?
    - If you worked in the federal government, would you support the demands of these protesters?
- Distribute Worksheet 1F, "Why We Marched." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet. Have them explain their answers to the following questions and then role-play a discussion between a marcher and one who believes that it is not the job of the federal government to support ailing cities.
    - What do we learn from reading this worksheet?
    - What are some of the reasons why people from large cities marched on Washington, D. C.?
    - Which reasons do you find most convincing?
    - If such a march were being held in the near future, how likely is it that you would participate?

## Survey on Role of the Fed

Since the Constitution was written in 1787, people in the United States have debated the question, "To what extent should the federal government play a role in the lives of the American people?" Among the issues that have come up again and again are those listed below. Place an "X" in the box that best expresses your opinion. Write at least one reason to support your opinion in the space provided.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD...	YES	NO	REASONS
1. raise taxes to pay for education, welfare, and job programs to help the poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
2. provide health care (doctors, hospitals, prescription drugs) for all Americans, so that all doctors would work for the government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3. guarantee a job to each person who wishes to work, even if it means the government will create jobs and raise taxes to pay for them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4. pass laws to prevent any business from becoming too big or earning too much money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
5. pass laws to make sure that qualified job applicants who are members of groups that have been discriminated against in the past be given jobs before qualified applicants who are members of groups that have not been discriminated against	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
6. make laws that apply in all the states saying under what conditions women may have an abortion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
7. be able to tell states who may vote in state elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
8. be able to overrule state laws by telling schools in each state what should be taught	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

# The Federal Government's Expanding Role

## The Journal

### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S EXPANDING ROLE: 1932-1980

Thomas Jefferson said, "The government which governs best, governs least." However beginning with the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 and continuing until Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, the power of the federal government and its involvement in the lives of Americans increased a great deal.

The story of the federal government's expanding role in American life since the New Deal appears below. Some people have asked the question, "Has the government gone too far in getting involved in people's lives?"

Place an "X" next to any program appearing below that you feel shows that the government has gone too far.

YEARS <i>President at the time/ Name of program</i>	ACTION TAKEN <b>BY THE GOVERNMENT</b>
<b>1933-1945</b> Franklin D. Roosevelt/ New Deal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Civilian Conservation Corps—Creates government jobs (planting trees, building roads, etc.) for 18-25-year-olds.</li> <li>• The National Industrial Recovery Act—Gives government the power to control wages, prices, and working hours.</li> <li>• Social Security Act—All workers and employers are required to pay a tax to be used for unemployment insurance and for old age survivors</li> </ul>
<b>1945-1953</b> Harry S. Truman/ Fair Deal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raises minimum wage that employers have to pay workers</li> <li>• Government builds housing for people with low incomes</li> </ul>
<b>1953-1961</b> Dwight D. Eisenhower	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orders army to desegregate schools in Little Rock, Ark., when local officials refuse to allow black students into classes</li> </ul>
<b>1961-1963</b> John F. Kennedy/ New Frontier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sends money to economically poor areas</li> <li>• Provides student loans for teaching and medicine</li> </ul>
<b>1963-1969</b> Lyndon B. Johnson/ Great Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil rights laws—Prohibit discrimination in voting, employment, hotels, and on public transportation</li> <li>• Medicare—Provides medical care for the aged</li> <li>• Economic Opportunity Act—Provides funds for poor people</li> <li>• Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Provides money for special school programs</li> </ul>
<b>1969-1974</b> Richard M. Nixon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Voting Rights Act—Sets voting age of 18 in all elections</li> <li>• Air pollution—Forces auto manufacturers to produce cars with minimum pollution</li> </ul>
<b>1977-1981</b> Jimmy Carter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loan guarantees—Helps give loans to a nearly bankrupt Chrysler Automobile Corp.</li> <li>• Raises taxes on cars that use large amounts of gasoline</li> </ul>

## Interview with President Reagan

Ronald Reagan, elected president in 1980, promised a revolution that would reduce the role of the federal government in American life. If your class had a chance to question President Reagan about his views, the event might appear just as in the script below:

ROLES		
T =	Teacher	S1 = Student 1
PR =	President Reagan	S2 = Student 2
		S3 = Student 3
		S4 = Student 4
		S5 = Student 5

- T:** Welcome Mr. President! Thank you for visiting us today.
- PR:** Thank you for having me. It's a pleasure to be here.
- S1:** You promised the country a revolution. What did you mean by that?
- PR:** As you know a revolution is an important change in the ways things are done. I believe that an important change had to take place in the role government was playing in our everyday lives.
- S2:** What kinds of changes were you talking about, sir?
- PR:** Most of the presidents who came before me, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, believed that government was the *solution* to our problems. I told Americans that government *was* the problem. For example, Lyndon Johnson believed that our schools could be better. Rather than turning to the schools to find a solution, he raised our taxes and used the money to open more federal offices to study the problems of schools. Now we have to pay higher taxes to pay the salaries of the people who work in those offices and the programs they began.
- S3:** I still don't think I'm following you.
- PR:** Since the Depression some people have been saying when people are out of work it's the government that is supposed to create jobs or to provide those out of work with money. Some even say that the government should force employers to pay a higher minimum wage. This is unfair to the employers, who should only pay wages they can afford. It's also unfair to workers, who will not get hired if employers cannot afford to pay the minimum wage.
- S4:** We've learned in social studies that since the Depression the federal government has taken over many of the jobs that state governments used to control, like overseeing voting rules and education. How would your ideas affect the powers shared between the states and federal government?
- PR:** It is my intention to limit the size and power of the federal government. This would also mean that the federal government would have to allow the state governments to use their powers the way the Constitution said. And yes, the Constitution said the power over elections and education belongs to the states.
- S5:** If you could sum up your goals as president, what would they be?
- PR:** Our present troubles can best be explained by the federal government's increasing involvement in our lives through higher taxes and through rules that tell us who we must hire, how much money businesses can make, where we have to go to school, and even rules saying that religion has no place in our schools. I will have succeeded if I can get government off our backs and out of our lives.



## **Reagan Programs**

Below you will find a description of some of the major programs President Reagan supported in an effort to reduce the power of the federal government. After considering each of the programs, place an "X" in the appropriate box to indicate your opinion about each of the programs President Reagan favored. As an out-of-school assignment, ask at least 10 adults their opinions of these programs. Try to get a wide sample of people from diverse ethnic, cultural, language, age, and economic groups.

<b>PROGRAM</b>	<b>YOUR OPINION</b>		
	<b>FOR</b>	<b>AGAINST</b>	<b>NOT SURE</b>
1. Cut taxes 25% on businesses and individuals, thus reducing federal money available to spend on education and anti-poverty programs. Reagan says these actions will encourage consumers to spend money and business people to hire workers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Cut spending on education programs, food stamps, welfare, Medicare, Medicaid, school lunch, and other services for lower income Americans. Reagan says these programs should be paid for by the states.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Eliminate many government rules that control the way people in the trucking, banking, and airline industries do business. These rules were passed to prevent big businesses from taking advantage of the public and other businesses. Reagan says these rules prevent businesses from growing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. End programs that give people of color special preference for jobs. Reagan says these programs represent reverse discrimination.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Cut programs to clean up the environment. Reagan says these programs are bad for business.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Save Our Cities! Save Our Children

In the 1990s poor economic conditions and the cutback in funds from the federal government begun during the Reagan administration were aggravating the problems of the inner cities. In May 1992, people from many cities marched on Washington demanding that the federal government take action. The poster below was distributed at the march.

### SAVE OUR CITIES! SAVE OUR CHILDREN

**March on Washington, Saturday, May 16, 1992**

*American cities face a difficult future. These vital centers of culture and business, which are homes to millions, have been virtually abandoned by the federal government. Over the past decade, the quality of life in our cities has declined as our tax dollars have been shifted from needed domestic programs to military spending.*

#### Cities Are in Crisis

- Nearly two-thirds of U.S. cities are facing major financial crises due to cuts in federal funds. The cuts have caused the loss of jobs, the ending of critical programs, and drastic reductions in services.
- Cities have less money to deal with increasing demands for housing, health care, education, job training, and other critical public services.
- Cities lack the funds to repair bridges and roads, clean up toxic wastes, and provide public transportation.

#### Children Suffer Most

- Homeless families with children are the fastest growing segment of the homeless population.
- The unemployment rate among urban youth is a crushing 55%.
- One in five children lives in poverty.
- Random violence assaults our urban children; drug abuse, AIDS, and physical abuse have reached epidemic proportions.

We must have new national priorities. The Cold War is over and superpower "enemies" are no longer an excuse to spend billions of dollars on weapons while we sacrifice our cities. The greatest threat to our national security is the collapse of our cities, the despair of our people, and the indifference of our elected leaders.

The cities cannot solve our national problems alone. The Congress and the President must commit themselves to our cities and use our tax resources to reverse the downward slide.

It is time for people from every social, ethnic, racial, economic and religious background to join together with the mayors of our cities and demand that the federal government take direct action to "Save Our Cities! Save Our Children."

#### **WE DEMAND THE FOLLOWING**

- 1.** Massive and immediate federal spending on our cities to provide care for children and to start rebuilding our urban infrastructure. Cities must be at the top of the national agenda.
- 2.** Reduce military spending and transfer the money to domestic programs.
- 3.** Restore a fair tax system that makes corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share.
- 4.** Guarantee economic justice, full employment and job security for all Americans.

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## Why We Marched

### Why We Marched in Washington

Banners read "Bail Out Neighborhoods, Not Banks," "Health Care For People, Not Profits," and "Money For Jobs, Not War." On Saturday, May 16, tens of thousands of Americans marched and chanted on Washington D.C.'s Constitution Avenue, demanding massive federal aid for our country's urban areas. The rally had been planned for almost a year, and it received urgent support after the riots in Los Angeles in April. Many people blame what happened in L.A. and the problems facing other American cities on ten years of cuts in federal aid programs to the cities during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

One hundred and forty-four people went to the Save Our Cities! Save Our Children demonstration in Washington on buses organized by the United Community Centers in East New York, Brooklyn. After reading below the reasons why these people marched, circle the reason you find most convincing.

**CLOTHIE PROTHO** is a parent at the MLE Learning Center. She told *The Link*, "I went to Washington for the kids. I have two young children. They are the future generation. I hope we made an impact in Washington. It was a peaceful march and the speeches were strong. Reverend Jesse Jackson was superb. I know we left a message."

**MARITZA SPANN** is 69 years old and a member of the Louis Pink Senior Center. She told *The Link*, "I want rights for children. We need jobs, education and medical care. Nothing should be cut. All people should have the same legal rights."

**LA REINA JORDAN** is a teacher at the MLE Learning Center and she lives in Starrett City. La Reina went to Washington because "I want to let our government know what is going on in our cities. I want to help change things. I am going to be an elementary school teacher. Our children need better education."

**MARY ARTIS** is a member of the East New York "Shield the Children" Committee. She traveled to Washington with her teenage son Don, who is a student at Thomas Edison High School. Mary told *The Link*, "We are fighting for the children in our community. I want to be part of bringing change."

**ROBIN AULT** is a parent at the MLE Learning Center. She went to Washington with her seven year old daughter Gayner, who attends P.S. 213. Robin said, "We came because people have to help make this a better country and we need help from the government."

**GLORIA RICHARDS** is a parent at the MLE Learning Center. She went to Washington with her husband and children. She said, "I want my kids to get better education. I mainly came for the kids, so they can have a better world."

**TERRY VILLAS** went to Washington with her sister. She told *The Link*, "I want to lend my support. It is a good cause. When the government thinks about legislation it must think about real things and real people."

**MAY HARRISON**, a teacher at the MLE Learning Center, was a bus captain on the trip to Washington. May feels that "Our cities have been neglected for a long time. We stood up to show that we are an important part of the country."

**JODDY LANTIGUA** is a member of the UCC AIDS Education Team. She said, "I'd never been to Washington before. I wanted to see what it was like. I was born in the Dominican Republic, but I am a citizen now. I want to participate in our country's decisions."

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# Learning Activity 2

*Have the actions taken by strong presidents since World War II upset the constitutional system of checks and balances?*

## THEME

Struggle for Equality

## BACKGROUND

The period since the beginning of the Atomic Age has been marked by a growth in technology unknown to humankind before. The resulting requirements of nuclear age diplomacy have contributed to the emergence of the presidency as the preeminent branch in national government. In fact, some people have accused various presidents of assuming almost dictatorial powers.

The Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal led to attempts on the part of Congress and the Supreme Court to curb the growth of the executive branch. The resulting assertiveness on the part of Congress and the Supreme Court has been criticized for producing legislative "gridlock" and "judicial activism."

As an introduction to this learning activity, it will be beneficial to review the concepts of checks and balances and separation of powers. Materials dealing with these topics may be found in *Grade 7 United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective*, Volume II, Unit Four.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- The United States Constitution has evolved over time to meet the needs of its people.
- The government established by the United States Constitution combines strength and limitations and provides for an upward flow of POWER, originating with the citizenry.
- The United States Constitution states the purpose, functions, and limitations of the federal government.
- Since World War II the executive has emerged as the branch of government with the greatest POWER, threatening to upset the constitutional system of checks and balances.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Political System
- Power

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain the constitutional system of checks and balances.
- Describe examples illustrating—and state causes for—the emergence of the presidency as the most powerful branch of the central government.
- Discuss attempts to limit the power of the presidency (e.g., War Powers Act, Congressional and Supreme Court action in response to Watergate).
- Evaluate whether a preeminent executive branch serves the best interests of the country.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 2A, "Presidential War Powers". After students have completed the activities on the worksheet, have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about the president's war making powers from the worksheets?
  - How do the president's war making powers compare to that of the Congress?
  - How can you explain why the framers of the Constitution divided the war making powers between Congress and the president?
  - Do you think these powers gave the president too little, just enough, or too much power?

- Considering that the Constitution was written at a time before the development of nuclear weapons, should we change these sections of the Constitution? If you could, how would you change them?
- Distribute Worksheet 2B, “Presidential War Powers: Case Study of the Vietnam War (Gulf of Tonkin Resolution).” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What was the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution about?
  - What powers did the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution give the president?
  - How did the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution change the Congress’s power to declare war?
  - Why do you think the president didn’t ask Congress to declare war on Vietnam? Should he have asked for a declaration of war?
  - If you were a member of Congress, would you have voted for the resolution?
  - Considering the fact that the resolution took away Congress’s war making powers, how can you explain why only two senators voted against it?
  - In passing the resolution, do you think Congress gave the president too much power?
- Distribute Worksheet 2C, “Vietnam War Views: People of Color.” Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from reading this worksheet?
  - What do we learn about the role people of color played in the Vietnam War?
  - How does this worksheet explain why people of color played a major part in the Vietnam War?
  - Do you think it was fair that people attending college didn’t have to serve in Vietnam?
- How could you use information like that presented on this worksheet to convince Congress that it was a mistake to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution?
- Distribute Worksheet 2D, “War Powers Act (1973).” Divide students into groups of three to complete the writing exercise on this worksheet. Then as part of the class discussion, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does the War Powers Act say?
  - How does the War Powers Act limit the president’s powers during war time?
  - How can you explain why president Nixon attempted to veto this bill? If you supported Nixon views, what arguments could you make explaining the veto?
  - If you were a member of Congress in 1973, would you have voted for the War Powers Act? Would you have suggested any changes in the bill that was passed?
- Distribute Worksheet 2E, “Nixon Explains His Veto.” Divide students into groups of four. Have each group analyze and rate one of Nixon’s four arguments against the War Powers Act. As part of the class discussion, have each group explain their rating, then have the class explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about Nixon’s reasons for vetoing the War Powers Act from reading this worksheet?
  - Why does Nixon believe that this act would take away from the president the powers given by the Constitution?
  - Which of the arguments raised by Nixon do you believe is the strongest?
  - Which of these arguments do you believe is the weakest?
  - Based on Nixon’s arguments, if you were a member of Congress would you vote for or against the War Powers Act? Explain your vote.
  - In passing the War Powers Act do you feel Congress took away some of the war making powers that the Constitution had given the president, or did the War Powers Act give back to Congress the

powers it was supposed to have? (In answering this question, students might have to refer back to worksheet 2A.)

- Distribute Worksheet 2F, "Watergate Diary." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about the Watergate scandal from this diary?
  - What evidence do we have from this diary indicating that President Nixon was involved in the Watergate scandal?
  - Why do you think many people use Watergate as an example to show that presidents including Richard Nixon were assuming too much power?
  - Why do you think that the finding of the secret tapes proved so important in leading to the end of Richard Nixon's presidency?
  - Do you think the president should have an "executive privilege," that is the right to keep certain information from Congress and the public? What kinds of information should the president be allowed to keep private?
  - Role-play a conversation between President Nixon and his advisers, discussing whether he should resign or fight the charges of impeachment in the Senate. If you were President Nixon would you have resigned?
- Distribute Worksheet 2G, "Watergate Tapes." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from this reenactment of a scene?
  - Based on this, what do we learn about Nixon as a president?
  - What's your reaction to this scene?
  - To what degree does this scene indicate that the president was misusing his powers?
  - How can you explain why the president felt it was so important to get even with his enemies? To what extent do you think all presidents have to act the way Nixon did to survive as politicians?
- If you were an adviser to the president, how would you have suggested he deal with his political enemies?
- Distribute Worksheet 2H, "Class Impeachment." Divide students into groups of four. Assign each group the task of writing a different one of the three articles of impeachment. Have students refer to Worksheets 2F and 2G to write the articles of impeachment. Then have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - Describe the article of impeachment your group wrote.
  - How do the articles of impeachment prepared by the different groups compare to one another?
  - For which article of impeachment do you think the most evidence exists?
  - For which article of impeachment does the least evidence exist?
- Distribute Worksheet 2I, "Congress Impeachment." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from this worksheet?
  - How do the real articles of impeachment compare to those articles prepared by the class?
  - How can you explain why some people believed that the actions President Nixon had taken upset the system of checks and balances?
  - Which of the charges against the President seem the most serious?
  - Which seem the least serious?
  - If you were a member of Congress would you have voted in favor of impeachment? What would be the strongest arguments against voting for impeachment?

- Distribute Worksheet 2J, “Reactions to Watergate.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What does Barbara Jordan have to say about Watergate?
  - Why do you think sitting on the Judiciary Committee during the Watergate affair meant so much to Barbara Jordan as an African-American?
  - What does Nixon say about Watergate?
  - How would you compare the reactions of Jordan and Nixon to Watergate?
  - To what degree is Jordan right when she says Watergate threatened the Constitution?
  - To what degree is Nixon right when he says Watergate is just another example of how politics is played?
  - With whose view do you agree most?
- Distribute Worksheet 2K, “President and Congress Cartoon.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we see in this cartoon?
  - What is the cartoonist trying to say in this cartoon?
  - Some people would say the situation pictured in the cartoon is necessary considering the way the world is today. Explain this comment. Do you agree?
  - To what extent could this cartoon apply to Watergate?
  - Could this cartoon apply to our current national government?

## **Presidential War Powers**

Study the two statements below, taken from the Constitution. In the spaces provided rewrite them in your own words. Then complete the exercise on the next page.

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### *From the United States Constitution...*

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**Article 1, Section 8** - Congress shall have the power to declare war and raise and support the armed forces of the United States.

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**Article 2, Section 2** - The President shall be the Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States.

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WORKSHEET 2A, PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Based on the statements from the Constitution on the previous page, determine which of the events below justifies presidential action without Congressional approval. Then place an "X" in the box that expresses your opinion.

EVENT	CAN THE PRESIDENT TAKE ACTION WITHOUT ASKING CONGRESS?		
	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1. A U.S. ship is attacked by missiles from country X. The president wishes to launch a missile attack on one of country X's ships.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. American hostages are taken in another country. The president wishes to send armed forces to invade the country and free the hostages.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. A U.S. territory is bombed by country X's airplanes. Country X later declares war on the U.S. The president wishes to add to the troops of the armed forces by beginning a draft of all people between 18 and 25.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. During a war in which the U.S. is fighting country X, the president learns that country Y is supplying country X with weapons. The president wants U.S. troops to invade country Y.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Country X attacks country A, an ally of the United States. The U.S. has signed a treaty with country A saying that it would come to country A's defense if it was attacked. The president wishes to order airplanes to bomb country X.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Presidential War Powers: Case Study of the Vietnam War (Gulf of Tonkin Resolution)

In order to prevent non-communist South Vietnam from being taken over by communist North Vietnam, large numbers of American troops were sent to the south between 1961 and 1964. However, war in Vietnam did not begin until 1964, when a United States ship was attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin, off the coast of Vietnam (see map below). The United States claimed that North Vietnamese gunboats attacked the ship. The North Vietnamese denied responsibility for the attack. As a result of the attack President Lyndon Johnson went to Congress asking that it pass the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which appears below.

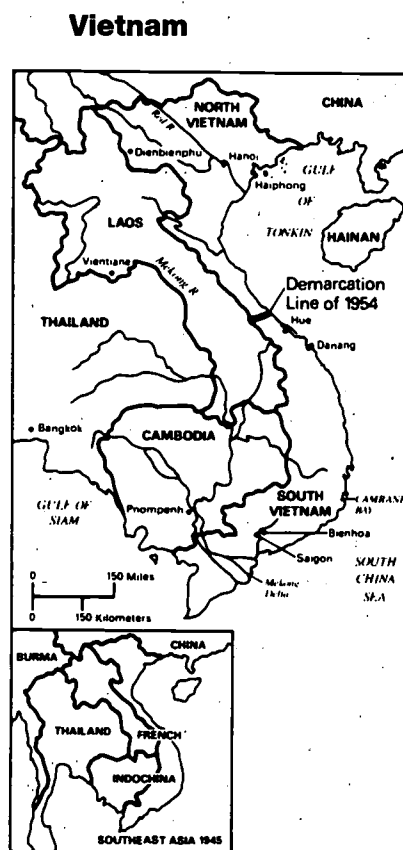
### THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

WHEREAS naval ships from the Communist government of North Vietnam have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States ships lawfully present in international waters; and

WHEREAS those attacks are part of a plan by North Vietnam to take over South Vietnam

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, That the Congress approves the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to prevent any armed attack against the forces of the United States.

This resolution shall be in effect until the President determines that peace and safety have returned to the area.



I would vote [  for  against  not sure ] this resolution.

Reasons: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



## Vietnam War Views: People of Color

Many groups of Americans voiced their opposition to the war, among them people of color. People of color, specifically Latinos and African-Americans, played a major role in fighting the Vietnam War. As a result these groups had especially high casualty rates. After hearing the views similar to the ones below, Congress began moving away from their support of the Tonkin Resolution.

<p>RALPH GUZMAN, PROFESSOR FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA at Santa Cruz testified before Congress to the following:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">“</p> <p>Mexican American military personnel have a higher death rate in Vietnam than all other servicemen. Analysis of casualty reports between January 1961 and February 1967 and between December 1967 and March 1969 support this conclusion.</p> <p>While young men from other groups have been able to avoid military service by attending college, college deferments for residents of the various <i>barrios</i> (Latino neighborhoods) have been low in number.</p> <p>The unfairness of what has happened should be obvious to everybody.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">”</p>	<p>AFRICAN-AMERICAN SPECIALIST 5, HAROLD BROWN, gave the following account about his experiences as a combat engineer in Vietnam:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">“</p> <p>I enlisted in the Army to avoid being drafted by the Marines. I went to college for a semester but the expenses got too much for my family.</p> <p>When I came to Vietnam, I thought we were helping (the South Vietnamese) to develop a nation. Some months later, I found out that wasn't the case...</p> <p>We would spend two days fighting for a hill and then we'd leave it. Two months later we would come back and try to retake the same hill ...</p> <p>We lied about the body counts. If we killed 7, by the time we got back to camp it got to be 28. By the time the general's office got it, it went up to 54. By the time it reached Washington it was up to 125...</p> <p>I saw my best friend blow up in front of me...</p> <p>I talked to chaplains and preachers about Vietnam. And no one can give me a good explanation of how we got there.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">”</p>
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## War Powers Act (1973)

The passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution enabled President Johnson to send 500,000 United States troops to Vietnam to wage war against the North. By the end of the 1960s American casualties began to mount as did protests to end the war. Richard Nixon was elected president in 1972, promising that he would end the war. In 1973 Congress, wishing to take back the powers it gave President Johnson in the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, passed the War Powers Act, which appears below.

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### A Bill

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- After beginning a military action the President, as Commander in Chief, is to notify the Congress and make a full report within 48 hours.
- The military action begun by the President must end within 60 days unless:
  - Congress declares war
  - Congress votes to extend the time period for the military action beyond 60 days
  - Congress decides not to vote on ending the military action because of an attack on the United States
- The President may extend the period of military action by an additional 30 days, without Congressional approval, if the President determines that force is needed to protect and remove American troops.

After this bill was passed by Congress, President Nixon decided to veto it. Assume your group works for President Nixon. In the space below write a veto message, explaining to the Congress and the American people the reason for your action.

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## Nixon Explains His Veto

President Nixon's message vetoing the War Powers Act appears below. Rate each of the arguments Nixon used in support of his veto, by placing one of the following symbols under the column labeled "RATING":

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| VS = Very strong argument | SA = Satisfactory argument |
| S = Strong argument       | P = Poor argument          |

“

I hereby return without my approval House Joint Resolution 142—the War Powers Resolution. The controls which this resolution would place on the President are both unconstitutional and dangerous to our nation.... House Resolution 142 would take away powers which the President has properly exercised since the Constitution was written.

”

ARGUMENT	RATING
1) "Think of what this resolution could mean. Assume that the U.S. has just entered into combat with another nation. Our opponent realizes that the president can only command his troops for 60 days, unless Congress agrees to let the troops fight longer. So, our opponent, rather than giving up sooner, or entering into peace talks, fights on."	
2) "This resolution could lead to greater fighting and more deaths than necessary. A president might be tempted to use more weapons and soldiers than required, realizing that he has only 60 days to try to accomplish as much as possible."	
3) "This measure would endanger our role as peace-keepers. Those nations who would threaten us or our friends would know that after 60 days the president's ability to use troops would be limited. Why should an enemy listen to a president whose war making powers last only 60 days."	
4) "I am especially upset at the fact that certain of the president's powers as Commander in Chief would end automatically after 60 days. No vote by Congress would be necessary to take away these powers. Rather these powers would automatically disappear unless Congress voted to extend them. The proper way to act on foreign policy questions would require Congress to participate in a full debate on the issue. Then after considering all the pros and cons, each member would have the responsibility of casting a yes or no vote."	

## Watergate Diary

Many people point to the so-called "Watergate scandal" as an example of the idea that modern presidents have become too powerful. If a person kept a diary about events related to the "Watergate" scandal it might appear like the one below:

**2:30 A.M., June 17, 1972.** This morning in Washington D.C., the police arrested five men breaking into the Democratic Party's national headquarters, located in the Watergate apartment complex. One of the men worked for President Nixon's re-election campaign. An address book carried by the burglars had the names of other people who worked for the Republican President. President Nixon says that no one in the White House was involved in this incident.

**July 1973.** A Senate committee began hearings in May about the break-in and has learned over the past months that many government officials were involved in covering up the White House's role in the break-in, including officials from the F.B.I. and C.I.A. It was also learned that Nixon had taped all conversations in his office. However, Nixon refused to give up the tapes to Congress, saying the President has an "executive privilege" to keep from the Congress information he considers private.

**March 1973.** At the trial of the men accused of breaking into the Watergate, one confessed that the break-in had been authorized by Nixon's Attorney General. Furthermore, the person confessing stated that the President had told the burglars "to keep quiet and take the punishment." It appears that White House officials have offered hush money to the burglars. Witnesses told how people who worked for the President tried to interfere with the F.B.I.'s investigation of the case. It has also come out in the trial that President Nixon's reelection committee (C.R.E.E.P.—Committee to Reelect the President) had been using some of the money it raised for "dirty tricks," like planting false stories in newspapers to make Democratic Party candidates look bad.

**April 1974.** Pressure to release the tapes has been building over the past months. President Nixon released the tapes; however, some of the tapes are missing and a key 18 1/2 minute portion of the tapes seems to have been erased.

**July 30, 1974.** Today the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives adopted three articles of impeachment against the President.

**April 1973.** Nixon appoints a special prosecutor to investigate the break-in.

**August 8, 1974.** The President has just announced, "I shall resign the presidency effective at noon tomorrow."

I. Wallace and D. Wallichinsky (*The People's Almanac*, New York: Doubleday, 1978).

## Watergate Tapes

In the conversation (taken from the Watergate tapes) that appears below, President Nixon is congratulating John Dean, one of his top aides, for the way he was handling the Watergate situation. As the discussion starts Nixon is concerned about how to deal with one of his political enemies.

- President: I think we are going to fix the [son-of-a-gun]. Believe me. We are going to. We've got to, because he's a bad man.
- Dean: Absolutely. . . one of the things I've tried to do, is just keep notes on a lot of the people who are emerging as,
- President: That's right.
- Dean: as less than our friends.
- President: Great.
- Dean: Because this is going to be over some day and they're—We shouldn't forget the way some of them have treated us.
- President: I want the most, I want the most comprehensive notes on all of those that have tried to do us in. Because they didn't have to do it.
- Dean: That's right.
- President: They didn't have to do it. I mean, if the thing had been a clo—uh, they had a very close election, everybody on the other side would understand this game. But now they are doing this quite deliberately and they are asking for it and they are going to get it. And this, this—We, we have not used the power in this first four years, as you know.
- Dean: That's right.
- President: We have never used it. We haven't used the Bureau [FBI] and we haven't used the Justice Department, but things are going to change now. And they're going to change, and, and they're going to get it right—
- Dean: That's an exciting prospect.
- President: It's got to be done. It's the only thing to do.
- Haldeman: We've got to.

Transcripts of Eight Recorded Presidential Conversations: Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 93rd Cong. 2nd Sess., 1974.

## ***Class Impeachment***

According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives determines if there is enough evidence to consider the impeachment of (issuing formal charges against) a president. Then it is up to the Senate acting as a jury to decide whether conviction and removal from office is necessary. As a result of the Watergate scandal, the House of Representatives began to consider Articles of Impeachment against President Nixon. After referring to Worksheets 2F and 2G, indicate as many specific pieces of evidence that you can find to support the charges below.

RESOLVED, That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the following actions shall be presented as evidence to the Senate:

**Article 1.**

The President has obstructed (prevented) justice by:

- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Article 2.**

The President has abused (made bad use of) his powers by:

- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Article 3.**

The President is guilty of contempt (showing great disrespect) to Congress by:

- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## ***Congress Impeachment***

A summary of the actual articles of impeachment appears below.

---

### ***Articles of Impeachment Against Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States***

---

#### **Article 1.**

The President has obstructed (prevented) justice by:

- covering up the Watergate break-in
- interfering with the F.B.I.
- withholding evidence
- encouraging perjury (lying to a court or the Congress)
- using the C.I.A. to cover up illegal activities
- using confidential F.B.I. information to help his aides from being prosecuted
- misleading the American people

#### **Article 2.**

The President has abused (made bad use of) his powers by:

- misusing federal agencies
- having people illegally wiretap those whose views he did not agree with

#### **Article 3.**

The President is guilty of contempt (showing great disrespect) to Congress by:

- refusing to give up tapes and other evidence Congress requested.

## Reactions to Watergate

After reading both arguments below decide if the Watergate event was a threat to the Constitution or an example of the way politics is played between the Democrats and Republicans. After you decide, place a check (✓) beside the heading below that reflects your opinion.

**Watergate:  
A Threat to the Constitution**

Barbara Jordan, an African-American Congressperson from Texas, sat on the House Judiciary Committee. It was the committee's job to determine if there was enough of a case against President Nixon to try to impeach him in the Senate.

"The Constitution begins with the words, 'We the people'. At the time it was written I (as an African American) was not included in that 'We, the people'. After many trying years, I have finally been included in 'We, the people'. My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. Today I serve as an investigator of a president accused of violating that Constitution and I am not going to sit here and watch the destruction of that document.

"I didn't like the idea of working to impeach a President. I wished that it had not been necessary to do that. I really did. We had great difficulty trying to frame articles of impeachment, and the first vote on the first article of impeachment in committee was very painful for me. When the roll was called and I was asked, 'How do you vote?' I could barely get my 'yes' out. And after that vote, about three or four of us on the committee went back into one of the council rooms and there were tears. We had to let out our feelings."

**Watergate:  
Politics as Usual**

Richard Nixon explained his role in Watergate as an example of the way politics is played in Washington.

"My reaction to Watergate was based upon the fact that I had been in politics too long. I had seen everything from dirty tricks to vote fraud. I could not show real outrage at hearing about a group of burglars who were trying to "bug" the other party's headquarters. Political bugging has been around since the invention of the wiretap.

"After the break-in at the Watergate offices of the Democratic party, I did nothing to prevent the various stories that were being told by those who worked for me to explain the break-in. Furthermore, I approved efforts to encourage the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) to step in and limit the investigation of the F.B.I. into the Watergate break-in. Later, the actions I took and those I didn't take seemed to others as part of a widespread cover-up. To my eyes I was doing what I had to do to handle an annoying political problem. I was looking for a way to deal with Watergate that would cause the fewest problems to me, my friends, and my campaign, while giving the least advantage to my political opposition."



## President and Congress Cartoon

Study the cartoon below, which many people believe describes how American government since World War II has operated.



What position in government does the person trying on the shoe hold?

---

Who is the shoe fitter supposed to represent?

---

How is the shoe labeled?

---

Chicago Tribune. Cartoon by Carey Orr.

In one sentence describe the action taking place in the cartoon.

---

---

What is the cartoonist saying here about the balance of power in American government since the end of World War II?

---

---

---

Place a check (✓) beside the statement you agree with.

The Watergate affair provides evidence that:

- supports the cartoonist's opinion.
- does not support the cartoonist's opinion.

# Learning Activity 3

*What measures should government take to protect individual rights?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Culture/Diversity; Contributions

## BACKGROUND

At the time the Constitution was written, a dispute arose over whether it was necessary to include a separate bill of rights. Eventually, of course, a bill of rights was included as the first ten amendments to the Constitution. However, since that time, controversy has swirled around the attempt to balance individual rights, guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and the rights of society as a whole.

This controversy gathered steam during the 1950s when Earl Warren occupied the chair of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The Warren Court made headlines as a result of its decisions dealing with the rights of criminal defendants and civil rights. Some of the earlier civil rights cases may be found in *Grade 7 United States and New York State History: A Multicultural Perspective* Volume II, Unit Four. Recently, the courts along with the other branches of government have considered issues of a more personal nature, such as individual rights relating to abortion and sexual orientation.

As an introduction to this learning activity, it will be beneficial to review the role of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Bill of Rights, which is covered in the Grade 7 social studies curriculum guide referred to above.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- The United States Constitution has evolved over time to meet the needs of the American people.
- The Constitution embodies the belief in human dignity, liberty, JUSTICE, and equality. However these ideals often have not been put into practice.
- Since World War II the courts and other branches of government have frequently engaged in balancing the rights of individuals from DIVERSE groups with the rights of society at large.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Diversity
- Human Rights
- Justice

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Analyze the implications of legal decisions that have protected the rights of criminal defendants.
- Discuss attempts by Americans from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, gender, and linguistic groups to gain equality through the law.
- Take a stand as to whether the rights of individuals are more important than the rights of society as a whole

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 3A, "The Debating Team." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - Which rights did you identify as the most important that individuals have?
  - Which rights did you identify as the most important rights of society as a whole?
  - How can you explain why the rights of individuals sometimes conflict with the rights of society? Can you give any examples in the news of a conflict between the rights of individuals and the rights of society?

- Which rights do you think are more important to protect, the rights of individuals or the rights of society?
- Divide students into groups of three. Distribute Worksheet 3B, “Rights of Defendants: Cases.” Assign each student in each group to write an opinion for a different one of the three cases on the worksheet in the box labeled, “Your Decision.” Then have each student discuss the case and opinion he or she wrote with the other members of the group. After group work has been completed ask students to explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What are the facts in the case about which you have read?
  - Which facts or issues did these cases have in common?
  - In each case, which were the individual and societal rights in conflict?
  - If you were a member of the U.S. Supreme Court, what would your opinion have been in each of these cases?
- Distribute Worksheet 3C, “Rights of Defendants: Decisions.” Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do these decisions say, in your own words?
  - How do these decisions compare to the ones class members wrote?
  - Which of these decisions do you agree with most?
  - Which of these decisions do you agree with least?
  - How do you think criminal defendants would react to these decisions?
  - How would police and other law enforcement officials react to these decisions?
  - To what extent did these decisions favor the rights of individuals over the rights of society? To what extent did these decisions favor the rights of society over the rights of individuals?
- Distribute Worksheet 3D, “Rights of the Accused: An Editorial Cartoon.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What’s happening in this cartoon?
  - How can you explain the caption?
  - What do you think is the cartoonist’s opinion in the Miranda, Gideon, and Mapp cases?
  - Do you agree with the cartoonist’s opinion?
  - How do you think the members of the Supreme Court who wrote the Miranda, Gideon, and Mapp decisions would react to this cartoon?
  - Do you think that drawing a cartoon is as effective a way of giving one’s opinion as writing an editorial?
- Distribute Worksheet 3E, “Rights and Diversity.” Explain to students that, modeled after other newspapers dealing with law-related topics, the *Multicultural Mosaic Law Journal* describes only cases dealing with the struggle for equality of diverse groups. Assign students a different one of the four cases and have them write what they think was the Court’s decision. Then have students as part of the class discussion explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What are the facts in the case you were assigned to read?
  - In what ways are these cases similar?
  - In what ways are these cases different?
  - Which rights were in conflict in the case you were assigned?
  - How would you have decided the case you were assigned? Explain.
  - For which of these cases would you be most interested in learning the actual Court’s decision?
  - If you could have asked a question of any of the people involved in these cases, what would it have been ?

- Distribute Worksheet 3F, "Rights and Diversity: Decisions." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - How would you summarize the decision in the case to which you were assigned?
  - How did the Court's decision compare to yours?
  - Which decision do you agree with most?
  - Which decision do you disagree with most?
  - Which of these decisions do you think was the most important?
- Distribute Worksheet 3G, "Roe v. Wade Moot Court Simulation." Tell students that they will be participating in a simulation of the Supreme Court session of the *Roe v. Wade* abortion case. They should be given at least one week to prepare for this activity, using the material provided on Worksheet 3G as a starting point. However, they should be expected to do additional research.

Select students to play the following roles:

*3 attorneys (Roe)*

- attorney 1 must prepare a two-minute oral argument to convince justices to support Roe's position
- attorney 2 to refute the arguments raised by the other side
- attorney 3 to summarize Roe's case

*3 attorneys (Wade)*

- attorney 1 must prepare a two-minute oral argument to convince justices to support Wade's position
- attorney 2 to refute the arguments raised by the other side
- attorney 3 to summarize Wade's case

*9 Supreme Court justices whose task it is to:*

- question each attorney regarding his or her arguments
- write an opinion as to whom they think won the case and the reasons behind their decision

*Newspaper reporters, editorial staff, and feature writers (remainder of the class) whose task it is to:*

- prepare stories, columns, and editorials about the *Roe v. Wade* case

On the day of the simulation, the following agenda is suggested. (Justices may interrupt with questions at any time during steps 1-6.)

1. Statement, attorney 1, Roe
  2. Statement, attorney 1, Wade
  3. Response, attorney 2, Roe
  4. Response, attorney 2, Wade
  5. Summation, attorney 3, Wade
  6. Summation, attorney 3, Roe
  7. Justices deliberate, write opinion(s), and announce verdict
  8. Press conference, reactions to class verdict: attorneys, justices, and newspaper people
- Distribute Worksheet 3H, *Roe v. Wade* Decision. Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What was the verdict reached in *Roe v. Wade*?
    - How did the actual verdict compare to the verdict reached in the simulation?
    - Which were Roe's most convincing arguments? Which were Wade's most convincing arguments?
    - What arguments were used to support the Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*?
    - To what extent do you agree with the decision in *Roe*?
    - Do you think the decision in *Roe* did more to settle the issue of abortion rights or to create more arguments?
    - Do you think it's the job of government institutions, like the Supreme Court, to make policy about personal matters like abortion?
  - Distribute Worksheet 3I, "Gays in the Military." Divide students into groups of three. Assign each group a number between 1 and 5, corresponding to the columns of the New York Times article. The task of the group members is to rewrite their assigned topics in their own words. After reviewing

each group's rewrites, have students explain their answers to the following:

- In your own words, what are the major points of this policy?
  - How does the issue of gays serving in the military provide an example of the struggle between those favoring extending the rights of individuals and those arguing for the rights of society?
  - Explain this characterization of the policy concerning gays in the military: "Don't ask. Don't tell. And don't pursue."
  - What's your reaction to this policy?
  - How can you explain why many gay rights groups as well as many anti-gay rights groups were unhappy with this policy?
- Distribute Worksheet 3J, "Wheelchair Warrior." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What is this article about?
    - How can you explain why Gregory Solas is called the "wheelchair warrior"?
    - Why do some school officials criticize Mr. Solas's actions?
    - If you were Mr. Solas, what would you say in response to their criticisms?
    - Which of the demands made by Mr. Solas are most justified? Which are least justified?
    - If you had the opportunity to interview Mr. Solas, what questions would you ask him?

## ***The Debating Team***

Many schools have debating teams, which compete against other schools in various competitions. Assume that you are interested in being selected to represent your school on the debating team. The coach of the team says that you must complete the form below to be eligible.

<p>Instructions: The topic of this year's debate is --</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>RESOLVED THAT THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.</b></p> <p>1. One of the things that you will have to do in this debate is define the most important rights that individuals in this country have, as well as the most important rights of society as a whole. Write examples of these rights in the appropriate boxes below.</p>	
<p><b>RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<p><b>RIGHTS OF SOCIETY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>
<p>2. A second task you will have will be to develop two arguments for both sides of the issue. Write these arguments below.</p>	
<p><b>THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.</b></p> <p>1.</p>	<p><b>THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE <u>NOT</u> MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.</b></p> <p>1.</p>
<p>2.</p>	<p>2.</p>

## ***Rights of Defendants: Cases***

<p><b>1. <i>Miranda v. Arizona</i></b></p> <p>“No person shall . . . be compelled (forced) in a criminal case to be witness against himself . . .”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AMENDMENT V, U.S. CONSTITUTION</p> <p>On March 13, 1963 Ernesto Miranda, a Mexican-American, was arrested on charges of criminal attack and kidnapping. He was identified by the complaining witness. Then he was taken into a room by two police officers. After two hours of questioning Miranda signed a confession including a signed statement with the words, “with full knowledge of my legal rights, understanding any statement I make may be used against me.”</p> <p>Later Miranda was found guilty. Miranda claimed that because he wasn’t informed that he didn’t have to speak to the police, his Fifth Amendment rights were violated.</p>	<p><b>2. <i>Gideon v. Wainright</i></b></p> <p>“ In a criminal prosecution, the accused shall enjoy the right to have the assistance of counsel (a lawyer) for his defense. . . .”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AMENDMENT VI, U.S. CONSTITUTION</p> <p>Clarence Earl Gideon’s job was cleaning out the Bay Harbor (Florida) Poolroom. On June 3, 1961 after someone broke into the poolroom and stole money and a small amount of beer, Gideon was arrested and charged with the crime.</p> <p>At his trial Gideon asked that an attorney be appointed to represent him, as he had no money. This request was denied because according to Florida law, attorneys were only provided in the most serious cases. Gideon was found guilty.</p> <p>Gideon claimed that a poor person is entitled to have an attorney, no matter how serious the crime, and he wrote to the Supreme Court requesting another trial.</p>
<p><b>3. <i>Mapp v. Ohio</i></b></p> <p>“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, without probable cause. . . (and a description of) the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Amendment IV, U.S. Constitution</p> <p>Dollree Mapp, an African-American, lived on the top floor of a two-family house in Cleveland. On May 23, 1957, the police went to Mapp’s house demanding to search it, claiming that a person tied to a recent bombing was hiding there. Ms. Mapp insisted that they show her a warrant.</p> <p>Sometime later, more police arrived. They opened one of the doors by force. When Ms. Mapp asked to see the warrant, one of the officers waved a piece of paper, Mapp grabbed the paper and the police took it back. Once in the house, the police made a complete search and found some pamphlets and pictures they considered pornographic.</p> <p>Ms. Mapp was convicted of possession of pornographic material. However, she claimed her Fourth Amendment rights were violated.</p>	<p><b>4. <i>Your Decision</i></b></p> <p>CASE:</p>

1. Starr, *The Supreme Court and Contemporary Issues* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corp., 1969).

## ***Rights of Defendants: Decisions***

### **1. *Miranda v. Arizona***

“When an individual is taken into custody...and subjected to questioning, the police must take certain steps to protect the individual’s freedom against self-incrimination. Specifically, he must be warned prior to any questioning that he has the right to remain silent, that anything he says can be used against him in court, that he has the right to have an attorney present, and that if he cannot afford an attorney, one will be appointed for him before any questioning, if he so desires. An individual may choose to give up these rights. However, unless it can be demonstrated that a defendant was informed of these rights and gave them up, no evidence obtained as a result of such questioning may be used against him. Thus Miranda’s confession may not be used as evidence in court.”

### **2. *Gideon v. Wainright***

“Any person brought into court who is too poor to hire a lawyer cannot be assured of a fair trial. This seems to us an obvious truth. Governments hire lawyers to convict criminals to protect people’s rights to safety. There are few defendants charged with a crime who fail to hire the best lawyer they can. This seems to be the strongest indication that lawyers in criminal cases are necessities, not luxuries—no matter what the charge.”

### **3. *Mapp v. Ohio***

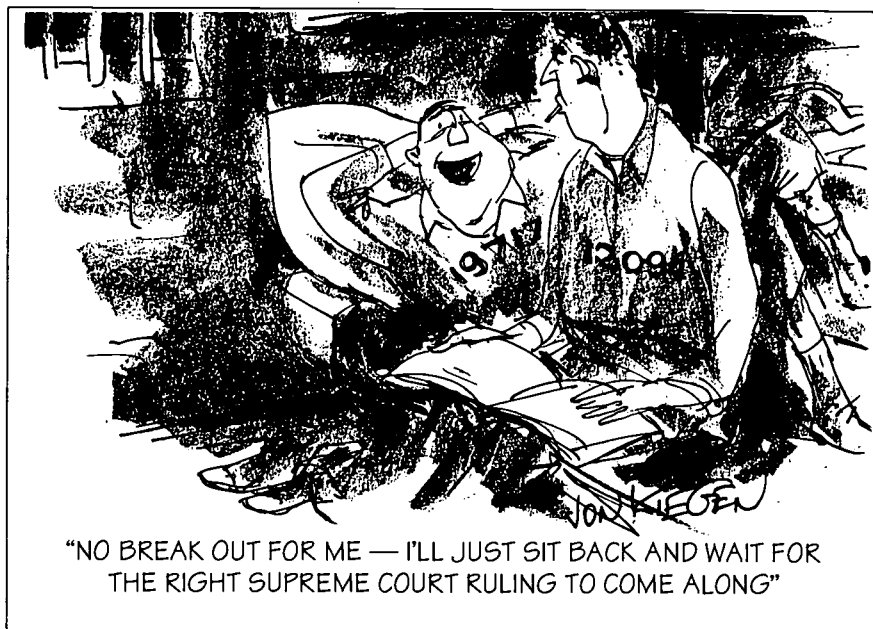
“In so much as the police had no valid warrant to search Ms. Mapp’s house, the search of Ms. Mapp’s house was illegal. Any evidence obtained through illegal means, in violation of the Constitution, cannot be used against a defendant.

Our decision...gives the individual no more than that which the Constitution guarantees, to the police officer no less than that which honest law enforcement is entitled.”



## ***Rights of the Accused: An Editorial Cartoon***

Some cartoons appearing in newspapers are called “editorial” or political cartoons because they give the cartoonist’s opinion about a particular issue. The cartoon below expresses the cartoonist’s opinion about the Supreme Court’s decisions in cases dealing with the rights of the accused. Assume that instead of drawing a cartoon, the cartoonist wrote his or her opinion. Write what you think would have been written in the box labeled “Editorial” below.



Drawing by von Riegen. © 1966 Saturday Review. Permission pending.

<b>EDITORIAL</b>

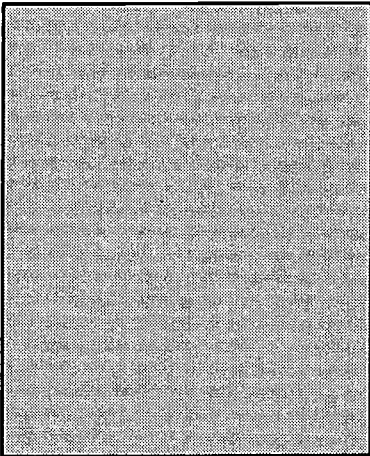
## Rights and Diversity

### Multicultural Mosaic Law Journal

1940s-1990s

**HEART OF ATLANTA MOTEL  
V. UNITED STATES  
(1964)**

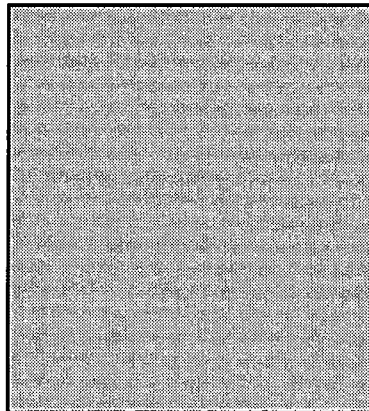
Seventy-five percent of the guests at the Heart of Atlanta Motel, located in Georgia, come from out of state. As a matter of policy, the owner refused to rent rooms to blacks. As a result of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "All persons are entitled to ... accommodation ... without discrimination on the grounds of race, color.... The owner says the Civil Rights Act is unconstitutional, that it violates the Fifth Amendment, because it takes away the owner's "liberty and property without due process of law and without compensation. The Supreme Court said...



**KOREMATSU V. U.S.  
(1944)**

In 1941 after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which gave military commanders in the Western U.S. the authority to remove and relocate

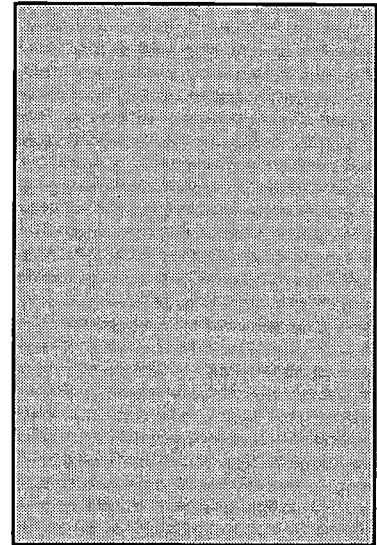
anyone who they thought was a threat to the safety of the United States. As a result, 120,000 people, mostly Japanese-Americans, were forced to give up their homes and businesses and move to relocation centers. Fred Korematsu, a Japanese-American born in Oakland California, refused to move to the relocation center. Shortly thereafter, Korematsu was convicted of disobeying the military commander's orders. He claimed his liberty was taken away because of his race and without "due process of law" in violation of the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court said...



**OREGON V. SMITH  
(1990)**

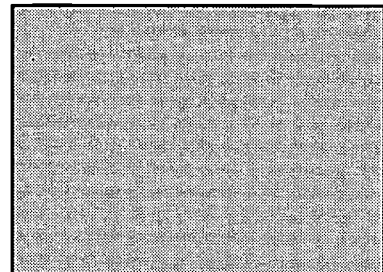
Native Americans Alfred Smith and Galen Black were counselors at a drug and alcohol abuse center. The Center's policy required counselors to abstain from using alcohol and illegal drugs. During a Native American Church ceremony, Smith and Black used peyote, an illegal drug. As a result of this action, the counselors were discharged for misconduct and were denied the

right to receive unemployment insurance. Smith and Black appealed the case claiming that their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion were violated. The Supreme Court said...



**HERNANDEZ V. TEXAS  
(1957)**

A Mexican-American defendant protested the fact that there were no Mexican-Americans on his jury. According to Texas law Mexican-Americans could not serve on juries. The defendant said that this fact denied him equal protection of the laws. The Supreme Court said...



## Rights and Diversity: Decisions

### Multicultural Mosaic Law Journal

1940s-1990s

#### **HEART OF ATLANTA MOTEL V. UNITED STATES (1964)**

Seventy-five percent of the guests at the Heart of Atlanta Motel, located in Georgia, come from out of state. As a matter of policy, the owner refused to rent rooms to blacks. As a result of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "All persons are entitled to... accommodation... without discrimination on the grounds of race, color.... The owner says the Civil Rights Act is unconstitutional because it goes against the Fifth Amendment, because it takes away the owner's "liberty and property without due process of and without compensation. The Supreme Court said...

"This Court has repeatedly held that laws that prohibit racial discrimination in places of accommodation do not violate due process. Furthermore rather than lose money, the likelihood is that the owner will gain money as a result of allowing black guests to register. Even if a monetary loss could be shown, racial discrimination interferes with personal liberty and therefore is prohibited."

#### **KOREMATSU V. U.S. (1944)**

In 1941 after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which gave military commanders in the Western U.S. the

authority to remove and relocate anyone who they thought was a threat to the safety of the United States. As a result, 120,000 people, mostly Japanese-Americans, were forced to give up their homes and businesses and move to relocation centers. Fred Korematsu, a Japanese-American born in Oakland California, refused to move to the relocation center. Shortly thereafter, Korematsu was convicted of disobeying the military commander's orders. He claimed his liberty was taken away because of his race and without "due process of law" in violation of the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court said...

"Laws which limit the rights of a single racial group must be examined very carefully. That is not to say that all such laws are unconstitutional. The law which was violated here was necessary to prevent spying and the destruction of property by enemy agents in the U.S. We believe that it is well within the power of the President and Congress to have had people of certain foreign ancestry removed from the West Coast as it was impossible to separate the loyal from the disloyal members of that racial group."

#### **OREGON V. SMITH (1990)**

Native Americans Alfred Smith and Galen Black were counselors at drug and alcohol abuse center. The Center's policy required counselors

to abstain from using alcohol and illegal drugs. During a Native American Church ceremony, Smith and Black used peyote an illegal drug. As a result of this action, the counselors were discharged for misconduct and were denied the right to receive unemployment insurance. Smith and Black appealed the case claiming that their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion were violated. The Supreme Court said...

"The use of peyote violated state law. Just as in the past when this Court ruled that a man married to more than one woman may be sent to jail despite his religious beliefs, so too may a state refuse to pay unemployment compensation to an individual using illegal drugs as part of a religious ceremony. The First Amendment protects the lawful free exercise of religion, not conduct which a state has rightfully prohibited."

#### **HERNANDEZ V. TEXAS (1957)**

A Mexican-American defendant protested the fact that there were no Mexican-Americans on his jury. According to Texas law Mexican-Americans could not serve on juries. The defendant said that this fact denied him equal protection of the laws. The Supreme Court said...

"Excluding otherwise eligible persons from jury service solely because of their ethnic group or national origin denies these people equal protection of the law."

## Roe v. Wade Moot Court Simulation

### FACTS RELATED TO ROE V. WADE

In August 1969 while working in a traveling carnival in Georgia, Norma McCovey was raped by three men. The next morning she reported the rape to the police. After leaving the police station she decided to return to Texas, where she lived. Several weeks later, she began waking up nauseous every morning. She was pregnant. She went to the doctor who had delivered her daughter and asked for an abortion. The doctor informed Norma that it was a crime to perform an abortion in Texas, except to save the life of the mother. While trying to find a doctor who would perform the abortion in Texas, she met two lawyers who convinced her to go to court to try to overturn the law against abortion. Norma agreed when they told her that rather than using her name they would bring the case to court using a made-up name, Jane Roe. Eventually the case came before the Supreme Court. The arguments that appear below may be used as a starting point for preparing for your role in the *Roe v. Wade* simulation. However, you are encouraged to do additional research.

### ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING ROE

- Pregnancy can completely disrupt the life of a woman. For example, many schools in Texas require that a teacher resign if she becomes pregnant. Employers often force women to leave their jobs early in pregnancy and the state provides no unemployment benefits or welfare. Men face no similar situation. So to deny women the right to end pregnancy denies them equal protection of the law.
- Pregnancy is perhaps one of the most significant experiences in a woman's life. It is a matter of such importance that the decision to bear a child should be considered part of a person's right to privacy, not the business of the state.
- Our case is based on the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the Ninth Amendment, which protects individual rights. Concerning the fetus, we believe that the Constitution's protection begins after birth.

### ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING WADE (DALLAS, TEXAS DISTRICT ATTORNEY)

- The state of Texas has an interest in protecting the life of the unborn child. Freedom over one's body is not absolute. Many laws, such as those prohibiting the use of certain drugs, limit one's freedom.
- The unborn child has rights from the moment the woman becomes pregnant. Thus by permitting an abortion, the Court would be denying the child the equal protection of the laws.
- Rather than being decided by the courts, the issue of abortion is best left to the people and their elected representatives. Perhaps the Court has the power to decide on this issue, but in deciding, it would be an unwise use of that power.
- We care deeply about the pregnant women who, not wanting to have their babies, see abortion as their only choice. However, there is also the unborn, who cannot speak. We believe that the life of the unborn has meaning as well.

## Roe v. Wade Decision

Once a Supreme Court decision is written, the justices have the opportunity to write a concurring (agreeing with the decision) opinion or a dissenting (disagreeing with the decision) opinion. After reading the *Roe v. Wade* decision below, write either a concurring or dissenting opinion, reflecting your view, in the space provided.

...the right to privacy includes “a woman’s decision whether or not to (end) her pregnancy ...The Constitution does not define the word person. However, where it is used it applies to the individual after birth. The unborn have never been recognized in the law as persons in the whole sense.

The words “right to privacy” cannot be found in the Constitution. However, for years the Court has recognized that such a right exists. This is primarily based upon the Fourteenth Amendment’s concept of personal liberty. Just as the right to privacy may be limited by the state when important interests of the people as a whole may be harmed, so too the right of abortion only goes to the point where it does not hurt state interests as to protection of health, medical standards and the life of the unborn.

Therefore, we rule that:

- during the first three months of pregnancy a state must recognize a woman’s right to choose an abortion and cannot interfere with a doctor’s judgment in that matter.
- during the second three months a state can make reasonable laws about how, when and where abortions can be performed, but cannot prohibit them.
- during the final three months a state, acting to protect the unborn child, can choose to prohibit all abortions except those necessary to protect the life or health of the mother.

### CONCURRING OR DISSENTING OPINION

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## Gays in the Military

For more than 50 years the U.S. armed forces had a policy that prohibited gays from entering the military. This changed somewhat with the passage of the policy described below. After reading the columns you have been assigned, complete the exercise that follows.

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### Text of Pentagon's New Policy Guidelines on Homosexuals in the Military

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*Washington, July 19 — Following is the text of the Pentagon's new policy guidelines to commanders on homosexuals in the military.*

#### **Accession Policy**

Applicants for military service will no longer be asked or required to reveal if they are homosexual or bisexual, but applicants will be informed of the conduct that is proscribed for members of the armed forces, including homosexual conduct.

#### **Discharge Policy**

Sexual orientation will not be a bar to service unless manifested by homosexual conduct. The military will discharge members who engage in homosexual conduct, which is defined as a homosexual act, a statement that the member is homosexual or bisexual, or a marriage or attempted marriage to someone of the same gender.

#### **Investigations Policy**

No investigations or inquiries will be conducted solely to determine a service member's sexual orientation. Commanders will initiate inquiries or investigations when there is credible information that a basis for discharge or disciplinary action exists. Sexual orientation, absent credible information that a crime has been committed, will not be the subject of a criminal investigation. An allegation or statement by another that a service member is a homosexual, alone, is not grounds for either a criminal investigation or a commander's inquiry.

#### **Activities**

Bodily contact between service members of the same sex that a reasonable person would understand to demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts (e.g., hand-holding or kissing in most circumstances) will be sufficient to initiate separation.

Activities such as association with known homosexuals, presence at a gay bar, possessing or reading homosexual publications or marching in a gay rights rally in civilian clothes will not, in and of themselves, constitute credible information that would provide a basis for initiating an investigation or serve as the basis for an administrative discharge under this policy. The listing by a service member of someone of the same gender as the person to be contacted in case of emergency, as an insurance beneficiary or in a similar context, does not provide a basis for separation or further investigation.

Speech within the context of priest-penitent, husband-wife or attorney-client communications remains privileged.

#### **Off-Base Conduct**

No distinction will be made between off-base and on-base conduct.

From the time a member joins the service until discharge, the service member's duty and commitment to the unit is a 24-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week obligation.

Military members are required to comply with both the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which is Federal law, and military regulations at all times, and in all places. Unacceptable conduct, homosexual or heterosexual, is not excused because the service member is not "at work."

#### **Investigations and Inquiries**

Neither investigations nor inquiries will be conducted solely to determine an individual's sexual orientation.

Commanders can initiate investigations into alleged homosexual conduct when there is credible information of homosexual acts, prohibited statements or homosexual marriage.

Commanders will exercise sound discretion regarding when credible information exists, and will evaluate the information's source and all attendant circumstances to assess whether the information supports a reasonable belief that a service member has engaged in proscribed homosexual conduct. Commanders, not investigators, determine when sufficient credible information exists to justify a detail of investigative resources to look into allegations.

#### **Credible Information**

Credible information of homosexual conduct exists when the information, considered in light of its source and all attendant circumstances, supports a reasonable belief that a service member has engaged in such conduct. It requires a determination based on articulable facts, not just a belief or suspicion.

**(continued on next page)**

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## Text of Pentagon's New Policy Guidelines on Homosexuals in the Military

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(continued from previous page)

### Security Clearances

Questions pertaining to an individual's sexual orientation are not asked on personnel security questionnaires. An individual's sexual conduct, whether homosexual or heterosexual, is a legitimate security concern only if it could make an individual susceptible to exploitation or coercion, or indicate a lack of trustworthiness, reliability, or good judgment that is required of anyone with access to classified information.

### The Threat of Extortion

As long as service members continue to be separated from military service for engaging in homosexual conduct, credible information of such behavior can be a basis for extortion. Although the military cannot eliminate the potential for the victimization of homosexuals through blackmail, the policy reduces the risk to homosexuals by making certain categories of information largely immaterial to the military's initiation of investigations.

Only credible information that a service member engaged in homosexual conduct will form the basis for initiating an inquiry or investigation of a service member; suspicion of an individual's sexual orientation is not a basis, by itself, for official inquiry or action.

Extortion is a criminal offense, under both the U.C.M.J. and United States Code, and offenders will be prosecuted. A service member convicted of extortion risks dishonorable discharge and up to three years confinement. Civilians found guilty of blackmail under the U.S. Code may be subject to a \$2,000 fine and one-year imprisonment. The risk of blackmail will be addressed by educating all service members on the policy and by emphasizing the significant criminal sanctions facing convicted extortionists.

### Outing

A mere allegation or statement by another that a service member is a homosexual is not grounds for official action. Commanders will not take official action against members based on rumor, suspicion or capricious allegations.

However, if a third party provides credible information that a member has committed a crime or act that warrants discharge, e.g., engages in homosexual conduct, the commander may, based on the totality of the circumstances, conduct an investigation or inquiry, and take nonjudicial or administrative action or recommend judicial action, as appropriate.

Commanders are responsible for initiating an investigation when credible information exists that a crime or basis for discharge has been committed. The commander examines the information and decides whether an investigation by the service investigative agency or a commander inquiry is warranted, or if no action should be taken.

### Harassment

Commanders are responsible for maintaining good order and discipline.

All service members will be treated with dignity and respect. Hostile treatment or violence against a service member based on a perception of his or her sexual orientation will not be tolerated.

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*The New York Times.*

WORKSHEET 3I, GAYS IN THE MILITARY (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Check (✓) the topics you have been assigned, and with your group rewrite that section using your own words.

- |                              |                             |                                     |                                |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1.  | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. | <input type="checkbox"/> 3.         | <input type="checkbox"/> 4.    | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. |
| <b>Accession Policy</b>      | <b>Activities</b>           | <b>Investigations and Inquiries</b> | <b>Security Clearances</b>     | <b>Outing</b>               |
| <b>Discharge Policy</b>      | <b>Off-Base Conduct</b>     | <b>Credible Information</b>         | <b>The Threat of Extortion</b> | <b>Harassment</b>           |
| <b>Investigations Policy</b> |                             |                                     |                                |                             |

TOPIC	REWRITE IN YOUR OWN WORDS



## Wheelchair Warrior

# Wheelchair Warrior Lays Siege to Schools

by WILLIAM CELIS 3D

School officials hate to see Gregory Solas coming. But to the handicapped he is a champion—a wheelchair warrior in the fight to make schools accessible to the disabled.

Mr. Solas is a 40-year-old former construction worker from Warwick, R.I., who has been in a wheelchair since his legs were crushed in an accident on the job seven years ago. Since 1990 he has filed complaints against nearly 2,000 schools, colleges and universities over the absence of ramps for wheelchairs, signs for the visually impaired and other accommodations required by Federal law.

Lawyers at the Education Department's regional Office for Civil Rights in Boston say 25 percent of their workload consists of investigating his complaints.

"Some people play golf," Mr. Solas said. "I file complaints."

### Chorus of Complaint

Aggressiveness by advocates for disabled children is nothing new. But in recent years more and more parents and other advocates like Mr. Solas (whose own three children are not handicapped) are filing complaints. The Department of Education has received three times as many complaints in the 1993 fiscal year as it did in 1987.

Of Mr. Solas's nearly 2,000 grievances, many of which have already been resolved, virtually all were filed under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which requires public buildings, public programs and private groups and schools that receive some form of Federal aid to be accessible to the disabled.

The remaining complaints cite the Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990, which expands protections for the disabled to employment and public services. The Education Department says his complaints are usually upheld and lead to agreements with school systems to upgrade their buildings.

"He is a very accurate advocate," said Norma Cantu, the new Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights.



Gregory Solas vowed to help the handicapped when his legs were crushed in a construction accident. Since then, the complaints he has filed have amounted to 25 percent of the workload at the Education Department's civil rights office in Boston. He was flanked by his twins, Derek and Nicole.

"Is he a thorn in my side? By no means. If anything, he is highlighting the need to inform public schools and colleges and universities about the law."

But at a time when budgets are stretched thin by recession and its aftermath, schools say resolving complaints like Mr. Solas's are forcing them into costly renovations, diverting money from other pressing needs.

### 'Outrageous' Demands

According to one study, it costs \$20,000 to \$200,000 to equip a school with ramps, elevators, escalators, barrier-free bathrooms and wider doorways, depending on the age of the school building and the extent of its renovation. Federal disability laws spell out how public buildings should accommodate the disabled, from how far water fountains should be lowered to where signs for the visually impaired should be installed.

"The parents of disabled children are increasing their demands to an out-

rageous extent," said Gwendolyn Gregory, deputy general counsel for the National School Boards Association. "They are asking for things that parents of non-handicapped children would have no right to ask for."

School districts say that they are not opposed to serving disabled children, but that parents often demand that a neighborhood school be outfitted to accommodate the handicapped when a school 20 minutes away has the very program a student needs.

Parents say it is a matter of perspective. "Like other minority groups, we get tired of listening to bureaucrats rationalizing what they do to us," said Linda DiCecco, a Warwick mother who is hearing impaired and who has three children with hearing or vision difficulties. "All we want are the same rights that the majority takes for granted." Of Mr. Solas, she said, "At least Greg is getting us into the school buildings."

**Vow to Help Handicapped**

Mr. Solas, who has long been criticized as a grandstander, shrugs off the criticism. "The law is the law," he said. "If I could, I would make them stand at a chalkboard and write, 'I will not discriminate.'"

Mr. Solas was injured at a construction site seven years ago when a steel beam fell off its wooden piles and pinned him to the ground at the hips. As he lay beneath the beam, he says, his legs crushed, not sure whether he would even live, he vowed, "I'll help the handicapped."

In 1990, he took on the Warwick Public Schools, a system of 28,000 students, 1,800 with physical or learning disabilities. He remembers being unable to negotiate the entrance of an elementary school where the parent-teacher organization meeting was held.

He says he was told to go home; the district would send him a videotape of the meeting. "All of a sudden, I was a guy who was a pain in their behinds," he said.

Mr. Solas said he refused the videotape and instead staged a one-person picket outside the school administration building during a late-winter storm. He ultimately filed a complaint with the Education Department, which forced the school system to renovate its administration building. The parents' group finally moved its meeting to a site more suitable for Mr. Solas's wheelchair.

He took on the district again a year later when his daughter's school held a father-daughter dance in a building that could not accommodate his wheelchair. The school system moved the dance.

And just last month, he filed still another complaint, this time over plans to hold graduations in an auditorium that was not wheelchair-accessible. The district relented and made arrangements to accommodate Mr. Solas.

"The law is the law," he said. "It does not mean you can do it half-heartedly."

**Expanding His Mission**

Since he first took on the Warwick Public Schools, Mr. Solas, who can walk with a cane but uses a wheelchair most of the time, says he has spent thousands of hours and more than

**To Overcome Disabilities**

Outfitting a school to make it accessible to disabled people, in compliance with Federal laws, can cost up to \$200,000. Here is how Veterans Memorial High School in Warwick, R.I., was modified after complaints by Gregory Solas. The total cost for the project was \$51,850. Information provided by the Warwick Public Schools.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Fit 260 interior doors with new levers and handles \$10,400</li> <li>➤ Modify restrooms to meet the minimum requirements for use by a disabled person \$10,000</li> <li>➤ 300 raised-letter signs for the blind \$7,500</li> <li>➤ New parking area, 80 by 40 feet, with signs \$7,500</li> <li>➤ Provide portable or adaptable equipment for classrooms, including accessible lab tables, language-lab booths and machine-shop equipment \$3,000</li> <li>➤ Extend stair handralls \$2,800</li> <li>➤ Make sinks in the vocational area usable from a wheelchair \$2,500</li> <li>➤ Lower fire alarm boxes \$2,000</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Install accessible shower stalls in boys' and girls' locker rooms \$2,000</li> <li>➤ Second floor water fountain usable from a wheelchair \$1,300</li> <li>➤ Lower emergency shut-off buttons and light switches \$1,000</li> <li>➤ Lower the elevator's control panel to 54 inches from the floor and install raised letters and numbers \$600</li> <li>➤ Fire-alarm buzzer and warning light for library \$600</li> <li>➤ Label the main entrance with the international symbol of accessibility and lower the door operating pressure to five pounds \$500</li> <li>➤ Make one public telephone usable from a wheelchair, lower the coin slot to no higher than 54 inches and provide a volume control for the hearing-impaired \$150</li> </ul>
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\$6,000 of his own money to right the wrongs he sees in schools.

As he has traveled on vacations, he says he has taken pains to look at other schools, maintaining that "if they were violating the law in Warwick, then there must be other schools doing the same thing." In other instances, parents of disabled children have called him or he has called schools at random to ask whether they are accessible.

To school administrators, Mr. Solas is equal parts burden and irritant. "He's abrasive and aggressive," said Henry S. Tarlian, who became Superintendent of the Warwick system after Mr. Solas filed the first of his several complaints. "And that causes a society and community to rebel."

Mr. Tarlian said there were ramps at the elementary school where Mr. Solas wanted to attend the parent-teacher meeting, though the Superintendent acknowledged that they were steeper than they should have been.

The Superintendent also says that after one Solas complaint that singled out the aged Warwick School Administra-

tion building, the district spent \$100,000 last year retrofitting the building, \$20,000 of which to comply with Federal disability laws. The system is also renovating six schools to resolve Mr. Solas's complaints.

Although Mr. Tarlian acknowledges that disabled students should be protected to the full extent of the law, he agrees with other education experts that advocates like Mr. Solas have run amok.

He cites one complaint by parents who sought to move their disabled child to a school that did not have a program that could accommodate the youngster. The district wanted to keep the child in the school where he was enrolled, which had a suitable program. The dispute went to a hearing, which the district won. But the school system spent \$28,000 defending itself.

"That's like opening a window and throwing out \$28,000," said Mr. Tarlian. "There is no question about it. The reason the school has been attacked is because they are the most vulnerable."

# Learning Activity 4

*What does being a United States citizen mean today?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Culture/Diversity; Contributions

## BACKGROUND

United States citizenship is still a sought-after prize to many people around the world. For most born outside of this country, it can be obtained only after a long and complicated process. At times in our nation's history, this process has changed to respond to existing societal needs. Recently, in an attempt to clear the obstacles to citizenship for the large number of undocumented immigrants in the nation, Congress passed the Mazzoli-Simpson Act of 1986 (the Immigration Reform and Control Act). In the Immigration Act of 1990, the profile of future American citizens was modified again.

While the rights and privileges of United States citizens motivate immigrants to come here and are a source of pride for Americans, getting both native born and naturalized citizens to accept the responsibilities of citizenship has proved elusive. Many civic leaders believe that a Bill of Responsibilities should be promulgated to accompany the existing Bill of Rights. Some see the passage of the National Service Act as the first step toward a Citizen's Bill of Responsibilities.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- The basis of CITIZENSHIP has CHANGED in the United States.
- The most recent wave of immigrants has led to a more DIVERSE population and a CHANGE in the existing immigration laws that lead to CITIZENSHIP.
- The quality of life in the United States is in many ways tied to having people accept their responsibilities as CITIZENS of their schools, communities, cities, and nation.

## CONCEPTS

- Citizenship
- Identity
- Change
- Justice
- Diversity
- Human Rights

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Explain the requirements for becoming a United States citizen.
- Describe the changing patterns of immigration to the United States since the 1960s (including the undocumented immigrants) and their impact on laws related to American citizenship.
- View the meaning of citizenship from the immigrant's perspective.
- Create and evaluate a United States citizens' Bill of Responsibilities.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 4A, "Becoming a Citizen." Divide students into groups of four. Have each group work together to complete the exercise on the worksheet. Then, as part of the class discussion, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about becoming a citizen from studying this worksheet?
  - How would you compare the various methods of becoming a citizen? What are the similarities? What are the differences?
  - How would you explain the different requirements?
  - How can you explain the way in which African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans were made citizens?

- If these requirements for citizenship were put to a vote of the American people, would you vote to keep the requirements just as they are?
- What changes did your group suggest in the requirements for citizenship? Do any of the changes suggested by the groups represent a fairer set of requirements than the existing ones?
- Distribute Worksheet 4B, “Citizenship Test.” Have students take the test and score themselves. Then have them explain their answers to the questions that follow.
 

*Answers to the sample test:*

1. a    4. b    7. a    10. a    13. d  
 2. b    5. d    8. b    11. b    14. a  
 3. a    6. c    9. d    12. c    15. a

  - How well did you do?
  - What’s your reaction to this test?
  - To what extent is it fair that those desiring to become a citizen must pass an exam such as this?
  - If you were designing an exam for immigrants, would it be different or similar to this one? Would you make such a test more difficult or easier?
- Distribute Worksheet 4C, “Immigration Graph.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do you get from this graph?
  - What factors might account for the changes in numbers of immigrants coming from the countries illustrated on the graph between the years 1961 and 1990? Do you think these changes can best be explained by conditions in the United States or conditions in the countries from which the immigrants came?
  - Should United States immigration policy be one that encourages the greatest mix of people from around the world to enter the United States or should we target people who are in the greatest need to leave their home countries?
- How do you think a similar graph might look for the years 1991-2000?
- Distribute Worksheet 4D, “Undocumented Immigrants.” Select two students to play the roles of Rosa Maria and Jose Luis, and have them perform the dialogue before the class. Then have students complete the exercise on the worksheet. As part of the class discussion, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What information do we get from this performance?
  - What conclusions can you draw from this performance about the conditions under which undocumented immigrants live?
  - What questions would you have asked Rosa Maria and Jose Luis about their lives?
  - How do Rosa Maria and Jose Luis feel about becoming citizens?
  - Do you think it would be a good idea to make it easier for Rosa Maria and Jose Luis to become United States citizens?
  - What are the possible alternatives to solving the problems faced by Rosa Maria, Jose Luis, and other undocumented immigrants? What are the consequences of each alternative? Which alternative do you think presents the best solution to the problem?
- Distribute Worksheet 4E, “Undocumented Immigrants and the Law.” Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is document A about?
  - How did the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 attempt to solve the problems related to the large numbers of undocumented immigrants entering the country?
  - How did the 1986 Immigration Act make it easier for undocumented immigrants to become citizens?
  - How do you think Rosa Maria and Jose Luis would have reacted to this law?

- What did you learn from reading document B?
- How would this court decision affect the lives of undocumented immigrants like Rosa Maria and Jose Luis?
- Do you think it was a good idea to give all undocumented immigrants who lived in the country for at least five years the opportunity to become temporary residents, without penalty, as provided in the Immigration Act of 1986? How can you explain the law applying a penalty to employers who hire undocumented immigrants? What's your reaction to this provision of the law?
- Do you think this law presented a fair solution to the problems involving undocumented immigrants?
- Distribute Worksheet 4F, "1990 Law and Future Citizenship." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from reading this memorandum?
  - What conclusions can you draw about the goals of United States immigration policy from studying this law?
  - How can you explain why relatives of citizens would be given first preference for admission to this country as immigrants?
  - What's your reaction to this law?
  - Do you think it's fair that "internationally recognized scholars and business managers" should be allowed to immigrate to this country and become citizens before most other people? How can you explain this feature of the immigration act?
  - Do you think it's fair that people from Europe should be allowed into this country before people from other parts of the world?
  - Would you have voted for this law if you were a member of Congress?
- If it were up to you, how would you suggest that this law be changed?
- Distribute Worksheet 4G, "Immigrants and the Question of Citizenship." Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from reading this article?
  - What information do we get from the chart?
  - How do this article and chart explain why some immigrants do not desire to become citizens?
  - Role-play a conversation between two friends, one a green card holder and the other a citizen. They are discussing whether or not the immigrant should apply for citizenship.
  - Armando Espinosa has recently decided to apply for citizenship. What do you think made him change his mind?
  - What can be done to encourage more people like Armando to apply for citizenship?
  - Do you think that the United States should try to encourage all immigrants in this country to apply for citizenship?
- Distribute Worksheet 4H, "Bill of Responsibilities." Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What's your reaction to this Bill of Responsibilities?
  - Why do you think it's an important responsibility for each citizen to be familiar with the Constitution and the rights that apply to all citizens?
  - How important is it for all citizens to be willing to serve as members of juries?
  - Which of these responsibilities is most important?
  - Which of these responsibilities would be most difficult to fulfill?
  - Which of these do you believe should not be part of a Bill of Responsibilities?

- Which responsibilities would you have added to this list?
- Do you agree with the authors of this document that we need a Bill of Responsibilities to go along with the Bill of Rights? How different would conditions in this country be if we had a Bill of Responsibilities?
- Distribute Worksheet 4I, “Citizenship Quotient.” Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - How did you score on this exercise?
  - Which of the items on this list are most important in defining a good citizen?
  - Which items are least important?
  - Are there any items that were left off the list?
  - Do you think that it is just as important to study about elections as it is to participate in them?
- Distribute Worksheet 4J, “National Service Plan.” Divide students into groups of four to complete the exercise, then as part of the class discussion, have them explain their answers to the following:
  - In your own words describe the national service plan.
  - How can you explain why this plan was proposed?
  - What do you think President Clinton meant when he said, “National service will take on our nation’s most pressing unmet needs while empowering a new generation to serve as leaders for change”?
  - Which of the projects described would you like to participate in?
  - Which projects did your group propose?
- Would you be willing to volunteer to perform national service under the plan?
- Do you think adults should have the chance to participate in the plan described in this article?
- Do you think that every resident should be required to perform national service?
- Divide the class into groups of three and distribute to each group Worksheets 4K, “Community Service: Josh Rivera”; 4L, “Community Service in Chicago”; and 4M, “Community Service in New York City.” Assign a different worksheet to each group member. After students work in their group to complete and discuss the exercise, have students as part of the class discussion explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did we learn from this exercise about the kinds of community service taking place across the United States? How do they compare to the kinds of things people in your community do to make the community a better place to live?
  - How were the kinds of community service in the three examples about which you read similar to each other? How were they different?
  - If you were Keysha McNeil, what issues would you bring before the Board of Education?
  - Which of the kinds of community service about which you read would you like to participate in?
  - How important is it to each community to have people perform this kind of community service?

## Becoming a Citizen

There are two ways a person can become a United States citizen: by birth or by naturalization. After your group reads this worksheet, decide which changes you would make if you were writing a new citizenship law. Write these changes in the appropriate boxes below:

BY BIRTH	BY NATURALIZATION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Jus Soli-</b> (the law of the soil—where born) All persons born in the United States, including: the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, all American embassies, and all American public vessels (ships, planes, busses, trains, etc.) anywhere on earth.</li> <li>• <b>Jus Sanguinis-</b> (the law of the blood—to whom born) All persons born outside the United States or its territories to parents who are American citizens, one of whom lived at some time in the United States. If only one parent is a citizen, that parent must have lived in the United States or a territory for at least 10 years, five of them after the age of 14. The child of such a parent must live in the United States or a territory continuously for at least five years between the ages of 14 and 28.</li> </ul>	<p>Naturalization is the means by which a person, neither of whose parents are United States citizens, may become a citizen. Naturalization may take one of two forms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Individual Naturalization-</b> where one person becomes a citizen. In order to do this the person must:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- have entered the U.S. legally, lived in the country for at least five years, and in one state for at least three months, and be at least 18 years old.</li> <li>- file the proper papers with the appropriate court.</li> <li>- be able to read and write English.</li> <li>- be of good character, support the principles of the Constitution, and likely to be law abiding.</li> <li>- have a basic understanding of the history, beliefs, and form of government of the United States.</li> <li>- take a special oath giving up loyalty to any other country and promising loyalty to the United States.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Group Naturalization-</b> At three times in our nation's history, a cultural, ethnic, or racial group was granted citizenship:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- in 1868 all African-Americans</li> <li>- in 1917 all Puerto Ricans</li> <li>- in 1924 all Native Americans</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
CHANGES	CHANGES

## Citizenship Test

### THE NEW TEST FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has developed a test for immigrants applying for United States citizenship. Read the article below, then see how well you can do on the sample citizenship test. Your teacher will give you the answers when you're finished.

## Daily News

May 11, 1992

### Boatload of Praise for Citizen Test

It's a citizen's test and you can take it again and again until you make the grade. Immigrants applying for citizenship may now escape the problem of going before an immigration person and answering questions on their knowledge of English, American history, and government. Instead, they can take a written, multiple-choice exam. It costs \$12.

#### A SAMPLE CITIZENSHIP TEST

The following are sample questions for the English and Citizenship Examination.

Circle the correct answers.

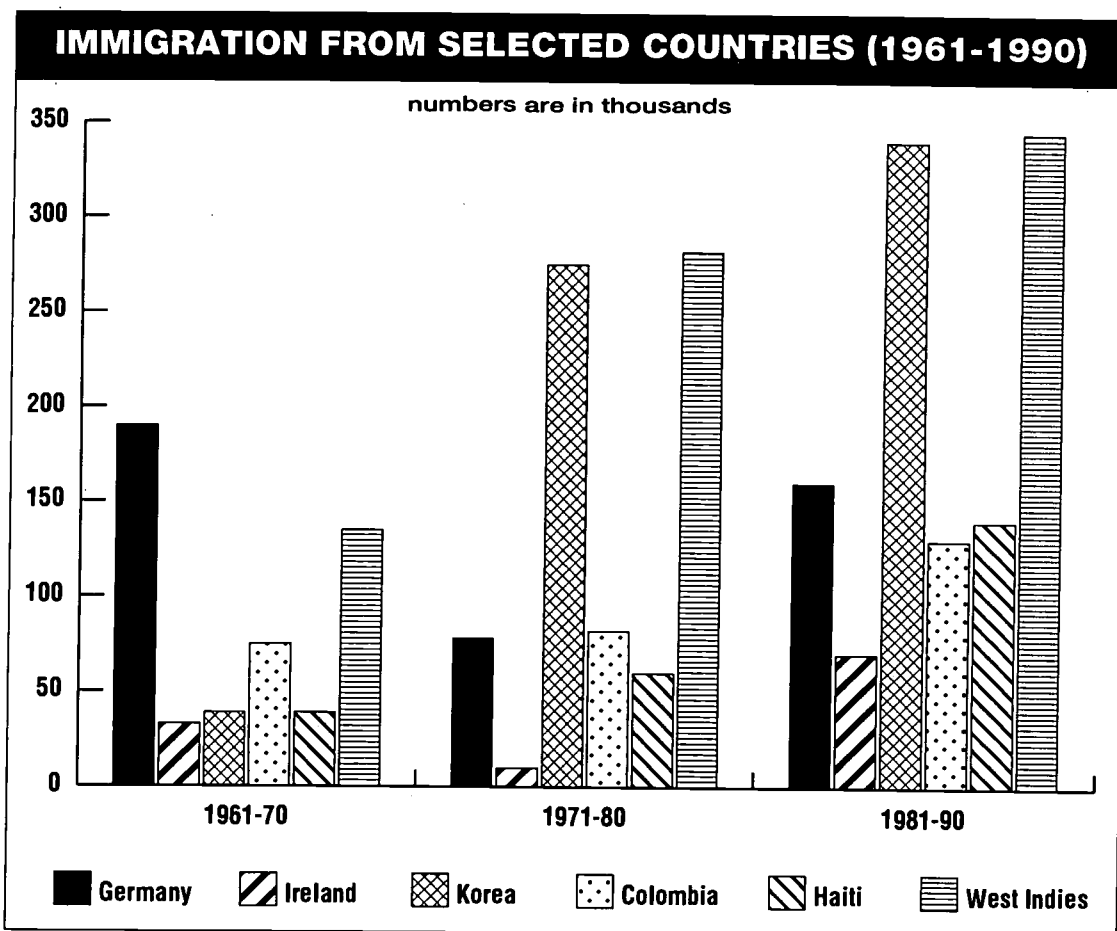
- Where were the original 13 American colonies?
  - On the East Coast
  - On the West Coast
  - In the Midwest
  - In the Southwest
- When is Independence Day?
  - May 30
  - July 4
  - September 7
  - November 24
- The first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution are called:
  - The Bill of Rights
  - The Rights of States
  - The Articles of Confederation
  - The Declaration of Independence
- Freedom of speech and religion are protected by:
  - The Declaration of Independence
  - The Bill of Rights
  - Early laws of Congress
  - State laws
- The first president of the United States was:
  - Abraham Lincoln
  - James Madison
  - Thomas Jefferson
  - George Washington
- During the Civil War, the president was:
  - U.S. Grant
  - Andrew Jackson
  - Abraham Lincoln
  - Theodore Roosevelt
- An amendment to the Constitution gave to women the right to:
  - Vote
  - Free speech
  - Own property
  - Serve in the army
- When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the United States entered:
  - World War I
  - World War II
  - The Korean War
  - The Vietnam War
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a:
  - Senator
  - Governor
  - Medical scientist
  - Civil rights leader
- Where is the United States Capitol?
  - Washington, D.C.
  - New York City
  - Philadelphia, Pa.
  - Boston, Mass.
- The head of the executive branch of the U.S. government is the:
  - Governor
  - President
  - Chief Justice
  - Speaker of the House
- A president is elected every:
  - Year
  - Two years
  - Four years
  - Six years
- The U.S. Congress is made up of the Senate and the:
  - Assembly
  - Lower House
  - House of Commons
  - House of Representatives
- A state government is headed by a:
  - Governor
  - Secretary of State
  - President
  - Senator
- A mayor governs a:
  - City
  - County
  - Province
  - Region

Naturalization Assistance Board and Educational Testing Service.



## Immigration Charts

Study the chart and answer the questions that follow.



From which country did immigration to the United States increase the most between 1961 and 1990? \_\_\_\_\_

From which country did immigration to the United States decrease the most between 1961 and 1990? \_\_\_\_\_

## Undocumented Immigrants

In recent years large numbers of immigrants have entered the United States without filing the proper papers. Many of these “undocumented immigrants” come from Mexico. The story of two of them, Rosa Maria (RM) and Jose Luis (JL) Urbina, is told in the conversation below. After the dialogue is performed, write a question that you would like to ask of Rosa Maria and Jose Luis in the space marked, “Your Question.”

**RM** I am 35 years old. In 1984 I began crossing the Rio Grande daily from Mexico. Each morning, I would go down to the river bank and pay one of the men to carry me on their shoulders across the river, to El Paso, Texas, and back again in the evening. I was looking for work as a house cleaner. I needed the money to take my children from a first marriage out of the orphan’s home. At the time I placed them in the home, I was not earning enough money in the Mexican factory in which I worked to feed them.

**JL** Crossing the river can be very dangerous. There are fast water currents, which can knock you over. The undercurrents can pull you down. We were caught by the *migra* (border police) lots of times crossing the river together. The patrolmen are really okay people. They would arrest us, ask us questions, then put us in a truck and take us to their station. They keep us in a cell maybe three or four hours. Then they put us on a bus and drive us back to Mexico.

**RM** Suppose I am caught by the border patrol at 7:30 AM. After being held in the station and then taken back to Mexico, I would try to cross again. It is like a game. I think the most times I was ever caught by the *migra* was six times in one day.

**JL** We now live in an apartment in El Paso with our four children, three from Rosa Maria’s first marriage and our two-month old son, Jose Luis, Jr. The rent for this apartment is \$125 plus electricity. Most of the people in the building, like us, do not have legal immigration papers.

**RM** I earn \$25 a day as a housekeeper and Jose Luis earns about the same amount picking crops. My sons are in the 5th and 6th grade. My daughter is in the 2nd grade. In town, we don’t feel comfortable walking on the street. If the immigration officers see us, they will grab us. We are not afraid for ourselves because we are accustomed to it. But I worry about the children.

**JL** Someday maybe we’ll become United States citizens. If we do become citizens and the government asks our children to spend time in the army, we would be honored if they are chosen to serve.

### YOUR QUESTION

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Adaptation: Al Santoli, *New Americans: An Oral History* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988).

## *Undocumented Immigrants and the Law*

A.

**A Law.** Be it so enacted on this 15th day of October 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 provides the following:

- ¶ All undocumented immigrants (those who have not filed the proper papers with the Immigration and Naturalization Service) who have lived continuously in the United States since before January 1, 1982, shall be excused from punishment for violating the law, provided they now apply for temporary-resident status;
- ¶ After 18 months they may apply to become permanent-resident aliens;
- ¶ Five years after becoming permanent-resident aliens they will be eligible to apply for United States citizenship.
- ¶ Henceforth substantial penalties shall apply to employers who knowingly hire aliens who have not filed the proper papers with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

B.

### *The Multicultural Mosaic*

#### **CASE DEALING WITH UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS SETTLED**

June 1992—Today the Immigration and Naturalization Service settled a 1978 court case relating to rights of undocumented immigrants. According to the settlement, the government agreed to inform people arrested for not filing the proper immigration documents of their legal rights as granted in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Such persons will be given a notice of their rights, explaining why they are being held, and offering them the opportunity to contact a lawyer and an official from their native country's embassy. The aliens will also be informed of the steps they can take to remain in the United States legally.

## 1990 Law and Future Citizenship

Study the memo below and write an editorial on the following page giving your reaction.

### M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All Interested Parties  
 FROM: Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
 SUBJECT: Current Immigration Policy  
 DATE: October 1990

According to the Immigration Act of 1990, approximately 700,000 immigrants shall be allowed to enter the United States in the years 1992, 1993, and 1994. These immigrants shall be limited to individuals in the categories below and be admitted to the country in the following order of preference:

<u>CATEGORIES</u>	<u>NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS</u>
1. FAMILY IMMIGRANTS- immediate relatives (spouses, parents, or children) of naturalized citizens	465,000
2. SPOUSES AND CHILDREN OF LEGALIZED ALIENS	55,000
3. WORKERS WITH "EXTRAORDINARY ABILITIES"	
-- Internationally recognized professors and business managers	40,000
-- Professionals with advanced degrees and high abilities	40,000
-- Skilled workers (having two years of training or experience) or professionals with a bachelor's degree	30,000
-- Investors who promise to create new jobs in the United States	10,000
4. "DIVERSITY IMMIGRANTS"	
Limited to people from 34 countries, 28 of them in Europe, this category was created to diversify (change) the nations (mostly in Latin America and Asia) from which most immigrants had been coming since the 1965 Immigration Act was passed. The actual individuals selected in this group are to be determined by lottery.	40,000

**EXERCISE**

Write your opinion of the 1990 law and its effect on citizenship in the future.

<p><b>E D I T O R I A L</b></p> <p><b>NEW IMMIGRATION LAW</b></p> <p>Today the Immigration Law of 1990 took effect. Some of the major aspects of the new law are _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>President Bush called the law the most complete reform of United States immigration in many years. We believe that this law _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>The reasons for our opinion follow: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
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# Immigrants and the Question of Citizenship

## Immigrants Forgoing Citizenship While Pursuing American Dream

For most of his 12 years in this country, Armando Espinosa, an immigrant from Ecuador, had absolutely no intention of becoming a United States citizen. What would be the purpose? he asked himself. With a green card in his wallet, he led a comfortable life in Queens, working as an industrial mechanic while his two children flourished in public schools. He certainly did not consider himself American. "I am Ecuadorean in my blood and my gut," he said. "I do not even like apple pie."

Mr. Espinosa was hardly alone in his thinking. Unlike 50 years ago, when the majority of immigrants routinely sought to naturalize, only

slightly more than a third of legal permanent residents now apply to become citizens. Although advocates for immigrants believe that the tide is turning, most immigrants now exist in a state of legal limbo, many nourished by the dream, often an illusion, that they will someday return home.

Numbering up to 10 million nationally, these immigrants form a growing population of tax-paying residents without the right to vote or to serve on juries, police forces or in many federal jobs. At a time when ethnic and racial tensions are fracturing the harmony of many cities, the immigrants' status—seen by some as an unfair disen-

franchisement and by others as a failure to integrate—has become a cause of concern.

Legal immigrants are eligible for citizenship after five years in the country, or after three years if they are married to a citizen. The reasons that most do not naturalize are complex, ranging from their close ties to home in the age of jet travel and long-distance telephone calls to their fear of the citizenship interview—in which immigration officials may challenge them to "Name the order in which the 13 colonies came into the union" or "explain the stripes on the American flag."

From Deborah Sontag, *The New York Times*, July 25, 1993.

**CIVICS LESSON**

### The Route to Citizenship

Immigrants with green cards (legal permanent residents) who are 18 or older are eligible to apply for citizenship after living in the United States for five years, or after three years if married to a citizen. Green-card holders are entitled to many of the benefits available to citizens — for example,

**BENEFITS OF CITIZENSHIP:**


**Citizens can vote,** serve on juries and qualify for all Government jobs; green-card holders can't.


**Citizens travel freely;** green-card holders are subject to time limits on travel abroad.


**Citizens can sponsor more relatives** entering the United States (green-card holders can't sponsor parents or siblings); citizens' relatives are processed faster.


**NATURALIZATION: The steps from green card to citizenship**


- 1 PHOTOGRAPHS**  
Have three color photographs taken.



- 2 FINGERPRINTS**  
Have fingerprints taken at a police station, sheriff's office, immigration office, commercial shop or immigrant community center.


- 3 APPLICATION**  
Fill out the four-page Immigration and Naturalization Service application for U.S. citizenship. Its questions cover residential and employment history, marital status, military service, and criminal record, if any. It also contains questions about politics and character. For example:  
  - Have you ever been a habitual drunkard?
  - Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?
  - Have you ever practiced polygamy?


- 4 MAIL FORM AND FEE**  
Enclose a \$90 fee with the application; mail to I.N.S.  
Expect to wait several months to receive an interview date.


- 5 PREPARE FOR EXAM**  
As an alternative to taking an English and civics test at the interview, take the standardized Educational Testing Service exam at an immigrant agency, for a \$16 fee. Sample questions:  
  - During the Civil War, the President was . . . ?
  - Where were the original 13 colonies?
- 6 INTERVIEW**  
Report to interview. Bring documents to support application information.


- 7 SWEARING-IN**  
If you pass, report to a swearing-in ceremony (in New York, it will be a month or two after the exam).



Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service

Megan Jaegerman/The New York Times

## Bill of Responsibilities

Some time ago, the American Bar Association put together a "Bill of Responsibilities," meaning a list of duties for which every citizen should be responsible. Study the list and indicate whether you agree with each item by placing an "X" in the appropriate box. Then, in the space provided at the bottom of the worksheet, write any additional responsibilities that you think may have been left off the list.

### Bill of Responsibilities for United States Citizens

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
<b>It shall be the duty of every citizen to:</b>			
Give undivided loyalty to the Constitution, defending the nation and the Constitution itself against all enemies from within or without.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be familiar with the Constitution and the rights and liberties applying to each citizen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To protect freedom of thought, speech, worship and the press.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To obey the laws of the land and aid in their enforcement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To vote honestly and wisely at every election.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be active in the political party of choice, to select the best qualified candidates, and if called upon, to serve to the best of one's ability.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To serve as a juror when called upon.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To spread the ideals of democratic government at home and abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES:**

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## Citizenship Quotient

Determine your rating as a citizen of your school, neighborhood, city, state, and nation by placing a check (✓) in the boxes below indicating whether you have taken the action described. Then complete the exercise on the following page.

ACTION	YES	NO
Participated in a school or community service project	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Investigated a community problem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conducted a public opinion poll in your school or neighborhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interviewed officials in your school or community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Visited a government agency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Studied voting habits in your community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tried to obtain information from a government agency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written a letter to a lawmaker about an issue of importance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proposed a change in the laws of your city, state, or nation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Looked up information about who's who in the government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Evaluated the performance of a government official	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Read or listened to the president's State of the Union Address	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Served on a community crime patrol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Worn a campaign button	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written a political speech	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Registered to vote	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Voted in a school, city, state, or national election	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Run for elective office in your school, local organization, or community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discussed the strengths or weaknesses of candidates in an election	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Read and analyzed the Declaration of Independence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Looked for information in the United States Constitution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decided whether a law was allowed or not allowed by the Constitution	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Studied documents from other countries that helped begin democracy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Served on a student council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contributed money to help others in need	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



WORKSHEET 4I, CITIZENSHIP QUOTIENT (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Today's Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Your CQ could be any percentage from 0 to 100. Use this formula to determine it:

<b>No. of checks in YES column</b>

**x 4 =**

<b>YOUR CQ</b>

Do you think that the CQ is a fairly good measure of how active you have been as a citizen? \_\_\_\_\_

Explain. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Of the activities checked "NO," identify three that you think might be most interesting and important to do:

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## National Service Plan

Many people believe that residents should contribute some time to making their communities better places to live. This idea has been captured in a program described in the article below. After finishing the reading, complete the exercise that follows.

### National Service Plan Clears Senate

by ADAM CLYMER  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3 — The Senate today passed the national service bill, the first of the major programs that President Clinton promised in his campaign, and sent it to what is expected to be a very fast conference with the House, which has passed its own version.

The Senate voted 58 to 41 to approve the measure, which will encourage community service in two main ways. One is full-time national service for adults who will receive up to \$9,470 in educational grants when they finish and a minimum-wage living allowance while they serve, and the other is through projects for schoolchildren....

#### Statement of Thanks

President Clinton thanked the Senate for the vote in a statement saying he was especially gratified that Republicans and Democrats were able to work together. Seven Republicans voted for the bill today.

"National service will take on our nation's most pressing unmet needs while empowering a new generation to serve as leaders for change," Mr. Clinton said. "National service is about enhanced educational opportunity and rebuilding the American community."...

#### Change in Ethos

The national service concept was strongly urged before last fall's Presidential election by the Democratic Leadership Council, a moderate-to-conservative group. Today the council's president, Al From, said, "National

service, the cornerstone of the New Democrat agenda, replaces the two dominant ethics of the 1980's — every man for himself and something for nothing — with a simple philosophy that calls for a new spirit of civic obligation and participation in America."

Congressional aides said 15 percent of the measure's money was ear-marked for the program's school program. As many as 750,000 school children could be involved in the first year.

As examples of school programs that would form the model they cited programs in Minnesota, Maryland and Springfield, Mass.

Peter J. Negroni, superintendent of schools in Springfield, said: "We've tried to talk about more than simply providing a service. We try to incorporate it into the curriculum."

#### Models for Federal Aid

He cited the following projects as examples:

¶ Sixth through eighth graders studied polystyrenes like Styrofoam and their environmental impact and then learned how to press city agencies to stop using the material because of the harmful effects.

¶ Middle school science students regularly measured pollutants in the Mill River in Springfield and reported them to environmental authorities.

¶ Elementary school children visited senior citizens and wrote letters to them.

¶ High school students worked with local businessmen in organizing litter pickups.

For the adults, Administration officials offered a variety of examples of programs under which volunteers would be eligible for up to two \$4,725 grants to pay education costs, along with living allowances, health insurance and child care if necessary.

One of the best-known is Teach for America, in which college graduates after brief training work as public school teachers. This is among the programs that have already received Federal help as pilot projects under an earlier, experimental version of the national service measure.

Many of the examples are more locally focused.

One is the City Volunteer Corps in New York, with both full and part-time corps members working on projects ranging from recycling to after-school programs. Another is City Year, a Boston project using mainly school dropouts and recent high school graduates to work as teacher's aides, deliver meals to AIDS patients and rehabilitate damaged buildings.

The Kansas Public Safety Corps serves to train local residents in cardiopulmonary resuscitation, first aid and farm safety. It provides health and safety information in rural schools and public organizations.

Senator Kennedy predicted that national service would be a defining issue for this Administration. "Community service is as old as America," he said. "Helping others, to help themselves, helping communities all across this nation is a value which is as old as the nation itself."

The New York Times, August 4, 1993.

WORKSHEET 4J, NATIONAL SERVICE PLAN (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

In the space below describe three projects that you think should be added to a list of acceptable projects for the National Service plan. In the box marked "reasons," justify why you think these projects deserve to be included on such a list.

PROJECTS	REASONS
<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
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## Community Service: Josh Rivera

The passage below was written by Josh Rivera about the kind of community service he performed. After reading the passage, describe in the space provided how Josh Rivera helps his community.

I am participating in the Summer of Service program for college students 17-25 years old. The 200 students in the program are Puerto Ricans such as myself, African-Americans, Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, Asian-Americans, and young people from many other groups.

At 7:55 A.M. each weekday for the last eight weeks we started the day by exercising. Then a group of nine of us set out on our assignment, working with the young children from a local school in a day of raking and watering the flower garden planted by the children.

When we arrived at the garden there were no children. So I rang a few door bells, rounding up two. As many as 20 children would wander in to the garden during the day. Arturo Morales, 11 and Israel Santiago, 10 wanted to inspect the gardens they helped plant. Soon Arturo, Israel and myself were pulling weeds. By the end of the day the garden looked beautiful and the community looked that much better.

In return for our work we earn \$170 per week and \$1000 to be used toward higher education. We were also sent to Treasure Island Naval Base in San Francisco for a week of leadership training conducted by members of the Peace Corps and other service organizations.

The week in San Francisco opened my eyes to other cultures. It changed me a lot. Now if I see a kid misbehaving, as happened yesterday when I was on my way home, I'll talk to him and try to steer him in a new direction."

Some older people say that the youth only care about themselves. By working in this project we hope to prove to everybody that we do care about our community and the people who live in it.

The New York Times, August 22, 1993.

### A DESCRIPTION OF JOSH RIVERA'S COMMUNITY SERVICE

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## Community Service in Chicago

The passage below was written by Trong Nguyen about the kind of community service he performed. After reading the passage, describe in the space provided how Trong Nguyen helps his community.

Since I came to Chicago in 1976, I've been involved in building the Vietnamese community. When my wife and I came to Chicago, our major concern was to feed our five small children. We had Vietnamese pride and did not want to take public aid.

My life here has been working for the community. Sometimes my wife says, 'It seems that you care more about the community than your own family. Every day after finishing work, I would go on the street and ask people about their needs. Many problems involved the schools. For instance, in Vietnam, when both parents work, their older children take care of the babies. Here, in Chicago, the schools would call the homes to ask why the children who were babysitting weren't attending classes. Since most of the parents couldn't speak English, the authorities would call me to help. I would visit the families at night to explain the law to them.

Crime, especially mugging, threatened everyone's daily life. We decided to organize 'beat representatives.' These are citizens' groups that watch the neighborhood and call the police if there is trouble.

During 1980, at the height of the period when Vietnamese were coming to the United States, my wife quit her job to work on a committee to greet refugees at the airport. She helped transfer those coming from Vietnam to connecting flights to other cities. Her job was very tough because the planes were arriving at all hours of day or night.

With so many of us living in the area, we needed a community center staffed by Vietnamese. In 1980 I heard that the United States government planned to give money to open community centers. I wrote an application for such a center. Some time later I heard that the government was granting the money to open the community center. Since that time the center has grown with the community.

Adaptation: Al Santoli, *New Americans: An Oral History*

### A DESCRIPTION OF TRONG NGUYEN'S COMMUNITY SERVICE

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# Community Service in New York City

The passage below was written about Keysha McNeil and the service she performed in her community. After reading the passage, in the space provided, describe how Keysha McNeil helps her community.

**ABOUT NEW YORK**/Felicia R. Lee

## Running Schools Amid Homework Assignments

When classes begin today for some 993,000 students in New York City schools, Keysha McNeil will face one of the biggest challenges of her 16-year-old life. As the first student representative on the Board of Education to serve a full academic year, she must give voice to the cacophony of dreams, needs and aspirations of her fellow students.

While that is no easy task in a system full of troubled children and conflicting academic prescriptions, Ms. McNeil is herself a walking advertisement for what is right about the younger generation. Poised and well spoken, she is a senior at Washington Irving High School in Manhattan and the former student body president there. She plans to be a lawyer. She is relentlessly upbeat about almost any problem, including the need to make an impact as the nonvoting representative to the seven-member board.

"I'm here just for the students," said Ms. McNeil, who won the position after a series of interviews with a citywide panel of students. "This is, in a sense, their outlet. There are too many problems, too many crises. There is also too much negativity about students."

Won So, her predecessor in the position that was created earlier this year to give students more input on the board, was a Stuyvesant High School senior who served from February to June.

As adults wrangle over whether aspects of the schools' multicultural curriculum "promote" homosexuality and whether condom distribution encourages sexual activity, Ms. McNeil said that some grownups failed to realize that students live in a world where these are already real issues. Only one board member, Ninfa Segarra, has children in the public schools.

"Children know that some people are gay; teenagers are having sex; AIDS kills kids as well as adults," Ms. McNeil said. "Children today are hit by the different crises in their environment. When the issue comes up it hits home — be it the city budget or AIDS."

Ms. McNeil said she found that students were supportive of the condom distribution program and wanted an AIDS curriculum that talked about more than abstinence. In a bitterly controversial move, the board has mandated that AIDS lecturers from outside the schools sign a pledge promising to emphasize abstinence over safe sex.

"Standing up there for an hour and preaching abstinence defeats the purpose," Ms. McNeil said. "Every child in New York City knows that abstinence is the 100 percent safest way. But if all I hear every five

minutes is 'abstinence, abstinence,' I'd ask 'what about everything else?'"

Ms. McNeil said she planned to get a window on student concerns by walking the halls of schools from Crown Heights to Brooklyn Heights and dropping in on student government meetings. She supports metal detectors in schools and believes that a new curriculum with more attention to the contributions of blacks, Asians and Hispanics will bring students closer together.

Her first priority, she said, is for the board to tackle the problem of dropouts and the number of students who do not graduate on time. The dropout rate for the class of 1991, between freshman year and graduation, was 17.2 percent. Ms. McNeil believes students leave school for a variety of reasons that need to be addressed individually, but undergirding all the statistics is fear.

"I think the biggest problem is uncertainty," she said. "Students ask 'will I have the funds to go to college? And after I go through those four treacherous years, will I find a job?'"

If the gulf between parent and child or student and teacher seems mockingly large, Ms. McNeil contends that is because neither side listens to the other very well. She hopes to bridge the gap.

"Students are troubled," Ms. McNeil said. "They don't have enough guidance counselors to help them with their problems. We have about seven or eight teachers a day. If you say, 'pick someone who cares' they might name one. If a child didn't fear something we wouldn't have as much violence. Kids bring guns to school because they're afraid."

Ms. McNeil is mostly the product of a Catholic school education. It was not until 10th grade that her mother, who works for the Postal Service, and her father, a retired postal worker, decided to send her to public school.

Washington Irving is a 45-minute commute from Ms. McNeil's home in East Bronx. As a performing arts major, she dances, sings, acts and models. She describes herself as aggressive and "way too old for myself, age-wise."

"The most I want to achieve is to not be a figurehead," Ms. McNeil said in her earnest way. "I don't want people to say Keysha just sat back. If I can accomplish just one thing, I'll be by all means satisfied."

*The New York Times.*

### A DESCRIPTION OF KEYSHA MCNEIL'S COMMUNITY SERVICE

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# Learning Activity 5

*How do state and city governments affect the lives of New Yorkers?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Contributions

## BACKGROUND

The government of New York State is based on the revised constitution, written in 1938. Whereas the United States Constitution is relatively brief, New York State's constitution consists of over 50,000 words on 92 pages. In over 20 articles, the New York State Constitution sets out a bill of rights, the role of the three branches of government, the means for amending the constitution, and other miscellaneous guidelines. The state government consists of an executive branch, led by the governor; a legislative branch, made up of a senate and assembly; and a judicial branch, including the various levels of courts.

According to the U.S. Constitution, power was to be divided between states and the federal government. The relationship between these two entities continues to be marked by friction. Recently, states like New York have balked at the federal government's demands that states pay for federally mandated programs. Often, these programs have application only to specific states.

Using the principle of home rule, states bestow on localities a limited scope of authority to regulate issues of local concern. Thus, the government of New York City was established by New York State. New York City's government is described in the recently revised (1991) city charter, which gives considerable power to the city council (the legislative branch) at the expense of the borough presidents. Probably the most visible symbol of New York City government is the mayor. As head of the executive branch, the mayor holds a position on the city level similar to that of the president on the federal level and the governor on the state level.

## MAJOR IDEAS

- The constitution of New York State has evolved to meet the needs of the state's citizens.
- CHANGES in the role of government at the federal level have greatly influenced the function and role of New York State government.
- The POWER exercised by local government is influenced by both the federal and state governments.

## CONCEPTS

- Change
- Citizenship
- Identity
- Justice
- Political System
- Power

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Describe the major features of the New York State Constitution and the New York City Charter.
- Discuss the roles and functions of the three major branches of New York State and New York City government.
- Assess the extent to which New York State and New York City government are responsive to the needs of residents.
- Examine the effects that the changes in the role of government at the federal level have had on the function and role of state government.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 5A, "New York State Constitution." Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from studying this worksheet?
  - In what ways is the state constitution most similar to the United States Constitution?
  - In what ways is the state constitution most different from the United States Constitution?
  - Do you think it's a good idea that state legislators are elected for two-year terms rather than longer terms?
  - Should the constitution limit the number of terms a governor can serve in office?
  - Do you think that topics like conditions for divorce, rules about betting, or the protection of forests should be part of a constitution?
  - If you could recommend one addition or deletion to the New York State Constitution, what would it be?
- Distribute Worksheet 5B, "The Governor." Have students read and explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about the powers of the governor of New York from this worksheet?
  - After studying this chart, how can you explain why the governor is considered one of the United States' most powerful people?
  - Which of the powers is the governor's most important?
  - Are there any powers the governor should not have? Are there any powers that do not appear on this chart that you think the governor should have?
  - Do you think the governor is too powerful?

— If you were the governor, what program(s) would you suggest to the state legislature?

- Tell students that they will participate in a simulation of the New York State Legislature as it debates the following bill:

**"All students in New York State must participate in a community service project ( e.g., volunteering to work in a senior citizen's home, painting over graffiti in the school yard, tutoring students, etc.) as a high school graduation requirement."**

Distribute Worksheet 5C, "The New York State Legislature in Action," and Worksheet 5D, "New York State Legislative Agenda," which will serve as the road map for the simulation. Select one student to play the role of governor and divide the remainder of the class into groups of approximately the following sizes:

- State Assembly (22 students—12 Democrats and 10 Republicans). Designate 6 Democrats and 4 Republicans to serve on the Assembly Education Committee.
  - State Senate (10 students—6 Republicans and 4 Democrats). Designate 4 Republicans and 2 Democrats to serve on the Senate Education Committee.
- After discussing the agenda for the simulation (Worksheet 5D), give students at least one week to prepare for the activity.
  - After the simulation, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
    - What is your reaction to the method by which laws are made in New York State?
    - Why might someone describe this method of lawmaking as rule by committee? How can you explain why the committee is allowed to kill bills before they get to either of the houses? Do you think this is fair? Is it necessary?
    - What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of this process of lawmaking?



- How democratic is the process followed by the legislature in making laws? How effective is it?
- Does this process of lawmaking give the residents of New York State enough of a voice?
- Could you suggest any changes in the way the legislature operates?
- Distribute Worksheet 5E, “11th-Hour Lawmaking.” Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn about the state legislature from reading the article?
  - What’s your reaction to the state legislature after reading this article?
  - Why do you think Andres Gonzalez said of the legislature, “It’s like a monster”?
  - How can you explain why the issue of how much rents should be allowed to increase has led to so many arguments?
  - Based on what you have read, what changes would you suggest in the way the legislature operates?
  - What’s your reaction to Ben Younger’s feeling that the legislature works?
  - What would you hope to see and learn if you were to visit Albany and see the legislature in session?
- Distribute Worksheet 5F, “New York Legislature: Letter to the Editor.” Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is the letter writer saying ?
  - Why does the letter writer say that the “New York State Legislature Cries Out for Reform”?
  - What suggestions does the letter writer make for improving the way the legislature operates?
  - What’s your opinion about each of these suggestions? How would you react to these suggestions if you were a member of the state legislature?
- Distribute Worksheet 5G, “The Judiciary.” Have students complete the exercise. (Answers to exercise: 1, New York City Civil Court; 2, New York State Supreme Court; 3, the Court of Appeals; 4, Family Court). Then have them explain their answers to the following:
  - What do we learn from reading this chart?
  - What does this chart tell us about the court system in New York State?
  - Plan to explain the court system to a classmate who missed today’s lesson; role-play the conversation.
  - Why do you think we have higher- and lower-level courts?
  - Do you think it would be better for all New Yorkers if we had fewer courts handling more cases?
- Distribute Worksheet 5H, “States vs. Federal Government.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following:
  - What did you learn from this article?
  - How can you explain the headline that reads, “Flinching Over Washington’s Hand in State Wallets”?
  - How can you explain the federal government passing laws that establish programs for which the states have to pay?
  - As a U.S. congressperson from New York, how would you justify supporting a clean water bill, which the State of New York was forced to pay for?
  - Role-play a debate between an individual who supports the idea of states paying for programs passed by the federal government and someone opposed to the idea.
  - Are there any kinds of programs passed by the federal government which you believe New York State should have to pay for?

- Distribute Worksheet 5I, “The Revised City Charter.” Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn from this worksheet about the changes resulting from the new city charter?
  - In what ways is the new city charter intended to give people from diverse ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, and other cultural communities a greater say in government?
  - Do you think residents from each borough are represented more or less effectively in the new compared to the old charter?
  - If you were voting today on approval of the new charter, how would you vote? What advantages, if any, did the old charter have over the new one?
- Distribute Worksheet 5J, “Reactions to the Charter.” Select students to play the roles of moderator M, and seven panelists (P1-P7) for the reenactment of the panel discussion. After the reenactment have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from the reenactment of the panel discussion?
  - What evidence was presented to support the view that the new charter would not benefit people of color?
  - What evidence was presented to support the view that the new charter would benefit people of color?
  - Do you think it’s a good idea to draw up city council districts in such a way as to group people of similar ethnic, racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds?
  - Did the panel discussion change your mind about the new charter? Are you more in agreement with it? More against it? Explain.
  - If you were a reporter attending this panel discussion, what one question would you like to have asked of the panelists?
- Distribute Worksheet 5K, “Who Runs City Government?” Divide students into groups of four. Tell students they will be making an imaginary visit to the offices of important city officials. Have each student in a group read a different one of the job descriptions on the worksheet, recording some the information they learned in the space provided. Then, as part of the class discussion, have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn about the leaders of city government from your “visits”?
  - Based on what you learned, what qualities would be needed for a person to be successful in the roles of mayor, borough president, city councilmember, and comptroller?
  - If you were eligible, which of these offices would you be most interested in holding?
  - Which of these offices is most important in how well the city runs?
- Have students write to their city councilperson. Their letter should inquire as to whether, in their councilperson’s view, the new charter has led to all New Yorkers having a greater voice in city government. Ask students to complete the exercise on Worksheet 5K.
- Distribute Worksheet 5L, “New York’s City Council Is Taking Powerful Role.” Have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is this article about?
  - According to this article, in what ways has the New York City Council become more powerful?
  - Why does one observer say that the debate in the council is “just some theater that does not change the finale that has been decided by the script writer”?
  - What evidence does this article present to show that the council has become more democratic? What evidence is presented to show that the council is still not democratic?

- Do you think the speaker has too much power? What arguments can you present to support giving the speaker so much power?
- Distribute Worksheet 5M, “Council Agenda” and review it with students. Allow students sufficient time to prepare for the simulation as described below (one week is suggested).
- Distribute Worksheets 5N, “Proposed Legislation: Background” and 5O, “Summary of the Proposal to be Considered by the City Council” and review them, along with the roles to be enacted, with students.
- Ask students to assume the following roles:
  - (1 student) A speaker of the council to use the powers of the office as described in Worksheet 5L.
  - (3 students) Committee witnesses **favoring** the proposed legislation. Distribute Worksheets 5P, “Coalition for a Smoke-Free New York,” “Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Institute,” and “Abyssinian Baptist Church,” each to a different witness.
  - (3 students) Committee witnesses **against** the proposed legislation. Distribute Worksheets 5Q, “Tobacco Institute of America,” “American Association of Advertising Agencies,” and “New York Civil Liberties Union,” each to a different witness.
  - (4 students) Newspaper reporters, feature and editorial writers to prepare a newspaper story about the city council simulation.
  - (one half of the remaining students) City council committee members whose role is to listen to the testimony and question committee witnesses, debate, and then vote on proposed legislation. One committee member should serve as chairperson. During the full council session, committee members will participate in the debate and then vote on the bill.
- (one half of the remaining students) Observers during the committee hearings. During the full council session, these students will serve as council members, at which time they will participate in the debate and then vote on the bill. One of these students should serve as public advocate (formerly the council president) to preside over the full council debate and vote to break ties.
- On the day of the simulation, have students follow the agenda on Worksheet 5M. After the simulation have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What’s your reaction to what happened at our council session?
  - How does it compare to the view of the council presented on Worksheet 5L?
  - How can you explain the importance of committees in conducting the council’s business?
  - How convincing were the witnesses favoring the bill before the committee? How convincing were those witnesses opposed to the bill?
  - To what extent does the council, as demonstrated in this activity, serve the needs of New Yorkers?
  - What changes, if any, would you suggest in the way the council operates?
  - Did our council make the right decision on this bill?

## ***New York State Constitution***

The actual New York State Constitution runs 92 pages and contains over 50,000 words. Examine the summary below and compare it to the United States Constitution. In the space provided note the similarities and differences.

### ***The Constitution of the State of New York***

#### **ARTICLE I**

##### **THE BILL OF RIGHTS**

- Protection of individual rights. For example:
  - Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press
  - Freedom from having homes searched without good cause
  - The right to a fair trial
  - Freedom from unusual and cruel punishments
- Protection of civil rights. For example:
  - Prohibits discrimination by the state or local government because of race, color or religion
  - Prohibits discrimination in employment
- Protection of workers' rights. For example:
  - Gives workers the right to organize (join unions)
  - Sets maximum hours
  - Sets minimum wages
  - Gives workers the right to negotiate with employers over wages and working conditions
- Protection of other rights. For example:
  - Sets terms under which people may receive a divorce
  - Sets conditions under which the following kind of betting may occur: lotteries, pool-selling, sports games, horse-racing, bingo, lotto, etc.

#### **ARTICLE II**

##### **VOTING LAWS**

- Qualifications for voting: citizen of the U.S., at least 18 years old, and a resident of a New York county for at least 30 days before the election
- Voter registration procedures
- The method by which voting will be conducted

#### **ARTICLES III-VI**

##### **BRANCHES OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT**

- The legislative branch shall make laws.
  - It shall consist of two houses, a senate made up of 60 members, and an assembly made up of 150 members
  - Elections for the senate and assembly shall occur every two years
- The executive branch shall carry out laws.
  - The governor heads the executive branch
  - The governor is elected every four years. A governor may serve as many terms as elected
- The judicial branch shall interpret laws and decide cases involving the law.
  - The highest court is the Court of Appeals
  - Below the Court of Appeals is the appellate division, the supreme court, and lower courts
  - Court of Appeals, appellate division, and supreme court judges are appointed, other judges are elected

#### **ARTICLE XIX**

##### **AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION**

- The Constitution may be changed as a result of a two-step process:
  - Amendments are suggested by the state legislature or at a special meeting, called a constitutional convention
  - Once suggested, an amendment must be ratified by the people in an election

#### **OTHER ARTICLES**

- Set out powers, rights, and responsibilities of local governments
- Establish business corporations and their rights and responsibilities
- Establish public schools and rules about private and religious schools
- Protect forests and public parks
- Provide relief for the poor, public health, care of persons suffering from mental disease
- Provide housing for people with low incomes

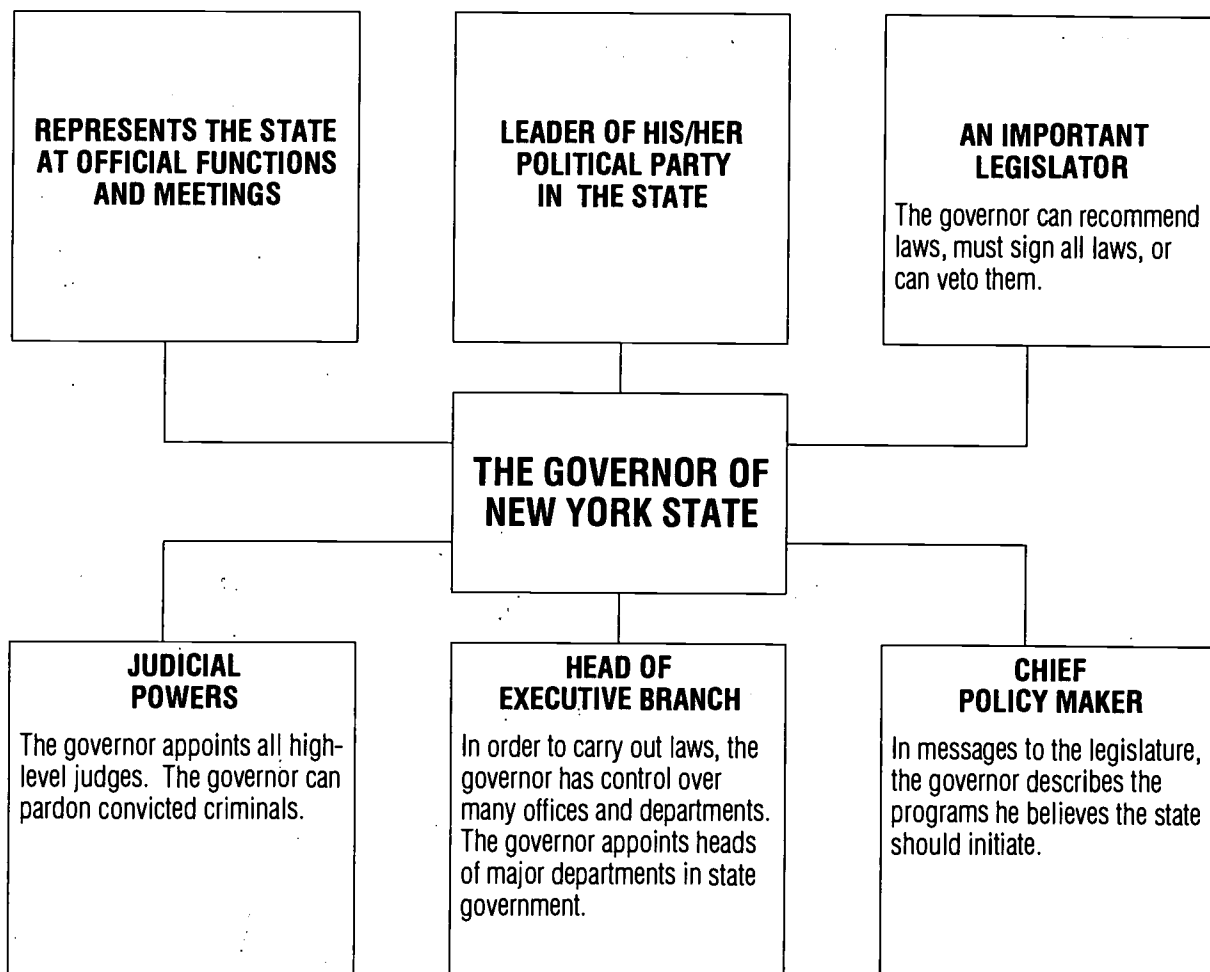
WORKSHEET 5A, NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTION (CONTINUED)

After examining the United States Constitution and the New York State Constitution, complete the chart below listing as many similarities and differences as you can.

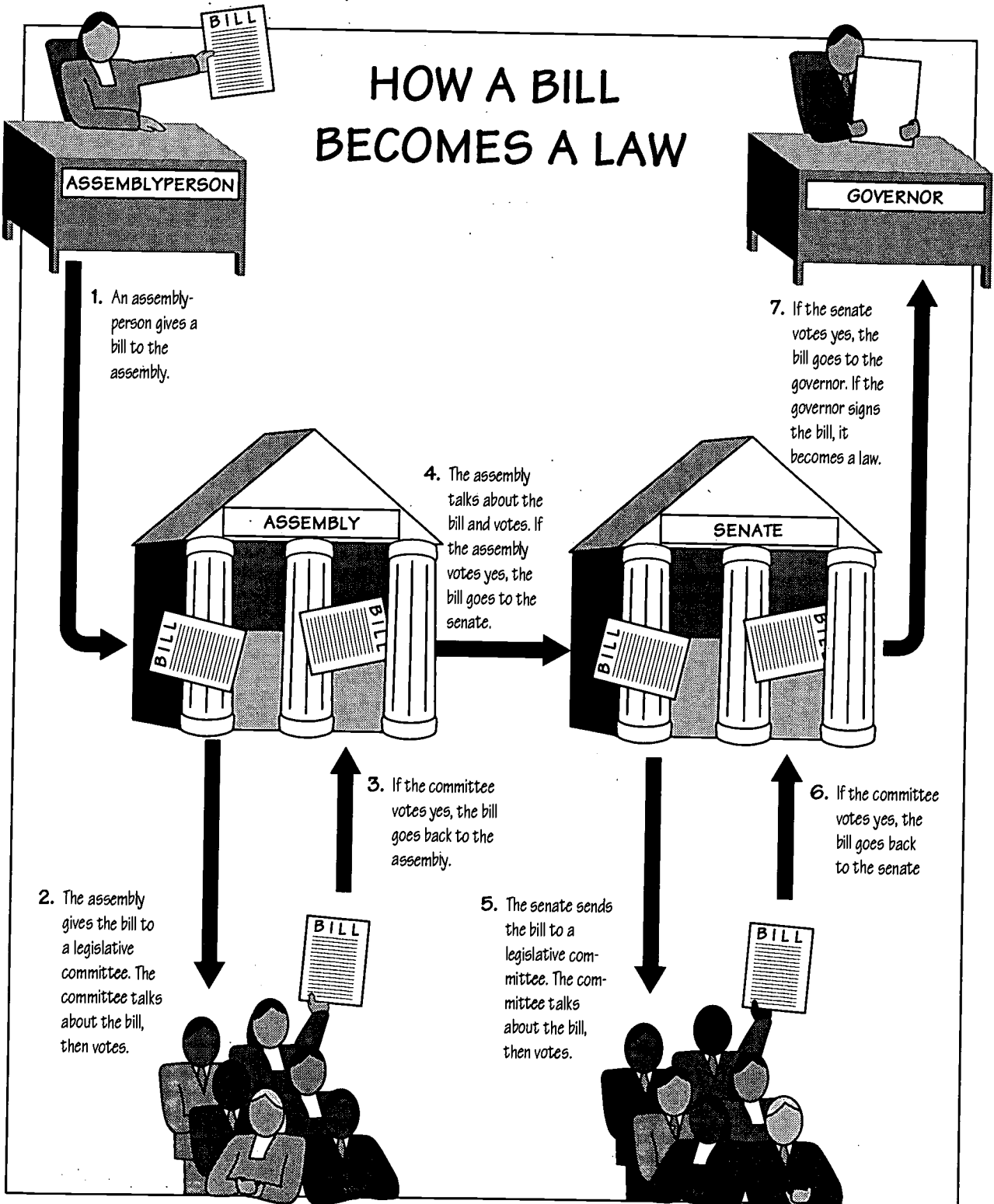
SIMILARITIES		DIFFERENCES	
NEW YORK	UNITED STATES	NEW YORK	UNITED STATES

# The Governor

The chart below describes the major responsibilities of the governor of New York State.



# The New York State Legislature in Action



## ***New York State Legislative Agenda***

- ① *The Assembly Education Committee will consider the bill.* Five minutes will be allowed for the debate. At the end of the debate the committee, by majority vote, may do one of the following with regard to the bill:

- A. Approve it as is.
- B. Approve it with suggested changes.
- C. Kill the bill by voting against it.

If either "A" or "B" above occurs, then go to ②:

- ② *The full assembly will consider the bill.* Five minutes will be allowed for debate. At the end of the debate the Assembly, by majority vote may do one of the following with regard to the bill:

- A. Approve it as is.
- B. Approve it with suggested changes.
- C. Kill the bill by voting against it.

If either "A" or "B" above occurs, then go to ③:

- ③ *The Senate Education Committee will consider the bill.* Five minutes will be allowed for the debate. At the end of the debate the committee, by majority vote, may do one of the following with regard to the bill:

- A. Approve it as is.
- B. Approve it with suggested changes.
- C. Kill the bill by voting against it.

If either "A" or "B" above occurs, then go to ④:

- ④ *The full senate will consider the bill.* Five minutes will be allowed for debate. At the end of the debate the senate, by majority vote, may do one of the following with regard to the bill:

- A. Approve it as is.
- B. Approve it with suggested changes.
- C. Kill the bill by voting against it.

If the bill that passes the senate is exactly the same as the bill that passed the assembly, go to ⑦.  
If the bill passing the senate is in any way different from the assembly bill, go to ⑤:

- ⑤ *A conference committee will resolve the differences between the assembly and senate version of the bill.* The conference committee should be made up of six Democrats (three from the assembly committee and three from the senate committee) and four Republicans (two from the assembly committee and two from the senate committee). Once agreement is reached on a revised bill, go to ⑥:
- ⑥ *The full assembly and senate will vote on the bill.* If both pass the bill, each by majority votes, go to ⑦.  
If one house votes against the bill, it is dead.
- ⑦ *The governor will consider the bill.* The governor may sign the bill or veto it. If the governor vetoes it, the bill may still become law if two thirds of both houses in separate votes vote in favor.



## 11th-Hour Lawmaking

After reading the article below, write a letter to your state assemblyperson or senator, giving your reactions.

### The Seesaw, 11th-Hour Making of Laws

by JACQUES STEINBERG

ALBANY, July 2—Andres Gonzalez had never seen anything quite like it.

On Wednesday and again on Thursday, Mr. Gonzalez, 35, a tenant advocate from the Bronx, hopped on a bus for the 130-mile trek to the state Capitol, hopeful that he would see the Legislature break a logjam and assure the long-term survival of the rent-stabilization laws.

But late each night he left Albany crestfallen as legislative leaders could only agree to extend the laws, first for one day and then, on Thursday, for another three days.

"It's like a monster," he said of his first up-close look at the Legislature in action. "When you get here, you expect things to be happening in an orderly fashion. Then you realize it's not like that at all.

It has become a rite of New York politics that the Legislature concludes its annual six-month session with a flurry of down-to-the-wire, late-night lawmaking that sputters out on or around the Fourth of July. But this year has been extreme by any measure of intransigence. And the rent issue has been the reason.

#### 'It's Getting to Be a Joke'

For weeks, the Senate majority leader, Ralph J. Marino of Oyster Bay, L.I., and the Assembly Speaker, Saul Weprin of Queens, have been bitterly divided over whether to end rent regulation on the apartments of the wealthy. Mr. Marino has pushed for such restriction, while Mr. Weprin has resisted.

In the meantime, negotiations have ground to a halt on virtually every other significant issue facing the Legislature, thwarting progress on major bills concerning mental health, hospital financing and the environment.

Things got so bad late Thursday night that Mr. Weprin, a Democrat, and Mr. Marino, a Republican, could not even discuss the substantive merits of the rent issue because they were squabbling so intensely over how many days to extend the existing laws, which were due to expire at midnight. The laws, they ultimately agreed, would be extended until midnight Sunday.

"It's getting to be a joke now and that's regrettable," Gov. Mario M. Cuomo said at 11:10 P.M. Thursday, 46 minutes before he strolled to the Senate to sign the fourth short-term extension of the rent laws in two weeks. "There's no way to rationalize this system, no way to go out to intelligent lay people and say this is the way real professionals do it."

Mr. Marino, whose voice is usually so soft that it is barely audible, boiled over in uncharacteristic anger at a post-midnight news conference early today. At times, pounding his fist, he accused Mr. Weprin of holding hostage important measures concerning



banking deregulation and medical malpractice insurance until he got his way on the rent stabilization.

"It is the most irresponsible negotiation on the part of any elected officials I've ever seen," said Mr. Marino, his voice rising. "And I've been here a long time. And I hope never to witness it again. It's intolerable."

Later this morning, Mr. Weprin's spokesman, Steve Greenberg, responded that it was Mr. Marino who had been stonewalling since February, when the Democrat-led Assembly passed bills that would have extended the existing rent rules permanently or at least for two years.

The Republican-controlled Senate has so far balked at considering either measure, saying the new laws must in some way exclude New York City's wealthiest tenants.

"They brought us to the brink," Mr. Greenberg said. "And now they have left the tenants hanging out on that brink."

#### Crammed Last Minutes

Tonight there was no sign that the differences between the two sides had been resolved.

The long night sessions have been particularly hard on the lobbyists, who this year are roaming the Capitol's marble-lined hallways with more cellular phones than ever. But unless they are among the handful concerned with rent rules, there have been few calls to make and little to do but wait.

"It has made it much more difficult for us to meet with key staff in the Senate and the Assembly in the spare time they have left," said Lee Wasserman, executive director of the Environmental Planning Lobby, who is anxiously tracking measures on clean air and lead paint.

"I think they have managed to do the impossible," Mr. Wasserman said. "That is to delay more things to the last minute than ever before.

Indeed, with so much on the legislators' plates the most oft-repeated question in the Capitol's elevators and rest rooms has been this: When will we be finished this year? Rumors and theories abound.

#### A Moving Finish Line

The session, which began in January, was scheduled to end on June 25, but no one believed that deadline was firm. Now, however, the unofficial goal of ending on July 4 seems to be in serious jeopardy, with some prognosticators wondering aloud whether the Legislature will meet into next week or beyond. Few have been brave enough to make barbecue plans for Sunday.

"I bet on horses in Saratoga in August," said Wayne Jackson, 46, who has been the sergeant-at-arms in the Assembly since 1979. "But I would never bet on this. I would lose."

Last year's session concluded on July 3, with the legislators returning to wrap up some unfinished business in late July. But in 1988, the session ended exceptionally late, on July 15, only to have the legislators called back for brief, so-called "extraordinary" sessions in August, November and December.

Although it is difficult to make the argument that this is the way good government is practiced, Ben Younger, 20, a senior at Queens College, believes the system works.

An intern in the office of Assemblyman Alan G. Hevesi of Queens, Mr. Younger is, for the first time, watching a session draw to a close. And he likes what he sees.

"There are so many different factions and sides that it is impossible to solve a problem as you and I would in our everyday lives," he said on a recent night as he sipped a can of apple juice at the back of the Assembly chamber. "Everyone should come up here and see what goes on."

The New York Times, July 3, 1993; Photo: David Jennings for The New York Times

## New York Legislature: Letter to the Editor

After reading the letter to the editor below, complete the exercise that follows:

### New York Legislature Cries Out for Reform

To the Editor:

The time has come for reforms in the New York State Legislature.

It should meet year round, instead of from January to early July. State lawmakers receive full-time salaries, but pack up and leave before voting on important laws. This year they failed to vote in session on environmental protection laws and the Medicaid takeover among other important items. And it is only July!

Just days after the Legislature rushed to quit for the year, members circulated nominating petitions to get on the ballot. Incumbents seeking reelection will soon tell us how much they love their work. Why then do they adjourn without finishing it?

The time has also come for them to stop voting on hundreds of bills at once in the middle of the night on the last day of the session. Many lawmakers have no idea what they are voting on, and the public can't

scrutinize what is taking place. It is impossible for lawmakers to consider the merits and faults of each proposal of the hundreds placed before them in the last few days of the session.

Finally, our state legislators should consider abolishing one house of the Legislature (possibly the State Senate). We duplicate the costs of legislating when we have to pay for two state legislatures and the committees and staffs that are required to support two separate and equal legislative bodies. Having one legislative body would reduce the constant blaming of the other house for the state's problems, would increase accountability, save taxpayers' money and reduce duplication.

PAUL FEINER

Town Supervisor  
Greenburgh, N.Y., July 7, 1992

*The New York Times*, July 21, 1992.

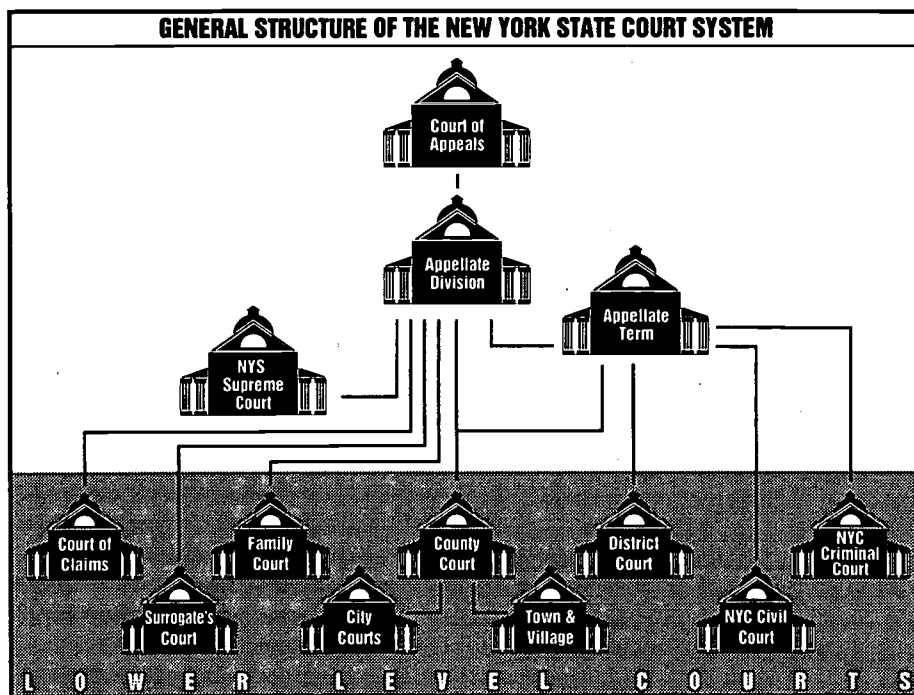
#### EXERCISE

In the appropriate column list three reforms suggested in the letter to the editor. Place a check in the appropriate space indicating whether you would support such reforms, and explain your reasons.

REFORM				REASONS
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

# The Judiciary

Study the chart and court descriptions and complete the exercise that follows.



**COURT OF APPEALS (Final appellate authority)** *Right of appeal from courts of original jurisdiction:* Rarely exercised. *Appeal by permission:* Certain situations as determined by the appellate division or court of appeals—the usual manner by which cases get heard. *Appeal as of right:* Construction of a state or federal statute, or constitution is in issue, in which two justices in the appellate division dissented on an issue of law.

**APPELLATE DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COURT** *Original jurisdiction:* Proceedings to admit and suspend attorneys; instances that require the decision of questions of law only (facts are not in dispute); proceedings in the nature of a prohibition against a supreme court justice. *Appellate:* Appeals from the supreme court, county courts, family court, surrogate's court, the court of claims, and the appellate terms of the supreme court. Reviews both the law and the facts. Four judicial departments—on the court in each court designation.

**APPELLATE TERM OF THE SUPREME COURT (First and second departments only)** *Jurisdiction:* Appeals from New York City civil and criminal courts. Second

department also hears appeals from district, city, town, and county courts in all civil and non-felony criminal cases. Appeals from appellate term go to the appellate division.

**SUPREME COURT (One branch in each county)** *General jurisdiction:* Original, unlimited civil, and criminal. Serious violations of the criminal law; civil cases over \$25,000. Exceptions: cases in which exclusive jurisdiction has been conferred by Congress on federal courts; cases involving actions against the state in which exclusive jurisdiction has been conferred on the court of claims. *Exclusive jurisdiction:* Separation, annulment, divorce.

### LOWER LEVEL COURTS

**COURT OF CLAIMS** Claims against the state or a state agency, or brought by the state against a private citizen. Appeals are to the appellate division, depending upon where the action was initiated. (For example, cases involving City University of New York.)

**SURROGATE'S COURT** Decedent's estates, guardianship, and (concurrent with the Family Court) adoption.

**FAMILY COURT** All aspects of family life, except separation, annulment, and divorce.

*Exclusive jurisdiction:* Neglect, paternity, family offenses, and juvenile delinquency.

**COUNTY COURT (One in each county)** *Civil and criminal jurisdiction:* Money actions up to \$25,000. Real property actions. Incompetency proceedings. Appeals in third and fourth departments from city, town, and village courts.

**CITY COURTS** Sixty-one cities outside New York City: civil jurisdiction up to \$15,000. Some criminal jurisdiction (misdemeanors).

**TOWN AND VILLAGE** Justice of the peace (town). Police justice (village). Criminal jurisdiction (misdemeanors). Civil jurisdiction up to \$3,000.

**DISTRICT COURT** Nassau and Suffolk county civil and criminal jurisdiction up to \$15,000 (misdemeanors and lesser offenses).

**NEW YORK CITY CIVIL COURT** *Civil jurisdiction only:* Monetary jurisdiction up to \$25,000. Housing problems. Small claims court division. Appeals to appellate term.

**NEW YORK CITY CRIMINAL COURT** Criminal jurisdiction only; misdemeanor and lesser offenses. Appeals to appellate term.

WORKSHEET 5G, THE JUDICIARY (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Assume you work as an information assistant for the New York State court system. Your job is to refer cases to the appropriate court for consideration. The four cases below have come across your desk today. Referring to the chart on the previous page, use the following code letters to designate the appropriate court to listen to the case.

- CA** Court of Appeals
- AD** Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York State
- SC** New York State Supreme Court
- FC** Family Court
- Cr C** New York City Criminal Court
- Ci C** New York City Civil Court

CASE 1	CASE 2	CASE 3	CASE 4
A landlord wishes to sue his tenant for \$5,000 as a result of damages to the walls, ceilings, and bathroom of an apartment.	A suspect must go to trial for the murder of three people.	A doctor, who has been sued for malpractice, believes that the original judge in the New York State Supreme Court should have allowed the jury to hear additional evidence. He appealed his case to the appellate division, which said that the original judge ruled correctly. He wishes to appeal his case to a higher court.	An assistant district attorney wishes to have a 14-year-old, who has been arrested numerous times for shoplifting, declared a juvenile delinquent.
DESIGNATE APPROPRIATE COURT IN BOX BELOW			

## States vs. Federal Government

As you learned previously, the states and the federal government share certain powers and responsibilities. Sometimes this leads to disputes. For example, recently states like New York have become upset because the federal government has set up certain programs, which it forces the states to pay for. After reading the article complete the accompanying exercise.

### Flinching Over Washington's Hand in State Wallets

by RICHARD L. BERKE  
Special to The New York Times

SAN DIEGO, July 30—As Governor of Arkansas, President Clinton was just as generous as other state and local officials in ridiculing the Federal Government's practice of sticking its long arm into their affairs, particularly when it comes to how they spend their money.

So it was no surprise when Mr. Clinton, speaking by satellite to the National Conference of State Legislatures gathered here, sought to reassure his former colleagues. "The evidence is clear, at least based on my personal experience," he said, "that Federal money goes farther, does more good, has a bigger impact, if we stop trying to micro manage it and over regulate it, and instead let it be spent where the people and the problems are."

But while Mr. Clinton's comments drew applause, many state officials said they were still suspicious of him and his budget bill. Their fear is that while the President and the Democratic Congress sound sympathetic, they are more interested in unveiling new programs that are bound to squeeze state and local budgets and only intensify the strains that have developed between Washington and local governments.

Paul D. Schauer, a Republican State Representative from Colorado, told his colleagues at the meeting here, "I'm sure all of you have horror stories of

New England communities monitoring for contaminants that can only be found in pineapples in the fields of Hawaii."

No one laughed.

Each new proposal from President Clinton and the Congress, whether controlling the deficit, overhauling the health care and welfare systems or curbing illegal immigration, draws more resentment from local governments. They fear that they will be forced to foot the bill, often for regulations that make no sense in their states.

At issue are the growing number of cases when the Federal Government imposes costly regulations on state and local governments without providing money to pay for them. Local officials have carped for years about requirements threatening their "fiscal sovereignty," but their concerns have only escalated with the new Administration at a time when many jurisdictions are scraping for money for basics like police protection and sanitation.

#### States say U.S. requirements run their budgets.

Recent studies have found that as much as 60 percent of state budgets is often devoted to programs that are in part required by the Federal Government. "This plays havoc on all our state budgets," said Wayne

Goode, a Democratic state senator from Missouri. "It's an ongoing tug of war. We're told 'If you don't do this, we'll take away your Federal highway funds.' That's the biggest threat."

Harry A. Green, the executive director of a Tennessee agency that handles governmental relations, was more blunt: "This whole process has become mean, nasty and brutish," he said. "It just shifts the burden from Washington."

To prove that they are not just crying political wolf, several states are drafting legislation this year to challenge Congressional efforts to impose requirements, or at least to make it easier for states to win exemptions from them. And some members of Congress are pressing for measures that should give states relief from unfunded mandates, or at least require Congress and Federal agencies to assess how much burden specific new laws would place on them.

#### Wide Agreement

To draw public interest in the mandates, the United States Conference of Mayors has announced plans for the Mandates Day in September.

The subject was also a big topic here this week, with legislators complaining about requirements for everything from clean water regulations to Medicaid to implementing the new disabilities law. In a survey of 590 legislators at the conference, 90 percent

agreed that requirements without accompanying financing provisions were making it increasingly difficult to balance state budgets.

The mandate issue is viewed as so severe that the National Conference of State Legislatures now publishes a several-page booklet, the "Mandate Watch List," almost monthly to "alert readers to particularly threatening legislation under active consideration."

One example cited by the conference was language in Federal budget legislation that would affect how states regulate and tax telecommunications companies. The conference warned its members in a memorandum that "at least 32 states would be directly affected at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars."

After explaining to state legislators here that they were fortunate that the deficit reduction plan no longer contains a tax on all forms of energy (though it is expected to contain billions of dollars of new costs to state and local governments), Christopher Zimmerman, chief economist for the National Conference of State Legislators, warned that the worst may be yet to come. "They didn't do a lot of things we most feared," he said. "But hold your breath and keep your fingers crossed for health care reform...."

Adapted from *The New York Times*.

WORKSHEET 5H, STATES VS. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Contact your local state assemblyperson and or state senator's office to find an example of a program set up by the federal government for which New York State must pay. Write the name of the program and describe its major features below. Then speak to your local state senator or assemblyperson's office and your local United States senator or representative's office to get their reactions to such programs. Write their reactions in the space provided.

Program Name	
Program Description	
State senator or assemblyperson's reactions to federal programs for which the federal government requires New York State to pay:	U.S. senator or representative's reactions to federal programs for which the federal government requires New York State to pay:

## The Revised City Charter

Cities are established by the states through a principle known as "home rule." Through home rule, states allow cities to make certain laws to govern themselves. The rules by which New York City is governed appear in a document known as the New York City Charter. New York City was forced to revise its charter because the US Supreme Court found that people in Brooklyn and the Bronx were underrepresented in city government in comparison to residents of the other three boroughs.

For each of the three changes described below, determine whether you think it was a change for the better (put a "+" in the YOUR RATING column) or a change for the worse (put a "-" in the YOUR RATING column), or put an "NS" if you are not sure.

### City Charter of 1991

FEATURES	YOUR RATING	OLD CHARTER	REVISED CHARTER
Number of members of the city council (New York City's lawmaking body)		36— with each district's borders drawn without regard to the ethnic, racial, language, and cultural makeup of the city.	51—with each district's borders redrawn to make sure that the new council would reflect the ethnic, racial, language, and cultural makeup of the city.
Powers of the city council		The city council, while having the power to make laws, had little power over the budget. Under the old charter, the budget was controlled by a board of estimate, made up of the mayor and the five borough presidents.	In addition to new powers over land-use planning, the council will now have the additional power to approve, reject, or change the budget proposed by the mayor.
Powers of the borough presidents (elected by residents of each borough to look out for the borough's needs in city government)		Each borough president had one vote on the board of estimate. This vote gave the borough presidents important influence over the city's budget which was officially adopted by the board of estimate.	The board of estimate was eliminated in the new charter, which resulted in the borough presidents losing a great deal of power.

## *Reactions to the Charter*

Reenact the panel discussion below (which would have taken place in 1990 or '91, leading up to the revision of the New York City Charter) according to your teacher's instructions.

**M** Greetings. Our panel discussion will begin shortly. Those participating will comment on the new city charter's effects on our diverse cultural communities.

**P1** The charter will take away the power that Latinos and African-Americans now have in making the city's budget, as members of the board of estimate.

**M** How so?

**P2** At present, a Latino and an African-American sit on the board, as borough presidents of the Bronx and Manhattan. That gives people of color an important say in how the city spends its money.

**P3** To be exact, those borough presidents have two of the six votes (with the mayor having one vote) on the board of estimate, which approves contracts, building projects, and budgetary items.

**M** A number of the members on our panel worked on the Charter Revision Commission. How would you respond to these criticisms?

**P4** As one of the African-Americans on the Charter Revision Commission, I disagree with the previous comments. The six people of color on our commission worked hard and long to see that so-called minorities would have a major voice in the new city government.

**P5** In expanding the number of districts in the new city council from 36 to 51, we drew district lines so that many more seats would go to people of color.

**P6** However, I question whether the new council will prove more than just a group that reviews and comments on budgetary matters.

**M** The gay and lesbian community believes that the new council will play an important role. Recently, gays have urged that a council district be created in an area where homosexuals have a concentrated population, thereby giving gays and lesbians a political district.

**P7** As a member of the Charter Revision Commission, I want to assure all African-American, Asian, and Latino residents that it has clearly been our goal to create a city council with new districts that more fairly represent those groups. I would also like to assure the gay community that council districts have been drawn in ways to keep communities intact.

**M** A new charter obviously presents many opportunities as well as challenges. Once the charter has been in operation, we look forward to hearing from you, the public, as to how well city government under the charter reflects the voices of all New Yorkers.



## Who Runs City Government?

Assume you have been invited to visit one of the city officials below. After your visit fill in the information called for below.

### Mayor

"Welcome to the mayor's office. The mayor is the chief executive of New York City, much like the president is the chief executive of the United States. This means the mayor represents the city at all official functions. The mayor can appoint one or more deputy mayors and together with them, he or she appoints department commissioners (e.g., police commissioner, fire commissioner, sanitation commissioner, etc.). These officials run the day-to-day business of city government.

"The mayor is elected every four years in a citywide election. He or she has the power to veto any laws approved by the city council. Each year the mayor is required to submit budgets describing how the city will spend its money for the year. These budgets must be approved by the city council."

### City Council Member

"Welcome to City Hall, home of the New York City Council. The city council is the city's lawmaking body. A majority vote of the council is required for a bill to become a law. If the mayor vetoes a law passed by the council, it can override the veto with a two thirds vote. The city council approves and makes changes in the mayor's budget. It also has the power to investigate special problems in the City. Almost all mayoral appointments must be approved by the council, except department heads.

"There are 51 members on the council representing the diverse communities in New York City. Each councilperson is elected for four-year terms in districtwide elections. The most powerful person on the council is the speaker, who is elected by the members of the majority party, usually the Democrats."

### The Borough Presidents

"Welcome to Borough Hall, the home of your borough president. Each borough has its own president, who is elected every four years by borough voters. The borough president's job is to make sure the needs of the borough are being met by the city. Each borough president proposes a budget, which describes how he or she believes the money the city gives to the borough should be spent.

"Within their boroughs the borough presidents appoint fifty people to serve on the borough's community board. These people represent the different communities within the borough. The community board members tell the borough presidents about the needs of residents whom they represent.

Borough presidents represent their boroughs at all official functions."

### The Comptroller

"Welcome to the comptroller's office. The comptroller is elected every four years in a citywide election. It is his or her job to watch over the city's finances to make sure that we don't spend more money than we have available. The comptroller reviews the budget proposed by the mayor and the changes suggested by the city council to see to it that the numbers add up."

Describe two things you learned about the duties of the city official you "visited":

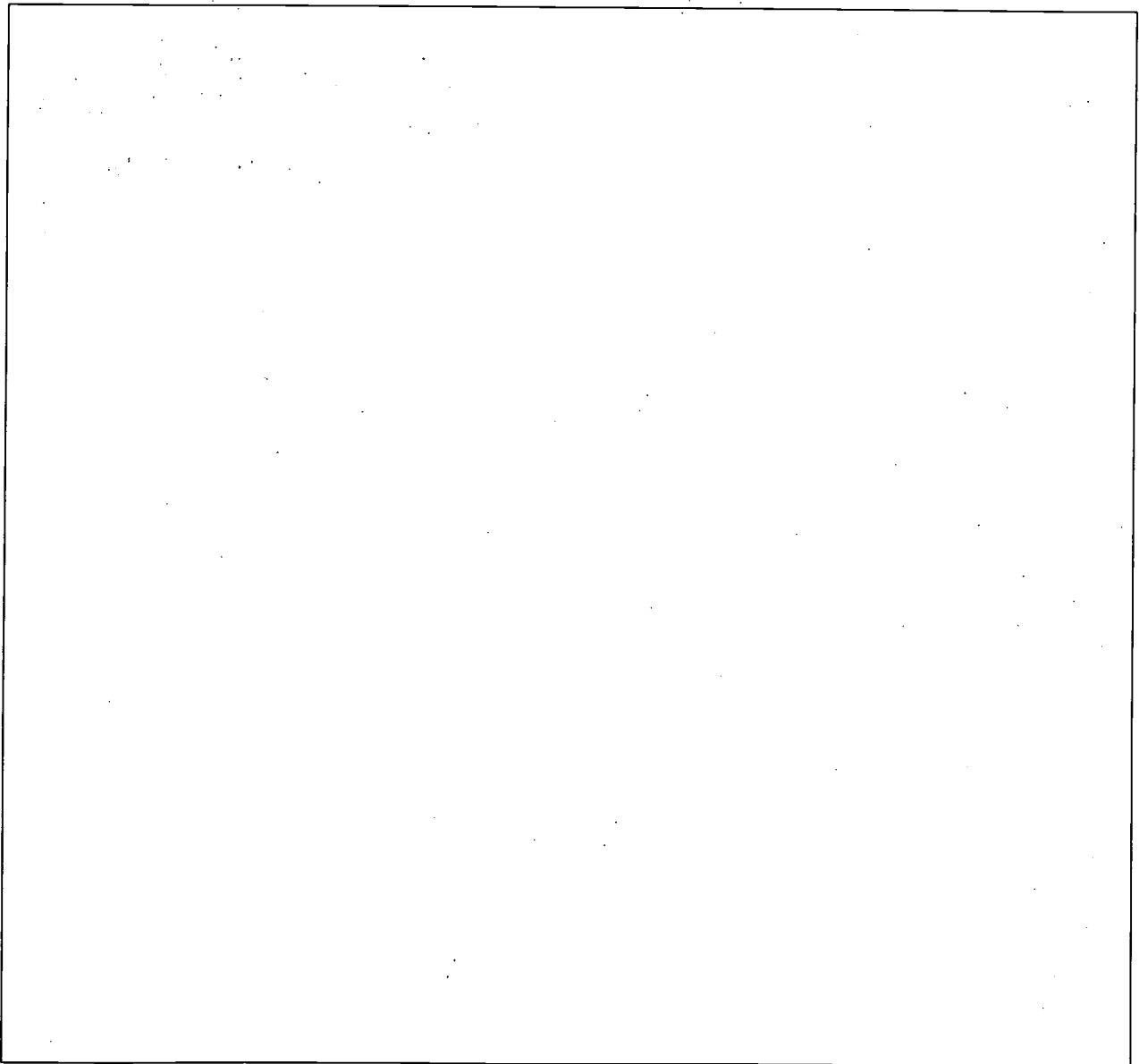
1. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

WORKSHEET 5K, WHO RUNS CITY GOVERNMENT? (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

After learning about the different offices in city government, decide the one for which you are most suited. Design a campaign poster in the space below. Be sure to include:

- Your name
- The name of the office you would like to hold (mayor, city councilmember, comptroller, or borough president).
- A brief slogan to convince voters why you are the best person to hold the job (e.g., Maria for Borough President—She Knows Your Neighborhood!)



## New York's City Council Is Taking Powerful Role

By JAMES C. MCKINLEY JR.  
Special to The New York Times

NEW YORK, July 27—Seven months after the New York City Council expanded to 51 members, there are signs that the legislative body once derided as a rubber stamp is becoming more democratic and more powerful.

Both critics and supporters of the Council say it is taking significant steps toward being the counterweight to the Mayor, virtually an equal branch of government. They say the Council was a major force in shaping the last two budgets and in setting tax policy.

"The City Council is not abdicating responsibility anymore, where it used to abdicate regularly," said Richard D. Emery, the civil rights lawyer who filed the lawsuit that toppled the city's Board of Estimate and led to wholesale changes in the structure of city government in 1989.

The evolution has not been without growing pains. The Council chamber has become an unpredictable place of raucous, chaotic and sometimes absurd debates, reflecting a governing body still learning to handle its new role.

With new voices from new members representing groups like homosexuals and Dominicans, the Council has shown new aggressiveness in taking up issues like AIDS and suspected police brutality. But street name changes and routine governmental actions are still the most common items on its agenda, and many members still complain that the Council leaders exclude them from major policy-making decisions.

Nevertheless, the last few months have seen moments—hard to imagine not long ago—in which the Council Speaker Peter F. Vallone stepped aside and let coalitions of members set the agenda, including these:

¶ For the first time in recent memory, a committee ran roughshod over its chairman, voting 7. to 1 to pass a bill, unpopular with big business, that would force banks to adopt costly security measures at automated teller machines.



The City Council is showing new aggressiveness by taking up more pressing issues. Bob Hill, right and Robert Graham appeared before a Council committee to oppose the ban on aerosol-spray paint cans.

¶ For the first time since 1986, the Council defeated a measure that the Speaker supported, when black and Hispanic members joined some white liberals to vote down a measure aimed at keeping a child-welfare office out of a middle-class Brooklyn neighborhood.

¶ More than 30 Council members came out against the Dinkins administration's long range plan for disposing of garbage with incinerators before the Council leadership had taken a position, eventually forcing the administration to revise the plan with the leaders.

¶ Without the leaders' support, a coalition of 19 members introduced a bill spurred by the Rodney G. King case that would establish an all civilian agency to review allegations of police brutality. The move put pressure on Mayor David N. Dinkins to make good on a long-delayed campaign promise and introduce his own version.

¶ But on the major issues like the budget, property tax rates or tax incentives for developers, Mr. Vallone has remained firmly in control, negotiating deals with a small cadre of

his allies and presenting it to the body as a fait accompli.

### 'Just Some Theater'

"On a lot of issues, the Council members are consulted after the deal has been cut," Julian S. Palmer, executive director of New York State Common Cause, said. "They are basically told to take it or leave it on the big issues. The debate is just some theater that does not change the finale that has been decided by the script writer."

Joseph Strasburg, the Council Speaker's chief of staff and political mastermind, acknowledges the Speaker is picking his battles more carefully. "In the old days, nothing would pass out of a committee without the Speaker saying so," he said. "Now they come to us and see if we care. If the speaker doesn't care, then they can do whatever they want. But we tell them you have to get the votes to pass it."

For his part, the Speaker, Mr. Vallone, maintains that he has loosened the reins purposely because the mem

The New York Times.

## WORKSHEET 5L, NEW YORK'S CITY COUNCIL IS TAKING POWERFUL ROLE (CONTINUED)

bers have proved they're responsible. Yet his new cautiousness also reflects a political reality: with 21 new faces in the Council, Mr. Vallone, who won election to the Speaker's post by one vote in 1986, cannot afford too many new enemies.

"People have to learn, as we have had to learn, that you don't go to the mat over everything," he said....

Eager to embarrass the Dinkins administration, the opponents were not happy with the delay. "This Council debated the Hertz bill for hours," Councilman John D. Sabini of Queens yelled at the hearing. "We debated the stupid Hertz bill for hours, and you are cutting off debate on the most important issue in the city."

Whether Mr. Vallone can hammer out a compromise remains to be seen. But the opponents have already influenced the debate. Mr. Vallone has said he will not accept any new incinerators "until every inch of the city has some kind of recycling."

### **Holds the Purse Strings**

That is not to say the Council has become a pure democracy, critics say. Mr. Vallone still dominates the agenda, holding back the bills of dissenters and advancing those of his loyalists. He

holds the purse strings for stipends and committee chairmanships. He hires and controls the Council's central staff of 247 analysts, lawyers and investigators. Heads of Council committees complain in private that they cannot cajole the staff, which is fiercely loyal to Mr. Vallone, to work on their priorities....

### **A Swift Penalty**

Though Mr. Vallone asserts his power less often these days, when he does he comes down with an iron hand. Charles Millard, an Upper East Side Republican, discovered this when he had the audacity to vote against the budget because he believed it did not shrink the city work force enough, a goal Mr. Vallone himself had advocated. The penalty was swift. Mr. Millard lost \$55,675 in money that was to go to community groups in his district.

Mr. Millard, a frequent dissenter and catalyst for debate in the Council, is one of five Republicans now on the 51-member Council, which had been made up mostly of Democrats before it was expanded from 35 members.

Another change in the Council has been that with two-fifths of the members from minority groups never represented before, issues like AIDS and po-

lice brutality are more frequently raised on the Council floor. Some votes have taken on a decidedly racial undertone.

The new faces have not translated into new legislation, however. As in the past, a majority of the 57 bills passed in the first six months were street-name changes or technical bills submitted by the Mayor. Of the handful of substantive bills, only one—requiring increased inspection of day-care centers—came from a new member, Una Clarke of Brooklyn.

The Council's critics say its members have been attracted to issues of mostly symbolic value. For instance, the biggest anti-crime bill passed this year is a local law that offers a bounty for the capture of graffiti vandals.

"I find the Council endlessly frustrated with silly things," said Ruth W. Messinger, the Manhattan Borough President and a former Council member.

Herbert E. Berman, the Council's Finance Committee chairman, said that by their nature city governments seldom pass major laws. "We can't declare war," he pointed out. "We don't do abortions or death penalties, or change insurance or banking law. The Council's primary function is budgets."

## Council Agenda

In a future class session, we will participate in an activity modeled after a local city government legislature, the New York City Council. The agenda for the activity will be as follows:

### I. COMMITTEE HEARINGS

- Committee chairperson calls the meeting to order.
- Testimony by the three witnesses (lobbyists) favoring the proposed legislation. Each witness will be given 5 minutes to testify. After each witness testifies, committee members will be given 5 minutes to question the witness.
- Recess (5 minutes) during which time council members and witnesses can informally discuss the proposed legislation. Newspaper reporters may interview council members or witnesses. The council speaker may attempt to influence the votes of committee members at this time.
- Formal debate (10 minutes). Committee members argue for their positions and try to influence the votes of other members.
- Committee Vote. At this point a vote of the committee is taken. In a real council committee, if a majority votes against the bill, no further action is taken. If the majority votes in favor, it is sent to the full council. For purposes of this activity, even if the committee votes to “kill” this bill, it will still go to the full council.

### II. FULL COUNCIL SESSION

- Full Council Debate and Vote. The council president will chair the full council meeting, at which time all council members voice their views about the proposed legislation. During the debate the council speaker may again influence votes, using measures described in *The New York Times* article on Worksheet 5L. After the debate, the full council votes. The council president votes only to break a tie.
- After the vote the newspaper reporters may conduct interviews of any of the parties involved.

## ***Proposed Legislation: Background***

“Should the Council amend the administrative code in relation to the sale, purchase and use of tobacco products and the advertising for such products on property within the jurisdiction of the City of New York, for the purpose of discouraging their use by persons under 18 years of age?”

The health risks attributable to tobacco use have been well established. According to the United States Center for Disease Control, tobacco kill 434,000 Americans each year and is responsible for approximately 1,199,000 years of potential life lost before the age of 65. In New York City, the Department of Health reports that tobacco addiction kills some 11,000 New Yorkers each year.

The problem of tobacco addiction among children is particularly alarming. In 1988, American children under the age of 18 spent \$1.26 billion for one billion packs of cigarettes and 26 million containers of chewing tobacco, resulting in profits of \$221 million for cigarette manufacturers. Studies show that the majority of adult tobacco addicts began smoking in their teens. According to the American Cancer Association, 25.4% of tobacco addicts began using tobacco products before age 12, 50% before age 14 and 90% before age 20. The National Institute on Drug Abuse studies also indicate that high school seniors who smoke are more likely to have used illicit

drugs as compared to non-smoking high school seniors, demonstrating that tobacco is often a gateway drug.

It is the intention of the city council to make it more difficult for minors to unlawfully purchase tobacco products by requiring the retail seller of tobacco products to be at least 18 years of age and to require photographic proof of age by any purchaser. The selling of loose, individual cigarettes would be prohibited. In addition the City of New York would restrict tobacco products advertising on all property owned, leased, operated or within its legal jurisdiction.

Those who oppose this legislation argue that it would impose overwhelming hardships on retail merchants who would be expected to police the law. They contend that it would discourage the employment of teenagers in all establishments selling tobacco products and that “proofing” young customers would add to the expense of doing business in New York. The tobacco industry and many concerned citizens fear that the prohibition on the advertising of tobacco products would be an abridgment of free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. They also argue that in our society the individual, not government, should make the final decision to use or not use a legal product like tobacco.

## ***Summary of the Proposal to Be Considered by the City Council***

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### **The Tobacco Product Regulation Act**

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TO AMEND the administrative code of the City of New York in relation to tobacco products.

Be it enacted by the Council as follows:

1. Require retail sellers of tobacco products to be at least 18 years of age and have direct personal contact with the purchaser.
2. Require retailers to demand that every purchaser of tobacco products provide photographic proof-of-age indicating that he or she is legally permitted to buy tobacco products in New York State.
3. Prohibit the sale of loose, individual cigarettes or other tobacco products that have been removed from their packaging.
4. Prohibit tobacco use on all school premises, both public and private, at all times.

Violators of items 1-4 would be subject to fines and vendors to revocation of their tobacco license.

5. Require the placement of at least one public health message for every three tobacco advertisements placed, or appearing in or on all property and facilities owned or operated by retailers licensed in whole or part by the city of New York.

## ***Coalition for a Smoke-Free New York***

MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL, I bring you greetings from the Coalition for a Smoke-Free New York. Our coalition consists of health advocates, research groups, government health and consumer departments, medical associations, youth groups and organizations dedicated to combating cancer and heart disease. We urge the members of the Council to support the Tobacco Products Regulation Act.

It is our obligation as responsible adults to counter the billions of dollars spent each year by the tobacco industry to push their addictive and fatal products on our youth. Children and teenagers are easily misled by the sexy, exciting, and healthful images tobacco companies barrage us with everywhere on a daily basis. Studies show that very young children see, understand and remember advertising. One study demonstrated that in the three years since Old Joe, the Camel cartoon ad appeared, the proportion of smokers under the age of 18 who choose Camels increased from 0.5% to 33%. The illegal sale of Camel cigarettes to children is estimated to have risen from \$6 million per year, prior to Old Joe, to \$476 million per year now. Thus while cigarette companies claim they do not intend to market to children, their intentions are irrelevant if advertising affects what children do.

Smoke-free schools will end the inconsistency of teaching children about

the hazards of cigarettes in the classroom and then allowing teachers and other school personnel to use cigarettes on school property. Whether they like it or not, school personnel serve as role models and can certainly help to counter the barrage of cigarette ads by not smoking.

The licensure revocation provision of the proposed legislation puts real teeth in the prohibition against selling tobacco products to minors. Vendors will think twice before selling to a minor, if they recognize they risk losing the revenue from legal cigarette sales. Requiring vendors to ask for proof of age from purchasers will discourage minors from trying to buy cigarettes. Such "proofing" sends a clear message that smoking is a regulated business because it is a dangerous business to our health.

We also endorse the provisions of the legislation eliminating out-of-package sales. Tobacco retailers break open cigarette packs and sell cigarettes individually (loosies) particularly in poor neighborhoods or places where children hang out. Loosies circumvent warning label requirements and make cigarettes affordable to children.

In conclusion, we fully endorse the Council's efforts to make it more difficult for children to acquire cigarettes and to reinforce the message that smoking is a deadly habit.



## ***Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Institute***

MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL, as you well know Memorial Sloan-Kettering is one of our nation's most prestigious cancer research and treatment centers. We are on the front-line in the war against this deadly disease.

Those who produce tobacco products and encourage the youth to use them are committing child abuse. Child abuse comes in many forms and although the particular form is not immediately apparent as are bruises and broken bones, it is nevertheless a great hazard and, because of the prevalence of smoking, it is by far the most treacherous threat of them all.

Over a generation ago, we in cancer research noted a rapid increase in smoking by teenagers. We grimly predicted at that time the present epidemic in smoking-related disease: not just lung cancer but cancers of the larynx, oral cavity, esophagus and bladder as well as emphysema and cardiovascular disease.

In our history-taking from patients, with few exceptions, they related how they began smoking in their teens. At present, we are horrified to see that 200 to 300 children per day are lighting up for the first time in this city.

This is a major concern because biologically young tissues are much more susceptible to carcinogens than those of adults. Smoking can pose a serious threat to the fetus and may be responsible for the increased incidence of childhood leukemia and cancer in adult persons whose mothers smoked during pregnancy.

The recent increase in the use of smokeless tobacco products, promoted by their makers as a safe alternative to cigarette smoking spells new dangers by exposing children to the addictive property of nicotine and mouth cancer.

Cigarette smoking, often in conjunction with early alcohol consumption, is a gateway to the use of illicit drugs. Most of those who abuse alcohol and drugs are heavy smokers.

As a result, our city's children can be said to be on a collision course with tobacco-related diseases which, if allowed to go unchecked, could make the present epidemic seem small. What is more, in the light of this generation of children starting to smoke earlier than their elders, when they become victims, they will do so at an earlier age.

The Council has the rare opportunity of saving the lives of many innocents. Because of our concern about children's safety, we have a law about window guards; we shield them from asbestos and radioactivity and teach them to say no to drugs thus preventing them from doing harm to themselves; the schools distribute condoms to protect our children from AIDS. Similarly, we must also protect them from the hazards of tobacco.

The Council's support of this legislation will serve as an inspiration to the other cities to do likewise. As a result, it well may be the straw that breaks "Joe Camel's" back.

## ***Abyssinian Baptist Church***

DEAR MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL, the Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem is engaged in a struggle, not only in saving the souls of our parishioners, but also in saving lives. We are especially concerned in saving the lives of our youth.

Cancer is a communicable disease; heart trouble is a communicable disease. You get them from the consumption of tobacco and alcohol. Our church serves an at-risk community. Federal government health statistics give evidence of the high death rates and shorter life spans of African-Americans and Latinos as compared to white Americans. Our community suffers disproportionately from high infant mortality rates. These discrepancies are largely the result of a racist society unwilling to deal fairly with racial and ethnic minorities. The poverty that results from racism makes black and Latino youth especially vulnerable targets of the drug and alcohol lords. And now the tobacco companies, having lost millions of middle class white customers who are well aware of the link between

tobacco and early death, have invaded the black and Latino communities to make up their losses. Tobacco brands have been specifically developed to appear to black youth. Billboards cover our neighborhoods with the graffiti messages of death. Federal government statistics give evidence of the success of these messages. Smoking rates for African-Americans, Latinos and women have risen dramatically in recent years.

Every people has the right of self-defense in the face of a genocidal attack. Last year members of our community painted over many of the billboards in our community in order to protect our youth from the death messages of the tobacco lords. We were accused of destroying private property and interfering with the tobacco companies' freedom of speech. We stand ready to go to jail to protect our youth.

Members of the Council, today you have the opportunity and the responsibility to pass the Tobacco Product Regulation Act. Help us to save the next generation of Black and Latino youths.

## ***Tobacco Institute of America***

MEMBERS OF THE HEALTH COMMITTEE, I appreciate this opportunity to testify on behalf of the Tobacco Institute, concerning the proposed "Tobacco Regulation Act." The Tobacco Institute agrees with the Council's stated intent to discourage youth smoking. The tobacco industry has a long-standing policy against tobacco use by minors and we have programs and policies in place to demonstrate our commitment.

In our opinion however, the proposed law would do little to reduce smoking by young people. Instead, it would hinder the city's retail community, disregard the adult choice to smoke, and violate First Amendment protection afforded to commercial speech.

Recent studies indicate youth smoking is not on the rise. According to the Federal government, youth smoking decreased dramatically in the U.S. between 1976 and 1983. During those years, the Surgeon General reported that smoking among high school seniors dropped from 29 to 19%. Since then, the smoking rate for seniors has remained relatively steady, between 18 and 19%. Contrary to the assertion of many, studies suggest the majority of U.S. smokers are of the legal age of 18 when they begin to smoke regularly.

Members of the Committee, the tobacco industry is not opposed to the prohibition of out of package sales. However, the provision requiring sales clerks to be at least 18 years old to sell tobacco products would create further burdens for the retail industry and the city's working youth. Many retail and

convenience clerks are under 18 years of age. For high school students, a job as a retail clerk is one of the few part-time jobs available. For small and family run convenience and retail stores, students and younger family members are a vital source of part time help. Requiring that clerks be at least 18 years of age could deny employment opportunity to thousands of young people.

The tobacco industry supports reasonable requirements for proof of age. Imposing a requirement for everyone—no matter how old they may be—to show proof of age would be an unjustified and unnecessary inconvenience.

The tobacco industry does not oppose the prohibition of smoking by young people on school grounds. However, a strong distinction should be made when the law shifts from youngsters to adults. Parents, attending after school functions; teachers, while outside the classroom; public meetings; and other school workers all deserve to be treated as adults and be free to smoke.

Finally, we are opposed to the provision of the law concerning tobacco product advertising. Although this provision may be intended to cover only city-owned property, it also includes all property subject to some license or permit requirement, which includes virtually all commercial property in the city. This proposal would, therefore, subject almost every public or private space or facility in the city to forced censorship in clear violation of First Amendment protection of free speech.

## ***American Association of Advertising Agencies***

I REPRESENT THE New York City branch of the American Association of Advertising Agencies. In the five boroughs, we have 115 members with 226 offices. Some \$17 billion in advertising flows through the City's advertising agencies. We employ over 25,000 people. However, as a result of the growing negative climate for business in New York, we have lost an important share of our business.

There are many factors explaining the declining dominance of New York City as the advertising capital of the U.S. We would like to bring to your attention what we consider to be one of its important recent elements—the growing anti-advertising business environment here in New York. Let me give you an example. A little over a year ago, the City Council proposed restrictions which would require minimum sizes for type used in legally required disclosures in advertising in print media, and that any disclosures mandated by law must be included orally in radio and television commercials. These proposals made no sense as the type would have been so long as to be ludicrous, and reading disclosures about auto warranty and finance terms could easily use 20 seconds of a 30 second spot. While the amendment was ultimately dropped, it bothers and concerns us that naive, ill conceived and extremely restrictive laws like this one are being proposed in New York—the world headquarters of the advertising agency business.

And now, the City Council is looking at moving directly into the Federal area

of advertising regulation with a bill requiring one public health message for every three tobacco advertisements appearing on city property and almost all private property also. Unless the correct number of anti-smoking messages were posted, cigarette ads would be prohibited. Because of the costs associated with the placement of the anti-smoking ads, leasing agents from the city would be given strong economic incentives to reject cigarette advertisements unless the manufacturers themselves absorb the additional costs. Placing such a unique cost on the manufacturer, in essence penalizes one form of speech to the advertisement of a legal product and is a clear violation of the First Amendment.

In effect, the City of New York wants to impose a 25% tax on advertising of a legal product. Of course, that's just what the city and the advertising industry needs right now—a 25% tax.

Once again, with legislation like this, the city seems to be saying to one of its more important and viable industries—let's not make it attractive to do business here—let's not worry that a patchwork of local laws and ordinances will drive advertisers and their dollars from the New York marketplace.

Harmful legislation, such as the proposed Tobacco Regulation Act, no matter how well intended, will eventually give more major advertisers another reason to take their business elsewhere.

## ***New York Civil Liberties Union***

I APPEAR HERE ON BEHALF of the New York City chapter of the New York Civil Liberties Union. It is customary before making a statement of this kind to express pleasure at being asked to testify. On this occasion, I must confess that I appear reluctantly and regretfully.

The real test of a civil libertarian is that he or she is prepared to defend civil liberties even when they conflict with objectives which are most important to that person. The NYCLU is well aware of the deep concerns of the members of the Council about the health hazards of cigarettes and other tobacco products. However we are also concerned that "The Tobacco Products Regulation Act" will trample on the First Amendment rights of those who produce, distribute, or read the advertising of tobacco companies. In our view, the proposed legislation is a form of censorship in direct violation of the First Amendment.

Section Five of "The Tobacco Product Regulation Act" says: "Advertisers are required to make placement of one public health message for every three tobacco advertisements appearing in or on all property and facilities owned or operated or licensed by the City of New York." Since all outdoor advertising comes under New York City licensing requirements, the legislation empowers the City to regulate advertising on all private as well as city property. Requiring advertisers to bear the expense of setting up anti-smoking messages on billboards throughout the city in order to

enjoy the right to advertise their product, in effect, is a ban on all outdoor tobacco product advertising. The NYCLU believes that this section of the proposed legislation is in direct violation of the free speech provisions of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

The First Amendment simply does not countenance government control of advertising of lawful products. That is the unequivocal message of a chain of Supreme Court cases. Clearly, smoking tobacco is a generally lawful activity. Although it is illegal in about forty states for persons under a certain age to purchase tobacco products, it is likewise unlawful for minors to use other products, including automobiles, regularly advertised in the media and on billboards. As the Supreme Court observed in *Butler vs. Michigan* (1957) in an obscenity context, if materials are banned just because minors might see them, the result is to reduce the adult population to reading what is fit for children. Likewise, here, those lawfully entitled to use tobacco may not be denied information about its availability simply because the message also reaches those who cannot lawfully smoke.

In conclusion, we at NYCLU oppose government suppression of speech. The American tradition calls on those who oppose an idea to challenge it with a better idea. Let the people decide in the free marketplace of ideas what is good and what is bad for them.

# Learning Activity 6

*How can we better assume our responsibilities as citizens of the Western Hemisphere and the world?*

## THEMES

Struggle for Equality; Culture/Diversity; Movements of People; Contributions

## BACKGROUND

Among the obligations those growing up in the United States during the 21st century will have is learning more about our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. Just as events in the United States influence Mexico and Canada, so too do happenings in those countries have an impact on life in this country. An inquiry into the political systems of Canada and Mexico seems a logical first step in fulfilling the responsibilities of hemispheric citizenship.

Mexico's government, a presidential federal republic, dates from February 5, 1917. The federal republic is made up of 31 states and the federal district. The two-house legislature includes a 64-member senate and a 400-member chamber of deputies. The president, directly elected by voters for a single six-year term, holds the executive power. Each of Mexico's 31 states is led by a governor and a chamber of deputies, all of whom are elected for six-year terms. At the present time there is a growing movement among Mexicans to loosen the monopoly that the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI are the initials in Spanish) has held over the government. In fact, the PRI has never lost an election.

According to its constitution, formally known as the British North America Act, Canada is a federal parliamentary state. Somewhat like the United States, powers are divided between federal and provincial (state in the United States) governments. The British monarch is still recognized as the head of state. Canada's parliament consists of two houses: a senate

whose 102 members are appointed and hold office until age 75 and a house of commons, whose members are elected for five-year terms. As in Great Britain, the leader of Canadian government, the prime minister, is the head of the majority party in the house of commons. Each province has a parliamentary form of government with a one-house legislature. The most pressing challenge to the Canadian government comes from predominantly French-speaking Quebec, many of whose citizens are demanding independence from Canada.

Just as it has become a necessity to learn more about affairs in our hemisphere, people in the United States have begun to view themselves as global citizens. Occupying such a role requires assuming responsibilities associated with global citizenship (e.g., recognition of the interdependent nature of the human condition, concern for human rights, the environment, and respect for the diverse cultures of others).

## MAJOR IDEAS

- POLITICAL SYSTEMS and the rights of citizens in other parts of the hemisphere are similar to and different from the United States system.
- As citizens of the world, we also have responsibilities toward all other people.

## CONCEPTS

- Citizenship
- Culture
- Empathy
- Human Rights
- Identity
- Interdependence
- Political System

## PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Compare and contrast the governments of Mexico and Canada with that of the United States.
- Analyze the most pressing challenges facing the governments of Mexico and Canada.
- Explain the concept of global interdependence.
- Discuss those issues that will have the greatest impact on citizens in our interdependent world during the 21st century.

## DEVELOPMENT

- Distribute Worksheet 6A, "Mexican Government." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn about the Mexican government from reading this letter?
  - In what ways is the Mexican government similar to the government in the United States?
  - In what ways is the Mexican government different from the government of the United States?
  - Do you think it is fair that married and unmarried voters are treated differently?
  - Do you think it's a good idea that the Mexican president can only serve for one term of six years? Do you think our president should be allowed to serve only one term?
  - To what extent would our government operate better if we followed the plan for government appearing in Mexico's constitution?
- Distribute Worksheet 6B, "Differences: Mexican and U.S. Government." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from reading this article?
    - According to the reading what are the major differences between the governments of Mexico and the United States?
    - How would the United States be different if there were only one major political party?
    - What might explain the Mexican government taking actions like breaking up privately owned farms and dividing land among the poor and taking control of the oil industry? Under what circumstances would you favor the United States government taking such actions?
- Distribute Worksheet 6C, "Political Complaints." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about the political system in Mexico after reading these complaints?
  - In what ways are the complaints similar to or different from the complaints that people in the United States make about our political system? What has the United States done about those conditions that are similar?
  - How justified are these complaints about the political system in Mexico?
  - If you were the president of Mexico, what actions would you take in response to these complaints?
- Distribute Worksheet 6D, "Government's Response." Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet, then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What is your reaction to the government's responses to complaints about the political system in Mexico?
  - To what extent did the government respond fairly to the complaints against the existing system?
  - To which complaints did the government respond least fairly?

- Divide students into groups of approximately four. Distribute a different one of the four “index cards” on Worksheet 6E, “Government of Canada,” to each group member. Then distribute one copy of the exercise to the entire group and have them complete it. As part of the class discussion, have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- What did you learn about the government of Canada from completing this exercise?
- In what ways is the government of Canada similar to the government of the United States?
- In what ways is the government of Canada different from the government of the United States?
- According to Canada’s bill of rights, certain rights can be taken away during certain emergencies (e.g., war). Do you think this is fair? Under which conditions would it be fair to limit people’s rights?
- If you were a Canadian, how would you feel about the fact that the British king or queen was still your head of state, even though Canada is an independent country?
- Do you think that a Canadian province should have greater power than the central government? Do you think each state in the United States should have greater power than the central government?
- Would it be better if the president of the United States was also a member of the U.S. Congress, just as Canada’s prime minister is a member of parliament?

- Tell students that they will participate in a simulation of the Canadian parliament similar to the one of the New York State Legislature in Learning Activity 5. They will debate the following bill:

“All students in Canada must participate in a community service project (e.g., volunteering to work in a senior citizen’s home, painting over graffiti in the school yard, tutoring students, etc.) as a high school graduation requirement.”

Distribute Worksheet 6F, “How a Bill Becomes a Law in Canada,” which will serve as the road map for the simulation. Select one student to play the role of prime minister and divide the remainder of the class into groups of approximately the following sizes:

- House of Commons (22 students—12 Progressive Conservative Party members and 10 Liberal Party members). Designate 6 “Progressive Conservatives” and 4 “Liberals” to serve on the House of Commons Education Committee.
- Senate (10 students—6 Liberal Party members and 4 Progressive Conservative Party members). Designate 4 “Liberals” and 2 “Progressive Conservatives” to serve on the Senate Education Committee.

After reviewing the lawmaking procedure (Worksheet 6F), give students at least one week to prepare for the activity.

After the simulation, have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- What is your reaction to the method by which laws are made in Canada?
- How does lawmaking in Canada differ from lawmaking in the U.S. Congress or the New York State Legislature?
- Do you think that reading a bill three times, as is done in the Canadian parliament, should be a practice we adopt in the United States?
- Are there other practices followed by the Canadian parliament that we should copy in the United States?



- Distribute Worksheet 6G, “Quebec.” Have students complete the exercise, then have them explain their answers to the following:
  - What do we learn about the history of the independence movement in Quebec from reading the worksheet?
  - Which of the arguments in favor of Quebec’s independence from Canada is the strongest?
  - Which of the arguments against Québec’s independence from Canada is the strongest?
  - Role-play a debate between two groups of Québécois, one favoring independence from Canada, the other against it.
  - Do you think that bombing Canadian government offices was an effective approach for gaining Quebec’s independence?
  - If you were an English-speaking Canadian, how would you react to Quebec’s law making French the only official language in that province?
  - If you were a French-speaking Québécois, how would you vote on the question of whether Quebec should declare its independence from Canada?
- Distribute Worksheet 6H, “Nunavut.” Have students complete the exercise on the worksheet and then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What do we learn about Nunavut from the worksheet?
  - How can you explain why the writer describes the creation of Nunavut as probably the most important event for the Inuit people in the last 500 years?
  - If you were an Inuit, how would you feel about the creation of Nunavut?
  - What are some challenges the Inuits will face with the creation of Nunavut?
    - How did you suggest the Inuits solve these problems?
    - Do you think that the United States should create territories like Nunavut, which Native American Indians would be allowed to control?
- Distribute Worksheet 6I, “Interdependence.” Have students read “A Morning in the Life of an American Couple.” Then have them explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from this worksheet?
  - What conclusions can you draw from this worksheet?
  - In what ways does this worksheet illustrate the idea of interdependence?
  - How important is interdependence in the world today?
- Distribute Worksheet 6J, “Global Citizenship.” Allow students one week to complete the exercise on the worksheet. As part of the class discussion, have students explain their answers to the following questions:
  - What did you learn from this exercise?
  - How do conditions such as war, poverty, or national disasters in another country affect people in the United States?
  - What would you say to convince someone that it is important for people in the United States to be concerned about issues such as war, poverty, or national disasters in other countries?
  - How far should people in the United States be prepared to go to help people solve problems such as those listed on Worksheet 6J?
  - How would you rate Americans as global citizens?

## Mexican Government

In response to the letter below, write a letter answering the writer's questions.

March 20

Dear Friends,

I am glad that your teacher suggested writing to my class about our government. We Mexicans enjoy communicating with people from the United States very much.

According to our constitution, written in 1917, powers are shared between the central government and 31 state governments. Our central government is made up of a two-house congress, consisting of a senate and a chamber of deputies, which makes laws; a president, who carries out the laws; and a supreme court of justice, which interprets the laws.

In the congress, the senate has 64 members (two elected from each state and from the Federal District of Mexico City for 6-year terms). The chamber of deputies has 400 members elected from electoral districts for three-year terms. The president, elected nationwide, may serve only one six-year term. The supreme court is made up of 21 members, appointed for life by our president.

Your final question was about voting. You might be interested in knowing that married men and women who are at least 18 can vote. Single persons must be at least 21 years old to vote.

Please write back telling me how your government compares to ours. Also tell me your reaction to the differences between our two governments. I'll be looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Luz

Luz

## Differences: Mexican and U.S. Government

After reading the body of the *Journal* article below, write an appropriate headline in the space provided at the top of the page.

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### The Journal

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This country's leader is called a president, its congress has two senators from each state and its highest court is the supreme court. It is described as a federal republic with power shared between the federal and state governments. The name of the country is...Mexico.

However, despite a similar outward appearance, it would be wrong to conclude that Mexico's government closely resembles that of the United States. One striking difference is the role of political parties. While there are a number of political parties in Mexico, only one political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, has ever won a state or national election. Furthermore, despite the existence of state governments, the federal government in Mexico has much greater powers than those of the United States government. For example, the Mexican government has used its powers to break up privately owned farmlands and divide them among the poor; to set up a national school system; and to take over a number of industries including railroads, telegraph, and petroleum. Finally the central government can suspend a state's constitutional powers, remove a governor from office, and appoint a temporary governor. The United States government cannot normally exercise such powers.

If the United States followed Mexico's example, the conditions described in the first column below would exist in this country. After considering the statements in the first column, decide whether you would favor those conditions existing in the U.S. and indicate your opinion by placing a check in the appropriate box. Then explain your answers in the box provided:

MEXICAN GOVERNMENT	IN FAVOR	AGAINST	NOT SURE	REASONS
There would be only one major political party.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
The federal government would have taken control of the railroad, telegraph, and communications industries.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
The federal government would have the power to suspend a state's governor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

## ***Political Complaints***

Since the Mexican revolution of 1917, one political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), has won every election. Increasingly, Mexicans have complained that their political system is unfair to members of political parties other than the PRI. Assume you are the president of Mexico, who at this time is also the head of the PRI. Study the three complaints below, which have frequently been made by opponents of the PRI. Decide what action, if any, you would take in response to the complaint and write it under the column marked "Your Response."

<b>COMPLAINT</b>	<b>YOUR RESPONSE</b>
<p>"The rule requiring that a candidate for president must have both parents born in Mexico is unfair. Some of our most popular candidates have only one parent who was born in Mexico. We think this requirement should be changed."</p>	
<p>"Something must be done to prevent voting fraud in political elections. For example, it is a common practice that some people voting for PRI candidates vote two and three times in an election."</p>	
<p>"In the past, PRI candidates have used government funds to run their political campaigns. Also, wealthy businessmen have contributed a great deal of money to PRI candidates, hoping to gain favor from those in government. As a result of these situations, candidates from the PRI have a lot more money than candidates from other parties to use in election campaigns. We think that the amount of money people can donate to political parties should be strictly limited."</p>	

## Government's Response

Evaluate the Mexican government's response to the complaint by using one of the following symbols:

- U** the response was unsatisfactory  
**S** the response was satisfactory  
**NS** not sure

COMPLAINT	GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE	RATING
"The rule requiring that a candidate for president must have both parents born in Mexico is unfair. Some of our most popular candidates have only one parent who was born in Mexico. We think this requirement should be changed."	"The rule requiring that a candidate for president must have both parents born in Mexico is changed. Effective seven years from now (2000), the constitution is changed, so that Mexicans will be eligible to run for president so long as one parent has been born in Mexico."	
"Something must be done to prevent voting fraud in political elections. For example, it is a common practice that some people voting for PRI candidates vote two and three times in an election."	"New registration cards with voters' photographs and fingerprints on them will be issued."	
"In the past, PRI candidates have used government funds to run their political campaigns. Also, wealthy businessmen have contributed a great deal of money to PRI candidates, hoping to gain favor from those in government. As a result of these situations, candidates from the PRI have a lot more money than candidates from other parties to use in election campaigns. We think that the amount of money people can donate to political parties should be strictly limited."	"New rules have been passed setting a limit of \$650,000 as the amount of money an individual can give to a political party. Organizations, like labor unions, will be able to give up to \$3,250,000."	

## Government of Canada

Your group works for the publisher of a textbook about Canada. The section of the book your team has been asked to work on deals with Canadian government. Each of the four index cards below represents notes put together by a different member of the team. After studying the notes, write a well-constructed paragraph for the textbook based on the information contained on the cards.

### 1. CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

- added to first Bill of Rights passed in 1960
- included in Canada's constitution of 1982—consists of 34 rights and freedoms
- guarantees certain rights that cannot be taken away, except during certain emergencies
- examples:
  - all Canadians should be treated equally regardless of race, color, or sex
  - assures official language status of French and English in federal institutions
  - protects such rights as freedom of speech and freedom of religion

### 2 CANADA'S CONSTITUTION

- Original constitution written in 1867, called British North America Act—maintained ties between British and Canadian governments. Included:
  - British laws that created Canada
  - Decisions of British and Canadian courts
  - Canadian laws
- New constitution proclaimed April 17, 1982
  - Under old constitution, changes in Canada's government could be made only by the British parliament; under new constitution, changes would be made by the Canadian government
  - The British king or queen remains head of state
- Disagreement over new constitution
  - How much power should the central government have over the provincial (similar to states) governments?

### 3. DIVIDING THE POWERS

- According to the British North America Act, Canada's first constitution (1867), power was divided between the central government and the provinces (similar to states):
  - Federal government given most important powers. For example, the federal government was given power over defense, trade, currency, criminal law. It had greater taxing power than the provincial governments. The federal government could even veto a law made by a province
  - The provinces given less-important powers compared to the federal government. The provincial governments were given powers over education, hospitals, land, cities, and other local governments
- According to Canada's new constitution of 1982:
  - The provinces still control natural resources
- The provinces still want power that is more balanced with the federal government

### 4. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: HOW DOES IT WORK?

Three branches of government make, carry out, and interpret laws:

- Making laws—The parliament, made up of the house of commons (282 members elected by the people for five-year terms) and the senate (104 members appointed by the governor general, hold office until age 75)
- Carry out laws—The prime minister (a member of parliament and the head of the majority party) and the cabinet (members of parliament who are appointed by the prime minister to head the different departments)
- Interpret laws—The Supreme Court of Canada (made up of a chief justice and eight associate justices) decide in cases where there is a disagreement over the meaning of a law

WORKSHEET 6E, GOVERNMENT OF CANADA (CONTINUED)

**EXERCISE**

Assume you have been asked to put together a section for a textbook on Canada. Based on the notes above, use the page below to write the section on Canadian government. Note that spaces have been provided to write subheadings to help organize your section.

GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

Subheading A: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Subheading B: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Subheading C: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



## How a Bill Becomes a Law in Canada

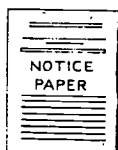
The chart below shows how a bill becomes a law in Canada

### How a Bill Becomes a Law in Canada

The Canadian Parliament considers two general types of bills—*public bills*, which concern the entire nation, and *private bills*, most of which concern only a person or a small group. The Cabinet sponsors most important public bills. All bills go through the same basic steps—three readings in the House of Commons, three in the Senate, and acceptance by the governor general. Most bills can begin in either the House of Commons or the Senate. But all bills dealing with expenses or taxes must start in the House of Commons. The senate cannot reject these bills.

WORLD BOOK illustrations by David Cunningham

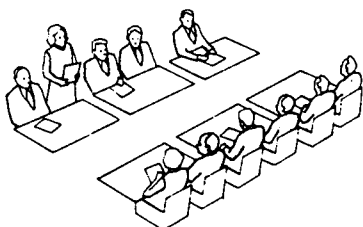
- 1. Action Begins** on most public bills when a Cabinet minister gives formal notice of the bill to the House of Commons. This notice appears in the *Notice Paper*. But a bill to adopt a tax or spend money starts as a recommendation from the governor general to a Cabinet minister. Actually, the Cabinet decides what expenses and taxes to call for.



- 2. Introduction of the Bill.** The Cabinet minister seeks permission to introduce the bill for the first reading. The minister's motion includes the bill's title and a brief explanation of the bill's purpose. The House then grants permission.



- 3. First and Second Readings.** The bill is read for the first time. No debate is allowed, and no amendments may be considered. During the second reading, the most important stage, the House debates the bill's chief purpose but not its details. The bill may be passed or defeated. If passed, it goes to a standing or special committee.

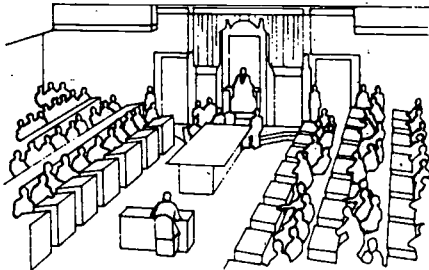


- 4. One of 19 Standing Committees** discusses the bill in detail and submits a report on it to the House. Each of these committees deals with a separate activity, such as agriculture. A special committee may be formed to obtain more information for the standing committee. The standing committee may suggest amendments in its report to the House.

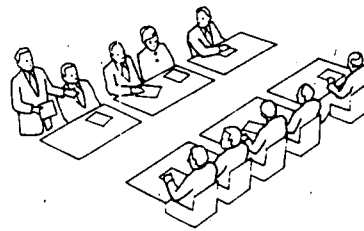


WORKSHEET 6F, HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW IN CANADA (CONTINUED)

5. **The House of Commons** discusses the bill after the committee review. It decides whether to accept the committee's report or to return the bill to the committee for another report. Amendments may be debated and put to a vote. After these proceedings have been completed, the bill goes through a third reading. Some debate is allowed at this time, and other amendments may be put to a vote. If the House passes the bill, it goes to the Senate.



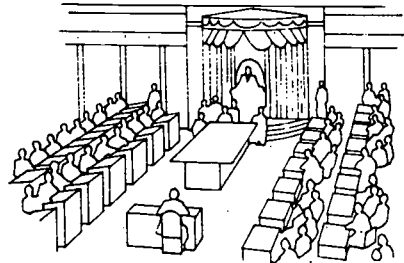
6. **Senate Action** follows the same pattern, beginning with a first reading. If the bill originates in the Senate, the first reading occurs at once. Senate permission is not required to introduce bills. During the second reading, the Senate debates the bill's purpose. If passed, the bill goes to a committee.



7. **One of 10 Standing Committees** in the Senate reviews the House-passed bill and submits a report on it. The committee may suggest reductions—but not increases—for a money bill. It also may recommend amendments.



8. **The Senate Reviews the Bill** during the third reading. Amendments may be offered and put to a vote. If the Senate passes the bill without any amendments, the bill goes to the governor general. If the bill is defeated, it goes back for another first reading in the Senate. If the bill is amended, it is sent to the House of Commons.



9. **House-Senate Action.** If the House of Commons does not accept the Senate's amendments, representatives from the House and the Senate meet and try to reach a compromise. If their compromise includes more changes, the revised bill must be given three readings in each house. If the representatives cannot reach a compromise, the bill is killed.



10. **The Governor General** receives the bill after it has been passed by both houses and, by tradition, accepts it. The bill, now a law, takes effect immediately or when the Cabinet proclaims it.



# Quebec

Read the worksheet and write your opinion as an editorial on the following page.

## HISTORY OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRENCH-SPEAKING QUEBEC AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA

- 1534** French claim Quebec
- 1763** Treaty ending French and Indian War gives Britain control of Quebec
- 1763-1968** French-Canadians struggle against domination by English-speaking Canadians
- 1960-1970** French-speaking Québécois join movement to gain independence from Canada. The Front for the Liberation of Quebec bombs Canadian government offices in an effort to gain Quebec's independence
- 1974** Despite Canadian law, making English and French the country's official languages, Quebec declares French the province's only official language
- 1990** The Meech Lake Agreement, an attempt to keep Quebec part of Canada by giving the province special privileges, fails, as two of Canada's English-speaking provinces oppose the agreement
- 1993** Many French-speaking Québécois renew call for independence

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE FOR QUEBEC	ARGUMENTS AGAINST INDEPENDENCE FOR QUEBEC
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▲ Worldwide recognition of Quebec as a nation</li> <li>▲ Freedom to rule itself without interference</li> <li>▲ Gain control of all taxes collected</li> <li>▲ End duplication of services provided by federal and Quebec government</li> <li>▲ Establish foreign relations and control immigration</li> <li>▲ Gain control of Quebec's economy</li> <li>▲ Freedom to preserve French language and customs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▼ Loss of federal funds for Quebec</li> <li>▼ Possible economic decline</li> <li>▼ Possible loss of free trading rights with other Canadian provinces and the U.S.</li> <li>▼ Possible loss of territory to the federal government</li> <li>▼ Loss of identity with Canada</li> <li>▼ Many English-speaking Québécois, including many important wealthy people, may leave Quebec</li> <li>▼ Quebec may have to pay Canada billions of dollars to pay off its part of Canada's national debt</li> </ul>



## Nunavut

In recognition of the Inuit (Eskimo) people's desire to control their own affairs, Canada created Nunavut (meaning "our land"). Nunavut, 770,000 square miles of the Northwest Territories, will officially become a Canadian territory in 1999. The passage below probably reflects the feelings of many Inuit regarding this event.

"The creation of Nunavut is probably the most important event for the Inuit people in the last 500 years. It is something for which we pressed the Canadian government for a long time, as a settlement for the land that was taken from us. Once we gain control of Nunavut, we will be able to hunt, fish and trap without worrying about breaking any Canadian laws. We will also have the rights to any resources, including any oil or natural gas in the ground. Also, Canada will pay a land claim settlement of almost \$1 billion dollars, to be paid over 14 years.

"When our ancestors came to this land from Asia, almost 10,000 years ago, they developed a unique way of life. They used dogsleds to travel and built igloos from blocks of ice to use as housing during the winter. Our people hunted many different kinds of animals like walrus, polar bear, and caribou for meat and to create shelters and boats. Then the European explorers came, took away our lands, and interfered with our lives.

"In the 1970s we began working toward the day when we could have our own homeland. In 1982 a vote taken among the Inuits on the issue of creating Nunavut showed strong support for the idea. Finally, in April 1992, an agreement creating Nunavut was reached between representatives from Canada, the Northwest Territories, and the Inuit.

"According to the agreement, we will have our own government. It will include a fully elected legislative assembly, an executive council chosen from the assembly, and a judiciary. We will manage education, social services, and housing. Also, like Canada's other territories, Nunavut is required to follow Canada's federal laws.

"We know we face many challenges. But for thousands of years we have proved we have the ability to adapt and survive. Now with great control over our lives in our new homeland, we look forward to the future with confidence."

In the chart below list two problems that you believe the Inuit will face when Nunavut becomes its own self-governing territory. For each problem suggest one possible solution.

PROBLEMS	POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

## *Interdependence*

### **A MORNING IN THE LIFE OF AN AMERICAN COUPLE**

A typical morning for many Americans is described below. In this description, you will learn where many household items originated.

- 6:15 A.M. Dawn finds our typical American couple in pajamas, a garment of East Indian origin, and lying in a bed similar to those in ancient Persia (Iran today). They are dressed in cotton first used by people in India, or silk, whose uses were first discovered by the Chinese.
- 7:00 A.M. On awakening she looks at the clock, a European invention. She gets out of the bed and goes to the bathroom. Here she finds a glass mirror, invented in Africa by the ancient Egyptians, floor tiling from the Middle East, and a bathtub made of porcelain from China. In the bathroom, these Americans wash with soap invented by the ancient Gauls (ancestors of the French). Next, they brush their teeth, a European practice, which first came to the North American continent in the latter part of the 18th century. He shaves, copying a rite performed in ancient Egypt.
- 7:30 A.M. He wears a suit, whose form resembles a garment worn by people wandering the plains of Asia. She fastens her clothes with buttons, which first appeared in Europe at the close of the Stone Age. They both put on their feet shoes prepared by a process invented in ancient Egypt, and cut along a pattern that can be traced back to ancient Greece.
- 7:45 A.M. It is now time for breakfast. They place their food and drink in plates and cups whose origin is China. The fork is an Italian invention and the spoon is a copy of the Roman original. She will usually begin the meal with coffee, an Ethiopian plant. He will probably dilute his coffee with cream, which originated in Turkey, and sweeten his coffee with sugar discovered in India. Some days, they will follow this with cereal made from grain, which people first harvested in the Middle East. As a side dish, she may have an egg similar to the kind first digested in Southeastern Asia.
- 8:15 A.M. As he walks out the door he places on his head a hat, invented on the plains of Asia. If it looks like rain, they put on boots made of rubber of the type first discovered by the ancient Mexicans.
- 8:30 A.M. On board the train they take to work, they can smell in the smoking car smoke from cigarettes invented in Mexico, or a cigar invented in Brazil. Meanwhile, she reads the newspaper, printed by a process invented in Germany, on paper invented in China.

## Global Citizenship

As a result of advancing technologies, the world seems to be shrinking. We may be closer to the day when, rather than viewing ourselves as citizens of individual countries or hemispheres, we will recognize each other as global citizens. As global citizens, we must be concerned with a number of issues, some of which are listed below, and how they affect people in other parts of the world:

### ISSUES

- War
- Deprivation of human rights
- Natural disasters (e.g., floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, etc.)
- Damage to the environment
- Poverty and starvation

### EXERCISE

Select one nation or area of the world where one of the above conditions exists and after researching the situation complete the form below:

Name:	Class:
School:	Teacher:
State the issue that you have selected.	Name a country or area of the world in which this issue is a concern.
Describe the situation as it currently exists in the nation or area of the world you selected.	
Explain why this issue should concern people in all parts of the world.	
Discuss three possible means of resolving this issue (suggested by you or others).	
1.	
2.	
3.	
In your opinion, which would be the best way to resolve this issue? Justify your answer with at least two reasons.	



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