

# Social Science Docket

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# The New York State U.S. History Curriculum and Assessment

by Gregory D. Zinsley (gzinsley@pcsd.k12.ny.us)

In v. 6 n. 1 of *Social Science Docket*, Craig Thurtell, a social studies teacher in Ardsley, New York, criticized the New York State Regents Examination in United States History for homogenizing history and effectively eliminating injustice and struggles for social change from the curriculum. Similar criticisms were raised in an article by Melissa Maestri of Le Moyne College in *The History Teacher* (May, 2006). In this essay, Gregory Zinsley, Social Studies Department Chair at Poughkeepsie High School and President of the New York State Social Studies Supervisory Association, responds to these criticisms. Copies of the New York States Regents examinations are available at <http://www.nysedregents.org/testing/hsregents.html>. The New York State Social Studies Learning Standards and its core curriculum are available at <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/ciai/social.html>.

Judging the quality of education in the classroom by the content of a final examination is like trying to understand Balzac through *Spark Notes*. It leads to an unfair critique of what is actually included in the curriculum. Despite criticisms that have been raised about the questions and topics included on recent 11th grade United States History Regents examinations in New York State, an inspection of the curriculum itself offers a very different picture about what is being taught in social studies classrooms. I also think the academic level of the test is often dismissed without a clear understanding of what it is supposed to measure.

## Core Curriculum

A glimpse at the New York State social studies Learning Standards and its core curriculum indicate that the topics Thurtell and Maestri believe are neglected are actually present in varying degrees of thoroughness. For example, Thurtell is concerned that questions on the test misrepresent the Constitutional Convention by ignoring debate at the convention over minority rule. However, in unit I section B of the curriculum, critical questions are introduced about the backgrounds of the Founders and the exclusion of women and African Americans from the formation of the new government. There is a special emphasis on the issues that unified and divided the Founders and the way that compromises at the convention sanctioned the continuation of slavery.

From my perspective there are areas of weakness in the current curriculum, as in any curriculum, and it is critical that social studies professional organizations and the State Department of Education collaborate to develop new material and expand the coverage of different groups and events. Along with Thurtell and Maestri, I would like to see more instruction on the experience of women, Native Americans, and topics such as problems confronting African Americans during Reconstruction. One area that particularly

disturbs me is the way that the Korean War, which is crucial to understanding the Cold War, receives little attention. However, it is important to note that in New York State teachers are not precluded from teaching about these topics or even making them focal points in their own classrooms. There is no mandate to teach for the test. As long as students perform adequately, teachers are free to adapt their own interests to the requirements of curricula. Such freedom is both the joy and the bane of the profession.

In addition to Thurtell's concerns about the Regents' lack of concentration on crucial aspects of U.S. history, he challenges the testing program for not sufficiently promoting evaluative and critical thought. He cites examples from the multiple choice sections of the 2004 and 2005 United States history examinations to show how key issues are treated in what he considers to be an over-simplistic fashion.

## Purpose of the Test

In raising these points, I believe critics like Thurtell are misrepresenting the purpose of the test. The current standards movement and push for standardized assessments are the result of a political climate that found that many students, especially in poorer districts, had been given a substandard education. The New York State Education Department responded with many initiatives including reconfiguring the Regents testing program. Previously Regents examinations were optional and generally they were only taken by students in the academic track. They were considered difficult examinations that required extensive content knowledge. When the State Education Department decided to use the existing Regents infrastructure to chart student achievement, the examination had to change. The adjective frequently heard to describe the new tests is that they are more "accessible." Content knowledge was supplemented with a skills component. The model chosen, oddly enough, was that used for many years by

The College Board in its Advanced Placement examinations in history. In theory, all students would now be required to perform at higher levels, levels formerly restricted to “gifted” students.

Any test has limits and some may be arbitrary or even simplistic. Students taking the 11th grade United States History Regents are limited to three hours unless they have documented special needs. Each multiple choice question represents only 1/50th of the test and a tiny section of the content included in the Core Curriculum. The State Education Department provides social studies teachers with a question specification grid that references units of study with state standards helps them predict the number of questions that will appear on different topics. This is a useful tool when planning curriculum and reviewing for the test, but it does not mandate that teachers cover any particular topics, how long they spend on it in class, or their approach to the topic.

#### **Accusatory Tone**

In his analysis of the written portions of the examination, Thurtell is especially accusatory. He faults the thematic essay for not demanding students formulate a thesis and engage in higher level thinking. Document-based questions are criticized for failing to require assessment and analysis. Scaffolding questions are dismissed as having no real value and as a method for giving students “effortless points.”

Part of the problem is that the test is intended to measure the competency of a broad range of students and does not substitute for good teaching. Students should be taught from the beginning that analysis and assessment are major aspects of social studies. This is clear in state grading rubrics which also stress that students use vocabulary appropriately, place documents in historical context using outside information, answer all parts of questions, discuss, analyze, compare, as well as formulate a thesis. The “scaffolding” questions assist students in focusing on the content of each document.

The test should be acknowledged for what it really is. As the State Education Departments points out in its new DBQ tutorial, this examination is required of all students and question design must reflect appropriate instructional levels and graduation requirements. It should not be compared with AP examinations which are not intended for all students and which use a

standard that is supposed to reflect participation in a college-level program.

Testing is a political reality that must be endured along with property tax funding. Both curriculum and assessments provide teachers with the framework for what we must teach. However, I want to stress that as professional educators and classroom teachers we are expected reconfigure the curriculum to meet the needs of students and our own historical interpretations. It is the teacher, not the test, that decides what is taught.

There is a tendency on the part of some critics of the N.Y.S. Regents exams to see a political conspiracy behind question selection. This is just not the case. Every teacher in the state should understand that both curriculum and assessment are collaborative efforts of state officials, professional organizations and teachers. Social Studies associates in the State Education Department are *ex officio* members of the New York State Council for the Social Studies and the New York State Social Studies Supervisor’s Association (both sponsors of this journal). Through the professional organizations, SED seeks assistance from classroom teachers at everything from item writing, project editing and lesson content. Every social studies teacher in the state is invited to join NYSCSS and State Education department committees where they can help design both the curriculum and assessments.

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## Evolution, Intelligent Design, and Religion in the Social Studies Classroom

This special theme section grew out of a panel discussion at the Hofstra University New Teachers Network Social Studies and English Conference in December 2005. While debate focused on how social studies teachers should address the issue of “Intelligent Design” in their classes and whether it could be considered scientific, the broader questions addressed included the role of religion in history and society and the meaning of the American legal tradition of “separation of church and state.” Although the argument that “intelligent design” should be taught as part of the science curriculum was dismissed in recent court cases and its proponents were defeated in a number of school board elections around the country, new battlegrounds have already arisen. The state of Georgia has approved elective classes for public high schools on Judeo-Christian Bible as an historical source and its impact on history. It is unclear how a more conservative United States Supreme Court, which was divided in the *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1986) decision that the state-mandated teaching of evolution and creationism side-by-side was an unconstitutional violation of the separation of church and state, will eventually rule.

Even when religion has not intruded into the science curriculum, the political pressure exercised by religious groups has been able to stifle the teaching of both science and social studies. As one working scientist explained in a *New York Times* opinion essay, “When I was in school, . . . Biology was a subject that seemed as exciting as a clump of cotton wool. It was a dreary exercise in the memorization and regurgitation of apparently unconnected facts. Only later did I learn about evolution and how it transforms biology from that mass of cotton wool into a magnificent tapestry, a tapestry we can contemplate and begin to understand.”

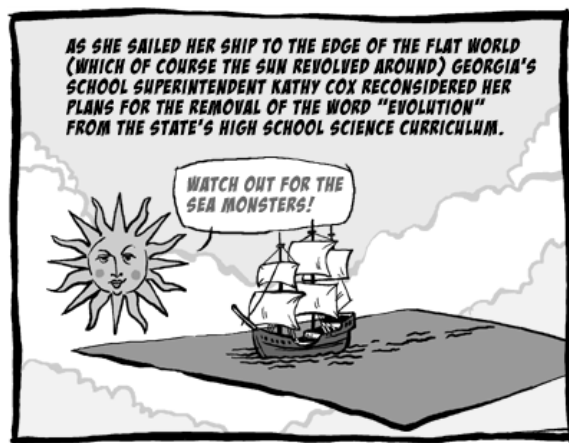
In recent years, campaigns to present religious views as alternative explanations in science classrooms have often been couched in appeals to democracy. Many advocates claim they simply want to “teach the controversy.” This position was endorsed by George Bush in 1999, when as a candidate for President, he announced that he favored the teaching of “different schools of thought” and added, “religion has been around a lot longer than Darwinism. I believe God did create the world.”

Public opinion polls show sharp divisions among the American people. According to a 2005 survey by the Pew Research Center about half the public (48%) believed that humans and other living things had evolved over time, while 42% argued that living things had existed in their present form since the beginning of time.

The Roman Catholic Church has similar divisions. Pope Benedict XVI has argued that the universe was made as an “intelligent project” and criticized those who claim its creation was without direction. However the Vatican’s chief astronomer declared that “Intelligent design isn’t science even though it pretends to be. . . . If you want to teach it in schools, intelligent design should be taught when religion or cultural history is taught, not science.”

A possible solution to this dilemma was proposed by Stephen Jay Gould, a popular science writer who was a Professor of Biology at Harvard University. Gould called his idea the “Principle of NOMA” or “Non-Overlapping Magisteria.” He argued that science and religion should both be valued, but that they are different things. According to Gould, “(The) magisterium . . . of science covers the empirical realm: what is the universe made of (fact) and why does it work this way (theory). . . . The magisterium of religion extends over questions of ultimate meaning and moral value. . . . These two magisteria do not overlap.”

This theme section was prepared for *Social Science Docket* by Takiea Simpson, a biology teacher at John Adams HS, Queen, New York, Jacqueline Rodrigues, a science teacher at Transit Tech HS, Brooklyn, NY, and Brian Abrams and Katelyn Regan, teacher education students at Hofstra University. – Alan Singer



# Reflections on the Relationship Between Science and Religion

by Martin Eisenberg

I was asked to open discussion today by speaking briefly about the relationship between science and religion. I do so very hesitantly. I am not at all expert in conceptualizing the relationship between these two spheres of human concern. The truth is that I rarely think about this relationship. I work as a sociologist and as a sociology teacher. I think of naturalistic reason as embodied in scientific method as the most important value guiding my thinking about how to obtain knowledge of this world. On the other hand, my moral, ethical and political concerns are based mainly on what I consider to be a reasoned faith in the capacity of human beings, over the very long term, to treat one another fairly and to improve the quality of life for everyone in the world. I hope that we humans can carry this historical project forward. I consider this a reasoned faith because although we have shown this human capacity in the past, there have also been centuries of homicidal and repressive regression produced by wars, domination and exploitation. Further, I think that we as a species need to face the possibility that we may ecologically annihilate our world in the future, if we do not destroy it with nuclear bombs or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. The future is not determined.

## Does God Exist?

I am not religious at all. I do not believe in God or an after-life in any form. But I do not think of myself as a militant atheist. I think of an atheist as someone who thinks they know God does not exist. Since I think it is impossible to have any knowledge of God's existence or non-existence, the hypothesis that God or any kind of supernatural force does or does not exist is one that simply has not interested me for many years even though I am quite interested in religious belief and religion as social phenomena.

I was born and grew up in New York City with a strong ethnic Jewish identification but only a skimpily religious orientation. I rarely worried about death or the larger meaning of life. We were very fortunate in relation to our health and material well-being. In the 1940s, I lined up with the neighborhood to get our small pox vaccinations at the local police station and later I got my polio vaccinations from my pediatrician. But, I contracted and recovered from Measles, Mumps,

Pertussis, Chicken Pox, Rubella and Scarlet Fever before the scientists developed vaccines for those diseases. Death or dreaded diseases occurred infrequently and mainly to older people.

My mother died of cancer when she was 55, four years after a mastectomy. Since then, we have made advances in medical science, especially in the area of breast cancer. Women are urged to obtain regular mammograms. There are surgical advances, new chemotherapies and radiation therapies. If my mother had lived after we acquired the knowledge we have now, she may have survived to enjoy my children.

My father died at 63, two years younger than I am now, from acute myocardial infarction as a consequence of acute coronary occlusion. He had been heavy, had high blood pressure, probably bad cholesterol numbers with lots of arterial plaque, and he had smoked too much for too long. Today, my father would be swallowing Lipitor for his cholesterol and Altace for his blood pressure, as I am, and he would have stopped smoking much earlier, as I did, and paid much more attention to his weight. My relatively good health depends upon the knowledge and technology developed in the progress of science since my parents died. This progress confirms my inclination to believe that the scientific ignorance and the internal controversies of one generation often become the knowledge of a subsequent generation.

## Intelligent Design?

Contrary to the arguments of the Intelligent Design folks, scientific ignorance, controversy and complexity beyond our current imagining are the normal states of science. They are no reason to admit non-naturalistic explanations into the scientific enterprise. Instead of including the direct intervention of God or other supernatural forces into their scientific explanations because there is scientific controversy, or considerable complexity in observable phenomena, the commitment of scientists is to find naturalistic explanations for natural phenomena. The purpose of restricting the admissible explanatory factors to what is empirically verifiable and naturalistic is that science wishes to have an impact upon these processes. This is what makes scientific progress possible. Contrary to what the Design folks argue the admission of the supernatural as

a possible factor in the explanation of processes in our material world does not open up controversy, it freezes scientific investigation. If God creates poverty, cancer, coronary occlusions or human beings, there is no point in investigating other causes. My parents died. God did it. There is nothing further to explore.

### **The Role of Science**

The role of science as a human social enterprise, its global appeal and prevalence, despite the historical and global opposition of religions everywhere, is fundamentally a product of our human and social desire to control the world. We want access to food, shelter, good health, justice, and the opportunity to make choices about how we live. We prefer lives of security, predictability and regularity to unpredictable hurricanes, tsunamis and earthquakes, the whims of dictators or the suffering of poverty, disease and economic depression. Certainly, there are scientists who are not interested in the technical results of science but who merely wish to advance and expand knowledge for its own sake. Others see science as a way to earn a living. But as an institution, science has been the most important way we humans have developed to master our world.

Over time the scientific community has developed systematic methods of wondering about and solving problems. Scientists formulate precise questions, develop hypotheses, investigate and empirically verify conclusions on a tentative basis. They develop and theorize the implications of investigations as guides to future investigation, and submit their conclusions to the ongoing criticisms of the relevant scientific community. Then they argue and argue. The fact that the scientific explanations are mostly incomplete, rarely definitive and often controversial is the normal scientific state of affairs and in no way suggests we should abandon the scientific method. It is by that method that medical science, sociology and biology make progress about how our natural and social world operate. And, their conclusions are always, in principle, subject to change based on the discovery of new evidence or the development of new and better ways to explain old evidence.

From my perspective as a social scientist, religion and the supernatural have nothing to contribute to the process of acquiring knowledge or developing scientific explanations of the natural world. There are limitations on what science can tell us and we need to

depend upon faith, although, not necessarily religious faith. Kenneth Miller, a cell biologist at Brown University, a defender of both Darwinian evolution and a practicing Roman Catholic writes that "What science cannot do is assign either meaning or purpose to the world it explores and seeks to master. . . Our human tendency to assign meaning and value must transcend science and ultimately, must come from outside it. The science that results can thus be enriched and informed from its contact with the values and principles of faith. The God of Abraham does not tell us which proteins control the cell cycle. But, he does give us a reason to care, a reason to cherish that understanding and above all, a reason to prefer the light of knowledge than the darkness of ignorance," especially the permanent and intractable darkness which the creationists are committed to finding in nature.

I question Miller's assertion that only religion can provide reasons to care about which proteins control the cell cycle or provide a reason to cherish our understanding of how DNA is reproduced. Many people, including many religious people, do not much care about the principles and processes discovered by science but they gladly depend upon its products including jet planes, vaccines, and artificial limbs. Further, of all the people who do care about the proteins that control the cell cycle, some are religious and some are not. If these assumptions are correct, they seem to logically suggest that our caring about scientific principles and our willingness to cherish this understanding, may not mainly derive from religion.

### **Other Intellectual Traditions**

Also, why identify the values and principles of faith with the God of Father Abraham or Judeo-Christianity? There are many faiths including non-religious ones. Westerners need to admit to ourselves that Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Indian scientists, with their multiple religious backgrounds, are not much moved by the God of Abraham whom they do not know. Yet, they are probably no less moved than we are by the elegant way in which the theory of natural selection generates explains species change or how atoms combine to form molecules. Their willingness to cherish their understanding of the working out of scientific principles may come from something more basic than religion such as the bond that ties us to our beloved, dangerous, fragile and beautiful home planet earth. We do not ask for reasons

to love and understand our families. They are our families so we love them. Similarly, this is our beloved and sometimes dangerous earth so we want to understand and master it. The fact that we do science presupposes our caring. If we did not care, there would be no science.

### **Non-Overlapping Magisteria**

Francis Collins a Christian and a scientist who is the Director of the National Human Genome Research Institute has said, "You will never understand what it means to be a human being through naturalistic observation. You won't understand why you are here and what the meaning is. Science has no power to address these questions." Stephen Jay Gould argued that science and religion are two separate realms, or what he called, "non-overlapping magisteria." Science speaks with authority in the "realm of what the universe is made of (fact) and why does it work this way (theory)" and religion holds sway over questions of ultimate meaning and value.

I do not know what Collins means when he says that you cannot understand what it means to be human by naturalistic observation. That is exactly what sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists do. Humans are social animals. They create cultures of values, norms and material artifacts to deal with the ongoing problems of living. They create their values, norms, stories and religions, through social interaction using symbols and other cultural products that change over time. After hunting and gathering society, all humans have lived in socially stratified societies that nurture families, develop economies, invent technologies, make wars, bury or burn their dead with ritual, and create art and sciences. In fact, we have a good, incomplete and controversial understanding of what it means to be a human being and a method for gaining more knowledge that will enable us to resolve some controversies and move on to new ones.

When Collins says that science does not have the capacity to determine what the meaning of our lives is, it seems to me that he is, at least partially, if not entirely, wrong. When he says that science cannot help us understand the meaning of why we are here, he seems to be hungering for and suggesting that there is a single, absolute and unchanging meaning and truth. That is surely what many religions claim. But that is not what the social sciences say. Human beings, collectively and individually, create meaning,

including religious meanings and these meanings and religions change. We can expect that many of our most precious meanings and values will not be shared by human beings 1,000 years from today. Humans are historical creatures that live and change in time.

There is, however, validity in the recognition by Miller, Collins and Gould of a kind of "non-overlapping magisteria." For centuries, it appeared to many people that religion provided truths and values to guide our lives while science taught how the world works. Of course, that was never completely true. The so-called non-overlapping realms were utterly overlapping, porous and inter-penetrable. Not only were there always diverse and conflicting religions, sects and denominations, but the truths and values of social life and the discoveries of science influenced religion as much as religion influenced science and other areas of our lives. It took years for science to relinquish its supernatural baggage and for the Catholic Church to accept a heliocentric view of our solar system.

### **Science and Value Choices**

What is true is that we need to be wary of what philosophy calls the "naturalistic fallacy." That is the notion that one can logically derive what is good and how we ought to act from naturalistic observation. What science cannot do is tell us what values should ultimately guide our behavior. We cannot derive the "ought" from the "is." However, useful history, sociology and biology are for informing our choices of ultimate values, there are nevertheless choices to make and for those we need to go beyond science. In the main, our value choices depend upon the kind of results we want and the kind of world we wish for and these depend upon our faiths sometimes religious, sometimes neo-conservative, sometimes, liberal, sometimes socialist, and sometimes none of these.

Once people have made faith-filled choices, science contributes two valuable ways for achieving them. It provides us with methods of thinking, including the tools and training for thought. Science also contributes to intellectual clarity. If you are committed to a scientific approach and take a stand for something, you have to recognize both the means needed to achieve your convictions and the consequences of those means. You may decide the consequences do not justify your actions. Science confronts you with the necessity for this choice.

# Are “Intelligent Design” and “Creationism” Science?

by Peter Daniel

I am a biologist who teaches evolution, among other subjects, to college students. There is a broader issue than whether it is appropriate to teach a religiously oriented doctrine in science classes in the interest of equal time. Scientists must be diligent in distinguishing between science and pseudo-science in all its manifest forms. Educators of all stripes and on all levels need to confront constructively the problem of pseudo-science, in particular creationism.

The creation-evolution controversy in the United States has been with us for over 80 years. Everyone knows about the Scopes. But that was not the last to be heard on the issue. It has tended to ebb and flow on the national scene. Since 1968 six cases on the issue have been argued before the Supreme Court; in all six the Court has decided against the creationists. The intelligent design controversy is only the latest chapter.

News reports appear to imply that Benedict XVI is changing the direction of the Catholic Church away from its acceptance of evolution as a scientific explanation for the origin of species. A *New York Times* article stated that the Pope had said the universe was made as an “intelligent project” and that God’s love was seen in the “marvels of creation”. However numerous senior officials have made it clear that the Church is not back-pedaling. Cardinal Paul Poupard, head of the Pontifical Council for Culture, said the Genesis description of how God created the universe and Darwin’s theory of evolution were “perfectly compatible” if the Bible were read correctly. He charged that “The fundamentalists want to give a scientific meaning to words that had no scientific aim.” Rev. George Coyne, the Jesuit director of the Vatican Observatory, stated that “If they respect the results of modern science, and indeed the best of modern biblical research, religious believers must move away from the notion of a dictator God or a designer God, a Newtonian God who made the universe as a watch that ticks along regularly.”

## Science Must Challenge Bias

There is what I believe an innate tendency, some might call it a bias, for people to search for purpose in their existence. I think this happens even in the absence of belief in a deity. There are plenty of examples in the twentieth century, Nazism and Communism to name two, of what can be justly called secular religions. Even scientific theories can be imbued by some with an almost religious tone. One of the unfortunate byproducts of Darwinism is Social Darwinism, a misguided and pseudo-scientific attempt to apply the “survival of the fittest” concept to human races. In this country it “evolved” into the eugenics movement of the early 20th century. It was argued by eugenicists that there were profound genetic differences between races and ethnicities and that certain groups, such as immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, should be discouraged from having children. Long Island’s Cold Spring Harbor Laboratories was a center for research and policy on eugenics. It should be emphasized that eugenics was a movement led by progressives of the time who felt that science held the solutions to all of society’s problems.

In Soviet Russia a quite opposite approach to genetics was unfolding led by a Soviet agricultural scientist, Trofim Lysenko: simply deny its existence! At the time collectivism had managed to destroy Soviet agriculture leading to widespread crop failure and famine. In contrast capitalist countries had begun to apply successfully the new science of genetics to crop productivity. Lysenko with his half-baked anti-genetic scientific theories on agriculture was able to catch the eye of Stalin who elevated him to a position of total power over Soviet agriculture and biology. The effect on Soviet geneticists was devastating – they were driven from their jobs and many were sent to the Gulag. There was no science of genetics in the Soviet Union until the 1970s.



It has long been a staple of religions to try to explain natural disasters as acts of god. In 1755 an earthquake destroyed the city of Lisbon in Portugal, killing tens of thousands. This horrible event was a catalyst for enlightenment philosophers to reconsider the relationship between God and His flock. In the end a doctrine that God directs natural disasters against those who have sinned has fallen out of favor with many religions, but not all. In 1998, Republican icon Pat Robertson warned that hurricanes were likely to hit communities that offended God. Jerry Falwell, who was interviewed by Robertson on CBN after the events of 9/11/01 said that “What we saw on Tuesday, as terrible as it is, could be miniscule if, in fact, God continues to lift the curtain and allow the enemies of America to give us probably what we deserve.” While the events of 9/11/01 were not natural disasters, I think you get the point.

### **Intelligent Design: The Latest Creationist Theory**

Intelligent Design is the latest creationist “theory.” It argues that certain features in the universe and in living things are so complex that they could not possibly have evolved. They only could have originated through the actions of an intelligent agent. It has been widely noted that this is essentially the modern equivalent of what the 19th century natural theologian William Paley argued, that human anatomy demonstrated “the necessity, in each particular case, of an intelligent designing mind for the contriving and determining of the forms which organized bodies bear.” There are many refutations against this argument from design but my favorite has to do with the nature of science. All scientists confront particularly complex problems at some point in their research. It may be that the scientist lacks the skill or technology to solve the problem. Or it could be that she is just not asking the right questions. But at no time does a scientist throw up her hands and exclaim, “well since I have reached the end of my capacity to explain this it must be the work of God; let’s leave it that and move to something else.” With that attitude science would never get anywhere!

What can we do as educators to address this problem? My first advice is to respect our students. When a student shows skepticism about evolution this is a good thing! Science is not dogma and it should not be taught as dogma. We should be happy when students want to know how scientists arrive at certain conclusions. We need more students like that. I used to teach biology in Atlanta, Georgia. I had maybe one or two students who were creationists and made their views known to me. I recall having some interesting discussions with one of them. I don’t know whether I changed his mind but I think I planted some seeds of doubt. I only wish others were as open-minded to challenges to their thinking.

My second point of advice is to seize the opportunity to actually teach students what science is. Again, science is not a dogma. It is a proven way of exploring the natural world. The interest that students take in their origins can be used to teach them the difference between science and pseudoscience. A little bit of research on their part would reveal that creationism is split into many camps: modern geo-centrism, old-earthism, new-earthism, intelligent design, and theistic evolution. It is also obvious that the “hypotheses” posed by each group are often mutually exclusive, not to mention incompatible with contemporary evolutionary theory. Students can then set out to find evidence that supports or refutes each hypothesis.

Creationists often bring up the second law of thermodynamics which states that “the total entropy of any isolated thermodynamic system tends to increase over time, approaching a maximum value.” They argue that evolution goes against this law because the theory describes a system in which there is an increase in complexity with time. Is this really the case? I can’t think of a better way to motivate young students to actually understand a law of physics, a subject that many of them find to be dry.

To be clear I am not arguing that Intelligent Design or any other creation science should be taught alongside evolution so students obtain a balanced view. Instead I am arguing that we have an opportunity here to teach our students how to separate science from pseudo-science.

# Evolution is Science's Leap of Faith

by Chad Hanna

Science has made it its mission to explain the unexplainable. Scientists take the position that if science has not figured something out yet, it is because they have not had enough time or because they have not looked at it from the correct perspective.

But what happens when there has been ample time to explore an issue, scientists have pretty much looked at it from every possible angle, and they still have not discovered a satisfactory answer? I believe that it is at this point that scientists make an intellectual leap of faith. They take the available evidence and create a theory. But this scientific theory is only an educated guess, a leap of faith that is not supported by the existing evidence because some of it is missing.

When scientists make such a leap of faith, teachers and citizens are expected to accept it as part of the scientific method. But when advocates for religious beliefs take these same leaps of faith, they are dismissed as a bunch of gullible people. They are castigated for taking ideas supposedly created by men and attributing them, without justification, to a Supreme Being. They are accused of trying to control humanity by playing on fear and superstition.

## The Big Bang Theory

One of the laws of nature that I have heard repeated since I took physics in high school is that in a scientific perspective something cannot come from nothing. Energy can neither be created nor destroyed. Yet, when scientists present the big bang theory to explain the origin of the universe that is precisely what they are doing. First there was nothing, or maybe some dust, and then suddenly there was a bang and we had a flawless universe with everything synchronized so that human life could evolve. This spontaneous and accidental universe just-so-happened to have a planet that was perfectly designed with the right amount of water and air and the necessary range of temperatures to sustain life. It seems to me that this is a bigger leap of faith than any taken by religious believers.

Practitioners of the scientific method start with a hypothesis, run experiments, test theories, draw conclusions, analyze them, and then repeat the whole process. If this approach repeatedly produces the same results, those results are accepted as a scientific fact.

But no one has been able to duplicate the creation of the universe, the Earth, life or the development of a new species. Yet people are asked to accept these theories as unquestionable scientific facts. To me, this involves an enormous leap of faith.

When scientists find gaps in their knowledge, they fill them in with guesswork and move on to new problems. Why is a leap of faith by scientists considered more valid than a leap of faith by Christians, Muslims, Jews or members of any other religious group? Just because someone works in a research lab and has an advanced degree does not mean that their guesses are the truth. In a democratic society, all ideas and all guesses should be treated equally.

## Inferring God

The natural world contains many suggestions that support the inference that there is a Supreme Being out there who created it. The world is perfectly design. Things did not just happen. They are not randomly thrown together. I own a cell phone. If I take the pieces of the cell phone completely apart and throw them up in the air, I have a pretty good idea that no matter how many times I toss them, they will never land exactly in the right position so that the cell phone works.



In fact, the only reason a cell phone works is because somebody sat down, figured out the underlying principles, designed it, built it, and tried it out. A cell phone works because of intelligent human design, not because of random or accidental happenstance. Computers, airplanes and all modern

technologies were designed. They are too complex to have happened by accident. So are the Earth, the solar system and the universe. That is why they had to be designed and have a designer.

In college I learned the fundamental principle that if you take an element in its solid form, and put it in its liquid form, it is going to sink because the solid form is denser. Curiously, this works for every material except for water. Ice, its solid form, floats. Is this an accident or a demonstration of design? If ice sank instead of floating, vegetative life forms on the bottom of the oceans would die, so would fish, and probably so would land animals. It is amazing that the one material vital for life just happens to act differently than all the others? Is this good luck, a fluke, or evidence of intelligent design?

### Evolution of Man

Supporters of evolution argue that over time ape-like animals evolved into people. Supposing this is true, why didn't other types of animals evolve into human-like creatures with higher intelligence, the ability to speak, religion, culture and technology? Why don't we have lion people or tiger people or any other intelligent animals? Is this simply because evolution decided "I like this creature above this creature"? Or is it because a designer, God, made mankind in his own image? Conversely, if we leave out God as the intelligent designer, why did evolution take place at all? Why didn't things simply stay the way they were?

Even supporters of evolution get hung up in the problem of the theory. They point to dinosaur skeletons as evidence that giant reptiles once inhabited the Earth. Accepting that these fossils might be evidence for their views, there is still the problem of the "Missing Link." Where are the skeletons of all the animals that supposedly evolved over millions of years from ape-like to human? Scientists keep asking people to accept things they cannot find and believe things based on faith in them. I would sooner place my faith in God.

The science vs. religion debate has been going on for centuries. It is amazing to me how often, and unsuccessfully, scientists have tried to disprove the existence of God. They keep trying because science is almost like a religion to them. They hold to their beliefs because of their faith, not because of evidence or a special method of inquiry. This is why the evidence of intelligent design is of fundamental importance. Scientists say that believers cannot prove

the existence of God. But that is exactly what intelligent design demonstrates.

In the movie "Pulp Fiction," there is a scene where two guys get shot at and the bullets seem to pass through them into the wall. One of the guys looks at the wall and says that this is a fluke. By all laws of science we should be dead.



The dinosaurs were wiped out by a giant asteroid.

But there is another explanation when the laws of science or of justice do not seem to apply. There are miracles and examples of divine intervention. Religion may provide the type of explanation scientists are hoping for, but it does provide explanations for things that they cannot explain.

Clearly, all religious people do not believe the same thing and there are many mysteries that we cannot explain. Personally, I do not think God transforms the rules or uses natural disasters as a form of punishment. I do not pretend I always understand God's motives.

Science has been able to do tremendous things to advance humanity. I do not believe that science is an evil force or that people should stop trying to understand the way the world was designed. I am only arguing that people who profess to believe in science demand indisputable proof before intelligent design can be recognized as a fact, while having a much lower threshold of evidence for the theory of evolution and the other things that they choose to believe.

## Teachers Respond to the Evolution – Intelligent Design Debate

Tackeia Simpson, John Adams HS, Queens, NY: As a biology teacher, I think including religion in the science curriculum is a crazy idea. The issue has been raised that scientists excuse what they do not know by claiming there has been insufficient time to find evidence and formulate theories. That is not how science works. We have had sufficient time to come up with theories supported by facts to back up our explanations of the origin of the universe and life on earth. What makes science different from religious belief is our reliance on experimentation and scientific tools. A good example of the way science works is our expanding knowledge of molecular cell biology. Before the development of the microscope, the idea of a cell was meaningless, but that does not mean that cells didn't exist. The research necessary to understand the cell and the technological advances needed to develop the appropriate tools has taken hundreds of years. Now, with more advanced equipment, we can observe the process known as apoptosis, or cell death. Our understanding of this process has enabled scientists to combat cancer and may eventually lead to a cure. One of the first things I teach students in my science classes is that advancements through science came along with advancements in scientific tools. If we are unable to explore something, because it is either too small or too large to be observed with the naked eye, we need to develop tools in order to conduct research. Scientific fact is not absolute in the way that people commonly use the term. It can't be because we are always developing new research tools that allow us to view the world in different ways. Scientific theory must always be open to the discovery of new facts. But until new facts emerge, we must continue to operate based on the facts we have available to us. Evolution is one of those facts.

Giovanni Reynoso-Perez, Teaneck (NJ) High School: Questions always arise whenever the topic of evolution is introduced. As teachers we have a choice. Do we engage students in conversation in the hopes of fostering a love of learning or do we move on in the spirit of AYP's and NCLB? I opt for the former. Curriculum should be seen as a complicated conversation in which the process is what matters, not

the outcome. I challenge students to discuss why or why not creationism should be included in the discussion. Ultimately I want the students to recognize a number of things. On the most basic level, creationism is based on faith. It is not science in the sense that evolution is. Furthermore, I want students to recognize that creationism is based on the Judeo-Christian belief system. Is it fair to include creationism at the exclusion of the Native American Turtle Island myths, or the Hindu goddess Saraswathi, or the Chinese god Pan Gu? Is there a space for creationism in schools? It could come in literature classes where all creation stories can be told.

Jennifer Mileski, Unatego MS-HS, Otego, NY: I have found that the church-state division has not been as heated at Unatego High School where I teach 11th grade United States History. I introduce the debate of church-state relations while teaching the Constitution at the beginning of the year, then the subject returns while teaching the Scopes trial in the 1920s, and then again while discussing the Warren Court in the 1960's. I began introducing the idea of Intelligent Design a few years back and integrated the concept within my curriculum. When taught as a current events issue in a social studies classroom, it appears that the debate is not as controversial as a science teacher teaching the idea in a Biology classroom. At least when taught in social studies, students learn that the theory exists. I am reluctant to hold back on any controversial topics in my classes and I have never had problems with school or district administrators however I believe one reason that I have not been questioned is that I never interject my views into discussions and I make sure that both sides of any debate are adequately defined.

Sharissa Khan, Calhoun HS, Bellmore, NY: The Islamic holy book, the Koran, states that this book is a divine revelation. There are many different interpretations of Islam. Most theological thinkers believe that the Koran provides us with a chance to verify the truth because it reveals the origins of the universe, how it began from one piece. I believe that the Koran presages and supports the scientific explanation of evolution. The Koran makes many

references to human and embryonic development. One excerpt from the Koran states, "He creates you in the wombs of your mother, in stages one after another in three veils of darkness." Another excerpt states, "Subsequently we reproduced him from a tiny drop that is placed into a well protected repository. Then we developed the drop into an embryo then developed the embryo into a fetus. Then created the fetus into bones, and covered the bones with flesh. We thus produced a new creature." Most Islamic scholars agree that a scientific approach to life is encouraged by the Koran. Instead of separating religion and science and forcing students to choose between the two, perhaps we should expose them to other religious views.

Mary Anne Savino, Central School, East Brunswick, NJ: The evolution versus creation debate does not come up in the 5th grade curriculum, however, teaching about complex issues is a special interest of mine. I believe teachers must always be concerned with the backgrounds of their children, including having some awareness of their religious beliefs. I want the boys and girls in my classes to explore new ideas as much as possible and to think outside the boxes that usually constrain them. This debate, if approached carefully, can be very useful as a teaching tool.

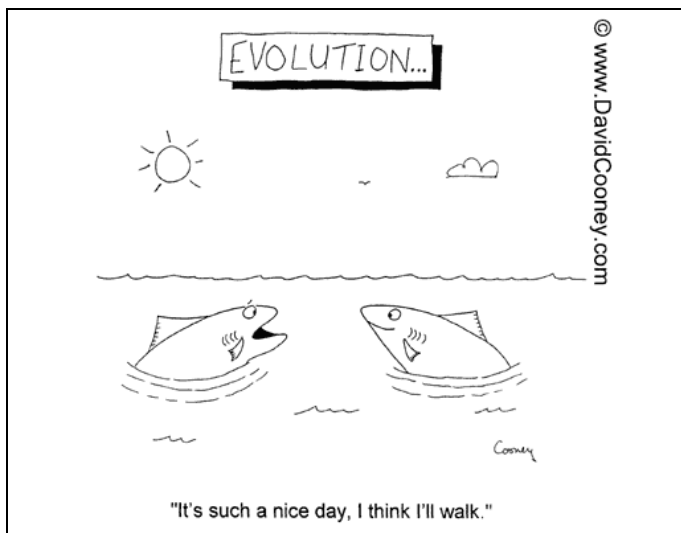
Oliver Schnabel, John Bowne High School, Queens, NY: The point of teaching about evolution as scientific fact is not to be dogmatic, but rather to help students understand the difference science and pseudo-science. I think that there is an inherent problem when we describe the universe as perfect. The human body is hardly perfect. Over time people and things deteriorate. There are vestigial parts of our bodies that appear to no longer have a function and there are many parts, such as our aching backs and failing teeth that do not seem to function very well. Some people use the apparent symmetry of the solar system as an example of intelligent design. But under closer examination, planetary orbits are elliptical not circular and the planets flatten at the poles and are not true spheres. Chad Henna argues that according to the big bang, the universe developed out of nothing. But the fact is that in terms of what we have been able to "observe" using scientific instruments, and we have been able to come within one billionth of a second after the big bang, scientists do not claim that the universe was formed out of nothing. It was an incredibly dense and tiny

universe, but it had both mass and energy. The big bang theory does not seek to explain the origin of this tightly packed universe, but does explain how over billions of years the universe that we know today was formed. Of course, if a planet that could support life such as ours had not formed, we would not be having this discussion. However, the existence of one such planet among billions does not prove that the entire universe was designed so that this conversation would take place. That argument is a little egocentric. Scientists postulate [makes guesses that are not supported by a strong body of evidence] that other universes can exist. It is certainly possible that these universes have different laws of physics and could still sustain some form of life. Just because in our experience ice floats, the Earth must be a certain distance from the Sun, and temperature must be within a certain range, does not mean that life could not have emerged under different conditions.

Kamillah Dawkins, Uniondale (NY) High School. I attended Catholic schools my entire life, including college, and I support religious belief. For me, religion provides guidance on topics where science does not offer answers. Some religious believers are extremists and I do not support their conclusions. I do not believe that Pat Robertson had any justification for arguing that God sent Hurricane Katrina to destroy communities that were sinful and disobeyed his will. Many communities with similar levels of sin seem to have been spared. There are also extremists when it comes to Biblical interpretations of the creation story. I do not view the Bible as a literal text because it has been edited and translated so many times over the centuries. I just find it very hard to believe that there is not a higher being that is in charge of the order of society.

Michael Foster, New Rochelle (NY) HS: There are many topics where religion plays a major role in history and also the way people have explained events. These include the creation of the universe, evolution of the human species, the beliefs of early river valley civilizations, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and some of the ongoing conflicts between the Christian and Islamic worlds that we see continuing in the Middle East. When different beliefs systems come up in the curriculum, I present what their adherents believed and the historical information about them and their founders. Students must evaluate these beliefs

systems and decide what makes sense to them. I try to help students understand that in general religion and science address different phenomenon. Religion deals with the unseen, it is a belief system. Science deals with the observable. It is based on research and experimentation. If a student offered a miracle as an historical explanation, I would explain the differences between science and belief. If they insisted on their explanation, I would require that they support it with facts and details. Science and religion are not the same things, although there is a space where they interact. They both have their place in the classroom and as teachers we need to ensure that religious and scientific ideas are treated with respect. I present some of the historical controversies that emerge in the curriculum, but where the two rub up against each other, students have to make personal decisions about their beliefs.



John McNamara, West Windsor-Plainsboro, NJ: As a teacher, I see myself as an orchestra leader who is trying to get the most out of the orchestra's members. The focus is not on what I think, but on what the class can learn through a fair, open and respectful exchange of ideas. The debate over whether creation science is science or part of the effort throughout the twentieth century to include religion in the public school curriculum is an excellent topic for involving high school students in a careful examination of historical documents and independent research. My job is to assemble the documents, direct their research, and use questions to broaden discussion and require them to examine different beliefs and interpretations.

Michael Pezone, Law, Government and Community Service Magnet High School, Queens, NY: The topic of religion often arises in my social studies classes where most of my students come from religious Christian backgrounds. When students ask me about my beliefs, I tell my students that I agree with Clarence Darrow, who said: "I do not believe in God because I do not believe in Mother Goose." I sometimes tell my students about my religion. I believe that the universe rests upon the back of a great turtle. The students ask: "What does the turtle rest on?" I say: "It rests upon the back of another great turtle." "Well, what does that turtle rest on?" they want to know. I tell them: "Well, it's turtles all the way down!" Around the time of the Civil War, there was a movement to put God into the Constitution. That didn't happen, but a compromise was made, which put God onto our coins and paper money. Later, Teddy Roosevelt, in a fit of pique, demanded that God be removed from our currency. He didn't do so out of concern with the First Amendment or the separation of church and state, but because he was concerned about the profane places where money often ended up. I agreed with Stephen Jay Gould's idea that science and religion are "non-overlapping magisteria" or realms of knowledge. I believe we need to keep these magisteria separated. Mark Twain wrote a fictional dialogue about Christianity. One person said that "This [meaning the United States] is a Christian nation." The other responded: "So is hell."

John Beck, New Rochelle (NY) HS: The debate between scientific and religious points of view comes at the beginning of the curriculum in 9th grade when we discuss the origin of the earth and the evolution of human beings in Africa. Personally, I do not think we should present students with either-or-scenarios. I believe that science and religion can work together and this is most clearly illustrated by the work of European Enlightenment thinkers such as Galileo. Galileo and others argued for a scientific understanding of the physical world and of the operation of human societies, but they were also religious people. Students find debates of this period fascinating, especially conflicts between the Roman Catholic Church and scientific thinkers. They are very curious about the way Galileo negotiated between his beliefs and what he saw through his telescope. They find it church intolerance toward the idea of a sun-centered solar system in that period humorous and are amazed that it was not until

the 1990s that the Roman Catholic Church finally admitted that Galileo was right. Teachers need to be careful not to give students a sense that we think they must either believe in science or God.

Nicholas Santora, MS 211, Queens, NY: I strongly disagree with Chad Hanna. What is called the Big Bang theory is exactly that - a theory. It is not a leap of faith. Some theories are stronger than others. The latest scientific conception of the origin of the universe is based on measurable data from telescopes. Science does not exist in a vacuum. In 1961 President Kennedy declared that there would be a man on the moon before the decade ended. That vision came true. Perhaps someday a President will commission a more powerful telescope and we as the ever-inquisitive species will find out what happened in that first one-billionth of a second. It might take a thousand years. Who ever said there is a time limit on plausible suppositions? Scientists admit when their data comes up short. Those who profess a literal interpretation of the Bible or the concept of Intelligent Design are taking the leaps of faith - huge ones at that. Archaeological digs outside the city of Jerusalem have produced no proof whatsoever in the existence of a King David. Was there a chronicler on the scene when Jesus worked his miracles? The Gospels were written more than 80 years after the death of the prophet Jesus Christ. Mohammed was a 6th century Meccan merchant who successfully absorbed the beliefs of Judaism and Christianity. Carbon-14 dating methods clearly indicate that our planet is more than 4000 years old. Yes, there are missing links in regard to evolution. But unlike the Protestant right that is pushing Intelligent Design, scientists admit their shortcomings and continue to explore. Digging still goes on in archaeological sites all over the world.

Jacqueline Rodrigues, Transit Tech HS, Brooklyn, NY: While many people lump religion (creationism) and Intelligent Design together, they are very different. I believe Intelligent Design introduces valid questions about how and why life developed on earth. Without identifying God as being the designer, Intelligent Design offers a thought provoking explanation of why things came to be and how we fit into the scheme of this design. Teachers are supposed to introduce students to new and innovative ideas to promote critical thinking. Science and social studies teachers

should acknowledge the existence of Intelligent Design and state that it is a new theory which doesn't have real proof but is suggested by some of the evidence.



Katelyn Regan, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY: When teaching science, we teach processes which can be applied to anything we wish to investigate. The scientific method is based on quantifiable information, and once done, can result either in supporting or disproving data. In all cases, this data must be recorded and taken into account. Information is continually growing and changing. For many years mankind believed that the earth was flat, and that the sun revolved around the earth. These theories were supported observations. One notices the sun rising in the east and setting in the west, and when gazing at the horizon, you see a straight line. It was not until someone could disprove this theory with new supporting information, that this theory was changed. Due to the nature of creationism and intelligent design, it can not be tested; therefore any links to science would disprove these theories. Darwinism is constantly being tested and has various results, many supporting and some which contradict the theory. In any case, it is being tested, making it scientific. Many Americans believe in theories other than evolution. To demand that they abandon their beliefs is in direct violation of their constitutional rights. However, it is also unconstitutional to teach religion in a public school. I propose that while teaching evolution in science classrooms teachers acknowledge it is only one of many theories. However, since science is a place for testing and proving, it is not appropriate to "teach" these "untestable" theories.

Vanessa Marchesse, Richmond Hill HS, Queens, NY: My beliefs are somewhat complicated. I believe that God did form the starting point of the world. On the other hand, I also believe in evolution. Scientific evidence shows that evolution did indeed happen. For me, religion provides the answer to the initial question, why the world exists, while science answers the question of how. As a social studies teacher, I would respect the beliefs of religious students and include references to intelligent design in our conversations, but also present the conclusive evidence that proves the theory of evolution.

Jim Van Cott, P. 178, Brooklyn, NY: As Martin Eisenberg points out, the whole point of science is that it does not know all of the answers. If scientists did, there would be no point in looking any further. What we do not know today, may become common knowledge in the future in the same way we realize that the Earth is not flat and that sperm are not tiny little men. To teach Intelligent Design as if it were part of science undermines the inquisitiveness of students about the world that is an essential component of the scientific approach to knowledge. I would, however, include the debate over whether Intelligent Design should be considered as science in a Participation in Government class. It raises important questions about

how we know what is true and how decisions are made in a democratic society.

Matthew Chico, Merrick Avenue Middle School, Merrick, NY: I agree with Peter Daniel that Intelligent Design is nothing more than a new coat of paint on creationism. Intelligent Design is not science because its claims cannot be tested. Should the "stork theory" be taught as an alternative to human sexual reproduction in biology classes just because some people believe in it? While Intelligent Design is not science, it is certainly social studies. In my eighth grade class I find the contemporary furor over Intelligent Design especially useful for helping students understand the uproar over the Scopes "Monkey" trial of the 1920s and the principal of separation of church and state.

Michelle Geluso, Seaford (NY) High School: My job as a social studies teacher is to provide students with the tools to explore their own feelings and opinions. I would create a document package with a range of materials to promote debate on whether Intelligent Design should be taught as science. The job of the science teacher is to present science as it is understood by scientists. But the job of the social studies teacher is to promote informed debate.

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# When Fundamentalist Winds Swirled through Dayton, Tennessee: The Scopes “Monkey Trial” of 1925

by Charles Howlett and Sam Carpentier

The recent debate in the United States over what should be taught in science classrooms about the origin and development of life on earth is hardly a new one. The legal battle in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925 shows how emotionally and politically charged the issue was in the past. The early 1920s witnessed an epic struggle between conservative forces identified with rural America and an emerging urban-industrialized society. At stake was whether modernists or traditionalists would dominate American culture.

Modernists tended to be based in cities and embraced intellectual and social experimentation and a more secular view of the world. They were contemptuous of calls for a return to the idealized simplicity and “normalcy” of prewar society. Traditionalists, on the other hand, often framed their arguments in Protestant moral and religious terms. Many believed that immigration, industrialization, urbanization and involvement in foreign wars were weakening the moral fabric of the nation. According to historian Paul Murphy, despite its “surface prosperity and supposed gaiety and exuberance,” the “Twenties” witnessed an outbreak of antipathy “towards radicals, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Orientals, and other minority groups.” It was a decade marked by the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, the 1924 National Origins Act, the trial and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and enforcement of the Volstead Act and the 18th Amendment ban on the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic beverages.

## “Cultural Wars” in the 1920s

As part of this post-World War 1 “cultural war,” Protestant religious fundamentalism experienced a tremendous revival in rural areas. Fundamentalists demanded recognition of the literal truth of the Holy Bible and targeted Darwinian evolution as a threat to Christian society.

William Jennings Bryan, a three-time Democratic presidential candidate and former Secretary of State emerged as a leader in the crusade to banish Darwin’s teachings from American classrooms. His pamphlet, *In His Image*, argued that evolution was both irrational and immoral. Bryan and his followers were successful in getting legislation introduced in fifteen states calling

for a ban on the teaching of evolution in the classroom. By 1925, Oklahoma, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Kentucky had passed these laws. In that year, the Tennessee General Assembly approved the Butler Act. It provided “That it shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the Universities, Normals and all other public schools of the State which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.”

## Scopes’ Trial in Dayton, Tennessee

The American Civil Liberties Union, based in New York City, decided to test the constitutionality of Tennessee’s new law if it could find a suitable defendant. George Rappalyea, a transplanted New Yorker who managed a coal company in Dayton, saw this as an opportunity to both challenge religious fundamentalism and promote a small mining town with a dwindling population. He and other local leaders enlisted John T. Scopes, a twenty-four-old substitute science teacher and part-time football coach, to serve as the test case. While filling in for the regular biology teacher during an illness, Scopes had assigned readings on evolution from the textbook.

Despite not having practiced law in over thirty years, William Jennings Bryan volunteered his services to the prosecution team that included the district attorney for the 18th circuit court and a future U.S. Senator. Upon hearing that Bryan was working with the prosecution, Clarence Darrow, a noted criminal attorney and staunch agnostic offered to join the ACLU team representing Scopes. Darrow was joined by Arthur Garfield Hays, a prominent free speech advocate and Dudley Field Malone, an international known divorce attorney.

A carnival-like atmosphere developed in Dayton as the date of the trial approached. Banners decorated the streets, lemonade stands were put up and chimpanzees performed in a sideshow on Main Street. Anti-Evolution League members distributed literature and prayer groups assembled on the surrounding hills and

riverbanks. Journalists from around the world descended upon Dayton, including H.L. Menck of the *Baltimore Sun*, whose newspaper paid the defense's expenses. It was also the first U.S. trial to be broadcast on national radio,

On July 10, 1925, the first day of the trial, almost a thousand people jammed the Rhea County Courthouse. The presiding judge, John Raulston, was a conservative Christian who craved notoriety. He proposed moving the trial under a tent which would have accommodated close to 20,000 people. Ultimately, the trial was moved to the lawn in front of the courthouse where the jury faced a sign attached to the courthouse wall that said "Read Your Bible Daily for One Week."

### **William Jennings Bryan v. Clarence Darrow**

The opening of the trial had all the earmarks of a theatrical event as remarks by both sides "pictured the trial as a titanic struggle between good and evil or truth and ignorance." Bryan proclaimed that "if evolution wins, Christianity goes." Darrow responded that "Scopes isn't on trial; civilization is on trial" and that the anti-evolution law made the Bible "the yardstick to measure everyman's intellect, to measure everyman's intelligence, to measure everyman's learning."

During the first seven days of the trial, witnesses included the Superintendent of Schools, seven students, and a Professor of Zoology from John Hopkins University. On the seventh day, Raulston ruled that Darrow would not be permitted to call scientific witnesses to testify on behalf of Scopes. At that point, Hays requested that Bryan be called to the stand as an expert on the Bible. Darrow apparently expected to lose the trial and was preparing for an appeal, hoping to eventually bring the case to the United States Supreme Court.

The confrontation between Darrow and Bryan lasted approximately two hours. The *New York Times* described it as "the most amazing court scene in Anglo-Saxon history." While modern readers, who have been influenced by the play *Inherit the Wind*, tend to see the interchange as a triumph for Darrow and science, public sentiment at that time decisively favored Bryan. Following Bryan's testimony, Darrow requested and was granted an immediate verdict, a tactic that denied Bryan an opportunity to deliver his

closing address. After eight days of trial and only eight minutes of jury deliberation, John Scopes was found guilty and ordered to pay a \$100 fine. Scopes, himself, never testified. Five days after the trial ended, William Jennings Bryan died following a prolonged battle with diabetes.

Scopes' attorneys appealed the decision on several grounds. The statute was overly vague in prohibiting the teaching of "evolution." It violated Scopes' rights under the *due process* clause of the Constitution. The theory of the descent of man from a lower order of animals was established by the preponderance of scientific thought. The statute violated the *Establishment Clause* by unconstitutionally establishing a state religion. Each of these appeals was denied. Ironically, the State Supreme Court reversed Scopes' conviction on a technicality because according to Tennessee state law, the jury, not the judge, must set the fine if it is above \$50.

The debate over the Tennessee statute lay dormant for over thirty years without any real test of the law's constitutional validity. During that period, over forty bills, riders, or resolutions were introduced into state legislatures supporting the creationist position. While most of these attempts were rejected, Mississippi and Arkansas were successful in putting anti-evolution laws on the books. It was not until *Epperson v. State of Arkansas* in 1968 that the United States Supreme Court rules that an anti-evolution statute violated the First Amendment because it prohibited teaching of a scientific theory that was in conflict with religious interpretations of the Book of Genesis. In a 1987 case, *Edwards v. Aguilar*, the Supreme Court upheld *Epperson*. It argued that the state-mandated teaching of evolution and creationism side-by-side was unconstitutional because teaching creationism meant that the state was endorsing religion.

According to historian William Leuchtenburg, "The aftermath of the Scopes trial is symbolic of the fate of political fundamentalism in the 1920s. Immigration restriction, the Klan, prohibition, and Protestant fundamentalism all had in common hostility to the city and a desire to arrest change through coercion by statute." In the end the anti-evolutionists won the trial but, "in a more important sense, they were defeated, overwhelmed by the tide of cosmopolitanism."

## Henry Fairfield Osborn and the Origins of the Evolution/Creation Controversy

by Brian Regal

The first shots of the Evolution/Creation wars were fired in New York City in the years leading up to the Scopes Trial. The controversy began when Christian Fundamentalists and anti-evolution crusaders confronted Henry Fairfield Osborn (1858-1935), the most prominent and public defender of the teaching of evolution to school children in the country.

Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History, was a devout Presbyterian whose theories of human evolution contained as much theology as science. While he agreed with mainstream biologists about most of the mechanics of evolution, he argued that the initial push which started a living group evolving in any direction came from the hand of God. What did separate Osborn from the Fundamentalists was his unshakable belief that teaching science and evolution to school children was not only good for them, but good for the country as well.

### Debate in The New York Times

On February 26, 1922, *The New York Times* published an opinion essay by William Jennings Bryan excoriating the teaching of Darwinism to school children. On March 5, it published a rebuttal by Osborn.

Osborn wrote that what Bryan was asking in his article was whether God used evolution as part of a divine plan. Osborn's simple answer was "Yes." Science and evolution, Osborn countered, promoted spirituality, and not undermined it. Any thinking person could see that evolution did in fact take place and that it was a divinely inspired law and so not in contradiction to revealed religion.

Osborn tried to be civil with Bryan and discuss the matter on a professional level, but Bryan would make that increasingly difficult. The discussion soon turned to name calling and sarcasm. Replying to Osborn's counter-editorial, Bryan disparaged him and Princeton biologist Edwin Grant Conklin (who wrote a companion piece to Osborn's), as "tree men," equating them with monkeys swinging by their tails and chattering nonsense. He dismissed Osborn's argument completely and claimed Osborn thought the discovery

of fossils more important than the birth of Jesus Christ. This enraged the devoutly religious Osborn.

William Jennings Bryan was not the only fundamentalist who had it in for evolution, or for Osborn. John Roach Straton was pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church in New York (1918-1929). Straton's hackles were raised in 1925 when Osborn opened a ground breaking new museum exhibit on human evolution called The Hall of the Age of Man. This was the first major museum exhibit in America on human evolution. Osborn brought in hominid fossils from around the world and installed posters and charts laying out Osborn's view that the evolution of the human race was a progressive and goal oriented process.

Straton fumed that Osborn and his exhibition were "poisoning the minds of New York school children by the false and bestial theories of evolution." Straton wanted the exhibition dismantled or at least to include a reference to the biblical story of creation. Osborn did not want religion introduced into the exhibition because he feared that average people already did not understand the workings of evolution, and religion would only confuse the issue further. Unsatisfied with Osborn's reply, Straton began preaching anti-evolution and anti-museum sermons, even hanging a large banner outside his church lambasting the professor. Straton charged that Osborn and company were committing "treason against God," and that taxpayer money should not go to such a den of iniquity as the American Museum of Natural History. The discourse was covered extensively in the New York press as well as a number of newspapers around the country. The public tended to side with Osborn. The uproar did not diminish the crowds waiting to see the museum or the hall, and non-fundamentalist theologians came to the museum's defense.

In July of 1925 public attention shifted away from the sparring in New York to Tennessee. While the Scopes Trial became the "trial of the century" and the focal point for creation/evolution controversy in America, it was in New York that the public jousting first began.

## **The Scopes' Trial and the Debate over Evolution**

During the 1920s, some people welcomed change while others feared it. One of the biggest controversies was whether science would change the way we think about our world. Some religious people feared that scientific ideas would undermine belief in the Bible and religion. One of the most famous trials in the United States occurred in 1925. It took place in a small town in Tennessee. A high school teacher named John Scopes was on trial for teaching his class about evolution. Teaching about evolution was against the law in Tennessee.

People from all over the country came to Dayton, Tennessee for the trial. One of the prosecuting attorneys was William Jennings Bryan, a former Presidential candidate and an acknowledged expert on the Bible. The defense attorney was Clarence Darrow, who was famous for defending constitutional rights in very difficult cases.

During the trial, the judge ruled that no one could testify about the ideas of evolution. To defend his client, Darrow called to the stand Mr. Bryan. Bryan claimed that "everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there," including stories such as Noah's ark, Jonah being swallowed by a whale and Joshua making the sun stand still at Jericho. In his questions to Bryan, Darrow tried to show that the Bible could be interpreted in different ways. He wanted to show that Mr. Bryan's beliefs were his opinions, not the "truth." Darrow also wanted to show that someone's opinions about religion should not be allowed to prevent teaching students about evolution and science. Mr. Scopes was found guilty of teaching about evolution, but the case was later dropped. The case was widely reported in newspapers and later was made into a play called "Inherit the Wind."

### **A. Testimony from the Scopes' Trial, *The New York Times*, July 21, 1925**

Darrow: Mr. Bryan, do you believe that the first woman was Eve?

Bryan: Yes.

Darrow: Do you believe that she was literally made out of Adam's rib?

Bryan: I do.

Darrow: Did you ever discover where Cain got his wife?

Bryan: No, sir; I leave the agnostics (non-believers) to hunt for her.

Darrow: You have never found out?

Bryan: I have never tried to find.

Darrow: The Bible says he got one, doesn't it? Where other people on the ark at the same time?

Bryan: I cannot say.

Darrow: You cannot say? Did that never enter your consideration?

Bryan: Never bothered me.

Darrow: There were no others recorded, but Cain got a wife. That is what the Bible says. Where she comes from you don't know.

Bryan: (To the Court) His purpose is to cast ridicule on everybody who believes in the Bible.

Darrow: We have the purpose of preventing bigots and ignoramuses from controlling the education of the United States.

Bryan: I want the papers to show I am not afraid to get on the stand in front of him and let him know that agnosticism is trying to force agnosticism on our colleges and on our schools.

### **B. H. L. Mencken Reports on the Bryan-Darrow Confrontation, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, July 21, 1925**

At last it has happened. After days of ineffectual argument and legal quibbling, with speeches that merely skirted the edges of the matter which everyone wanted discussed in the Scopes anti-evolution trial. William Jennings Bryan, fundamentalist, and Clarence Darrow, agnostic and pleader of unpopular causes, locked horns today under the most remarkable circumstances ever known by American court procedure. It was on the courthouse lawn, where Judge Raulston had moved so that more persons could hear, with the Tennessee crowds whopping for their angry champion, who shook his fist in the quizzical satiric face of Mr. Darrow, that Mr. Bryan was put on the stand by the defense to prove that the Bible need not be taken literally. The youthful Attorney General Stewart, desperately trying to bring the performance within legal bounds, asked, "What is the meaning of this harangue?" "To show up fundamentalism," shouted Mr. Darrow, lifting his voice in one of the few moments of anger he showed, "to prevent bigots and ignoramuses from controlling the educational system of the United States."

Mr. Bryan sprang to his feet, his face purple, and shook his fist in the lowering, gnarled face of Mr. Darrow, while he cried: "To protect the word of God from the greatest atheist and agnostic in the United States." And then for nearly two hours, while those below broke into laughter or applause or cried out encouragement to Mr. Bryan, Mr. Darrow goaded his opponent. His face flushed under Mr. Darrow's searching words, and he writhed in an effort to keep himself from making heated replies. His eyes glared at his lounging opponent, who stood opposite him, glowering under his bulging brow, speculatively tapping his arm with his spectacles. No greater contrast in men could be imagined. The traps of logic fell from Mr. Darrow's lips as innocently as the words of a child, and so long as Mr. Bryan could parry them he smiled back, but when one stumped him he took refuge in his faith and either refused to answer directly or said in effect: "The Bible states it; it must be so."

### **C. William Jennings Bryan's "Evolving" Views on Evolution**

While William Jennings Bryan is remembered for his opposition to the teaching of evolution at the 1925 Scopes trial, this was not always his position. In "The Prince of Peace," a lecture written in 1904 and delivered at numerous religious meetings in the United States and around the world, he was much more tolerant of disagreement. However, this began to change when he identified scientific ideas about evolution with the political ideology of Social Darwinism.

Early Views on Evolution (1904): "I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as far as some do. . . . I do mean to find fault with you if you want to accept it . . . It is true that man, in physical qualities, resembles the beast . . . [but to follow Darwin] one must exercise more faith than religion calls for." Source: "The Prince of Peace" speech.

Social Darwinism (1906): "Such a conception of man's origin would weaken the cause of democracy and strengthen class pride and the power of wealth." Source: To sociologist E.A. Ross, cited in Stephen Jay Gould, "William Jennings Bryan's Last Campaign," *Natural History*, November 1987.

Separation of Church and State (1921): "Under the pretense of teaching science, instructors who draw their salaries from the public treasury are undermining the religious faith of students by substituting belief in Darwinism for belief in the Bible. Our Constitution very properly prohibits the teaching of religion at public expense. . . . Atheists have just as much civil right to teach atheism as Christians have to teach Christianity. . . . The real issue is whether atheists, agnostics, Darwinists and evolutionists shall enjoy special privileges in this country, and have rights higher than the rights of Christians." Source: "The Menace of Evolution" pamphlet.

Lack of Evidence (1925): "I am not willing to admit evolution below man in the absence of facts because evolutionists would take the admission and build upon it a probability. They would say that 'it being admitted that evolution accounts for species below man, it proves that evolution accounts for man, also.' I deny that there is any sufficient evidence of evolution anywhere, although it is the tracing of man to a brute origin against which I especially contend." Source: Letter dated May 5, 1925

Failure of Evolution (1925): "Evolution is not truth; it is merely a hypothesis - it is millions of guesses strung together. . . . While many scientists accept evolution as if it were a fact, they all admit, when questioned, that no explanation has been found as to how one species developed into another. . . . There is no more reason to believe that man descended from some inferior animal than there is to believe that a stately mansion has descended from a small cottage." Source: From William Jennings Bryan. *Fighting to Death for the Bible* [prepared for the Scopes evolution trial but not delivered].

## The Legal Debate over the Teaching of “Intelligent Design” as Science

In October 2004, the Dover, Pennsylvania school board voted to have students listen to a statement at the start of biology class that said Darwinian evolution was a flawed theory and that intelligent design was an alternative they could study further. Intelligent Design is the proposition that biological life is so complex that it could not have randomly evolved, but must have been designed by an intelligent force. Intelligent design proponents argue that schools should “teach the controversy” over evolution and open students’ minds to competing theories. In December, 2005, Federal Judge John E. Jones III ruled that was fundamentally a religious position that violated the principle of the “Separation of Church and State.” Read the following statements, consider their arguments and then write a 250-500 word statement explaining your views on the question: Is “Intelligent Design” a scientific theory or an effort to impose religious teachings that violates the First Amendment to the Constitution?

**A. Statement on Intelligent Design by the Dover, Pennsylvania School Board.** *The New York Times*, December 20, 2005: “The Pennsylvania Academic Standards require students to learn about Darwin’s Theory of Evolution and eventually to take a standardized test of which evolution is a part. Because Darwin’s Theory is a theory, it continues to be tested as new evidence is discovered. The Theory is not a fact. Gaps in the Theory exist for which there is no evidence. A theory is defined as a well-tested explanation that unifies a broad range of observations. Intelligent Design is an explanation of the origin of life that differs from Darwin’s view. The reference book, *Of Pandas and People*, is available for students who might be interested in gaining an understanding of what Intelligent Design actually involves. With respect to any theory, students are encouraged to keep an open mind. The school leaves the discussion of the Origins of Life to individual students and their families. As a Standards-driven district, class instruction focuses upon preparing students to achieve proficiency on Standards-based assessments.”

**B. Federal Court Ruling on Intelligent Design.** *The New York Times*, December 21, 2005: “In making this determination, we have addressed the seminal question of whether I.D. [Intelligent Design] is science. We have concluded that it is not, and moreover that I.D. cannot uncouple itself from its creationist, and thus religious, antecedents. Both defendants and many of the leading proponents of I.D. make a bedrock assumption which is utterly false. Their presupposition is that evolutionary theory is antithetical to a belief in the existence of a supreme being and to religion in general. Repeatedly in this trial, plaintiffs’ scientific experts testified that the theory of evolution represents good science, is overwhelmingly accepted by the scientific community, and that it in no way conflicts with, nor does it deny, the existence of a divine creator. To be sure, Darwin’s theory of evolution is imperfect. However, the fact that a scientific theory cannot yet render an explanation on every point should not be used as a pretext to thrust an untestable alternative hypothesis grounded in religion into the science classroom or to misrepresent well-established scientific propositions. The citizens of the Dover area were poorly served by the members of the board who voted for the I.D. policy. It is ironic that several of these individuals, who so staunchly and proudly touted their religious convictions in public, would time and again lie to cover their tracks and disguise the real purpose behind the I.D. policy. With that said, we do not question that many of the leading advocates of I.D. have bona fide and deeply held beliefs which drive their scholarly endeavors. Nor do we controvert that I.D. should continue to be studied, debated, and discussed. As stated, our conclusion today is that it is unconstitutional to teach I.D. as an alternative to evolution in a public school science classroom.”

**C. Response by Robert Crowther, Discovery Institute’s Center for Science and Culture.** *The New York Times*, December 23, 2005, A26: “The recent judicial ruling on intelligent design is rife with false assertions and mischaracterizations of the theory of intelligent design. It mischaracterizes intelligent design as a supernatural explanation, even though it isn’t and even though expert scientists testified that this isn’t the case. . . . A judge’s ruling doesn’t change the fact that there is digital code in DNA and that there are miniature machines in cells. Intelligent design research will go on, and the scientific evidence will win out in the end.”

## Global Revolution (1789 through the end of the 20th Century)

The idea of revolution came be romantic, exhilarating and frightening depending on your social position and individual involvement. Two of history's most famous romantic revolutionaries were the British poet Lord George Gordon Byron (1788-1824) and the Argentine-born doctor Ernesto "Ché" Gueverra. Both died while involved in movements to liberate other countries. In 1823, Byron joined insurgents against the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Greece, but he succumbed to fever before seeing any military action. In his poem, "Don Juan," Byron wrote: "The mountains look on Marathon, And Marathon looks on the sea; And musing there an hour alone, I dreamed that Greece might still be free." Gueverra joined Fidel Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries and played a major role in overthrowing the Batista dictatorship and building a socialist society in the 1950s and 1960s. He left Cuba to support revolutionary movements in other countries and was assassinated by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Bolivia in 1968.



Lord Byron



Ernesto "Ché" Gueverra

But not all revolutionaries and revolutions are remembered with the fondness of Byron and Gueverra. Part of the problem, as historian Edward Hobsbawm notes in his book, *The Age of Revolution* (NY: Mentor, 1962), is that once they begin, "Revolutionary wars impose their own logic" (89). Each of the revolutions discussed in this issue of *Social Science Docket* (7.1) had a broad impact on world events and raises important questions about the role of revolutionary struggle in human history. The French Revolution transforms French and European society, but lead to periods of "terror," reaction and dictatorship under Napoleon. Historians have debated whether all revolutions are doomed to follow this pattern. The Haitian Revolution of 1793-1803, the most successful slave rebellion in human history, had a horrendous level of violence against both life and property and an independent Haiti has been mired in poverty since. It raises the question whether revolutionary violence is justified. Similar issues were raised in the struggle for Congolese, Kenyan and Algerian independence. All of these revolutionary movements confronted savage repression by occupying forces and require students to consider "who are the real terrorists?"

The Irish "Easter Rising" was a disaster that motivated a much broader and successful struggle. Was the sacrifice by Irish revolutionaries justified by future events? The Russian Revolution also raises the question of whether ends justifies means as the seizure of power by revolutionaries led to the eventual creation of a repressive government in the Soviet Union. In India, Gandhi led a principled non-violent movement that achieved independence, but the country was left divided and millions of people still died.

The reports on the revolution in the Congo and the anti-revolutionary movement in Chile ask the question: "How can revolutionary movements survive powerful foreign foes?" The articles on Cuba, China, Vietnam and the novel *Animal Farm* focus on revolutionary societies after the achievement of political power. These articles ask the question: "How do you build a revolutionary society?"

Major works of fiction have glorified and condemned revolutionary upheaval and can be used to help students think about the consequences of human actions. In volume two of *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo described a revolt as a "whirlwind in the social atmosphere" that "inspires those it lays hold of with extraordinary and mysterious powers." For Hugo, "insurrection is the furious assertion of truth." Other novels that tend to praise revolutionary movements include Thomas Flanagan, *The Year of the French*, which is about the 1798 revolt in Ireland, *Dr. Zhivago* (Boris Pasternak) and *And Quiet Flows the Don* (Mikhail Sholokhov), about Russia, and Andre Malroux's, *Man's Hope* (Spain) and *Man's Fate* (China). Charles Dicken's *A Tale of Two Cities* is a classic tale of revolution leading to mob violence and terror. In *Matigari*, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes a revolution betrayed in Kenya. One of the most complex portrayals of revolution is the trilogy by Martin Smartt Bell about Haiti from 1793-1804. In *All Souls' Rising*, *Master of the Crossroads* and *The Stone that the Builder Refused*, Bell shows both the dignity of human struggle and the horror of war once social constraints are abandoned.— Alan Singer

# Teaching about the French Revolution

by Charles De Jesus, Kelly Anne Dooley and Michael Pezone

This article offers summaries of events along with essential questions, documents and document-based questions for teaching about the French Revolution and some of its leading participants. The wars of the 18th century, particularly the Seven Years War (1756-1763), depleted France's finances and almost completely destroyed its lucrative colonial empire. Investment in the American Revolution reduced the country to near-bankruptcy while provoking increased interest among the French people in principles of equality and freedom. On the eve of the French Revolution, the *Ancien Regime*, a centralized, absolutist state headed by King Louis XVI, was faced with an economic and political crisis. This crisis ended its control over the machinery of the state and unleashed social forces that ended the exclusive rule of landed privilege in France. It also led to the emergence of a new ascendant social class, the bourgeoisie, as the dominant group in French society.

## Question 1: Why did the government of Louis XVI face a crisis on the eve of the French Revolution?

The *Ancien Regime* was characterized by a division of French society into four (or five) primary social classes and three caste-like social orders or "estates." The class of the *nobility*, representing approximately one to two percent of the population, controlled key positions in the state, church, and armed forces. The class of the *bourgeoisie* was composed of wealthy business owners, highly placed civil servants, and financiers. One key feature of the Revolution involved the inability of the bourgeoisie to gain positions of power in the state, and their resultant willingness to make an alliance with lower classes. A third class, the *petite bourgeoisie*, included members of the professions, artisans, and tradesmen living in cities and towns. The urban mass that supported the Revolution included many people with more marginal economic status. Collectively they were identified by their plain clothing (they wore trousers rather than the knee-breaches favored by the wealthy) and known as the "Sans-Culottes." The lowest class in this hierarchical social pyramid, the *peasantry*, harbored hostility toward a nobility that constantly tried to extend its feudal privileges over them. The first of the three traditional "estates" was the *clergy*, with approximately 100,000 members and ownership of about one-tenth of the land. The second estate, the nobility, with several hundred thousand members, owned approximately one-fifth of the land. The third estate, of about twenty-five million people, included everyone else, from the richest bourgeois to the humblest peasant.

Faced with the growing in power of the King, and the severe financial crisis of the 1780s, the nobility attempted to gain control of the state. It enlisted the help of the bourgeoisie and called for the convening of a national legislative assembly known as the Estates-General. When the 3rd Estate demanded double representation for itself in the Estates-General because of its overwhelming numbers, the alliance broke apart. This left the 3rd Estate angry and resentful of the nobility. In the city of Paris, the commercial and financial center of France, popular unrest was fed partly by a dramatic rise in the price of bread. Led by the large bourgeoisie, a National Assembly was formed and soon renamed the Constituent Assembly. When the King threatened to take military action, the bourgeoisie created a National Guard to resist the King and to control the civilian population.

**Activities:** Draw a social pyramid diagram that represents the class structure of pre-Revolutionary France. Construct a time-line of events leading to the economic and political crisis of the *Ancien Regime*. Create a political cartoon expressing the views of one of the social classes or estates.

## Question 2: Why did political and ideological disputes sharpen internal conflict and lead to war?

In July of 1789, the Royal Cavalry attacked demonstrators in the city of Paris. A popular uprising followed that included the storming of the armory at the Bastille fortress. The King soon was forced to give in to demands for reform. The Constituent Assembly issued the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man (written in large part by the Marquis de Lafayette), an essentially "bourgeois" declaration that sanctified the rule of property and shunned direct democracy. France was now a Constitutional Monarchy.

Rumors began to circulate about aristocratic conspiracies against the new government. The Constituent Assembly responded by nationalizing Church lands and suppressing the religious orders of France. At the time, the Assembly was divided into radicals and conservatives. The radicals, called the Jacobins, sat to the left of the Assembly President. The more conservatives Girondin sat on the right (origin of the terms leftwing and rightwing).



In general, the bourgeoisie were content with the Constitutional Monarchy. However, in 1791 there was an upsurge in popular political activity in the city of Paris. This democratic movement was led by Republican clubs that wanted to end the monarchy. It included the Jacobins and the Sans-Culottes. That year, a new Constitution was proposed which would require strict property qualifications for voting. The popular movement criticized it as the creation of an “aristocracy of wealth”. The Constituent Assembly, its work completed, dissolved in preparation for the election of the Legislative Assembly.

In the midst of political and social turmoil, including National Guard attacks against demonstrations, the King was captured as he tried to flee France. He was returned to Paris and placed under arrest. Soon after, Austria and Prussia called on the nations of Europe to invade France to protect monarchical rule. The Legislative Assembly, dominated by the Girondin demanded a crusade against the monarchs of Europe. The various parties and factions of France each had reasons to support such a war. In April, 1792, France declared on Austria.

**Activities:** Write speeches or newspaper editorials defending or condemning the proposed Constitution.

### **Question 3: Why did social and political conflict lead to a “Reign of Terror”?**

When Louis XVI refused to accede to Republican demands, popular calls were made for his dethronement. When the Girondin refused to agree, they began to lose power. In September, 1792, the “Second Revolution” began when the Sans-Culottes and Jacobins, headed by Maximilien Robespierre, called for a new National Convention and for universal suffrage. They formed a Provisional Executive Council to lead the National Convention. The discovery of secret papers exchanged between the kings of France and Austria led to the arrest and trial of Louis XVI. In January, 1793, the king was beheaded on the guillotine as a traitor. The power of the Girondin was broken and a Committee of Public Safety, led by Jacobins, was formed. A pro-Girondin revolt broke out in the countryside and peasant revolts occurred in the region known as the Vendee. The Committee of Public Safety, which now ruled France in the name of the Convention, replied by drafting the entire population “en masse” into the armed forces.

During the period known as the “Reign of Terror,” the Committee of Public Safety attempted to wipe out enemies of the Revolution and protect France from invasion. The Committee also instituted a policy of de-Christianization, developed a revolutionary cult of liberty and reason, and issued a new revolutionary calendar. Year One began on September 22, 1792, the first day of the French Republic.

The “Reign of Terror’s” list of enemies, which initially included royalists, rebels, and speculators, was extended to include prostitutes, atheists, and others considered enemies of “Virtue.” In 1794, Georges Danton, a moderate Jacobin leader, was executed for trying to stop the terror. National Convention members finally turned on Robespierre and he was also executed. In the end, the “Reign of Terror” led to approximately 40,000 deaths.

**Activities:** Stage mock trials of Louis XVI, Danton and Robespierre for crimes against the French people.

### **Question 4: Does Revolution inevitably produce reaction?**

By 1794, France’s revolutionary popular army prevailed over the mostly mercenary armies of its enemies. As danger of foreign invasion receded, the Committee of Public Safety increasingly lost favor and in the month of Thermidor (July-August), 1794, counter-revolutionary forces gained power. The Thermidorian Reaction ended France’s experiment with social democracy. Bourgeois, or upper class, rule was re-established with a “White Terror” against Jacobins and the Sans-Culottes.

In 1795, a Royalist revival and uprising was suppressed. A new legislative body replaced the Convention and re-introduced property qualifications for voting. It elected a five-man Directory and a Council of 500. Critics of this new regime were either deported or executed. In the summer of 1799, France faced a new crisis as the tide of war turned against it. As the armies of its enemies advanced towards France, the Jacobins were on the verge of regaining power. This alarmed the Thermidorians who planned a military dictatorship to ensure centralized control and protect bourgeois rule from its enemies on the left—the Jacobins—and its enemies on the right—the Royalists. In a military coup, they installed Napoleon and two others as a ruling council. With this the French Revolution ended and the dictatorship of Napoleon began.

**Activity:** Students debate whether they would have supported the use of violence against enemies of the republic to protect gains made by the French Revolution.

## **A. Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789)**

**Instructions:** The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen set forth the ideals of the French Revolution. It was issued on August 27, 1789. It argued that the government of the country belonged to all the people, not just the monarchy and its supporters. The aim of government was to protect natural rights and liberty. Read the three selections and answer the questions that follow them. In your opinion, what other historical documents express ideas that are similar to the points raised in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen? Explain.

1. The representatives of the French people, assembled in National Convention, recognizing that human laws which do not derive from the eternal laws of justice and of reason are only the outrages of ignorance or despotism against humanity; convinced that forgetfulness and contempt of the natural rights of man are the sole causes of the crimes and misfortunes of the world, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration these sacred and inalienable rights, in order that all citizens, being able constantly to compare the acts of the government with the aim of every social institution, may never allow themselves to be oppressed and degraded by tyranny, in order that the people always may have before their eyes the bases of their liberty and welfare; the magistrate, the rule of his duties; the legislator, the object of his mission.

### **Questions**

According to the preamble to the “Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen,” who is proposing this document? Why do the authors of this document believe it is so important?

2. [T]he National Convention proclaims in the presence of the Universe, and before the eyes of the Immortal Legislator, the following declaration of the rights of man and citizen. The aim of every political association is the maintenance of the natural and inalienable rights of many and the development of all their attributes. . . . These rights appertain equally to all men, whatever the difference in their physical and moral powers. Equality of rights is established by nature, society, far from impairing it, guarantees it against the abuse of power which renders it illusory. Liberty is the power which appertains to man to exercise all his faculties at will; it has justice for rule, the rights of others for limits, nature for principle; and the law for a safeguard.

### **Questions**

Who is most likely the “Immortal legislator”?  
What should be the fundamental premise of all societies?  
What is the origin of this basic right?

3. The rights to assemble peaceable, the right to manifest one’s opinions, either by means of the press or in any other manner, are such necessary consequences of the principle of the liberty of man that the necessity of enunciating them presumes either the presence or the recent memory of despotism. The law may forbid only whatever is injurious to society; it may order only whatever is useful thereto. Every law which violates the inalienable rights of many is essentially unjust and tyrannical; it is not a law at all. Property is the right of each and every citizen to enjoy and to dispose of the portion of goods that is guaranteed to him by law. The right of property is limited, as are all other rights, by the obligation to respect the rights of others. It may not be so exercised as to prejudice the security, or the liberty, or the existence, or the property of our fellow men.

### **Questions**

What rights were protected by this section of the document?  
What is the status of laws that violate inalienable rights?

## B. Maximilien Robespierre and the French Revolution

Source: Rudé, George, ed. *Robespierre* (Great Lives Observed) Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Instructions: In these selections, Maximilien Robespierre, the leader of the Jacobins and the Committee of Public Safety, explains his views on some of the most pressing issues of the French Revolution. Briefly summarize the main idea in each passage. Use your summaries to write an essay explaining his revolutionary philosophy. In the conclusion to your essay, explain your views on his claims.

1. The Right to Vote and Immutable Laws of Human Society (March 1791). “Why are we gathered in this legislative assembly? Doubtless to restore to the French nation the exercise of imprescriptible [inalienable] rights that belong to every citizen. This is the main purpose of every political constitution. If it fulfills this obligation, it is just and free; if it fails to do so, it is nothing but a conspiracy against mankind. You recognized this truth yourselves, and in a striking manner, when you decided, before beginning your great work, that a solemn declaration must be made of the sacred rights that serve as the immutable foundations on which it rests. All men are born and remain free, and are equal at law. Sovereignty derives from the nation as a whole. The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to contribute to its making, either directly by themselves or through their freely elected representatives. All citizens are admissible to every public office, and no distinction is made between them except in respect of their virtues and talents. These are the principles that you have enshrined.”

2. Food Supplies and Limits on Private Property Rights (1792). “The first social law . . . assures every member of society of the means of existence; all others are subordinated to it; property has only been founded and protected to give it greater strength; and the very basis of property is to ensure the means to live. It is not true that property can ever be in conflict with the right to live. Food that is necessary for man’s existence is as sacred as life itself. . . . Any commercial speculation that I engage in to the danger of my neighbor’s life is not a business dealing; it is an act of brigandage [crime] and a form of fratricide [murder]. If we adopt this principle, what is the problem to be resolved when we legislate on food supplies? It is to assure to all members of society the right to enjoy that share of the fruits of the earth that is necessary for their existence, to guarantee a fair price for their labor to the landowners and cultivators, and to leave the surplus to the freedom of the market. . . . Doubtless, if all men were just and virtuous, if greed were never tempted to plunder the substance of the people; if, responsive to the promptings of nature and reason, the rich all looked on themselves as the housekeepers of society or as the brothers of the poor; if such were the case, one might recognize no other law but the most unlimited freedom. But if it is true that avarice may speculate on want and tyranny on popular despair, if it is true that every passion may declare war on suffering humanity, why should not laws be framed to repress these abuses? Why should they not be made to arrest the hand of the death-dealing monopolist as they would that of the common murderer?”

4. Revolutionary Government (1793). “The object of constitutional government is to preserve the Republic; the object of revolutionary government is to establish it. Revolution is the war waged by liberty against its enemies; a constitution is that which crowns the edifice of freedom once victory has been won and the nation is at peace. . . . The principal concern of constitutional government is civil liberty; that of revolutionary government, public liberty. Under a constitutional government little more is required than to protect the individual against abuses by the state itself against the factions that assail it from every quarter. To good citizens revolutionary government owes the full protection of the state; to the enemies of the people, it owes only death.”

5. Robespierre Defends his Actions (1794). “I know only two parties, the party of good citizens and the party of the bad. . . . I see a world peopled with dupes and imposters, but the number of the imposters is the smaller. It is they who must be punished for the wrongs and the ills of the world. . . . They call me a tyrant. . . . The arms of liberty must not be touched except by pure hands. Let us purify the national system of surveillance [vigilance], instead of covering up vice . . . I was made to combat crime, not to temper it. The time has not yet come when men of good will can serve their country unmolested. The defenders of liberty will be so many names for the proscription lists [execution] as long as the horde of rascals is in control.

## C. Contemporaries and Historians Evaluate Robespierre's Role in History

Source: Rudé, George, ed. *Robespierre* (Great Lives Observed) Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Instructions: Dubois de Crancé and Merlin De Thionville were contemporaries of Robespierre. J. M. Thompson and George Rude are historians. Examine the passages below and consider how they each evaluate Maximilien Robespierre. How are their opinions similar and how are they different? Who views Robespierre in the most positive light? Which view comes closest to your own? Explain.

Dubois de Crancé: "Robespierre had planned the total destruction of the Convention and the organization of a new authority even more subjected to his will. To him France's population was too widely dispersed; this mass weighed too heavily in the scales of his would-be supreme dictatorship. . . . That is why Robespierre had for the past month abandoned the Committees and had been daily parading the names of its members before his Jacobins as men no longer deserving of their confidence. . . . I was one of those prescribed and denounced. Denounced for the second time in eighteen months, this time by Robespierre. . . . Being accused, I had to justify my conduct, and I went directly to present myself at the Assembly. As I mounted the steps, one of my colleagues, Citizen Gaston, grasped my hand and said: "You must speak today or you are a dead man." . . . I said that I had been free to make my escape, I had preferred to offer my head if I were found guilty, but that I invoked the justice of the Convention."

Merlin De Thionville: "Robespierre's temperment underwent a remarkable development: it began by being melancholic and ended by being violent. . . . in the Convention he frothed at the mouth as he spoke. . . . His intellectual faculties were always limited. . . . He always had few ideas, but they were stubbornly held; little imagination, but a tenacious memory; little flexibility, but he always moved in the same direction. . . . Robespierre had no talents other than those of his vices, and of these he was able to exploit but a few. Sometimes he displayed oratorical talent, which is in itself far from being enough to make an orator, and he never displayed the slightest talent for action. . . . It is not Robespierre who is remarkable. . . ; it is the Republic. . . History will say little of this monster."

J. M. Thompson (1935): It is unfortunate, for a fair judgment by Robespierre, that most of the descriptions of him handed down by historians came originally from men who, either by conviction or by policy, were his enemies, and that they were first published at a time when it was fashionable to blacken his memory. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct a sufficiently life-like figure from descriptions which, however prejudiced, are at any rate contemporary. . . . Most of what was good in him may be summed up in three words—Democrat, Prophet, and Puritan. He sincerely believed, in all his life, in the wisdom and goodness of the common people; believed in it at a time when the fashion was to look for enlightenment and virtue from above, not from below; and believed in it, not as a consoling phrase from the pulpit, but as a political axiom, issuing in manhood franchise, equal justice, and the administration of property as a trust for the poor. Again, as he clung to his first principles of liberty and equality, even at moments when, for the best of reasons, he was forced to compromise them, so he refused to be diverted by the opportunism of government from pursuing his vision of a republic founded on virtue and sustained by religion.

George Rude (1958): "To Robespierre, the sovereignty of the people, the triumph of the Revolution in the interests of the small proprietors (though not of the wholly disposed) was all-important: this theme is constant and runs through all his speeches and actions from June 1789 to Thermidor. In 1791, the war was condemned—not on pacifist grounds, but in the belief that it would strengthen the Court and counterrevolution; after August 1792, this particular danger no longer existed. Objection to the death penalty was abandoned because he believed that the King's survival after abdication would create a tangible center for aristocratic intrigue. Similarly, the liberal of 1789-91 gave way to the protagonist of "revolutionary government" not by virtue of any deeply rooted devotion to "totalitarian" principles, but because he had become convinced, by the experience of military defeat, treachery, inflation and "federalist" disruption."

## Portraits of Napoleon: Perception versus Reality

**Source:** A. Grant, "Life Is Short, but Good Publicity Lasts Forever," *The New York Times*, June 26, 2005, AR 27

It can be argued that Jacques-Louis David, the official portrait artist of the French Emperor, invented the Napoleon Bonaparte that we know today. His portraits present idealized versions of his subject intended to convey messages to the public and future generations about the Emperor's character and concerns.

A diplomat for the king of Spain, who had commissioned 'Bonaparte Crossing the Alps at Grand-Saint-Bernard' (1800-1), once complained to a friend that the picture "looks like Bonaparte about as much as it looks like you." Bonaparte was a small man, but in the picture he is made to look large in relationship to the horse. His image was further enhanced by showing the horse spooked and bucking while the masterly rider remains calm. Even the use of a horse in the image is a public relations devise. Napoleon actually crossed the Alps on a mule.

While "Bonaparte Crossing the Alps" presents a man of action, "The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries" (1812) offers an image of the Emperor Napoleon as a man of reason, hard work and self-control. To Napoleon's left is a scroll of the Code Napoléon (French Civil Code), probably his greatest administrative achievement. The clock in the background shows the time as 4:13. We know it is late at night rather than in the afternoon because the candles are nearly melted. Wrinkles in Napoleon's uniform, especially in the trousers, suggest that he has been working all night. In his left hand is a snuff box containing tobacco, possibly used to keep him alert while he worked. The "hand in the waistcoat" pose was common in 18th century European art. Although he is now Emperor of France, it implies that Napoleon remains modest and moderate in his actions.



[www.almaden.ibm.com/](http://www.almaden.ibm.com/)



[www.nga.gov/kids/napoleon/n-full400.jpg](http://www.nga.gov/kids/napoleon/n-full400.jpg)

### Questions

1. Can you find other symbols in these portraits of Napoleon? What do they suggest about his character and concerns? How do these pictures tell different stories about Napoleon?
2. Examine other portraits of famous people. What messages do they convey about the subjects?



# Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution

by William Loren Katz

In the last decade of the 18th century, Toussaint L'Ouverture, led a revolutionary movement that liberated St. Domingue, his homeland in the Caribbean, from colonial tyranny and declared an end to slavery. Toussaint, a self-educated former slave, defeated Europe's best-trained forces including armies from France, England and Spain and France. After securing its independence, St. Domingue renamed itself Haiti and became the first Republic in the world to declare all men and women free and equally entitled to govern their own lives. Toussaint's achievement still ranks as one of the most extraordinary events in human history.

As French citizens jubilantly wrote a Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1791, an even more far-reaching colonial rebellion erupted on St. Domingue (known as San Domingo in Spanish). This island jewel was the world's largest producer of sugar and coffee and the richest colonial possession on earth and was desired by the British who viewed it as compensation for loss of their mainland colonies. Its wealth was produced by over half a million enslaved African women and men imported to labor for French planters. Slavery on the island was so cruel and conditions were so poor that 40,000 newly enslaved Africans were introduced each year.

The island's 40,000 whites included a wealthy planter class known as seigneurs, French officials, overseers, mechanics and professionals and poor white laborers. Though planters dominated the island's economy, they lived under rules and officials in France. A growing free African and mulatto population of 28,000, many of whom owned real estate and personal property yearned for social equality and their share of public offices. In the early stages of the French Revolution they began to lobby for equality in the French National Assembly and in 1790, rose in a rebellion whose goals was ending discrimination against them and gaining a share of government offices. A mulatto leader named Ogé issued a dire military warning to France that "We will not remain much longer in degradation . . . We can raise as good soldiers as those of France. Our own arms will render us respectable and independent. Once we are reduced to desperate measures, thousands of men will cross the Atlantic in vain to reduce us to our former condition." This revolt was brutally and quickly suppressed, but the next year the island's half a million enslaved men and women began to revolt and seek liberation.

## Rebellion in St. Domingue

Toussaint L'Ouverture, who led Haitians to independence and freedom, was unusual in a number



[www.stjohnsinglers.it/.../haiti\\_toussaint.jpg](http://www.stjohnsinglers.it/.../haiti_toussaint.jpg)

of ways. He was a Creole, meaning he was born in St. Domingue, a coachman on a large plantation, literate and a Christian. He lived on the Bréda plantation with his wife and three children. At the time of the French Revolution, he was already in his mid-forties, which was unusually old for someone living under such harsh conditions.

As a military leader, Toussaint was idolized by his troops because he led by example and shared their dangers. During the wars, he was wounded 17 times. He also proved to be a military genius, something his foes, trapped by racial stereotypes, failed to grasp. While he kept his armies loyal to France, he forged alliances with foreign powers that kept his foes confused. He never wavered in his pledge to end human bondage and told the five-member Directory who ruled France, "We have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it." In time, Toussaint L'Ouverture won support from the mixed race population, drove Spanish and then British troops into the sea, overwhelmed slaveholders' militia units, and defeated his internal foes. By 1801 L'Ouverture had conquered St. Dominique and abolished human slavery on the island.

When Napoleon Bonaparte gained power in France, L'Ouverture sent him a copy of the island

nation's 1801 Constitution. Napoleon replied by dispatching his brother-in-law, Charles Le Clerc, with 16,000 troops to capture Toussaint L'Ouverture, disarm his troops and restore slavery. L'Ouverture retreated to the mountains in the interior and after two of his leading generals, Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henri Christophe, defected to the French, all seemed lost.

Le Clerc offered to negotiate with Toussaint L'Ouverture aboard a French ship, but instead seized him when he came aboard. Toussaint told his captor, "In overthrowing me, you have cut down in San Domingo only the trunk of the tree of liberty. It will spring up again by the roots for they are numerous and deep." Deported to France in chains, he was sent to a cold cell in the French Alps. Denied adequate food and medical help, he died on April 7, 1803. However, when Napoleon reinstituted the slave trade and slavery, Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henri Christophe rallied a popular national liberation movement.

Finally, the war turned against Napoleon when Le Clerc died of yellow fever and war broke out between France and Britain. Napoleon ordered a war against the civilian population designed to devastate the island's economy and exterminate the leading rebels. Scorched earth tactics and retaliations by both sides devastated the countryside and left innocent victims dead or displaced. The tactics of the French armies reinvigorated the revolutionaries, and in November, 1803, they drove the last foreign armies from St. Dominique.



### Ripples from the Haitian Revolution

This successful bid for liberty sent shock waves throughout the Americas. In 1795, Africans, Native Americans and some whites at Pointe Coupee,

Louisiana, stirred by talk of Haiti, organized to overthrow slavery in New Orleans. Inspired by the people of St. Domingue, Gabriel Prosser mobilized hundreds of enslaved Africans in 1800 to attack Richmond, Virginia. In Jamaica, the British governor warned that "The slaves here are very inquisitive & intelligent & are immediately informed of every kind of news that arrives." Enslaved people on his island, he noted, "compose" songs about Haiti's uprising and he was "preparing for the worst." In Dominica, a British officer warned that enslaved people had to be placated because "the Bomb was ready to burst in every quarter." The governor reported that his slaves learned about the "Idea of Liberty" through "intercourse" with nearby French islands. In Tobago, officials reported enslaved people vowed "to follow the example of Guadeloupe and St. Domingo." In Trinidad, a military tribunal arrested conspirators in 1805 and reported "The Negroes are by no means diffident, particularly those who speak French." The governor feared that a dancing festival would be used to plot "the diabolical scene which led to . . . St. Domingo."

Slaveholders in the U.S. Congress denounced France and its "new-fangled philosophy of liberty and equality" and called enslaved Africans "the Jacobins of the country, . . . the Anarchists and the Domestic Enemy . . . the destroyers of our race." Although the revolution in St. Domingue drew inspiration from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, Jefferson was among U.S. officials who greeted the uprising with horror. As Secretary of State, he declared that they were not freedom fighters, but murderous zealots bent on overturning white supremacy. Jefferson warned that whites were about to be expelled from "all the West India Islands" and worried that Haiti's "black crews and missionaries" would instigate "bloody scenes" in southern states.

The revolution in Haiti also dramatically changed United States history. After Napoleon lost his prize colony, he realized how difficult it would be to defend an overseas empire. When President Jefferson sent emissaries to Paris to purchase New Orleans, a chastened Napoleon offered to sell the vast Louisiana territory to the startled diplomats. The Louisiana Purchase cost the United States four cents an acre, doubled the size of the country and led to a westward movement that would bring dozens of new states.

### **Toussaint L'Ouverture Addresses the French Directory (1797)**

In this letter, Toussaint L'Ouverture warns the Directory (the executive committee which ran the government between the Reign of Terror and Napoleon Bonaparte's coup in 1799) against any attempt to reimpose slavery in St. Domingue. Source: C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins*, 2d ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 195-197.

My attachment to France, my knowledge of the blacks, make it my duty not to leave you ignorant either of the crimes which they [anti-Revolutionary White colonists] meditate or the oath that we [formerly enslaved Africans] renew, to bury ourselves under the ruins of a country revived by liberty rather than suffer the return of slavery.

It is for you, Citizens Directors, to turn from over our heads the storm which the eternal enemies of our liberty are preparing in the shades of silence. It is for you to enlighten the legislature, it is for you to prevent the enemies of the present system from spreading themselves on our unfortunate shores to sully it with new crimes. Do not allow our brothers, our friends, to be sacrificed to men who wish to reign over the ruins of the human species. . . .

I send you with this letter a declaration which will acquaint you with the unity that exists between the proprietors of San Domingo who are in France, those in the United States, and those who serve under the English banner. You will see there a resolution, unequivocal and carefully constructed, for the restoration of slavery; you will see there that their determination to succeed has led them to envelop themselves in the mantle of liberty in order to strike it more deadly blows. . . .

Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away? They supported their chains only so long as they did not know any condition of life more happy than that of slavery. But to-day when they have left it, if they had a thousand lives they would sacrifice them all rather than be forced into slavery again. . . .

France will not revoke her principles, she will not withdraw from us the greatest of her benefits. . . . But if, to re-establish slavery in San Domingo, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it.

### **Memoir of General Toussaint L'Ouverture. Written By Himself. (1803)**

On June 6, 1802, Toussaint L'Ouverture was arrested by French officials and deported. In his memoir, written while imprisoned in France, Toussaint L'Ouverture defended his actions and demanded fair treatment from Napoleon. He died while a prisoner on April 7, 1803. Source: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/beard63/>

I have neglected nothing at Saint Domingo for the welfare of the island; I have robbed myself of rest to contribute to it; I have sacrificed everything for it. I have made it my duty and pleasure to develop the resources of this beautiful colony. Zeal, activity, courage, I have employed them all. The island was invaded by the enemies of the Republic; I had then but a thousand men, armed with pikes. I sent them back to labor in the field, and organized several regiments, by the authority of Gen. Laveaux. The Spanish portion had joined the English to make war upon the French. . . . General Laveaux ordered me to the attack; I carried it. . . . The English were entrenched at Pont-de-l'Ester; I drove them from the place. They were in possession of Petite Rivière. My ammunition consisted of one case of cartridges which had fallen into the water on my way to the attack; this did not discourage me. I carried the place by assault before day, with my dragoons, and made all the garrison prisoners. . . . I was also exposed to the greatest dangers; several times I narrowly escaped being made prisoner; I shed my blood for my country; I received a ball in the right hip which remains there still; I received a violent blow on the head from a cannon-ball, which knocked out the greater part of my teeth, and loosened the rest. In short, I received upon different occasions seventeen wounds, whose honorable scars still remain. . . . As a reward for all these services, I have been arbitrarily arrested at St. Domingo, bound, and put on board ship like a criminal, without regard for my rank, without the least consideration. Is this the recompense due my labors? Should my conduct lead me to expect such treatment? . . . It is from the depths of this dreary prison that I appeal to the justice and magnanimity of the First Consul. He is too noble and too good a general to turn away from an old soldier, covered with wounds in the service of his country, without giving him the opportunity to justify himself, and to have judgment pronounced upon him. . . . If I had intended to make war, would I have laid down my arms and submitted? No reasonable man, much less a soldier, can believe such an absurdity.



## Experiences of a Young Creole Refugee from Saint Domingue [Haiti]

The name of the young Creole man who wrote these letters to a friend in France is unknown. Althéa de Puech Parham, who translated and edited them, discovered the letters in her family's papers in New Orleans. The young man had been born in Saint Domingue, but then moved to France. His family fled Revolutionary France in 1791, when he was sixteen and traveled to the French Caribbean. For two years, the young man fought in the forces trying to suppress the rebellion. At that point, his family fled to the United States, where he spent time in New York City and New Jersey. He returned to Saint Domingue in 1794 and joined British forces trying to reenslave the rebels and turn Haiti into a British colony. He finally accepted defeat and abandoned the island. His letters offer a unique window into the ideas of slaveholders who are trying to justify the institution of slavery and cannot understand why Africans are demanding freedom. Source: Althéa de Puech Parham, trans. & ed. (1959). *My Odyssey, Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions* (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press).

### Questions and Activities

1. Why is the young man outraged at the injustice against "the poor planters of Saint Domingue"?
2. According to the young man, what is life like for Africans in the Saint Domingue colony?
3. Why does he claim they were happier as slaves in Saint Domingue than as free people in Africa?
4. Whom does the young man blame for the rebellion by enslaved Africans? Do you agree? Explain.
5. Imagine you are Toussaint L'Ouverture or one of the other Haitian rebels. Write a letter to the young Creole responding to his claims.

A. When the events of the [French] Revolution compelled me to leave France, I promised to write you of anything interesting my voyage offered. Now, since nearly two years have fled, perhaps you have accused me of indifference - be it so; I do not merit that reproach. I only disliked adding to your concerns the burdens which have been those of your friend (9).

B. Thirty days after our departure, we saw at dawn the high mountains of Saint Domingue. A few hours later, we got in sight of our habitation [plantation], and we made the usual signal to announce our approach to friends. The young ladies were so delighted, that they wished to fire the cannon, and they acquitted themselves with much courage, placing one hand on the tinder and the other over their eyes. Soon we found ourselves in front of Fort Picolet, which defended the entrance of Cap Francais. The pilot came aboard, and we slipped through the Narrows in full sail (19).

C. The county house of my family is on a sugar plantation, situated between Cap Francais and Fort Dauphin, near a pretty little river and in view of the ocean. Our habitation is almost in the center of a plain 14 leagues long by 3 to 5 leagues wide [about 200 square miles], and near a gentle slope of the mountains to the sea. The entire plain is traversed by an infinite number of little rivers, which overflow after the rains and are only feeble little brooks in the dry seasons. Wide roads connect the plantations, which resemble little hamlets, because of the large number of buildings necessary for the making of sugar and housing of the Negroes [Africans] (22).

D. How often, from what I have seen, have I have been able to recognize the injustice of those written diatribes, that were flooding Europe, against the poor planters of Saint Domingue! What lies! What exaggerated pictures! What ignorance of the country, the customs, the habits, and the laws. During the past months, between the different revolts and insurrections, I have seen everywhere Negroes who were fat, well cared for and happy. I have seen them many times, about a hundred of them occupied with work that twenty Europeans could achieve in much less time. Their cabins appeared sanitary, commodious, and furnished with the necessary utensils for their needs. These cabins were surrounded with land where they raised pigs and a variety of fowl; they had me observe their individual gardens, which were perfectly tended and abundantly planted with all the necessary products of our country. I noticed that the hospital was the finest edifice on each plantation. I was told that a doctor visited them each day and that women looked after the sick. Other women had the care of the children, to bathe, comb, etc. each morning. I often found idle groups, and was told that these were convalescents, nursing mothers, pregnant women, and old

people, who were exempt from service. At sunset I heard the bell ring, and noticed that from all directions the workers retired gaily to rest from their labor until the following morning. This same bell recalled the Negroes to the shelter of their cabins when it commenced to rain, and it rains very often here. As for the huge crime of allowing them to go half-nude, I assure you that upon this point I cannot partake in the indignation of the Philosophers [abolitionists]. . . . Thanks to . . . the thickness and oiliness of skin, which Providence has wisely given these races of the Torrid Zone, they can prudently brave the heat which would in a short time kill the European. Moreover, I am convinced that if they go uncovered, it is not because they have no clothing at their disposal (23-24).

E. For those who question the discipline under which they live, it is certainly not more rigorous than that which is observed for soldiers and sailors; and when one realizes that thirty thousand semi-barbaric Africans, one should not hesitate to say that discipline is necessary. The young adult Negroes of our plantation, informed of our return, gathered in a crowd before us, and by a thousand bizarre demonstrations testified to the joy they had in seeing us. Having obtained permission to have a Calinda, they assembled on the greensward in front of our house. They were in their Sunday clothes-and most of them would not exchange this finery for fifty full bottles. In general, the men were dressed in large white pantaloons over which fell a colored jacket. The women wore rather thin dresses and short aprons; their kinky hair was covered by a Madras headkerchief, beautifully tied; nearly all had on necklaces and earrings, and I saw some wipe their faces with very fine cambric (25).

F. The day after my arrival, while partaking with my family of the pleasures of an excellent lunch, a courier arrived to deliver to my step-father, commander of the district in which our property is located, a letter full of the most terrifying news. The slaves, enflamed by emissaries sent from France, had burned the habitations of our neighbors near the Cape, after assassinating the proprietors without distinction of age or sex. Already the insurrection was causing devastation on all sides, and they feared it would soon reach our place of habitation. The report of this terrific catastrophe was widely spread. The frightened families among our neighbors met together at our plantation. The men armed to face the storm; the mothers, wives, sisters were lamenting and gathering in all haste a few precious effects. Desolation and fear were painted on all faces. The sky seemed on fire. Guns could be heard from afar and the bells of the plantations were sounding the alarm. The danger increased. The flames at each moment were approaching and enclosing about us. There was no time to lose; we fled. The victims who escaped at sword's point came to swell the number of fugitives, and recounted to us the horrors which they had witnessed. They had seen unbelievable tortures to which they testified. Many women, young, beautiful, and virtuous, perished beneath the infamous caresses of the brigands, amongst the cadavers of their fathers and husbands. Bodies, still palpitating, were dragged through the roads with atrocious acclamations. Young children transfixed upon the points of bayonets were bleeding flags which followed the troop of cannibals (27-28).

G. Those unfortunates! What were their conditions in their own barbaric countries from which they came? The picture made by all the voyagers is frightful. Transported to us, they became happier than the peasants of any nation; and not one regretted leaving his savage country. In self-concern alone, it not in humanity, was it not sufficient incentive for the colonists to take good care of his workers that they cost him much, that they rendered so much profits when they were healthy, and that they became so expensive when they were ill. Those whippings of which one hears were always applied by one of their own comrades who had the talent of making more noise than pain, and only for faults which were punished much more severely elsewhere. This method of chastisement was adopted because the African, barely civilized, is considered a child and must be treated as such. . . . Such was the existence of the Negro in the Colony of Saint Domingue. The laws made for their safety were very severe. No doubt with us, as elsewhere, some individuals infringed the laws; . . . it is seldom that a colonist of Saint Domingue can be shown culpable of these pretended crimes that are believed to be common among us, and when they were committed, it was always done by a European. . . . The Creole makes a point of honor of being gentle and indulgent. But if our slaves were so well treated, why did they revolt? One must ask those composers of phrases who have inundated our country with their incendiary writings; those stupid innovators who brought turmoil to France and killed their King. . . . One must find the reason, at last, in the character of all the ignorant populace, principally in the Negroes, like machines which can easier be made to start than to stop. These are the causes which started, accelerated, and prolonged the revolt, and destroyed the most beautiful country upon the earth (42-44).

## Revolutions in Haiti and Latin America: Similar or Different?

Do Now: Examine the drawing on the right and answer the following questions:

1. Describe what you see in the picture. What imagery is used in this drawing?
2. How do you react to what you see? Where do you think this image might have appeared?
3. In your view, are the Haitians justified in their actions? Explain.

### Haiti and Toussaint L'Ouverture

In 1791, a revolt broke out in the French Caribbean colony of St. Domingue. The colony was located on the western third of the island of Hispaniola. The rest of the island was controlled by Spain and known as Santo Domingo.

St. Domingue was one of the wealthiest colonies in the Americas. It produced half of all the sugar and coffee exported to Europe and the United States. This wealth was the result of the work of enslaved Africans who were brutally treated.

The rebellion began when free Blacks and mulattos (people of mixed race) were denied citizenship rights promised by the French Revolution. As the revolt spread, enslaved Africans rose up against their French masters. During the uprising there was cruelty from both sides. Sugar cane fields and plantation houses were burned and captives were raped and murdered.

People of African ancestry outnumbered Europeans on the island by about 10 to 1. In 1794, the National Assembly of France abolished slavery in its colonies, and in January, 1800, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leading general of the Black revolt, became the undisputed leader of the entire island.

When Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in France in 1799, he tried to rebuild the French colonial empire. In 1802, he sent 20,000 troops to St. Domingue to overthrow the government of Toussaint L'Ouverture and restore slavery on the island. Toussaint L'Ouverture was captured and exiled to France, where he died in prison. However, the rebels continued to fight and by the end of 1803 the French forces were defeated. On January 1, 1804, President Jean Jacques Dessalines declared the birth of the free republic of Haiti.

Many of the White colonists who fled from St. Domingue were opposed to the French Revolution. They escaped to the United States where news of the slave rebellion frightened American slaveholders and led to harsher restrictions on Blacks. In 1793, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson wrote the Governor of South Carolina that Black revolutionaries from St. Domingue might try to "excite an insurrection among the Negroes." In 1799, he warned James Madison that White settlers might be expelled from "all the West India Islands" and that "black crews and missionaries" could instigate "bloody scenes" in southern states. As President in 1804, Jefferson refused to recognize Haitian independence.

Knowledge of the rebellion in Haiti did inspire other enslaved Africans to fight for their freedom. In 1800, Gabriel Prosser mobilized hundreds of enslaved Africans to attack Richmond, Virginia. There were also uprisings in the French colony of Louisiana and the British colony of Trinidad.

The revolution in Haiti dramatically changed United States history in another way. In 1803, President Jefferson offered to purchase the port of New Orleans from France. Napoleon decided to sell the United States the entire Louisiana territory. The Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the country and led to westward expansion across the continent.

### Questions

1. Why was St. Domingue one of the wealthiest colonies in the Americas?
2. Why was the revolt able to spread so easily?
3. How was Haiti finally able to proclaim independence?
4. How did the rebellion in St. Domingue and Haitian independence influence the United States?



## Simon Bolivar, Latin American Liberator

Napoleon's rise to power in France and his conquest of Spain in 1808 led to wars for national independence in Spain's Latin American colonies. By 1822, territory stretching from Argentina and Chile in the south to Mexico and California in the north had secured independence. Simon Bolivar was one of South America's greatest generals and his military campaigns helped achieve independence for the area that now includes Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Panama and Venezuela. He is known as El Libertador (The Liberator) and the "George Washington of South America."

Simon Bolivar was born on July 24, 1783, at Caracas, Venezuela. His family was of European ancestry. As a wealthy young man, Bolivar traveled in Europe. He returned to Venezuela in 1810 and joined local colonists who proclaimed independence from Spain. From 1813 until 1824, Bolivar commanded an army that battled for control over the northern part of the South American continent. In 1819, he headed the congress that organized the original Republic of Colombia (now Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela). He became its first president in December, 1819.

Bolivar's forces finally defeated a Spanish army in Venezuela in June, 1821. Later, he seized control over Ecuador and was accepted as the ruler of Peru. Upper Peru became a separate country and was named Bolivia in honor of Bolivar. While Simon Bolivar is often compared with George Washington, Bolivar accepted dictatorial powers that Washington rejected.

### Questions

1. What was the inspiration for the Latin American revolutions in the 19th century?
2. How did Napoleon both inspire revolutionary ideas and extinguish revolutionary actions?
3. Why was Simon Bolivar called the "George Washington of South America"?

**Discussion Questions:** In what ways was the Haitian revolution similar to or different from the American Revolution? Were the revolutions in Latin American more like the U.S. revolution or the revolution in Haiti? Is revolutionary violence against an oppressor justified?

**Research Assignment:** George Washington, Napoleon Bonaparte, Simon Bolivar and Toussaint L'Ouverture were contemporaries. Examine the lives and achievements of each of these revolutionary leaders. Write a report where you address the question: Should Toussaint L'Ouverture be considered a world historic figure of the magnitude of George Washington, Simon Bolivar and Napoleon Bonaparte?

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# The 1916 “Easter Rising” and Irish Independence

by Danielle Mazzo and Kerry Schaefer

Irish history offers a case study in colonialism, prolonged resistance and eventual triumph. It is important as a counter to racist interpretations about the roots of imperialism because the victims of British policy were White Europeans. Study that focuses on the Easter Rising of 1916 helps students understand the conditions and events that can lead to the defeat of revolutionary forces and also those that rapidly transform a society.

As early as the 12th century, a Norman invasion established an English beachhead in Ireland. From the 17th century onward, Great Britain tried to assimilate Ireland into the United Kingdom. It discriminated against Roman Catholics, outlawed the Irish language, deported political opponents, and replaced rebels with peers, landlords and settlers loyal to the crown.

After a rebellion in 1798 and the 1801 Act of Union, Ireland sent representatives to the British Parliament, but was seriously underrepresented and had little influence. In the 19th century, Great Britain saw Ireland as a labor supply for its burgeoning factory system and as a source for agricultural products to feed its growing cities. During this period, between 1845 and 1852, Ireland suffered from a potato famine that led to a sharp decline in population due to mortality and emigration.

Between 1798 and 1923, Irish nationalists led a series of unsuccessful rebellions in an effort to secure independence from Great Britain. In general, they were ill-timed, poorly planned, lacked needed munitions, had insufficient funding and failed to mobilize the broader population. The leaders of these rebellions tended to be middle-class, educated, urban professionals who did not have close ties with the mass of the Irish people. However, it is not clear whether any strategy could have defeated Great Britain, the dominant military and economic power of the nineteenth century.

Easter, 1916 seemed like a propitious moment to rebel. Great Britain's armed forces were preoccupied by trench warfare on continental Europe. High casualties and taxes and the possibility of a military draft were draining public support for the government. Nationalist and revolutionary organizations were poised for action. Germany, Britain's enemy, seemed a possible source for weapons.

The rebellion started on Monday, April 24, 1916 in the center of Dublin. Members of the Irish Volunteers (a military group) and the Sinn Féin, led by Patrick Pearse, James Connolly the head of the Irish labor movement, Thomas Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Thomas MacDonagh, Eamonn Ceannt, and Joseph Plunkett, seized the General Post Office (GPO) and other important points throughout Dublin. The next morning the nationalists controlled most of the capital city and declared an independent Irish Republic.

British troops stationed in Ireland surrounded Dublin and began engaging in firefights with the rebels. On the 27th, the British gunboat *Helga*, moored in the Liffey River, shelled the city. By April 29, all nationalist strongholds were under attack. That afternoon, Patrick Pearse announced an unconditional surrender to the British forces. The fifteen leading rebels were tried before a military tribunal, sentenced to death and executed by firing squads. James Connolly, who had been severely wounded in the battles, was tied to a chair so he could be shot.

Despite limited initial support for the Easter Rising, the cold-blooded execution of the Irish rebels proved to be a catalyst, sparking Irish nationalism across the country and a broad-based independence movement. In December, 1921, the British agreed to a treaty creating an independent Irish Free State out of the 26 southern and central counties of Ireland.

The movie, *Michael Collins* (1996, starring Liam Neeson), is primarily about the civil war that followed the establishment of the Irish Free State. Its opening scene depicts the Easter Rising. It can provide students with a visual sense of Ireland and Dublin during this time period.



<http://www.rootsweb.com/~irlmahs/map11a.gif>



### Document Packet: The 1916 “Easter Rising” and Irish Independence

**Introduction:** This document-based essay is based on the accompanying documents (1-8). It is designed to test your ability to work with historical documents. Some of the documents have been edited. As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and any point of view that may be presented in the document.

**Historical Context:** The 1916 Easter Rising was a rebellion by Irish nationalists against British rule. During the rising, rebels took over key locations in Dublin, Ireland and called for a broader revolution that did not occur. Although the rebellion was militarily unsuccessful, it sparked growing feelings of Irish nationalism that eventually led to Irish independence.

**Task:** Using information from the documents and your knowledge of global history, answer the questions that follow each document in Part A. Your answers to the questions will help you write the Part B essay, in which you will be asked to:

Explain why Irish nationalists staged the Easter Rising against British rule.

Describe the events that took place.

Evaluate the success and failure of the Easter Rising

**Note:** Be sure to use specific evidence cited in the documents as well as outside knowledge about global history.

#### 1. Chronology of Irish Rebellion

1798. Rebellion inspired by American and French Revolutions. In response, Britain dissolves 500 year old Irish Parliament.

1803. Revolt following the 1801 Act of Union absorbing Ireland into the United Kingdom.

1845-1852. Great Irish Famine. Millions die or go into exile.

1848. Desperate revolt spurred by failure of Great Britain to provide adequate famine relief.

1867. Fenian Uprising with support from Irish emigrants in the United States.

1880-1882. Waive of evictions by landlords of tenant farmers leads to another unsuccessful rebellion.

1916. World War I era Easter Rising.

1921. Irish Free State established. Britain relinquishes control over all of Ireland except 6 counties in the north.

#### 2. Chronology of the 1916 Easter Rising

**April 24.** The 1916 Rising begins in Dublin at noon.

2,000 men lead by Padhraic Pearse seize control of the Dublin General Post Office. Leaders of the rebellion proclaimed the Independence of Ireland and announced the provisional government of the Irish Republic.

**April 25.** Rebels control a considerable part of Dublin.

British reinforcements arrive. Martial law declared.

**April 26.** Rebels now outnumbered 20 to 1. British destroy headquarters of the Labor Party and trade unions. St. Steven’s Green cleared of rebels.

**April 27.** General Sir John Maxwell arrives as the new British commander in-chief with orders to put down the rebellion as quickly as possible. The gunboat Helga shells Dublin from the Liffey River. There are hundreds of civilian casualties in the city.

**April 28.** The GPO is on fire. James Connolly orders women to abandon the building. Final battle is fought in King’s Street.

**April 29.** Under heavy attack, rebel leaders in the GPO surrender unconditionally. Sixty-four rebels and 132 British soldiers are dead.

**May 3-12.** Fifteen leaders of the uprising were tried before a military tribunal and executed by firing squad.



**Dublin monument to James Connolly and martyrs of the 1916 Easter Rising.**

### 3. Proclamation from the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland.

THE PROCLAMATION OF  
**POBLAcht NA H EIREANN.**  
**THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
OF THE  
**IRISH REPUBLIC**  
**TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

“Ireland, through us, summons her children to the flag and strikes for her freedom. . . The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens . . . cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government , which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.”

1. What did the leaders of the rebellion declare?
2. In your opinion, why did they believe people would support the proclamation?

### 4. Excerpt from Easter, 1916 by W. B. Yeats

(Source: <http://www.online-literature.com/yeats/779/>)

Too long a sacrifice  
Can make a stone of the heart.  
O when may it suffice? . . .  
What is it but nightfall?  
No, no, not night but death;  
Was it needless death after all?  
For England may keep faith  
For all that is done and said.  
We know their dream; enough  
To know they dreamed and are dead;  
And what if excess of love  
Bewildered them till they died?  
I write it out in a verse -  
MacDonagh and MacBride  
And Connolly and Pearse  
Now and in time to be,  
Wherever green is worn,  
Are changed, changed utterly:  
A terrible beauty is born

1. What “sacrifice” and “love” does Yeats describe?
2. What is the “terrible beauty” that was born?

### 5. London Had Heard Rumors (*The New York Times*, April 27, 1916)

“For some time, rumors of impending trouble have been in London. The Irish papers have printed information of an alarming character. Although the London papers generally refrained from or were not allowed to print news of this nature from Dublin, *The Times* about ten days ago gave a half-column report from its Dublin correspondent of the seditious movement there. In the early part of last week, the *New York Times* correspondent heard reports that an Irish rebellion was timed to break out between Good Friday and Easter Monday. These reports were spread broadcast and it was naturally assumed that the Government was in possession of all the facts requisite to place it in full position to keep matters well in hand. Among members of Parliament there was a widely spread idea that a strict investigation must be made.”

1. According to *The New York Times*, why should the British government have been prepared for the rebellion?

### 6. Martial Law Curbs Ireland; Rebels in Trap (*The New York Times*, April 28, 1916)

“British regulars from Belfast and England are now in Dublin and have recaptured from the revolutionary faction several important centers which the members of the Sinn Fein party had occupied. These include Stephen’s Green, Liberty Hall and the GPO. Martial law has been proclaimed in the city and country of Dublin and the official announcement is made that drastic steps are being taken to suppress and arrest all those responsible. The associations which participated in the revolt are proclaimed illegal.

That the Government intends to deal with the offenders with a heavy hand, as indicated by the publication of a proclamation in the official *Gazette* tonight, suspending the Defense of the Realm Amendment act of 1915, which gives to a British subject charged with an offense under the act, the right to be tried by a civil court. The proclamation recites that “the present state of affairs in Ireland is such as to constitute a special military emergency.”

1. What happens when British troops arrive in Dublin?
2. In your opinion, why was martial law declared and the right to a civil trial revoked?

## 7. A Rebel Speaks at his Court Martial

Patrick Pearse was born September 10, 1879 in Dublin. He was a member of the Irish Bar and of the Central Council of the Irish Volunteers, Commandant General of the Army of the Irish Republic and President of the Provisional Government. He was tried by court martial on May 2, 1916 and executed by firing squad the next morning between 3:30 and 4AM at Kilmainham Prison. At his trial he made the following statement:

I assume I am speaking to the Englishmen who value their own freedom, and who profess to be fighting for the freedom of Belgium and Serbia. Believe that we too love freedom and desire it. To us it is more desirable than anything else in the world. If you strike us down now we shall rise again and renew the fight. You cannot conquer Ireland; you cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom; if our deed has not been sufficient to win freedom then our children will win it by a better deed.

My sole object in surrendering unconditionally was to save the slaughter of the civil population and to save the lives of our followers who had been led into this thing by us. It is my hope that the British Government who has shown its strength will also be magnanimous and spare the lives and give an amnesty to my followers. . . .

I am prepared to take the consequences of my act, but I should like my followers to receive an amnesty. I went down on my knees as a child and told God that I would work all my life to gain the freedom of Ireland. I have deemed it my duty as an Irishman to fight for the freedom of my country. I admit I have organized men to fight against Britain.



**The courtyard at Kilmainham Prison.**

I admit having opened negotiations with Germany. We have kept our word with her and as far as I can see she did her best to help us. She sent a ship with men. Germany has not sent us gold.

1. Who was Patrick Pearse?
2. Why did he participate in the Easter Rising?
3. Do you believe he should have been executed for treason? Explain.

## 8. Moira Regan, Irish Girl Rebel Tells of Dublin Fighting (*The New York Times*, August 20, 1916)

“At 6 o’clock on the evening of Easter Monday I went down O’Connell Street to the Post Office,” she said. I belonged to an organization called Cumann na Mban—the Council of Women. We had been mobilized at noon on Monday being told that we’d be needed for bandaging and other Red Cross work.

“The Post Office burned all day Friday, and late in the afternoon it was decided that it must be abandoned. The rebels succeeded in reaching a house on Moor Lane in back of the Post Office. There they stayed all night. They had only a little food and the ammunition was almost exhausted. So on Saturday they saw that further resistance was useless, and that they ought to surrender, in order to prevent further slaughter.

“The prisoners were shot in the yard of Killmainham Jail. Then the bodies were taken in their clothes, outside Dublin to Arbor Hill Barracks and thrown in to one large trench. In every case the bodies were refused to the relatives of the dead men.

“But the greatest result of the rising, the thing that will justify it even if it were the only good result, is the complete and amazing revival of Irish nationality. We have been asleep—we have been ready to acquiesce in things as they were, to take jobs under the government and to acquiesce in the unnatural state of affairs. But now we have been awakened to the knowledge that there is a great difference between Ireland and England, that we are really a separate nation. Even the people that were not in sympathy with the rebels feel this now.

“This feeling has spread all over Ireland; it has remained and it is growing stronger. We were a province, and now we are a nation; we were British subjects, and now we are Irish. This is what the rising of Easter week has done for Ireland.”

1. What was Moira Regan’s role in the Easter Rising?
2. Why does she feel the rising was a success?



# Vladimir Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

by Mitchell Bickman and Brad Seidman

**Historical Context** (Sources include <http://www.historyalive.com/>). At the end of the 19th century, many Russians were deeply dissatisfied with the Czarist monarchy and backward social and economic conditions in their country. Some favored transforming Russia into a modern constitutional democracy similar to governments in Western Europe. Other dissidents had even more radical ideas and in 1881, one of the groups was responsible for the assassination of Czar Alexander II. His successor, Alexander III, responded by placing harsher political restrictions on the Russian people.

In this repressive climate, Russian Socialists tried to mobilize the small urban working class, what was known in Marxist ideology as the proletariat, into a revolutionary movement. However, the Socialists were divided. The Mensheviks (minority faction) believed the revolution would have to wait until the Russian working class grew in size and political awareness. Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik group, argued that a small, tightly controlled, revolutionary party could be the vanguard of the proletarian forces, lead the struggle for broad social change and essentially seize state power.

The fundamental weaknesses of the Czarist regime were exposed by two events in 1904-1905. Russia was humiliated in a short war with Japan. Defeat contributed to a series of protests by farmers, workers and soldiers. On a Sunday in January, 1905, workers in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) marched on the royal palace demanding reforms. The palace guard opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators, killing or wounding hundreds. In response to the massacre, a wave of strikes forced Czar Nicholas II to agree to the formation of the Duma, Russia's first parliament. The Duma largely played a symbolic role until the outbreak of the World War I.

Russia entered the war on the side of England and France with the stated intent of protecting its "Slavic" brothers in the Balkans from Germanic oppression. However its unprepared and ill-equipped army suffered major defeats, millions of battle deaths, and the loss of territory in Poland and Ukraine. War casualties and food shortages in urban areas led to rioting by workers and students. In Petrograd, a strike by women textile workers led to a city-wide general strike in March, 1917. The Czar ordered troops to break the strike and end the riots, but the soldiers refused and joined the demonstrators. With his support evaporating, Nicholas II abdicated as czar.

Several different groups maneuvered to establish a new Russian government. A Provisional administration under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky represented educated Russians who identified with Western political freedom. This group decided to continue the war effort, which proved to be a fatal error. The Kerensky government was challenged by the powerful and well-organized Petrograd Soviet (workers council) which had played a major role in deposing the Czar. The Petrograd Soviet demanded withdrawal from the war, land for peasants and rights for workers and unions. It gradually came under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In November, 1917, Bolshevik forces lead by Lenin's lieutenant, Leon Trotsky, seized government buildings in Petrograd and declared themselves in control of Russia.

In many ways the November Revolution was only the start of the Russian Revolution. There was no effective army or administrative structure. In the cities people were hungry and the countryside was in chaos. Many ethnic minorities that had been part of the Czarist Empire began to demand independence. There were also no clear guidelines in Marxist ideology for governing by a small party that had seized power through a military coup.

In order to rebuild Russia, the Bolsheviks decided to sign a peace treaty with Germany. However, warfare continued to plague the country. There was internal opposition to the revolutionary government and later, when the western allies were victorious over Germany, they supported Russian military forces that wanted to install an anti-



**Lenin addresses workers at a meeting.**  
Source: [http://www.4to40.com/images/legends/lenin/lenin\\_at\\_meeting.jpg](http://www.4to40.com/images/legends/lenin/lenin_at_meeting.jpg)

Communist coalition in power. In response to internal dissent and foreign intervention, Lenin declared a “dictatorship of the proletariat” under the direction of the Bolshevik (now called Communist) Party, and used force to defeat all opposition. Among the victims were Czar Nicholas and his family, who were executed in July, 1918.

By 1920, Lenin and the Communist Party had secured control over most of the Russian Empire and began to build a socialist society. The Red Army took control over private factories and encouraged peasants to seize land from the Russian Orthodox Church and other wealthy landowners. The New Economic Policy permitted limited private ownership and the Soviet economy began to improve. In 1922, Lenin and his supporters renamed Russia the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Vladimir Lenin died in January, 1924 and after a five year battle for control over the Communist Party and the government, Josef Stalin was declared his successor. Under Stalin, there was increasing ideological and economic rigidity that injured many Russians and communism became identified with a brutal and oppressive dictatorship.

**Task:** Examine the set of documents and answer the questions that accompany each document. When you have finished, write an essay that answers the following questions.

1. What conditions led to the Russian Revolution?
2. Why were Lenin and the Bolsheviks (Communists) successful?
3. In your opinion, did Lenin make the right judgment when he decided that it was legitimate for a small minority to seize power in order to bring about needed social change? Explain.
4. In your opinion, should historians evaluate the Russian Revolution based on events and conditions at that time or should they also take into account what happened in the future? Explain.

### 1. Russian Revolution Timeline

1881. Alexander II is assassinated. Alexander III becomes Czar and represses dissent in Russia.

1894. Nicholas II becomes Czar

1903. Social Democrats Party splits into Menshevik and Bolshevik factions.

February, 1904. Japan attacks Russian troops at Port Arthur.

January 22, 1905. Bloody Sunday. Troops open fire on demonstrators in Petrograd.

October, 1905. October Manifesto by Czar Nicholas II provides for a Russian Parliament (Duma).

August 1, 1914. Czar Nicholas II mobilizes Russian troops on the Eastern Front for war with Germany.

March, 1917. Soldiers mutiny and food riots in the cities. The Parliament creates a new Provisional government.

March 15, 1917. Czar Nicholas II abdicates and Russia becomes a republic.

November 7, 1917. Bolsheviks seize control over Petrograd

November 8, 1917. Russian Provincial Government is replaced by Bolsheviks.

January, 1918. Lenin declares a “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

March, 1918. Brest-Litovsk Treaty ratified by the Congress of Soviets and Russia withdraws from World War I.

### Questions:

1. What were the long term causes of the Russian Revolution?
2. What were the immediate causes of the Russian Revolution?

### 2. 19th Century Russian Social Pyramid

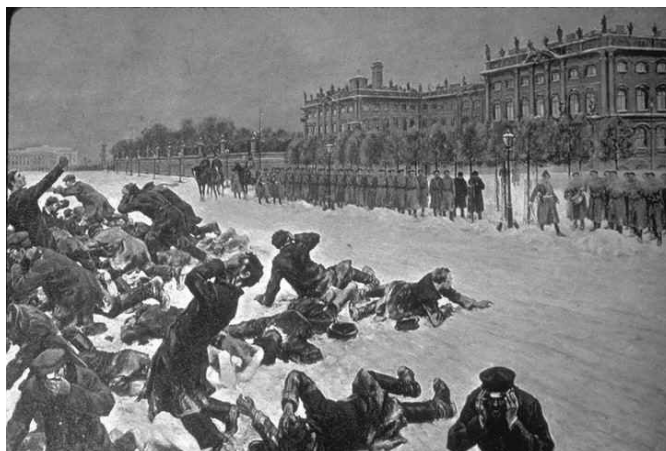
This diagram shows agricultural workers at the bottom of the social pyramid. Just above them is the urban working class. At the top of society was a small ruling elite.



**Question:** How is Russian society depicted in this social pyramid?

**3. “Blame for ‘Bloody Sunday’”.** Source: *The New York Times*, October 13, 1905, p. 8.

“We have received . . . the results of an inquiry . . . into the terrible events of last January, when a throng of strikers, headed by Father Gapon, endeavored to march to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the Czar in person and were shot down in hundreds by the troops. . . The attack of the troops was not only unprovoked, but unexpected. . . The police gave no intimation of any kind that the procession was illegal and would not be allowed to take place. A warning issued by the authorities was explained officially to the workmen’s representatives, to be intended only for such as might be guilty of a breach of the peace by disorderly conduct. The workmen, it is contended, therefore had the right to regard their procession as authorized. . . All were unarmed . . . and women and children took their part in the great event which was to bring them into the presence of the head of the nation.”



Source: <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/>

**Questions:**

1. What happened on Bloody Sunday, January 5, 1905?
2. In your opinion, why did these events undermine support for the Czar and the Russian government?

**4. “Hunger Causes Petrograd Riots”.** Source: *The New York Times*, March 12, 1917

“The question of the food supply of the capital of Russia has reached a crisis. Petrograd is particularly badly situated on the confines of the empire, in a region incapable of producing breadstuff, and therefore wholly dependent upon railways for the necessities of daily life. . . . The people have cheerfully endured every manner of inconvenience throughout the long Winter in obtaining food supplies. Latterly, however, there has been witnessed the phenomenon of shortage in certain quarters of the city of the staple food of the common people, namely, the favorite Russia black bread. . . . On Thursday a number of women and younger men of the working class made a peaceful demonstration of protest against the mismanagement of the food supplies. A similar movement was noticed in certain quarters of the city yesterday.”

**Questions:**

1. Why were food shortages a major problem in Petrograd?
2. In your opinion, how did food shortages contribute to a revolutionary movement in Russia?

**5. Abdication of Nicholas II (March 15, 1917).** Source: <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1917/abnick2.html>

“In these decisive days in the life of Russia, we thought it our duty of conscience to facilitate for our people the closest union possible and a consolidation of all national forces for the speedy attainment of victory. In agreement with the Imperial Duma, we have thought it well to renounce the throne of the Russian Empire and to lay down the supreme power. As we do not wish to part from our beloved son, we transmit the succession to our brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, and give him our blessing to mount the throne of the Russian Empire.”

**Question:** In your opinion, what impact would the abdication of the Czar have on political conditions in Russia?

**6. Political Slogans of the Bolshevik Party (1917).** Source: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/>

**“Peace, Bread and Land!” “All power to the Soviets!”**

**Question:** In your opinion, why would these slogans appeal to the Russian people?

**7. Memorandums from the Office of the American Consulate General in Moscow to the United States State Department.** Source: National Archives, Washington, DC. <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/tel3.html>

**March 19, 1917.** The coup d’état, a stage of the uncompleted revolution, executed by revolutionary workingmen and soldiers, too recently recruited to have acquired discipline or to have lost touch with their late companions in field and factory, has whetted already keen appetites for land, social reorganization and autonomy or independence. . . . Discipline was shaken, perhaps irreparably, when soldiers disarmed their officers. In the absence of popular

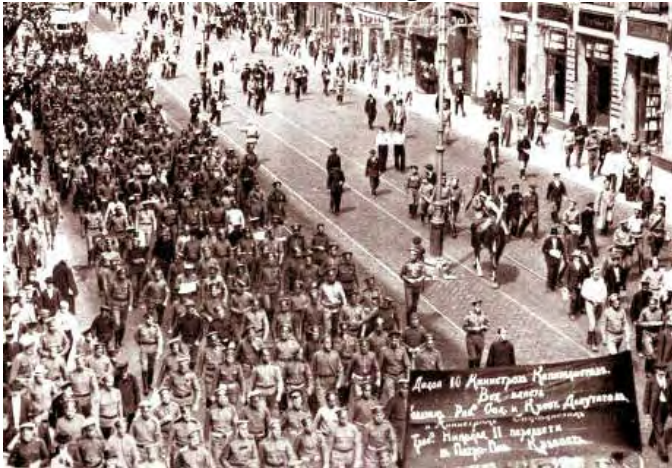
interest in the war, the zeal of the revolutionists and to a certain extent of the liberals also having depended always on the uses they expected to make of the difficulties created by the war in the reshaping of home affairs, it is to be feared that troops at the front will slip away from their commands and return to take part in the carnival of liberty, which to most of them means seizing the large estates for themselves. The workingmen are demanding an immediate Constituent Assembly and there is a tendency not to return to factory and barrack, nor to yield newly acquired weapons, until the political and social reorganization are assured.

**March 20, 1917.** Subject. The political and economical situation in Moscow. . . . At the present writing the street cars are all running, and life has assumed its normal course. There is an undercurrent of unrest, however, and the shortage of food supplies tends to augment the discontent. Long bread lines stretching for blocks may be seen on every street waiting often to be told that there is none left. The daily allowance is . . . nine tenths of a pound. To obtain this one must stand in the bread lines for two or three hours, and often longer. The supply of flour is short and the revolution of the past few days has diminished even this. . . . Prices of all articles of necessity are rapidly rising. It is difficult to give a table showing same as the figures given out are purely fictitious, each shop charging what they can get. Flour, for instance cannot be bought at all. There is none for sale in the city. Meat is practically unobtainable, and then only three days in the week. Milk, eggs, flour, bread, and meat will soon be sold only by card. The city is thronged with refugees and houses are unobtainable even at exorbitant prices.

### Questions:

1. What concerns about the revolutionary movement in Russia are expressed in the first memo?
2. According to the second memo, what are conditions like in Moscow?
3. In your opinion, why is the American Consulate sending these memos to the United States government?

### 8. Street demonstration in Petrograd (June 18, 1917). Source: <http://www.nevsky88.com/>



The protest is against the new Provisional government. The banner in the foreground reads “Down With The 10 Capitalist Ministers/ All Power To The Soviets Of Workers’, Soldiers’, And Peasants’/ We Demand That Nicholas II Be Transferred To The Peter-Paul Fortress.”

### Questions:

1. What does this protest against the new provisional government tell us about political conditions in Russia?
2. In your opinion, what is the significance of the demands made on the banner?

### 9. Lessons of the Revolution by V. I. Lenin (July, 1917).

Source: <http://www.marx.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/sep/06.htm>

“The people want peace. Yet the revolutionary government of free Russia has resumed the war of conquest on the basis of those very same secret treaties which ex-Tsar Nicholas II concluded with the British and French capitalists so that the Russian capitalists might plunder other nations. . . . There is no bread. Famine is again drawing near. Everybody sees that the capitalists and the rich are unscrupulously cheating the treasury on war deliveries, that they are raking in fabulous profits through high prices, while nothing whatsoever has been done to establish effective control by the workers over the production and distribution of goods. The capitalists are becoming more brazen every day; they are throwing workers out into the street, and this at a time when the people are suffering from shortages. A vast majority of the peasants . . . have loudly and clearly declared that landed proprietorship is an injustice and robbery. Meanwhile, a government which calls itself revolutionary and democratic has been . . .



deceiving them by promises and delays. . . . The government has become so brazen in its defense of the landowners that it is beginning to bring peasants to trial for “unauthorized” seizures of land. The lesson of the Russian revolution is that there can be no escape for the working people from the iron grip of war, famine, and enslavement by the landowners and capitalists unless . . . they renounce all compromises with the bourgeoisie. . . . Only the revolutionary workers, if supported by the peasant poor, are capable of smashing the resistance of the capitalists and leading the people in gaining land with out compensation, complete liberty, victory over famine and the war, and a just and lasting peace.”

**Questions:**

1. Why does Lenin denounce the new Provisional government?
2. According to Lenin, what lesson must be learned from the revolution?

**10. Call to Power by V. I. Lenin (October 24, 1917).** Source: [www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1917lenin1.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1917lenin1.html)  
“The situation is critical in the extreme. In fact it is now absolutely clear that to delay the uprising would be fatal. With all my might I urge comrades to realize that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people. . . . History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today . . . , while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, the risk losing everything. If we seize power today, we seize it not in opposition to the Soviets but on their behalf. . . . It would be an infinite crime on the part of the revolutionaries were they to let the chance slip, knowing that the salvation of the revolution, the offer of peace, the salvation of Petrograd, salvation from famine, the transfer of the land to the peasants depend upon them. The government is tottering. It must be given the death-blow at all costs.”

**Questions:**

1. Why does Lenin describe the situation in Russia as critical?
2. What does Lenin want the revolutionaries to do?

**11. Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918).** Source: <http://www.animatedatlas.com/ww1/brestlitovsk.html>  
Article I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, for the one part, and Russia, for the other part, declare that the state of war between them has ceased. They are resolved to live henceforth in peace and amity with one another.

Article II. The contracting parties will refrain from any agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public and military institutions of the other party. In so far as this obligation devolves upon Russia, it holds good also for the territories occupied by the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance.

**Question:** What are the key provisions of this treaty?

**12. Lenin Demands Defeat of Counter-Revolutionary Kulaks [prosperous peasants] (November 8, 1918).**

Source: <http://archive.ncsa.uiuc.edu/SDG/Experimental/soviet.exhibit/ad2kulak.html>

Comrades! The revolt by the five kulak volost's [communities] must be suppressed without mercy. The interest of the entire revolution demands this, because we have now before us our final decisive battle “with the kulaks.” We need to set an example.

1. You need to hang (hang without fail, so that the public sees) at least 100 notorious kulaks, the rich, and the bloodsuckers.
2. Publish their names.
3. Take away all of their grain.
4. Execute the hostages - in accordance with yesterday's telegram.

This needs to be accomplished in such a way, that people for hundreds of miles around will see, tremble, know and scream out: let's choke and strangle those blood-sucking kulaks.

**Questions:**

1. What does Lenin want to do to prosperous peasants who are opposing the communist revolution?
2. In your opinion, were these actions justified against enemies of the revolution? Explain.

### 13. Ten Days that Shook the World (Preface) by John Reed (January 1, 1919).

Source: <http://www.marx.org/archive/reed/works/1919/10days/preface.htm>

This book is a . . . detailed account of the November Revolution, when the Bolsheviks, at the head of the workers and soldiers, seized the state power of Russia and placed it in the hands of the Soviets. . . . The propertied classes wanted merely a political revolution, which would take the power from the Tsar and give it to them. They wanted Russia to be a constitutional Republic, like France or the United States; or a constitutional Monarchy, like England. On the other hand, the masses of the people wanted real industrial and agrarian democracy. . . . Many writers explain their hostility to the Soviet Government by arguing that the last phase of the Russian Revolution was simply a struggle of the “respectable” elements against the brutal attacks of Bolshevism. However, it was the propertied classes, who, when they realized the growth in power of the popular revolutionary organizations, undertook to destroy them and to halt the Revolution. . . . [T]he Bolsheviks were the only party in Russia with a constructive program and the power to impose it on the country. If they had not succeeded to the Government when they did, there is little doubt in my mind that the armies of Imperial Germany would have been in Petrograd and Moscow in December, and Russia would again be ridden by a Tsar. . . .

It is still fashionable, after a whole year of the Soviet Government, to speak of the Bolshevik insurrection as an “adventure.” Adventure it was, and one of the most marvelous mankind ever embarked upon, sweeping into history at the head of the toiling masses, and staking everything on their vast and simple desires. Already the machinery had been set up by which the land of the great estates could be distributed among the peasants. The Factory-Shop Committees and the Trade Unions were there to put into operation workers’ control of industry. In every village, town, city, district and province there were Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies, prepared to assume the task of local administration.

No matter what one thinks of Bolshevism, it is undeniable that the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history, and the rise of the Bolsheviks a phenomenon of world-wide importance. Just as historians search the records for the minutest details of the story of the Paris Commune, so they will want to know what happened in Petrograd in November, 1917, the spirit which animated the people, and how the leaders looked, talked and acted. It is with this in view that I have written this book. In the struggle my sympathies were not neutral. But in telling the story of those great days I have tried to see events with the eye of a conscientious reporter, interested in setting down the truth.

#### Questions:

1. According to John Reed, what is the purpose of this book?
2. Why does Reed support the Bolshevik Revolution?
3. Do you agree or disagree with Reed’s statement: “No matter what one thinks of Bolshevism, it is undeniable that the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history, and the rise of the Bolsheviks a phenomenon of world-wide importance”? Explain.

#### Short Story for Global History and Geography – “*Shooting an Elephant* by George Orwell”

It is not always easy to shoehorn a novel about imperialism into an already-packed Global History and Geography curriculum. So it is nice to know that this short story, published in 1936 by George Orwell, can raise important questions for tenth grade teachers and students about the European role in developing countries around the world. The story draws on Orwell’s experience as a colonial official in India and Burma, two regions of the British Empire, in the middle of the century between the two world wars. The story concerns a colonial officer’s obligation to shoot a rogue elephant. The narrator does not want to shoot the elephant, but feels compelled to do so by a gathering crowd of Indian residents, before whom he does not wish to appear cowardly or indecisive. The situation depicted in the story underscores the hostility between administrators of the British Empire and their “native” subjects. Both sides feel distrust, hatred and resentment. While the narrator denounces the British presence as corrosive and degrading to both sides, it is the narrator, an agent of the Empire, with whom we are meant to empathize. He presents himself as “an absurd puppet of the yellow faces behind,” and his most important revelation about imperialism is how it affects those who practice it: “I perceived in that moment that when the white man turns tyrant, it is his own freedom that he destroys.” This story is available in many anthologies and online at <http://www.online-literature.com/orwell/887/>. - Andrea S. Libresco

# The Salt March and the Indian Struggle for Independence

by Danielle Mazzo and Gaurav Passi

The struggle for Indian independence against the forces of British imperialism is one of the most important mass movements of the 20th century. It is set apart from many other anti-colonial struggles by the non-violent creed of Mohandas Gandhi. For Gandhi, non-violent civil disobedience represented a philosophy rooted in the Hindu beliefs of the majority of the Indian people, as well as a strategy to defeat a powerful enemy. Gandhi was born in Gujarat, India in 1869. As a young man he was educated in London and later move to South Africa to practice law. While in South Africa, Gandhi became involved in the struggle against racial discrimination against non-Europeans and an advocate for fundamental human rights and social and political equality. In 1915, Gandhi returned to India, where he began helping poverty stricken Indians who were victimized by the caste system and developed a large following. The movement for national independence in India received a boost in the spring of 1919 when British General Edward Dyer ordered troops to open fire on a crowd of 10,000 people at a peaceful, but illegal demonstration at Amritsar in the Punjab province. As a result of the massacre, 379 Indians were killed, over 1,000 were wounded and public opinion in Britain and India started to question colonization.

Gandhi proposed achieving independence through a non-violent campaign of passive resistance to weakened British authority and economic power. He called on Indians to boycott British goods and defy government orders. In 1930, Gandhi organized a mass demonstration in opposition to the British monopoly on the production of salt and the salt tax. Gandhi led his followers on a 165 mile march to the coastal city of Dandhi where they made salt from the waters of the Indian Ocean. The salt was distributed by the Congress Party to all the major cities of India where it was sold in defiance of the law. Gandhi and most of the leadership were arrested, however a group of demonstrators attempted to shut down the British owned Dharasana Saltworks Factory. Police officers and British soldiers attacked the demonstrators with clubs, severely injuring hundreds. Demonstrators, following Gandhi's policy of non-violence, refused to fight back. The attack was covered by newspapers around the world, embarrassing the British and securing global support for Gandhi's non-violent movement. India finally achieved independence in 1947 after 200 years of British rule. A year later Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu nationalist upset about the partition of India into Hindu and Muslim countries.



Gandhi makes salt. "With this I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire."

Source: <http://www.pbs.org>

## British Colonization of India and the Struggle for Independence

- 1610. British East India Company creates a trading post in India.
- 1763. In the Treaty of Paris, France recognizes English control over India.
- 1784. India Act places British East India Company under government control.
- 1857. Indian soldiers in the British Army (known as sepoy) rebel against British authority in India.
- 1858. Great Britain formally annexes India.
- 1876. Queen Victoria of England declared "Empress of India."
- 1885. Nationalists form the Indian National Congress, a predecessor of the Congress party.
- 1906. Congress Party demands "self-rule" for India. Muslims form the All-India Muslim League.
- 1919. British soldiers open fire on a mass demonstration in Amritsar and massacre 379 unarmed people.
- 1920. Congress Party begins non-violent resistance campaign to achieve independence from Britain.
- 1928. Congress Party demands dominion status within British Empire.
- 1930. Congress Party declares India's independence. Gandhi launches a campaign against the tax on salt.
- 1937. Provincial autonomy begins with Congress winning power in many states.
- 1947. India declares independence and is divided in a predominately Hindu India and Islamic Pakistan.

## New York Times Reports on the Salt March in India

### **Arrest of Gandhi is Held Imminent**

London, March 15, 1930. *The Sunday Times* says that well-informed quarters in London regard the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi as "imminent." "The action of the headmen," says *The Sunday Times*, "is in direct response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal and is regarded as a defiance of law which not even the greatest sense of official tolerance can countenance."

### **Bombay Takes Action**

New Delhi, India, March 15, 1930. With a view to counteracting the Gandhi movement against the salt tax, . . . the Central Board of Revenue plans to invest every police officer above the rank of constable in the presidency of Bombay . . . with all the powers of a salt revenue officer. That would enable him to order confiscation of salt made otherwise than under the government monopoly, or to take any other necessary action.

### **Government to Check Illegal Salt Making**

Ahmadabad, India, March 15, 1930. Mahatma Gandhi, beginning the fourth day of the march to Jalalapur . . . where his party plans to manufacture salt in violation of the British monopoly. . . . There are still sixteen days before the pilgrims reach the coast and begin in earnest the civil disobedience campaign by which they hope to gain independence for India.

### **Gandhi Urges India to Extend Boycott**

Kareli, India, March 20, 1930. Mahatma Gandhi arriving here with his volunteer marchers in the civil disobedience campaign, today gave further instructions for carrying out his policy of non-violent resistance to the Indian Government.

### **Gandhi Commences Last Lap of March**

Surat, India, April 2. Mahatma Gandhi today started on what is virtually the last lap on his long march to the sea when he walked under the Navsari Gate in the city wall bound for the village of Dinloi. Gandhi was greeted by the most enthusiastic welcome since he left his seminary in Ahmedabad, April 12. A huge crowd gathered last night on the bank of the River Tapti outside the city to hear Gandhi, who in the flickering light of kerosene lamps, jibed at the government for "being ashamed to arrest me."

### **Signal for Mass Action**

Jalalpur, India, April 5, 1930. Mahatma Gandhi today ended his 200-mile march from Ahmedabad at this desolate village on the shores of the Arabian Sea, and tomorrow morning he will wade into the water to begin the forbidden manufacture of salt. His action will be a signal for a campaign of mass civil disobedience in other parts of India, which Mr. Gandhi believes will start a revolt against British rule.

### **Gandhi Makes Salt, Defying India's Law**

Jalalpur, India, April 6, 1930. Mahatma Gandhi manufactured salt from sea water at Dandi this morning, thereby breaking the British law establishing a monopoly on salt manufacture.

### **Viceroy and Gandhi Agree on Truce in India**

New Delhi, India, March 4, 1931 - The Congress party's campaign of civil disobedience, which included defiance of the salt laws, non-payment of taxes, holding of illegal assemblies and mass picketing of factories and shops selling British goods, will forthwith be called off. It is understood that the India [British] Government made concessions regarding the salt laws and that henceforth the natives will be permitted to manufacture salt by the process of evaporation on the seacoasts, the government monopoly, however, maintaining control of its manufacture and distribution in inland areas. As a result of the compromise, many political prisoners are expected to be released and . . . property confiscation from Congress members found guilty of law-breaking will be restored with their release from jail.

### **Hopes Truce Will Lead to Independence for India**

New Delhi, India, March 5, 1931. Mahatma Gandhi . . . served notice anew on British that complete independence is the goal of India. "That is the birthright of India as it is of every nation worthy of the name," he said. "England's statesmen will have to be willing to let India wander away into the woods through errors. Freedom is not worth having if it does not connote freedom to err and even to sin." "I venture to suggest that if India reached her goal of liberty through truth and non-violence she will have made no small contribution to the world of peace for which all the nations are thirsting."

**Question:** In your opinion, why did a symbolic act such as the Salt March have such a major impact?



# Resisting British Colonialism in Kenya

by Tabora Johnson and Tim McEnroe

In the 1950s, the western press portrayed resistance to British colonialism in Kenya as terrorist, fanatical and backward, in much the same way as the Bush administration dismissed Islamic opposition forces in the twenty-first century. The documents in this package allow students to compare western news coverage of the group it called “Mau Mau” with the way the rebels saw themselves and their struggle. Study of the Kenyan independence movement presses students to consider the question, “Who are the actual terrorists?”

Kenya is located in east Africa in the equatorial region. Ninety-seven percent of its population is of African descent and the largest tribal group is known as Kikuyu. The country was colonized by Great Britain between 1901 and 1960. British settlers, who came to Kenya because of its resources and comfortable climate, forced indigenous farmers and herders onto marginal land or made them work on European-owned farms and plantations. During the 1950s there was a sustained rebellion against colonial rule and the cost of maintaining the colony finally forced Britain to accept Kenyan independence. In 1964, Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya African National Union, became the first President of Kenya.

During the 1950s, the British charged Kenyan rebels were part of a secret and savage society known as the “Mau Mau,” whose members had supposedly pledged to slaughter Europeans and drive them out of Africa. The derivation of the term may have been from the Kikuyu phrase *uma-uma* – “they are coming.” The British war against the Kikuyu, the largest group in the rebellion, was ruthless and justified by charges that the rebels were terrorists. These charges were widely repeated in the western press, including *The New York Times*. Kenyan views of the conflict come from the writings and speeches of Jomo Kenyatta and from a memoir by Koigi Wa Wamwere, *I Refuse to Die* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002).

## Timeline of the Independence Movement in Kenya

August, 1951. British believe a secret society called the Mau Mau requires members to take an oath to drive the white man from Kenya. The colonial government imposes a curfew.

October 7, 1952. Chief Waruhui, who spoke against forces opposing British to colonial rule, is assassinated.

October 1952. British announce plan to send troops to Kenya to fight against the Mau Mau.

October 21, 1952. Jomo Kenyatta, president of Kenya African Union is arrested for alleged Mau Mau involvement.

October 30, 1952. British troops arrest over 500 suspected Mau Mau activists.

November 14, 1952. 34 schools in Kikuyu areas are closed in an effort to clamp down on Mau Mau activists.

November 25, 1952. Mau Mau declare rebellion against British rule in Kenya.

January 18, 1953 Governor-general imposes the death penalty for anyone who administers the Mau Mau oath.

January 26, 1953. European settlers in Kenya create their own commando units.

April 8, 1953. Jomo Kenyatta, known to his followers as the “Burning Spear,” is sentenced to 7 years hard labor.

April 24, 1954. Over 40,000 Kikuyu tribesmen are arrested by British forces during dawn raids.

January 18, 1955. The Governor-general of Kenya offers a limited amnesty to Mau Mau activists who will not face the death penalty for participation in the rebellion.

June 10, 1955. Britain withdraws the offer of amnesty to the Mau Mau.

October 1955. According to official reports, over 70,000 Kikuyu suspected of Mau Mau membership have been imprisoned and over 13,000 people have been killed during the last three years of the Mau Mau Rebellion.

July 1959. 11 Mau Mau activists held at Hola Camp in Kenya are murdered.

November 10, 1959. State of emergency ends.

January 18, 1960 The Kenyan Constitutional Conference held in London is boycotted by African nationalists.

April 18, 1961. In return for Jomo Kenyatta’s release, nationalist leaders agree to take a role in the government.

December 12, 1964. Kenya declared a republic. Jomo Kenyatta, aged 74, is first president.

## **Conflicting Interpretations of the Kenyan Struggle for Independence**

Examine the conflicting interpretations of the Kenyan rebellion and war for independence presented in *The New York Times* (A) and by Jomo Kenyatta and Koigi Wa Wamwere (B). After reading the excerpts from the articles and statements, write a 250 word letter to the Editor of The New York Times either supporting or opposing its position on the “Mau Mau.” Note that Jomo Kenyatta argues that the K.A.U. or Kenya African National Union, not the mythical Mau Mau, is leading the rebellion in Kenya. Koigi Wa Wamwere acknowledges that the guerilla fighters and the Mau Mau are the same, but believes they are justified in their struggle.

### **A. *The New York Times* Presents Western Views on the Kenyan Rebellion and War for Independence**

#### **1. The Mau Mau (September 18, 1952)**

We live in a tortured period of history when strange and primitive forces are coming into their own again. Our civilization often seems but a veneer covering dark abysses. Now and then the surface is pierced and we see frightening things. If we who comfortably read this newspaper over breakfast table here were living in East Africa these thoughts could have a terrifying meaning. Little items have been appearing in recent weeks, coming from Nairobi, the capital of the British Crown Colony of Kenya. One day it is about Christian missionaries fleeing for their lives. Another is about . . . men being struck down on lonely farms or roads in the night. . . . It is the Mau Mau which is causing all this trouble and anxiety—not very serious trouble, but there are alarming signs of a concerted and organized effort at terrorism, which is linked to political, social and racial aspirations. The Mau Mau is a secret society formed from the Kikuyu tribe whose millions or so members live in the fertile highlands around Nairobi. . . . It is inevitable in our time that the white missionary should be tied to a hated imperialism. In turning on the missionary the rebellion soul rejects the Christianity which the missionary brought. In Africa this does not seem to mean falling back on atheism or agnosticism; it means a return to paganism - to the “leopard man,” to ritual murders, to primitive magic and terror. That is how the Mau Mau works.

#### **2. Desecrations Laid to Kenya Terrorists (September 17, 1952)**

Headless dogs have been nailed to Government notice boards and dead goats place on church altars by the Kikuyu tribe’s secret and terrorist Mau Mau Society, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council charged here today. . . . The Mau Mau Society, said to exist in the 1,000,000-strong Kikuyu tribe in Northern Kenya, is pledged to drive all Europeans out of Kenya. Mr. Usher said evidence for the existence of the Mau Mau Society was “superabundant.” In addition to the headless dogs and goats on church altars, he mentioned “murderous” assaults on missionaries, murder and mutilation of police informers and witnesses, and attacks on chiefs and headmen opposed to Mau Mau. He called for legislation that would exterminate “this filthy thing.”

#### **3. Behavior of Troops in Kenya Defended (January 27, 1954)**

Anthony Head, British Secretary for War, who has just returned from an inspection trip to Kenya, denied today that British Army units in the colony had engaged in “indiscriminate shooting, irresponsible conduct or inhuman practices” in suppressing the native Mau Mau rebellion. In the House of Commons, Mr. Head cited the findings of a court of inquiry set up in Kenya in December under the chairmanship of Lieut. Gen. Sir Kenneth McLean, which received evidence from 147 military and civilian witnesses. On that basis and on observations during his visit, he said, “I am convinced that the British Army, under difficult and arduous circumstances, has shown that measure of restraint backed by good discipline which this country has traditionally expected” . . . . An inquiry was begun after widely publicized complaints that British troops had offered monetary prizes as rewards for the killing or capture of wanted Mau Mau suspects, and had resorted to torture to gain information.

## B. Kenyan Rebels Explain their Struggle

### 1. Jomo Kenyatta's speech at the Kenya African Union meeting (June, 1952)

Source: [http://www.africawithin.com/kenyatta/speech\\_at\\_kau.htm](http://www.africawithin.com/kenyatta/speech_at_kau.htm)

I want you to know the purpose of K.A.U. It is the biggest purpose the African has. It involves every African in Kenya and it is their mouthpiece which asks for freedom. K.A.U. is you and you are the K.A.U. If we unite now, each and every one of us, and each tribe to another, we will cause the implementation in this country of that which the European calls democracy. True democracy has no color distinction. It does not choose between black and white. We are here in this tremendous gathering under the K.A.U. flag to find which road leads us from darkness into democracy. In order to find it we Africans must first achieve the right to elect our own representatives. That is surely the first principle of democracy. We are the only race in Kenya which does not elect its own representatives in the Legislature and we are going to set about to rectify this situation. We feel we are dominated by a handful of others who refuse to be just. God said this is our land. Land in which we are to flourish as a people. We are not worried that other races are here with us in our country, but we insist that we are the leaders here, and what we want we insist we get.

K.A.U. claims this land as its own gift from God and I wish those who are black, white or brown at this meeting to know this. K.A.U. speaks in daylight. He who calls us the *Mau Mau* is not truthful. We do not know this thing *Mau Mau*. We want to prosper as a nation, and as a nation we demand equality. . . . It has never been known in history that a country prospers without equality. We despise bribery and corruption, those two words that the European repeatedly refers to. Bribery and corruption is prevalent in this country, but I am not surprised. As long as a people are held down, corruption is sure to rise and the only answer to this is a policy of equality. If we work together as one, we must succeed.

### 2. Why Mau Mau Fought

Source: *I Refuse to Die, My Journey for Freedom* by Koigi Wa Wamwere

For Africans, land meant more than food and a house. It was their permanent residence before, during and after life. To fight for land and freedom, Mau Mau was trying to secure their eternal existence. Refusing to understand this, the British subjected them to a great misrepresentation. They called the *itoi* (rebels), *imaramari* (terrorists), *washenzi* (primitive people), as well as atavistic, cannibalistic and beastly. In the minds of the British, Mungai and his comrades were not fighting for freedom. Africans knew of no freedom. They were fighting to return to a past of primitiveness, darkness, death and evil. The British accused Mungai and his comrades of foolishly sacrificing their lives for death.

Mungai went to the forest not to lose his own life, but to protect African life from being snuffed out by British colonialism. He went to the forest not because he loved going for days without food as a guerilla, but because he wanted to recapture stolen lands and end hunger for himself and other Kenyans...

Contrary to British propaganda, Mungai did not love the cold and rain of forest life. He went to the forest because the cold of colonial racism and the color bar was greater. He was willing to freeze in the jungle to end the cold and rain of racial discrimination, unemployment and the hunger of the perennially underfed African child.

Like other young men, Mungai was married and wanted to have a family but he did not want to be a father whom white people called *mboi*, a boy, and humiliated before his own children. He did not want to be a father and a husband who begged the white man for the food of his family. He died for the security of his wife and children against colonial rape and assault. He went to the forest to fight for human rights of his people. . . .

The Second World War had taught Africans two lessons: With guns, they could kill white people. If the German Hitler could be fought, so could the British Hitler. After the war, British soldiers had come to Kenya to be rewarded with land. African soldiers had returned home, not to be given land, but for the lucky ones to be hired as laborers of those who fought with them in the same trenches in Europe and Burma. This was the injustice that had driven Mungai and the Mau Mau to the forests.

# The Battle for Algerian Independence

by Catherine de Bruin-Graf and Jeffrey Fowler

In 1834, France conquered the area of North Africa known as Algeria and established a colony. French settlers controlled the arable land and Algerians were kept at the bottom of society, unable to vote, hold good jobs or have any say in the running of their country. At the end of World War II, Muslims, who were 90% of the population of Algeria, organized a National Liberation Front (FLN) to demand independence. In the 1950s, they started guerilla warfare. By 1957, over half a million French troops were stationed in Algeria in an effort to suppress the rebellion.

In 1958, when Charles de Gaulle was installed as the President of France, the country was on the brink of civil war over the Algerian question. De Gaulle initially proposed retaining Algeria as part of metropolitan France while granting Muslims more rights as citizens. However, he soon accepted the idea of “self-determination” for Algeria. Despite this shift, French colonists in Algeria resisted and the war for Algerian independence continued until 1962. After Algerian independence, one million Europeans left the country.

The struggle for Algerian independence was a major front in the post-World War II fight to end colonialism and imperialism. The Algerian freedom fighters were supported by the Soviet Union, so this conflict also played a role in the Cold War. The battles between Algerians and French colonists often blurred distinctions between civilians and military personnel and raised the question of what constituted legitimate action and what was terrorism. These battles illustrate many of the issues in the current conflict between United States and Islamic forces in Iraq, Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, and between Israelis and Palestinians. An examination of the Algerian Independence Movement can help students address the question, “When, if ever, is revolutionary violence justified?” An excellent resource that graphically explores this question is the movie, *The Battle for Algiers* (1966: French with English subtitles).



[http://www.merriam-webster.com/maps/images/maps/algeria\\_map](http://www.merriam-webster.com/maps/images/maps/algeria_map).

## Timeline of the Algerian Independence Movement

1954. FLN(National Liberation Front) forms and fighting begins with French  
 1956. Tunisia and Morocco gain independence  
 1957. France sends more than 400,000 troops to Algeria  
 1958. Charles DeGaulle begins Fifth Republic in France  
 1959. DeGaulle mentions “self-determination” for Algeria and French *colons* revolt.  
 1962. Algeria achieves independence

## Facts about Contemporary Algeria

Population: 32, 129,324 (99% Arab-Berber and Islamic)  
 Capital: Algiers (El Djazair) Literacy: 70%  
 Geography: A narrow fertile plain along the Mediterranean Sea in the north. Mountains in the central region and the Sahara Desert to the south.  
 Principal Resource: Oil.



(left) Algerian women read a revolutionary proclamation.

Source:<http://alfatihoun.edaama.org/Fichiers/Algeria/History/web/Algeria%20History.htm>

Website: <http://www.algeria-us.org>

The Algerian flag has a green and white background. The crescent and star are red.



## Debating the Future of Algeria, 1956-1962

**Assignment:** Examine the French, Algerian and World opinions on the conflict in Algeria. Prepare a speech to the United Nations General Assembly expressing your views on the conflict and a possible solution.

### A. French Opinion

#### **Algeria Is France's Anguish, *The New York Times*, April 21, 1957**

"This criticism, made notably by former Premier Pierre Mendes-France, is that France cannot afford the financial and economic cost of the present policy of pacification. In a time of financial crisis and inflation, she spends at the rate of one billion dollars a year to support the army in Algeria, which means taking 400,000 men out of industry and diverting to war uses goods that might help to redress her trade balance. It is also argued, that France cannot afford politically to pursue her present policy, since it increases Moslem hostility and handicaps her relations with the Arab world and non-Arab Africa. . . . Algeria is mainly a problem of emotions. On the one side is the deeply rooted conviction that Algeria is an integral part of France, as the constitutional fiction proclaims. Frenchmen settled it more than a century ago, developed it and governed it; hence the nearly 1,000,000 Europeans living there have vested rights that are deemed incompatible with any form of independence based upon majority rule, since the great majority are Moslems. . . . The Algerian problem has split France. . . . The idea of giving Algeria independence as if it were merely an African country, and especially the idea that the more backward countries represented in the United Nations should advise France on this subject, provoked in France a wave of bitter resentment that did not help toward a victory of logic over emotion."

#### **All French Policies Set Back By Algeria, *The New York Times*, June 2, 1957**

"The reported massacre by rebels of several hundred Moslem men in an Algerian village called Melouza this week brought new evidence of the inability of even a large army to put down terrorism throughout that country. . . . The Mollet formula was "pacification," a cease-fire, then free elections, then a negotiation with those elected to represent Algeria either in the French Parliament or in some other body never specified. . . . The French public became more and more disturbed because of the apparently futile mobilization of masses of youth who otherwise would have been doing productive labor, because of the financial costs, because above all of the sense of frustration that the Algerian war, now in its third year, has brought. . . . But the term independence, used by the rebels to define their goal, has been carefully avoided, although independence has been granted to Algeria's two neighbors, Morocco and Tunisia, whose leaders now seek it for Algeria."

#### **Lacoste Rejects Algeria Criticism, *The New York Times*, July 8, 1957**

"Robert Lacoste, Minister for Algeria, declared today that French efforts to crush the Algerian rebellion would continue despite international criticism. . . . M. Lacoste also suggested that the United States ought to solve its "Negro problem" before telling France how to get along with the Moslems. . . . He rejected the idea of a North African federation. He said Premier Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia was 'just dreaming' in advocating a French North African community. Mr. Bourguiba's real goal is Algerian Independence, the French official said."

### B. Algerian Opinion

#### **Editorial from the first issue of "El Moudjahid" (1956)**

"It is about time that an organ of resistance fighters comes to be, to fill a certain void in order to make known to the Algerian people in struggle, and to a world polarized by the war in Algeria, the voice of our fighters. "El Moudjahid" will be the official voice of the FLN, and the mirror of the Armée de Liberation Nationale. The immense political importance of the current war, the prestigious exploits of the Moudjahidines, the untold suffering which the Algerian people suffers with a rare spirit of sacrifice at the hands of imperialist soldiery, need to be known."

#### **Résistance Algérienne No. 4, March 28, 1957**

"The French Government has now decided to create urban militias in Algeria. . . . [French Minister] Lacoste decrees that henceforward every European will be armed and should open fire on any person who seems to him suspect. . . . [O]n the plane of human rights, what is fascism if not colonialism rooted in a traditionally colonialist country? . . . [I]s not colonial status simply the organized reduction to slavery of a whole people? . . . The Algerian revolution speaks to the occupying nation and says: 'Take your fangs out of the bleeding flesh of Algeria!'"

**A First-Hand Account of Torture by Algerian Fighter Omar Hamadi, December 5, 1960**

“We arrived June 20, 1959 and as is usual at Berrouaghia, as soon as we arrived the beatings began, and without reason. As soon as we arrived we were made to strip naked and all exposed to blows delivered by those who are used to doing this. . . I can cite another case that happened to me whose story I’ll cite. It was for a jar of water that I’d given a brother (another Muslim), who didn’t have water. We went to point this out, we six prisoners, and for this half-liter of water we were punished with 20 days in a cell.”

**Declaration of Principles in the War for Algerian Independence, The Manifesto of the 121, 1960**

“For the Algerians the struggle, carried out either by military or diplomatic means, is not in the least ambiguous. It is a war of national independence. But what is its nature for the French? It’s not a foreign war. The territory of France has never been threatened. But there’s even more; it is carried out against men who do not consider themselves French, and who fight to cease being so. It isn’t enough to say that this is a war of conquest, an imperialist war, accompanied by an added amount of racism. There is something of this in every war, and the ambiguous nature of it remains. . . We must be reminded that fifteen years after the destruction of the Hitlerite order, French militarism has managed to bring back torture and restore it as an institution in Europe.”

**Appeal to the French distributed to French Public by FLN, October 22, 1961**

“In order to express their resolution Algerian men, along with their wives and children, decided on October 17, 1961 not to return home at 8:00pm, which the colonial power attempted to impose on them. If it were up to the Algerians, this demonstration would have peacefully unfolded. Only the hateful aggressiveness of the forces of repression, some of whose members have itchy trigger fingers, was the cause of the scenes of violence, of the shootings and of the shedding of Algerian blood. . . . For seven years the dirty war in Algeria has corrupted all the values of freedom and humanism that your country once proposed to the world. Look what Paris has become, which was once the capitol of the right to asylum. Fight colonialist repression and ensure that Paris not become the capitol of racism. . . Make common cause with the Algerian militants who oppose the barbaric and racist repression. Prevent men from being rounded up and deported because they have enlisted in a fight in defense of ideals for which people all over the world have fought.”

**C. World Opinion**

**Russian Leaders Ask Free Algeria, *The New York Times*, July 8, 1956**

“Soviet leaders finally came out openly for Algerian independence today and expressed sympathy for the fighting Algerian nationalists. . . Though formally the Arabs of Algeria are French citizens, in actual fact they are subjected to colonial oppression. . . The Arabs, who compromise the indigenous population of Algeria and are the lawful masters of their land, no longer wish to tolerate their unequal position. . . This struggle meets with the sympathy and solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples, including broad sections of the French people who condemn colonialism.”

**Britain Cautions UN on Algeria, *The New York Times*, Dec 14, 1960**

“Britain upheld the Algerian policy of President de Gaulle today as ‘consistent and courageous’ and cautioned the United Nations against interference. . . The speech was the first solid defense of France’s position in the Algerian debate. That debate has been dominated until now by Asian and African demands that the United Nations organize a referendum to decide Algeria’s future and by sweeping attacks by the Soviet bloc on colonialist powers in general and the United States in particular.”

**Frantz Fanon, a psychiatrist from Martinique, working in Algerian hospitals (1963)**

“Terror, counter-terror, violence, counter-violence: That is what observers bitterly record when they describe the circle of hate, which is so tenacious and so evident in Algeria. . . The fact is that soon we shall have had seven years of crimes in Algeria and there has not yet been a single Frenchman indicted before a French court of justice for the murder of an Algerian.”

# Patrice Lumumba and the Struggle for African Independence

by Douglas Cioffi and April Francis



Revolutionary leaders have generally been both deified and pilloried by contemporaries and historians. Evaluations of revolutionaries often depend on the political points of view of commentators and their attitudes toward the revolution itself, its causes, achievements and troubles. Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961) led the struggle in the 1950s against Belgium's colonial rule in the Congo and helped guide his nation to independence in 1960. He has been a lightning rod for praise and condemnation. Some see him as a martyr who was assassinated by forces aligned with the old colonial regime and other imperialist powers because of his commitment to genuine political and economic independence for his people. Others describe him as an unscrupulous politician and demagogue responsible for the devastation of his country and civil war.

The history of the Congo in west-central Africa is a case study in colonial exploitation and the problems of nation building after independence. In 1887, the Congo was taken as a personal fiefdom by Belgian King Leopold II. Under the façade of creating a "civilized" nation, Leopold enslaved the people of the Congo and raped it for its natural resources.

Horrific tactics were used to force the Congolese people to work on rubber plantations. Someone could have a hand cut off for refusing to work or working too slowly. Families were held as hostages to force men into the fields. In 1908, as the scale of these atrocities became widely known, Leopold transferred control over the colony to the Belgium government. By 1920, an estimated 10 million Congolese had died to provide Europe with rubber and Belgium and Leopold with profits.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the African continent, including the Congo, experienced a surge of nationalist movements demanding independence from European colonial regimes. Patrice Lumumba was a postal employee, a leader of the trade union, and an active member of the Belgian Liberal party in the Congo. In 1956, he was charged with embezzlement from the post office, convicted and sentenced to a year in prison. He emerged from jail as a militant nationalist and in 1958 founded the Congolese National Movement, the first nationwide Congolese political party. Later that year he attended the first All-African People's Conference in Ghana where he met nationalist leaders from across the African continent.

After years of resistance to change, in 1959, Belgium announced a five-year program that would gradually grant independence to the Congo. Lumumba and other nationalist viewed this as an effort by Belgium to maintain its economic and political influence over a nominally independent country. They organized a boycott of proposed elections and Lumumba was arrested and charged with inciting a riot. After his arrest, Lumumba's party shifted tactics and entered the election. They won a plurality of the seats in the National Assembly and Lumumba was appointed the first Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo.

Lumumba charged that Belgium was trying to undermine independence and he appealed to the United Nations for help. When they refused, he turned to the Soviet Union, angering the United States and the west. Civil war broke out in the Congo when rebels in the mineral rich province of Katanga, supported by Europeans, tried to break away from the country. The United Nations Security Council finally intervened and sent a peace keeping force to the Congo. Patrice Lumumba was removed from office, either captured by, or surrendered to, his enemies and assassinated. Critics have long suspected that either the United States or Belgium played a role in his murder.

Patrice Lumumba's career illustrates the role an individual can play in shaping history. It also provides insight into the struggle to end colonialism in Africa and the difficulty of building new nations in a world dominated by powerful imperialist forces.

### **A. Could Patrice Lumumba be trusted to effectively lead the Congo?**

Examine the excerpts from the two newspaper articles and from the Independence Day speech by Patrice Lumumba. Based on these documents, in your opinion, what did Patrice Lumumba believe? Do you feel he could be trusted as the new leader of the Congo? Explain.

#### **Lumumba is a Fiery Orator** (*The New York Times*, May, 22, 1960, p. 2)

“The week-end rioting in Stanleyville brings the death toll in the Belgian Congo from such outbursts this year to more than 350. Patrice Lumumba, who was arrested after the riots, is the 40 year old leader of the Congolese National Movement and one the Congo’s first ‘middle class’ privileged Congolese sponsored by Belgium as allies and buffers against the bulk of the population. Mr. Lumumba, a university graduate, came to political prominence after he had been jailed for fraud after eleven years in the postal service. His fiery oratory has inflamed opinion throughout the Congo. He told a reporter the day after the new Belgian timetable for independence was announced: ‘This won’t do for us. We ask for bread and get a stone. This a sop for the Belgians’ stooges.’ In his newspaper, *Independence*, he was less restrained. ‘We will attack these Belgians violently and fight them with every last atom of energy,’ he wrote. ‘The Belgian suckers must go.’”

#### **Congo Electing First Government To Take Over In Independence** (*The New York Times*, May 16, 1960)

“Patrice Lumumba, currently the most powerful leader in the Belgian Congo, was hailed by thousands as the messiah of Congolese freedom on a n election day tour of the African quarter today. He demanded the immediate abdication of Belgian authority instead of awaiting the June 30 date for independence, but he urged the throng to ‘treat the white man as a brother.’ Belgians distrust the 34 year old postal clerk, who was once convicted of embezzlement. They accuse him of fomenting racial hatred. Stanleyville is unusual in the Congo as a city of marked racial hatred. Europeans have been insulted, spat upon and stoned by Congolese. ‘Don’t throw stones at European cars,’ he told the crowds. ‘If you are drinking a glass of palm wine and a European passes, ask him to join you. He is our brother, and we must work together.’ But he sounded a threatening note to British and American newsmen. . . . He warned that unless the provincial government were established immediately, disorders would spread. ‘Most Europeans are sincere,’ he said, ‘but he knows of fifty-seven Europeans who are plotting against Congolese freedom.’

#### **Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, June 30, 1960, Independence Day**

“We are proud of this struggle, of tears, of fire, and of blood, to the depths of our being, for it was a noble and just struggle, and indispensable to put an end to the humiliating slavery which was imposed upon us by force. This was our fate for eighty years of a colonial regime; our wounds are too fresh and too painful still for us to drive them from our memory. We have known harassing work, exacted in exchange for salaries which did not permit us to eat enough to drive away hunger, or to clothe ourselves, or to house ourselves decently, or to raise our children as creatures dear to us. We have seen our lands seized in the name of allegedly legal laws which in fact recognized only that might is right. We have seen that the law was not the same for a white and for a black, accommodating for the first, cruel and inhuman for the other. We have witnessed atrocious sufferings of those condemned for their political opinions or religious beliefs; exiled in their own country, their fate truly worse than death itself. The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed, and our country is now in the hands of its own children. Together, my brothers, my sisters, we are going to begin a new struggle, a sublime struggle, which will lead our country to peace, prosperity, and greatness. Together, we are going to establish social justice and make sure everyone has just remuneration for his labor. We are going to show the world what the black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make of the Congo the center of the sun’s radiance for all of Africa. We are going to put an end to suppression of free thought and see to it that all our citizens enjoy to the full the fundamental liberties foreseen in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. We are going to rule not by the peace of guns and bayonets but by a peace of the heart and the will.”



## **B. What did Patrice Lumumba accomplish?**

Examine the excerpts from the poem, the letter written by Patrice Lumumba to his wife, and from the obituary by John Henrik Clarke. Based on these documents, in your opinion, what were the achievements of Patrice Lumumba? Do you feel he was effective as the leader of the Congolese people? Explain.

### **From Dawn In the Heart of Africa**

by Patrice Lumumba

And on this earth which you will always love  
You will make the Congo a nation, happy and free,  
In the very heart of vast Black Africa.



### **Lumumba's Last Letter Written to His Wife Just Before His Death**

I write you these words without knowing if they will reach you, when they will reach you, or if I will still be living when you read them. All during the length of my fight for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant the final triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and myself have consecrated our lives. But what we wish for our country, its right to an honorable life, to a spotless dignity, to an independence without restrictions, Belgian colonialism and its Western allies-who have found direct and indirect support, deliberate and not deliberate among certain high officials of the United Nations, this organization in which we placed all our confidence when we called for their assistance-have not wished it.

They have corrupted certain of our fellow countrymen, they have contributed to distorting the truth and our enemies, that they will rise up like a single person to say no to a degrading and shameful colonialism and to reassume their dignity under a pure sun.

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, and free and liberated people from every corner of the world will always be found at the side of the Congolese. They will not abandon the light until the day comes when there are no more colonizers and their mercenaries in our country. To my children whom I leave and whom perhaps I will see no more, I wish that they be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that it expects for each Congolese, to accomplish the sacred task of reconstruction of our independence and our sovereignty; for without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men. . . .

Do not weep for me, my dear companion. I know that my country, which suffers so much, will know how to defend its independence and its liberty. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

### **The Passing of Patrice Lumumba by John Henrik Clarke (1961)**

The life of Patrice Lumumba proved that he was a product of the best and worst of Belgian colonial rule. In more favorable circumstances, he might have become one of the most astute national leaders of the twentieth century. He was cut down long before he had time to develop into the more stable leader that he was obviously capable of being. "Mistakes have been made in Africa in the past, but we are ready to work with the powers which have been in Africa to create a powerful new bloc," he said at the beginning of 1960. "If this effort fails, it will be through the fault of the West." During his long and lonely rise from obscurity to the Congo's first Prime Minister, he taught himself never to completely trust power in the hands of others. This attitude is reflected in the suspicion that developed between him and the UN Forces in the Congo. His conflicts with the other Congo politicians was due mainly to his unyielding belief in the unitary state, and partly to his lack of experience in explaining, organizing and administering such a state. Nevertheless, he was the only Congolese leader with anything like a national following; a point too often overlooked. His greatest achievement in the early difficult months of Congo independence was in maintaining, with only a few defections, the solidarity of his widely disparate coalition government.

The important point in the Lumumba story, briefly related, is this: He proved that legitimacy of a postcolonial regime in Africa, relates mainly to its legal mandate; but even more, legitimacy relates to the regime's credentials as a representative of a genuine nationalism fighting against the intrigues of new-colonialism.

### C. Why was Patrice Lumumba assassinated?

As soon as independence was declared, there was a civil war in the Congo. Mineral-rich Katanga province (shown in the Time magazine map), with support from European powers, tried to secede from the country. Read the two reports on the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Based on these reports, why do you believe he was assassinated?

#### “Opening the Secret Files on Lumumba’s Murder”

Source: *Washington Post*, July 21, 2002

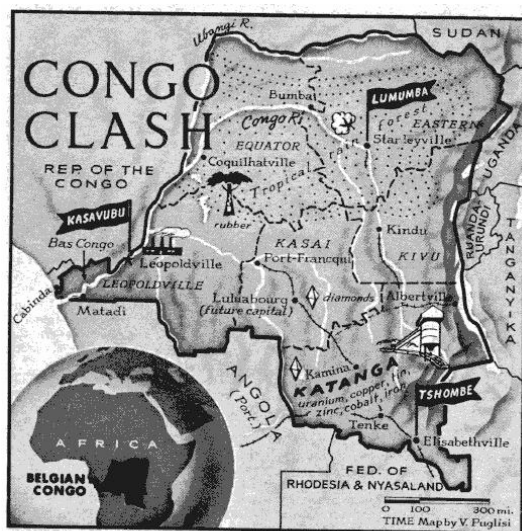
Forty-one years ago, Lumumba, the only leader ever democratically elected in Congo, was delivered to his enemies, tortured and summarily executed. Since then, his country has been looted by the U.S.-supported regime of Mobutu Sese Seko and wracked by regional and civil war.

The conventional explanation of Lumumba’s death has been that he was murdered by Congolese rivals after earlier U.S. attempts to kill him, including a plot to inject toxins into his food or toothpaste, failed. In 1975, the U.S. Senate’s “Church Committee” probed CIA assassination plots and concluded there was “no evidence of CIA involvement in bringing about the death of Lumumba.”

Not so. I have obtained classified U.S. government documents, including a chronology of covert actions approved by a National Security Council (NSC) subgroup, that reveal U.S. involvement in -- and significant responsibility for -- the death of Lumumba, who was mistakenly seen by the Eisenhower administration as an African Fidel Castro. Other new details: The U.S. authorized payments to then-President Joseph Kasavubu four days before he ousted Lumumba, furnished Army strongman Mobutu with money and arms to fight pro-Lumumba forces, helped select and finance an anti-



Lumumba government, and barely three weeks after his death authorized new funds for the people who arranged Lumumba’s murder.



TIME, MAY 30, 1960

“A Killing In Congo.” Source: US News and World Report <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/doubleissue/mysteries/patrice.htm> When Lumumba finally was killed, in January 1961, no one was surprised when fingers started pointing at the CIA. A Senate investigation of CIA assassinations 14 years later found no proof that the agency was behind the hit, but suspicions linger. Today, new evidence suggests Belgium, Congo’s former colonialist ruler, was the mastermind. According to *The Assassination of Lumumba*, a book published last year in Belgium by sociologist Ludo de Witte, Belgian operatives directed and carried out the murder, and even helped dispose of the body. Belgian authorities are investigating, but officials admit de Witte’s account appears accurate. . . . Lumumba’s death served its purpose: It bolstered the shaky regime of a formerly obscure colonel named Joseph Mobutu. During his three-decade rule, Mobutu would run his country, bursting with natural resources, into the depths of poverty. It took a civil war to oust him, and Congo has seen little peace since.

## **A Different Kind of Revolution: Cuba's National Literacy Campaign**

Prepared by Adam Stevens from "Perspectives on the Cuban National Literacy Campaign"

by Ruth Supko, Arkansas State University, <http://168.96.200.17/ar/libros/lasa98/Supko.pdf>

In September, 1960, Fidel Castro announced to the United Nations General Assembly that "the largest military fortresses today house tens of thousands of students, and, in the next year, our people plan to wage a great battle against illiteracy with the ambitious goal of teaching every last illiterate person to read and write. . . Cuba will be the first country in America which . . . will be able to say that it does not have a single illiterate person." Revolutions are not only about winning wars. They are also about transforming societies. How in the world did Castro plan to live up to such a bold promise and did Cuba achieve it? You decide. But first, read on!

Before the Cuban revolution, wealthy families usually sent their children to elite private schools or to study abroad, while children of the rural working class attended vastly inferior public schools or lived too far from schools to attend at all. In 1959, illiteracy in the countryside was an estimated 41% (illiteracy is defined as unable to read at a first grade level). When Castro's troops entered Havana in January 1959, many of the soldiers were illiterate. Army headquarters, camps, and police stations immediately became centers for literacy. By February literacy training for all military personnel began on a wide scale. A special census to locate people who could not read and write was begun in November 1960. By August 1961, 985,000 illiterates were identified across the country. In December, 1960, Fidel Castro declared, "Why have we proposed to eradicate illiteracy in only one year? Because the revolution is developing its work as fast as possible and it is pushing forward very fast. . . One year will be enough . . . revolutions are capable of doing things like that."

The Cuban government believed the ideal teacher-to-student ratio was one-to-two but with almost a million illiterates identified a ratio of one-to-four was settled on. Where would 250,000 volunteers be found to live and work with so many illiterate people in a nation of under seven million? Between April and December, 1961, 268,420 literacy teachers joined illiterate farm workers in their homes, often working in the fields with their students by day and teaching them by lantern-light at night.

The literacy campaign operated on two basic premises: 1) If illiterates are to be found among the people, so are those who can teach literacy, and 2) Those who know more must teach those who know less. One hundred thousand of the literacy "brigadistas" were student volunteers, almost all between the ages of ten and nineteen. These youth were joined by 178,000 adult literacy workers and 30,000 factory workers who volunteered to help in the campaign.

In January, 1961, Castro announced that all high schools would close on April 15 and that literacy volunteers would be taken from those who had completed a sixth grade education or better. Student volunteers generally came from more comfortable urban backgrounds. Each literacy worker was equipped with two books, a pair of boots, two pairs of socks, an olive-green beret, two pairs of pants, two shirts, a shoulder patch worn as a reminder of a literacy worker who had been slain by counter-revolutionaries, and a blanket to sleep on. A modern gas lantern was issued to each worker to facilitate night classes. By the end of the summer in 1961, an army of 268,420 literacy workers had begun work, but only about ten percent of those who could not read had passed their literacy test.

Disappointed by these results, the Cuban government decided to delay the opening of the new school year from September to January to allow the student volunteers to continue their work. Teachers who had refused to volunteer were assigned to literacy work from September to January. In effect, Cuba's schools remained closed for eight months in 1961. Adults who had particular trouble passing the literacy test were brought to special acceleration camps where they were taught by more experienced teachers for days at a time. Special study coaches were sent to adult learners who could not come to the camps. Once every member of a family was certified literate, that family could hang a red flag above the doorway to their house. Once all the houses in a town were certified, the town itself could raise a larger red flag, to signify that it was free of illiteracy. The first town to raise such a flag was Melena del Sur on November 5, 1961.

On December 22, 1961, at a mass rally in Havana's Plaza de la Revolution, Fidel Castro declared the entire island of Cuba a Territory Free of Illiteracy. The one-year campaign helped 707,212 Cubans become literate. Even the harshest critics of Castro and communism admitted that an exceptional educational feat had occurred in Cuba.

# China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

by Kerry Schaefer and Lisa Torre

The Chinese Communist Revolution in the twentieth century raises important questions about the ability of revolutions to transform people and society and remains an historically controversial topic. The military success of the Chinese communists in 1949 could not ensure a more responsive or democratic government and economic and social equality. In the 1950s (One Hundred Flowers) and the 1960s (Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution), Mao Zedong and his supporters in the Chinese Communist Party launched mass campaigns to revive the public's commitment to communist ideas and values and to weaken the grip of the traditional bureaucracy over the Chinese government. In recent years, as pro-capitalist leaders have cemented control over China, the Cultural Revolution has been sharply criticized for its supposed excesses and its attack on elitism and individualism.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution during 1966 and 1976 was unprecedented in any Communist country. Mao mobilized youth with no previous experience with revolutionary ideas and no personal knowledge of pre-Revolutionary conditions. Through membership in groups such as the Red Guard and participation in political struggle, they learned that they could affect change in society. They have been accused, however, of terrifying innocent people who were unfairly labeled enemies of the revolution and publicly confronted and humiliated.

The slogans of Cultural Revolution were first by Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, an ally of Mao. In a report to the National People's Congress in 1964, Zhou argued that between 1959 and 1961, "the class enemy reared his head" and promoted pro-capitalist programs in China and the abandonment of the international struggle against imperialism. Zhou called for a "radical transformation of any ideology, bourgeois, feudal, or other, which is not consistent with the economic base and the Socialist political system." He declared that "our aim is to abolish the bourgeoisie and capitalism once and for all by class struggle." Chou's position was supported by Mao Zedong in a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee in September, 1965.

On April 18, 1966, an editorial in the *Liberation Army Daily* newspaper issued a call for a new movement to revive communism in China. Zhou Enlai echoes this position in a statement on April 30, 1966 calling for a protracted struggle to wipe out "bourgeois ideology in the academic, educational, and journalistic fields, in art, literature, and all other fields of culture." Activity by the Red Guard, the revolutionary movement of communist youth that played a major role in pressing the reform movement forward, was first reported in Beijing secondary schools in spring, 1966. On June 13, 1966, universities and schools were closed indefinitely to enable students the freedom to participate in the Cultural Revolution. At a rally on August 18, 1966, Mao announced his support for the Red Guard movement.

During this period, the thoughts, or sayings, of chairman Mao Zedong on political struggle and the nature of communism were widely distributed in China in copies of the "Little Red Book." His ideas also appeared on wall posters and were chanted at political rallies. One of Mao's better known "thoughts" was, "Without destruction there can be no construction; without blockage there can be no flow; without stoppage there can be no movement."

Constant protests and the denunciation of government and factory officials led to serious dislocations in Chinese society and by February, 1967 the political tide had turned against demonstrators. On February 7, the Communist Party ordered Red Guard members who were travelling around the country in itinerant political bands to return home. An editorial in *Red Flag* on February 23, 1967 charged that demonstrators were mistakenly attacking all those in authority without exception. Primary schools were reopened on February 13, 1967 and secondary schools March 1, 1967. Order was restored in many cities in February and March, 1967 by the military.

Eventually the excesses of the Cultural Revolution were blamed on a few misguided leaders. In October 1968, Liu Shao-chi was expelled from the Communist Party, symbolizing the end of active political turmoil. Following the death of Mao Zedong in September 9, 1976, his wife, Jiang Qing, and three other prominent leaders, were arrested and tried. The "Gang of Four" was convicted of "anti-party" activities and imprisoned.

Today, critics of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution contend that it was a time of chaos and injustice. However, it was also a period of mass public participation in shaping government policy and social conditions. As students examine the Timeline and Documents A – F and answer the questions on the activity sheets, they need to consider whether mass movements such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China are forces for democratic social change.



## Timeline of the Cultural Revolution in China, 1964-1978

**Activity:** Examine the “Timeline of the Cultural Revolution in China.”

1. In your view, when does the Cultural Revolution actually begin and end? Explain.
2. Why do Mao and the Red Guard campaign against the “Four Olds” (ideas, culture, customs and habits)?
3. Use the timeline as “notes” to write a narrative history of the Cultural Revolution in China.

December, 1964. Prime Minister Zhou Enlai first uses the phrase Cultural Revolution in a report to the National People’s Congress.

September, 1965. Communist Party chairman Mao Zedong supports idea of a “Cultural Revolution” at a party Central Committee. Lin Biao urges students to return to the basic principles of the revolutionary movement ,and youth are encouraged to openly criticize revisionists within the Chinese Communist Party.

April 18, 1966. An editorial in the *Liberation Army Daily* issues call for “Cultural Revolution.”

April 30, 1966. Prime Minister Zhou Enlai officially endorses “Cultural Revolution” to wipe out “bourgeois ideology in the academic, educational, and journalistic fields, in art, literature, and all other fields of culture.”

May 16, 1966. The ruling Politburo decides that the Cultural Revolution must attack bourgeois elements in the Chinese Communist Party and the government.

June, 1966. Purges began in the Communist Party, the press and universities.

June 13, 1966. Universities and schools closed indefinitely.

August 18, 1966, Mao announces support for the Red Guard or “hong wei bing,” people in their teens and 20s who supported the shake-ups within the Communist Party and China.

August, 1966. Red Guards campaign against the “Four Olds” (ideas, culture, customs and habits). Street names were changed, books were burned and temples closed. Red Guards travel around the country attacking local authorities as “capitalist roaders” and are joined by factory workers.

September, 1966. “Quotations from Chairman Mao” is published for the general public.

Fall, 1966. Schools remain closed. Youth report their teachers, leaders and parents. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, major party leaders, are purged.

February, 1967. Red Guard ordered to return home from the countryside. Schools reopen. The Army takes control over Beijing.

February 23, 1967. An editorial in *Red Flag* charges Red Guard with attacking all authority without exception.

May 17-June 16, 1967. Party Central Committee places severe limits on protests.

July, 1967. Universities reopen.

July, 1968. Mao signals an end to the extreme radical phase of the Cultural Revolution.

October, 1968. Liu Shao-chi, an opponent of Mao, is expelled from the party. Cultural Revolution is officially over.

December, 1968. Mao wants to send educated urban youth to the countryside for re-education by peasants.

April, 1969. The Chinese Communist Party convened its Ninth Party Congress. Jiang Qing (Mao’s wife) becomes a member of the governing Chinese Politburo. Lin Biao is named as Mao’s successor.

September 13, 1971. Lin Biao dies in a plane crash and is denounced as a counter-revolutionary. Zhou Enlai gradually restores orthodox economic policies and rehabilitates officials purged during the Cultural Revolution.

1973. Deng Xiaoping, who was purged in 1966, resumes post as Vice-Premier.

September 9, 1976. Mao Zedong dies.

October 6, 1976. Jiang Qing and three other Cultural Revolution leaders, the “Gang of Four,” are arrested. They are blamed for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution and sentenced to prison for “anti-party” activities.

February, 1976. With the death of Zhou Enlai, Hua Guofeng is named new chair of the Communist Party.

August, 1977. Hua Guofeng declares the Cultural Revolution officially ended with the arrest of the Gang of Four.

1978. The Communist Party repudiates the Cultural Revolution.

**Historical Context:** In the late 1970s and the 1980s, leaders of the Communist Party in China and of the Chinese government sharply criticized the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. Even though it was supported by the leadership of the Communist Party at the time and was a mass movement involving millions of people, they blamed it on one small group, the “Gang of Four.” They accused the “Gang of Four” of creating chaos in China in an effort to seize power and sentenced them to prison for “anti-party” activities. Some historians claim the denunciation of the “Gang of Four” was really an effort to rewrite what happened in the past.

**Task:** Examine Documents A – G and answer the questions that accompany each document. When you have finished, write an essay that answers the question: Should the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be remembered as an effort to build a communist society in China or as a grab for power by extremists and the “Gang of Four”?

**Note:** The English spelling of some Chinese names varies from document to document.

**A. Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on  
the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (August 1-12, 1966)**

[http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/classics/mao/cpc/cc\\_res\\_11p.html](http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/classics/mao/cpc/cc_res_11p.html)

A. To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary . . . to create public opinion, [and] to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong’s has been proved entirely correct in practice. Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic ‘authorities’ and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, art and literature and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

B. In the great proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don’t be afraid of disorder. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things. Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

C. In the great proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching. In this great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed. In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, . . . beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn . . . industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution as they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie.

**Questions:**

1. According to the Communist Party of China, what is the first task of a revolutionary movement?
2. Who will liberate the masses?
3. Why must schools be transformed?

## **B. Chinese Leaders Discuss the Cultural Revolution**

### **Mao's Letter to the Red Guards of Tsinghua University Middle School (August 1, 1966)**

Source: *Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought* (<http://www.marxist.org>)

I have received both the big-character posters which you sent on 28 July as well as the letter which you sent to me, asking for an answer. The two big-character posters which you wrote on 24 June and 4 July express your anger at, and denunciation of, all landlords, bourgeois, imperialists, revisionists, and their running dogs who exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groupings. You say it is right to rebel against reactionaries; I enthusiastically support you. . . . I want to say that I myself as well as my revolutionary comrades-in-arms all take the same attitude. No matter where they are, in Peking or anywhere in China, I will give enthusiastic support to all who take an attitude similar to yours in the Cultural Revolution movement. Another thing, while supporting you, at the same time we ask you to pay attention to uniting with all who can be united with. As for those who have committed serious mistakes, after their mistakes have been pointed out you should offer them a way out of their difficulties by giving them work to do, and enabling them to correct their mistakes and become new men. Marx said: the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind. If it cannot emancipate all mankind, then the proletariat itself will not be able to achieve final emancipation. Will comrades please pay attention to this truth too.

### **Premier Zhou Enlai's Speech at the National Day Reception (September 30, 1966)**

Source: *Forward Along the High Road of Mao Tse-tung's Thought* (<http://www.marxists.org>)

We are most happy and overjoyed to be with you at this jubilant gathering to celebrate the 17th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China amidst an upsurge of our great proletarian cultural revolution. . . . The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us that without a proletarian cultural revolution the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated . . . Our great proletarian cultural revolution has manifested infinitely great power. It has defeated the arrogance of the reactionary bourgeoisie and is cleaning up all the rubbish left over by the old society; it has broken old ideas, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, fostered new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, and vigorously promoted the revolutionization of people's minds. A high tide of enthusiastic study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works is now rising throughout the Party and the country. Over 700 million people have taken on an entirely new mental complexion. Our great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist education movement in the cities and in rural areas have given a powerful impetus to our socialist construction. Our industries have witnessed tremendous developments both in output and in quality. In agriculture, bumper harvests have been reaped in succession. The level of science and technology have been vastly raised. The strength of our national defense is steadily growing. We are now in the first year of our Third Five-Year Plan. Industrial and agricultural production targets are expected to be overfulfilled. A situation of a new all-round leap forward is emerging. . . . Our great proletarian cultural revolution is acclaimed and warmly praised by all Marxists-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world and immensely fortifies their revolutionary fighting will and confidence in victory. The handful of imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries in various countries are hurling vicious abuse at us precisely because our great cultural revolution has dug out the roots of their subversive activities and their attempts at "peaceful evolution" in China and has thus hit them where it hurts most. Their abuse only proves that we have done the right thing and serves further to expose their reactionary features, their hostility towards the Chinese people and the cause of human progress. Our great proletarian cultural revolution is a new thing without precedent in history. We hope that our foreign friends will make use of their stay in China to take a good look, and we welcome their valuable comments which will be helpful to our great cultural revolution.

#### **Questions:**

1. What is happening at the Tsinghua University Middle School?
2. What is Chairman Mao's attitude toward the Cultural Revolution?
3. Why does Premier Zhou Enlai support the Cultural Revolution?



### **C. *The New York Times* Reports on the Cultural Revolution in China**

#### **“Peking Age Teen-Agers Widen Harassment,” August 12, 1966**

“Young people in Peking’s streets publicity cut off their long hair and slashed their narrow trousers tonight. . . . they were obeying orders given by hundreds of teen-agers to give up with what the youngsters called bourgeois trends. . . . Organized into group of “Red guards for the cultural revolution,” the teen-agers pasted up countless slogans in the city. . . . Hundreds of drumming and gong-beating “Red guards” also demonstrated today in the street leading to the Soviet embassy. . . . The teen-agers invaded the streets with evident official approval. They shouted anti-Soviet slogans last night around a huge portrait of Mao Tse-Tung in the middle of the street about a mile from the Soviet embassy. . . . New notices in tailor’s shops offered speedy alteration of Western-style clothes if their wearers could not afford to replace them.”

#### **“Chou Describes Purge as a ‘Cultural Revolution,’” June 19, 1966**

“Its [cultural revolution] purpose is to prevent the restoration of capitalism and assume the victory of communism. . . . The “revolution” according to Premier Chou Enlai aims at a complete eradication of China’s past and its replacement by a new Communist way of life. . . . “We want to create and form in the ranks of the broad masses of the people the new ideas, the new culture, the new habits, and customs of the proletariat. . . . we must resolutely insist on the dictatorship of the proletariat and must wage to its conclusion the socialist revolution on the political, economic, military, ideological, and cultural fronts”. . . . Observers were astonished at the vehemence and candor with which Mr. Chou analyzed China’s troubled domestic situation in his discussions.”

#### **“University Rules Changed,” June 19, 1966**

“Communist China announced today reforms in its methods of admitting students to universities. . . . It said the goal was for the universities to absorb “more revolutionary sons of workers, peasants and soldiers.” The announcement indicated that university entrance examinations would be either abolished or completely changed. . . . The present entrance examination must be reformed thoroughly, the announcement said, adding that a definite period of time must be devoted to carrying out the cultural revolution in depth in universities and schools.”

#### **“Chinese Communists Close Peking’s City Newspaper and Purge Its Staff,” September 4, 1966**

“China’s “cultural revolution” claimed new victims today with an announcement that Peking’s local newspaper was being shut down and its staff purged. . . . Today’s announcement by the party’s Peking city committee said the newspaper was under “temporary suspension” to “allow a complete cultural revolution.” The action came in the midst of the campaign by militant Red Guard teen-agers to wipe out Western influences in Chinese culture and way of life.”

**Question:** What view of the Cultural Revolution is presented in these articles from *The New York Times*?

### **D. Red Guard Activities in Beijing**

Source: *The Cultural Revolution in China* (1967), p. 18-19

A. Both the Red Guards and members of the general public were encouraged to issue “big character posters,” bearing slogans, news, criticism, denunciations, and caricatures. . . . The fact that leading public figures were sometimes criticized and defended simultaneously on posters suggested that a genuine freedom of expression was being permitted. . . . isolated posters even appeared attacking Mao himself. . . . Marshal Lin Biao described the system as one of “extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat,” and commented that “the party is fearlessly allowing the masses to express their views, stick up posters, conduct great debates publicly, . . . and criticize and supervise the leading institutions of the party and the Government and leaders at all levels.”

B. The demonstrators forbade shopkeepers and hairdresser to sell Western-style clothes or to give Western-style haircuts; forced young people to cut their long hair and to slash their narrow trousers’ and ordered women to straighten out their permanent waves. The sale of strong drinks, tobacco, perfumes, cosmetics, and antiques was also banned, and bath houses were forbidden to give their clients massage and manicures. In bookshops political literature and fiction were replaced by collections of Mao Tse-tung’s writings, and art shops either closed or sold only pictures of Mao Tse-tung. Flower shops and a stamp shop were closed, on the ground that having flowers in the house and philately were “bourgeois” customs.

C. Posters put up by the Red Guards . . . declared that all books not in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought should be burnt; condemned taxis, private cars, and first-class railway travel as "bourgeois"; ordered passengers on pedicabs (tricycle rickshaws) to pedal themselves while the driver sat in the passenger's seat; demanded that on traffic lights red should be used for "go" and green for "stop"; and denounced young couples who sat in parks "doing things which burn the eyes" or who sat up late writing love letters.

D. Red Guards broke into private houses and threw into the streets "bourgeoisie" possessions such as jewelry and Western-style clothes and shoes. Diplomatic sources reported that a number of people had been publicly beaten with ropes, had their heads shaven, or been made to carry placards denouncing themselves. Doctors and nurses were dragged out of a hospital by a gang of adolescents and made to wear tags describing them as "reactionary scholars" or "running-dogs of the bourgeoisie."

**Questions:**

1. What are some of the democratic features of the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard?
  2. What are some of the undemocratic features of the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard?
- In your opinion, are the Red Guard primarily a force for freedom or a force that denies freedom? Explain.

**E. Communist Party Newspapers Question Excesses of the Red Guard**

Source: *The Cultural Revolution in China* (1967).

**Red Flag, February 27, 1967:** "A misconception has emerged among some people that all those in authority are no good and unreliable and should therefore without exception all be overthrown. This viewpoint is completely wrong . . . . Cadres who have committed mistakes should be given the opportunity to admit, criticize, and correct them. So long as they make a self-criticism, correct their mistakes, and come over to the side of the Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they can still be given appropriate leading posts. Many of them can even be drawn into the provisional organs of power by the proletarian revolutionaries. Even cadres who have committed very serious mistakes should be handled leniently after they are criticized" (40).

**People's Daily, June 18, 1967:** "The contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction and an antagonistic one. . . .Some comrades are actually directing the spearhead of their struggle against their own comrades-in-arms or the masses. . . . It is necessary to handle correctly the contradictions among the people, unite with all forces that can be united, and bring about a most extensive revolutionary alliance with the Left as its core" (48).

**Questions:**

1. According to *Red Flag*, what misconceptions have taken place?
2. Why is the *People's Daily* concerned that people are using popular unrest to promote their own interests?
3. In your opinion, why are these newspapers pulling back from the earlier militancy of the Cultural Revolution?

**F. A Child's Experience during the Cultural Revolution in China**

Source: Edited from "Red Azalea" by Anchee Min, *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1994  
[http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m1111/is\\_n1725\\_v288/ai\\_14765872](http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1111/is_n1725_v288/ai_14765872)

The school's party secretary, a man named Chain, was a workers' representative from the Shanghai Shipping Factory. In the first week of November 1970, he called me into his office. I was thirteen. He told me that the committee had finally rooted out a hidden class enemy, an American spy. He said, "We are going to have a meeting against her, a rally that two thousand people will attend. You will be the student representative to speak against her." I asked who it was. Wrinkling his eyebrows, the secretary said a shocking name: Autumn Leaves, my teacher.

Autumn Leaves was a thin, middle-aged woman. She loved Chinese, mathematics, and music. She never seemed to tire of teaching. When she knew that I wanted to improve my Chinese, she brought me her own books to read. She was this way with all of her students. For the next two hours, Secretary Chain worked to convince me that Autumn Leaves was a secret agent of the imperialists and was using teaching as a weapon to destroy our minds. He told me the fable of "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." He said Autumn Leaves was the wolf. He told me that Autumn Leaves's father was a Chinese-American who was still living in America. Secretary Chain said, "The capitalist sent his daughter back to China to educate our children." I told Secretary Chain that I would speak at the rally. He nodded and said, "Mao would be very proud of you."

Two strong men escorted Autumn Leaves onto the stage. Her arms were twisted behind her. Her hair had suddenly turned gray. Her face was colorless. A rectangular board reading “Down With The American Spy” hung from her neck. The crowd shouted, Confess! Confess! Autumn Leaves kept silent. When kicked hard, she said that she had nothing to confess. I stood up and felt dizzy. The crowd began clapping. The sunlight was dazzlingly bright and hurt my eyes. I moved to the front of the stage.

I told the crowd that Autumn Leaves was the wolf in sheep’s clothing. I took out the books she loaned me and showed them to the crowd. Comrades, I said, now I understand why Autumn Leaves was so kind to me. She was trying to turn me into an enemy of our country, a running dog of the imperialists! The crowd shouted, Confess! Confess! Autumn Leaves began to speak slowly to the crowd with her hoarse voice. She said that she would never want to turn any of her students into the country’s enemy. She broke into tears.

Secretary Chain took over the microphone. He ordered Autumn Leaves to shut up and accept the criticism of the revolutionary masses with a correct attitude. Autumn Leaves said that she could not accept any lies. Autumn Leaves demanded to speak to me. Secretary Chain told her to go ahead. Autumn Leaves asked if I really believed that she was an enemy of the country. My head felt like a boiling teapot. “Just be honest!” she said, her hoarse voice raised to its extreme. I turned to Secretary Chain. He was smiling scornfully. “Think about the snake,” he said.

It was a story Mao told in his book. It was about a peasant who found a frozen snake lying in his path on a snowy day. The snake had the most beautiful skin the peasant had ever seen. He felt sorry for her and decided to save her life. He picked up the snake and put her into his jacket to warm her with the heat of his body. Soon the snake woke up and felt hungry. She bit her savior. The peasant died. I turned to look at the wall-size portrait of Mao. I was reminded of my duty. I must fight against anyone who dared to oppose Mao’s teaching.

### Questions

1. What charges are being made against Autumn Leaves?
2. What role was played in this assembly by Anchee Min (the author)?
3. How does this account of the assembly present the Cultural Revolution in China?

## Two Picture Books for Teaching Global History and Geography

At some point in the last few years, you have probably received an email containing the information in *If the World Were a Village*. Making the idea of a world of 6.2 billion people more understandable, the email suggests that you think of the population of the world as a village of just 100 people. That’s one person representing 62 million people in the real world. Surprising statistics follow. This picture book takes those statistics, organizes them by category, and adds illustrations. The result is the same as the email. You and your students will be shocked by some of the data. For example, many kids in the U. S. take computers for granted, but only seven people in the global village own one. In our global village, 22 people speak a Chinese dialect, 20 earn less than a dollar a day, 17 cannot read or write, and 39 are under 19 years old. Each double-page spread relates a few consciousness-raising facts about such topics as food, water, electricity, phones, language, and religion.

*A Life Like Mine*, edited by David Smith and published by UNICEF, is a coffee-table-style book, written as part of the mission set forth by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. It profiles 18 children from all over the globe and explores what life is like for them and other young people, spanning 180 countries. Organized into four sections - Survival, Development, Protection and Participation - the beautifully designed volume contains compelling photographs, maps, graphs and children’s quotes that will make students and teachers, alike, think about the challenges of developed and developing nations.

These informative books, designed for upper elementary students, can also get your ninth graders thinking and asking questions. They are great books to use at the beginning of the year when you are introducing your study of the world. Students can update and search for other statistics, do the math to compute the real numbers, research different countries’ data, read the newspaper for other children’s stories and to find out what is being done to equalize conditions around the world – all so that they can discuss what they, themselves, can do as members of the global village. – Andrea S. Libresco

# The Poster Art of Revolutionary China

These posters are from the early 1970s, the era of the Cultural Revolution in China. They were used by the government to teach important lessons in a land where many people were not well educated. Students should examine each poster, describe what they see, and try to figure out the lesson the poster is designed to teach. Students can work individually, as a class, or in groups.

As an introduction to the activity, a class can discuss the uses of propaganda. These posters have been called propaganda because they are intended to convince people to support government actions. Students should discuss examples of propaganda by our government and identify other examples of propaganda in our society and in other countries. During the discussion, students should explain why they think their selections are examples of propaganda, whether propaganda and education are the same or different, and whether propaganda is necessarily a good or a bad thing.

Posters from the Chinese Cultural Revolution are available in Stewart E. Fraser, *100 Great Chinese Posters* (New York: Images Graphiques, 1977). It can be ordered from Poster Please, Inc., 601 W. 26th St., NY, NY, 10001 (212/787-4000). Posters are also available at <http://kaladarshan.arts.ohio-state.edu/exhib/poster/exhibintro.html>.



**Commune Fish Pond.** Fish is a diet staple of rural communities that use China's river system to create fish ponds. This painting shows the bountiful crop gathered by net from communal ponds.



**The Radiance of the Red Sun Warms Many Generations.** Well dressed and healthy children are attending a well kept school. A picture of Mao Tse-tung is on the wall behind the teacher.

## Summary Questions:

1. Based on these posters, what can we learn about the message the Chinese government is teaching its people during the Cultural Revolution?
2. In your opinion, are these posters examples of propaganda or education?

## Follow-up Projects:

3. Design and create a poster that teaches a lesson about life in your community or that teaches a lesson about an issue you think is important.
4. Select another society and era you have studied in history. Design and create a poster that rallies people to either support or challenge the government.

# U.S. Imperialism Defeats Salvador Allende and Democracy in Chile

by Charles De Jesus and John Heitner

We usually study the American, French, Haitian, Russian and Chinese Revolutions as examples of events which transformed the world. However historically, revolutions are often unsuccessful. Sometimes revolutionaries misjudge the level of their popular backing. On other occasions such as in Chile in 1970, even when there is significant mass support, national and international opposition forces are too strong.

In 1970, the people of the South American republic of Chile elected Salvador Allende Gossens president in an event that was perceived across the Third World as a major democratic and socialist revolution. Allende was a member of the Popular Unity coalition and a Marxist pledged to support the right of unions to organize, redistribute land to landless peasants and the nationalization of foreign-owned private industry, some of which were held by American companies and banks. However, Allende's election was by a narrow plurality in a multi-party race and this left his government vulnerable.

The election of Allende occurred in the middle of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Chile was seen by the U.S. as part of its traditional American sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere. This sphere of influence that had already been weakened when communists under Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba.

A study by the Central Intelligence Agency warned that Allende's election was a "definite psychological setback to the US and a definite psychological advantage for the Marxist idea" (9/7/70). Henry Kissinger, the National Security adviser to President Nixon declared, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people."

On September 11, 1973, a military coup under the leadership of Chilean General Augusto Pinochet overthrew Allende and established a military regime or *junta* in Chile. While fighting to defend his government, Allende was killed. In the weeks that followed, an estimated 3,000 supporters of Allende were either murdered or disappeared.



Salvador Allende (right) with Fidel Castro. Source: <http://canf.org>



Political cartoon mocks the idea that Pinochet and the military are bringing democracy to Chile.  
<http://www.indigenouspeople.net/>

The coup was probably orchestrated and paid for by the United States with the help of U.S. corporate interests who were afraid that Allende would nationalize foreign companies. At the end of 1968, according to Department of Commerce data, U. S. corporate holdings in Chile amounted to \$964 million and mining corporations averaged 26% profit on their invested capital. While copper companies, principally Anaconda and Kennecott, accounted for 28% of U.S. corporate holdings in Chile, ITT was the largest single corporate investor. At the time, Chilean copper accounted for 21% of the world's copper reserves and was considered of major economic and military importance. To prevent nationalization of this property, the CIA worked clandestinely against Allende in the 1958, 1964 and 1970 Presidential elections and the United States gave million of dollars to assist Allende's political rivals.

General Augusto Pinochet, with support of the United States, remained President of Chile until 1989 and commander of its armed forces until 1998. In 2004, the Chilean Supreme Court revoked Pinochet's lifetime immunity from prosecution for crimes committed during the coup and while he governed Chile, creating the possibility that he will eventually stand trial for his crimes. An open trial would also document the role of the United States government and U.S. corporations in the overthrown of an elected government in Chile.

## Salvador Allende's Last Speech to the People of Chile (September 11, 1973)

Source: <http://www.tripod.com/~Mictlantecuhtli/Allende/ultdisi.html>

### Questions:

1. Why is Salvador Allende giving this speech? To whom is he speaking?
2. What is Allende's message to the people of Chile? What is Allende's message to the people of the world?
3. In your opinion, was the overthrow of an elected Marxist government by a pro-western military legitimate? Explain.

This will surely be my last opportunity to address you. The Air Force has bombed the antennas of Radio Magallanes... I shall not resign!

Standing at a historic point, I will repay with my life the loyalty of the people. And I say to you that I am certain that the seed we have surrendered into the worthy conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans, will not be able to be reaped at one stroke. They have the power, they can make us their vassals, but not stop the social processes, neither by crime nor by force. History is ours and is made by the people. . . . In this final moment, the last in which I will be able to address myself to you, I want you to take advantage of the lesson: foreign capital, imperialism, united with reaction, created the climate for the Armed Forces to break their tradition, . . . victims of the same social sector that today will be expecting with an alien hand to reconquer the power to continue defending their profits and their privileges.

I address myself to you, above all to the modest woman of our land, to the campesina who believed in us, the mother who knew of our concern for the children. I address myself to the professionals of the Nation, to the patriotic professionals who continued working against the sedition overseen by their professional academies, classist academies that also defended the advantages of a capitalist society.

I address myself to the youth, to those who sang and who brought their happiness and their spirit to the fight. I address myself to the man of Chile, to the worker, to the campesino, to the intellectual, to those who will be persecuted, because in our country fascism has now been present for several hours; in the terrorist assassinations, blowing up the bridges, cutting the railways, destroying the oil and gas pipelines, in the face of the silence of those who had the obligation to behave. . . . I address myself to the man of Chile, to the worker, to the campesino, to the intellectual, to those who will be persecuted, because in our country fascism has now been present for several hours; in the terrorist assassinations, blowing up the bridges, cutting the railways, destroying the oil and gas pipelines, in the face of the silence of those who had the obligation to behave. . . . The people ought to defend themselves, but not sacrifice themselves. The people ought not let themselves be subdued or persecuted, but neither should they humble themselves.

Workers of my Nation, I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men will go beyond this gray and bitter moment when treason tries to impose itself upon us. Continue to know that, much sooner than later, we will reopen the great promenades down which free men pass, to construct a better society.

Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers! These are my last words and I have certainty that my sacrifice will not be in vain, I have certainty that, at the least, I will be a moral lesson to castigate felony, cowardice, and treason.



La Falsa Democracia Bajo Pinochet  
(Fake Democracy under Pinochet)

Source: <http://www.angelfire.com>

### Questions:

1. Who are the characters in this cartoon?
2. What is the message of the cartoonist?



# **“Crossing the Street with Blinders On”: A Visit to Contemporary Vietnam**

by Sherry Gibbon

There are three rules when crossing any street in Hanoi: 1. Don't be afraid to step into the fray. 2. Once you step into the street, start walking, pick a speed and stick to it. 3. Don't stop. The bicycle and motorbike traffic will go around you, but the cars won't stop. I must admit the first time I tried to cross the street, I found it very intimidating. I had been warned by a student, “Don't be afraid. Just go for it!” I found that once I looked both ways and stepped into the street, it was much easier to just look ahead and not glance at the oncoming traffic. It took a short time, a few laughs, and the applause of a few Vietnamese men watching from the sidewalk, but I did get used to it and felt quite comfortable.

I may have conquered crossing Hanoi's streets, but traveling by car or van is an entirely different issue. There still are more motorbikes and bicycles than cars, but that is shifting rapidly. On any road, the center-line seems to be optional. If you want to pass the car in front of you, blow your horn and drive in the other lane. The oncoming traffic, bicycles, motorbikes and cars, will try to go around you. This sometimes becomes more complicated when herds of cows are also walking on the highways and bridges. Somehow it seems to work. Drivers remain patient and calm without any “road rage.” Fortunately, I didn't have to drive and I could simply not look where we were going. It was much more enjoyable to look at the sights and the countryside, which was beautiful.

This past December, I was part of a team of professors from Union College and Hobart and William Smith Colleges, which traveled to Vietnam. Some of us are involved in the Bridge Project, which is a program that electronically links elementary students in Geneva, New York with college students who are spending a semester in Vietnam. These college students are responsible for developing inquiry-based lessons for the elementary students back home. The trip was designed to familiarize us with the culture and history of Vietnam so that we can better serve our students. Having been in high school and college during the United States involvement in the Vietnam War, I was very thrilled to have had the opportunity to go. However, as we approached the airfield in Hanoi, my excitement was abated and it was with mixed emotions that I arrived in Hanoi. Memories of a friend who

was killed there, a cousin who still is unable to talk about the war, and another cousin who has not been the same since his involvement in the war haunted me every step of the way.

To the Vietnamese people, the war we refer to as the “Vietnam War” is known as the “French and American War.” Most Vietnamese regard it as their war of liberation. To them it is in the past. There are some vestiges of the war that remain, but the Vietnamese do not focus upon them. The attitude of the people is to forget the past and look to the future. If they speak of the war at all, it is in passing or as an afterthought. They are too busy tending to their families, working, and making money. The country is united and progress is being made. To many Americans, especially of my generation, the war has left many scars and is far from over. The price paid was too high: lives were lost as was our faith and trust in our leaders. This is not so for most Vietnamese. They seem willing to accept the continued corruption in their government and are focused on a future which looks bright.

Hanoi was a wonderful city, full of life and energy. There were many surprises in store. I was most astonished by seeing “Merry Christmas and Happy New Year” signs on so many large and small shops. The country is over 80% Buddhist, but the people have embraced the Christmas holiday. The Vietnamese love to celebrate, and Christmas is no exception. The holiday is spent with family and without the materialism so often found in the West.



**Hanoi Street Scene**



I tasted the best ice cream there, and became “hooked” on coffee sua (Vietnamese coffee with sweetened condensed milk—don’t grimace until you have tasted it). The city was our base, and we ventured from there to the craft villages (silk, block printing and pottery). We visited many temples, spent a beautiful day on Halong Bay, flew to Hue, dined on the Perfume River, drove over the mountains to Da Nang, and ended in Hoi An.

Vietnam may be a Communist country, but capitalism is alive and well. After years of sanctions, poor economic planning and decision making, the government appears to be staying out of the way of free enterprise. Everywhere we traveled there were street vendors selling souvenirs, water, trinkets, “Tiger Balm” (a claimed cure-all for almost everything) and just about anything else a tourist might want. One common ploy I heard more than once was, “You buy from me—I will remember you forever.” They seemed to know just what to say to appeal to one’s generosity, and I must admit that it usually worked. The Vietnamese economy is growing rapidly and people are busy working and making money. We were invited by a good friend of three of the professors to have dinner with his family. Both of his sons were there, along with their wives and children. His sons were doing very well; one was working at a restaurant as a chef and the other had just opened a second motorbike shop. The latter owned a car and travels frequently to Japan and Europe on business.

The Vietnamese people are amazing. They are hard working and very friendly. It is said that Vietnamese women work very hard and Vietnamese men “network.” Our students who were in Vietnam say that this is very true. Women do all kinds of work: in the rice paddies, in silk making and dressmaking, selling in the markets and running businesses. We took a cooking class from the chef owner of the Cargo Club, a wonderful restaurant in Hoi An. We learned that the secret to Vietnamese cooking is balancing yin and yang. One should not be able to taste any single ingredient.



**Students Enjoy Recess**

What made this experience unusual was that the chef owner was a woman. She told us of her poverty growing up, and how she had to wear her parents’ old clothes to school. Now she is the successful owner of two restaurants and is opening a hotel. She has a daughter and is able to buy her many nice things, but her daughter complains all the time and is not happy. As she shared this with us, she radiated sadness. It seems the Vietnamese, too, are learning that material things don’t necessarily bring happiness.

In his book *The World Is Flat*, Thomas L. Friedman writes of the changing nature of global economics and the emergence of a strong middle class in China and India. This change will have a tremendous impact on Vietnam as well. Last week Intel announced it was opening a new plant north of Ho Chi Minh City. Globalization is having its effect and before long it will be modernized and will seem less foreign to westerners. Vietnam has already become one of the most popular tourist attractions in Asia. Along with foreigners comes their money. The blessings of prosperity will improve the standard of living for most people. However, with this increased prosperity comes the down side. Soon Vietnam will face traffic jams with cars and not bicycles, motor bikes and siclos (pedicabs). Hanoi has already begun installing more traffic lights. Starbucks and McDonalds can’t be far behind.

There is an excitement in Vietnam that you can feel. And yet, while I was there, I felt a sense of sadness. With economic growth and prosperity, something beautiful about their culture may be gone forever. I hope it is able to hold on to its innocence despite the growing materialism. Vietnam needs to be experienced before it changes too much. The United States may have fought a war with armies and weapons, but in looking at what is happening in Vietnam, it is hard to tell that we lost that war. History has shown that it is easier to conquer a nation economically than by force of arms. Some lessons we never seem to learn.

# George Orwell's *Animal Farm* Condemns Communism

by Stephanie Guidorizzi

"Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism; *Animal Farm* was the first book in which I tried, with full consciousness of what I was doing, to fuse political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole." -George Orwell

In 1917, the Bolshevik Party led by Nikoli Lenin overthrew Czar Nicholas II in Russia and the Communist Party gained control of the government. When Lenin died, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky battled to be his successor. Stalin seized power and the idealism of the Revolution turned into a totalitarian system even more terrifying than the Czarist regime.

Although he agreed with many Marxist principles, George Orwell uses his allegorical animal farm to satirize the Soviet system. Though the original intention of overthrowing Mr. Jones (the human farmer who represents the Czar), is not inherently evil in itself, Napoleon the Pig's subsequent adoption of nearly all of Mr. Jones' principles and harsh mistreatment of the animals shows that communism is but just another form of inequality. The pigs and dogs take most of the power for themselves, claiming they are the best administrators of government. Eventually power corrupts them, and they turn on their fellow animals.

In the beginning of the novel, Old Major, the oldest Berkshire boar who represents Lenin, summoned all of the animals to assemble in the barn to relay a message to them. The message was simple: all animals are equal. This philosophy was the essential principal of Animalism. Humans are evil since they are the only creatures that consume without producing.

**"Your resolution must never falter. No argument must lead you astray. Never listen when they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest. . . . we must not come to resemble him. . . . No animal must ever live in a house or sleep in a bed, or wear clothes, or drink alcohol, or smoke tobacco, or touch money, or engage in trade."**  
– Old Major

Snowball, one of the successors of Old Major, believed that industry would put the farm on the map. He devised a plan for the windmill to cut labor in half while increasing production. The animals toiled night and day to erect the windmill. It was later destroyed by Napoleon, who was enraged that it was Snowball's idea and not his. Eventually, Napoleon desired all of

the power for himself and chased Snowball off the farm, an obvious reference to Stalin forcing Trotsky into exile. Napoleon acquired complete control over animal farm and ultimately became untouchable.

**"Do not imagine, comrades, that leadership is a pleasure. On the contrary, it is a deep and heavy responsibility. No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all animals are equal. He would be only too happy to let you make your decisions for yourselves. But sometimes you might make the wrong decisions, comrades, and then where should we be?"** - Squealer

Censorship and propaganda are essential methods for manipulating the public. Squealer, a clever and persuasive speaker, represents *Pravda*, a propaganda-ridden Russian newspaper. Napoleon, the ruthless dictator of Animal Farm, had Squealer threaten the animals to sustain a sense of fear. The line often uttered by Squealer, "*You don't want Jones back, do you?*" was the most effective way to ensure obedience by the other animals.

Orwell made a profound effort to expose how "absolute power corrupts absolutely." In the final chapter, Orwell stipulates, "The creatures looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which." The irony of this novel is that the pigs were transformed into greedy and power-hungry humans, enforcing the former totalitarian government previously instituted by Mr. Jones. In the grand scheme of things, all living things compete in order to thrive according to Darwinian theory; communist ideals are unnatural and impractical.

George Orwell's satirical interpretation of the Russian Revolution helped many western intellectuals rethink their commitment to communist idealism. By the end of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, it was clear that capitalism and democracy would outlive a system of government-mandated equality.

# Metacognition in the Social Studies Classroom

by Dean Bacigalupo

Metacognition means “thinking about thinking.” Helping students reflect on the metacognitive skills needed to succeed as learners can enhance a student’s ability to construct meaning through disciplined inquiry. Learners clarify their understandings when they are able to reflect on their learning and analyze the ways they create knowledge. By introducing and reinforcing the metacognitive processes needed to analyze historical and contemporary documents, teachers can strengthen the environments in which students learn. In the end, critical thinking, increased dialogue between students, larger frames of reference, and real world connections develop as students take ownership of their own learning.

The language of thinking consists of all the words and modes of communication that refer to thinking processes and thinking products. These words describe either a kind of mental or a product of mental activity. They include words such as analyze, appreciate, assume, calculate, comprehend, conclude, confirm, contemplate, convince, corroborate, deduce, deliberate, demonstrate, deny, detect, determine, discover, discredit, dispute, elucidate, establish, estimate, explain, explore, hypothesize, infer, inspect, interpret, investigate, judge, justify, muse, observe, perceive, ponder, postulate, presume, probe, process, prove, question, reason, rebut, reflect, resolve, review, solve, speculate, suggest, suppose, surmise, theorize, think, verify, and weigh.

To inculcate a language of thinking in the classroom, I recommend using the rich language of thinking regularly in classroom discourse. This includes pointing to and discussing “thinking words” when they appear in textbooks, magazines, newspapers, speeches, posters, and other written and verbal material. In addition, teachers should encourage interaction amongst students. When students are writing, answering questions in class, or talking with you and each other, prompt them to use the language of thinking themselves.

## Encouraging Metacognition and the Language of Thinking

Normal Student-Teacher Interaction	Interaction that Encourage the Language of Thinking
<p>Teacher: Amelia Earhart disappeared somewhere over the Pacific Ocean in 1937. No remains from the plane crash have ever been found. People have said many different things about what happened to Amelia and her plane. What do you think happened? Does anyone have any ideas about why she disappeared?</p> <p>Student 1: Maybe her engine blew up.</p> <p>Teacher: That’s one idea. Any other ideas?</p> <p>Student 2: I don’t think her engine blew up. I think she just didn’t want to come home. Maybe she ran away.</p> <p>Student 1: Maybe she’s living on a desert island. Maybe she landed her plane on purpose on a nice sandy beach somewhere.</p> <p>Teacher: What makes you think she might have got lost “on purpose”?</p> <p>Student 1: It would be fun and maybe she had enemies at home.</p> <p>Teacher: Let’s ask the rest of the class; is this a good guess about what happened to Amelia Earhart?</p>	<p>Teacher: Amelia Earhart disappeared somewhere over the Pacific Ocean in 1937. No remains from a plane crash have ever been found. People have had many different theories about what happened. What is your theory? Why do you think she disappeared?</p> <p>Student 1: Maybe her engine blew up.</p> <p>Teacher: That’s one theory. Is there any evidence to support that theory?</p> <p>Student 1: They never found any remains, so when it blew up, the plane probably fell into the ocean.</p> <p>Teacher: The fact that no remnants were ever found doesn’t contradict the theory that her engine blew up. But I’m not sure it proves it. Does anyone else have another theory?</p> <p>Student 2: I don’t think her engine blew up. I think she just didn’t want to come home. Maybe she ran away.</p> <p>Teacher: Is this a theory you are suggesting?</p> <p>Student 2: I’m suggesting it, but it’s just a possibility. Maybe she’s living on a desert island. Maybe she landed her plane on purpose on a nice sandy beach somewhere so she could have a more peaceful life. She was very famous. I guess lots of reporters probably bugged her.</p> <p>Teacher: You give some interesting reasons to support this theory. Is there any evidence you know of that suggests that she did want to run away from publicity?</p>

## “The Middle Passage”: A Black History Month Activity

by Benny Brinson

This project was developed as part of a Teaching American History Grant. Grant partners included New York City Department of Education Region 5, Brooklyn Historical Society and Hofstra University. Dr. Joseph Nwabueze was the project director.

For Black History Month in February, I have students in my 7th grade United States history class at PS 178 in Brooklyn examine the “Middle Passage” ([www.juneteenth.com/\\_shiphull.htm](http://www.juneteenth.com/_shiphull.htm)) by Tom Feelings. They discuss the image and how it makes them feel.

As a follow up, I have students look at images of individual enslaved Africans and discuss what they think these people are feeling.

After discussion, students have the option of writing a fictional narrative or a poem describing how they would have felt if they were enslaved.



### Sample student work:

I was born in the year 1843 and I am seventeen years old. I belong to a master named Mr. Riley and his wife. I work in the house washing dishes and sweeping. Mrs. Riley has been teaching me to read, trying not to get caught. Mr. Riley swore if he ever saw her teaching me how to read, he would beat me. Mrs. Riley kept on slipping me books to practice my reading and writing. One day she gave me the Holy Bible. When I read it, tears came to my eyes. I believe that the first people, Adam and Eve, were Black like me. One day it happened. Master Riley caught me reading the Holy Bible. He tied up my hands and whipped me for hours. Later I got my revenge by putting poison in his food.

- Andrew Manning

Master Barkley thought I was scared of him, but I knew my chance would come. He thought he had intimidated me when he whipped me, but all he did was fire me up. That night when everyone was sleeping, I sneaked into my Master's bedroom and broke his neck. I then gathered all of the slaves on the plantation. We killed the overseer and took the weapons, horses and wagons and fought our way to freedom with the Union Army. We only killed those who tried to stop us. Once we were free we never looked back. Some of us became farmers, landowners and soldiers.

- Luis Ortega

Ms. Tubman stood outside my door singing “Swing Low Sweet Chariot.” I knew she was “coming for to carry me home.” The song was our sign to get ready for our long journey to freedom. I packed a few belongings and we ran into the woods to meet Harriet Tubman, the “Black Moses.” We traveled for weeks along the underground railroad. We moved from Virginia to Pennsylvania to New York and finally to Canada. But our problems were not over. My husband Joshua was caught by slave catchers and returned to the south. We feared he would never get a chance to see his family again. One day Ms. Tubman came through the doors of my church. She was followed by my husband. I fell to my knees and thanked the Lord and Ms. Tubman for bringing him back to me.

-Ashley Torrance

# Teaching Geography to Special Needs Students

by Casey Jakubowski

Students with special learning needs in a secondary social studies classroom face a number of challenges and demanding assignments. The social studies class brings students face to face with a broad range of new, and for many children, alien concepts. Many of the concepts have unique words and descriptions, almost like a second language. Maps and mapping skills can be overwhelming and very complicated for students. When used as a source of evaluation, such as a high stakes exam question, geography and map questions can be downright daunting.

In the New York State exams, the geography portion of social studies classes has created anxiety among students and teachers. During three successive school years, a pattern emerged among the learning disabled students at a rural New York district which indicated difficulties on regent's exam questions utilizing maps and charts. While analyzing a series of data for students in mixed classes, almost one out of three missed graphic based questions (charts, maps, diagrams). The students were learning disabled, some with 504 plans.

One of the simplest and easiest recommendations to improve learning disabled students success on exams with geography questions is faculty cooperation. Plan cross curriculum geography immersion within the school. When planning curriculum, talk to the other faculty at your school. Did you sit down with the Earth Science teacher and discuss altitude lines? Have you and the biologist examined habitat range maps? Does the English department use maps to show locations of literature? Has the math department used maps for time and distance problems? A simple lesson plan in ninth grade may utilize the "ring of fire" in Japan to teach earth science, history, math and English. Students in Earth science can locate on maps the fault lines running through the Pacific plate region. In history class, the students can look at and read descriptions of the devastation wrought by earthquakes and its effect on the technology, culture and community of Japan. English and math can include activities closely related to their academic needs.

A second way teachers can reduce stress on student geography assessment is by having students use geography skills on a daily basis. Maps, geography-based charts and documents should form the introductory basis for every cultural region. For example, the five river valley civilizations provide a great opportunity to have students look at and utilize basic map questions. Make sure maps are cleanly drawn and easy to utilize. Blurred lines are not useful to students who are already confused. Maps should be tools, not roadblocks, to student learning. Simplify. The map key should be easily readable. Extraneous material, unrelated to the lesson or assessment question, should not appear on the document. The title of the map should be relevant and important source of information for students. Use colored maps when possible.

Basic test taking techniques need to be stressed with all learners. Utilize old map questions from statewide exams to familiarize students with format and types of geography questions. Vocabulary is a key concern. Teachers must spend more time, or at least assign more homework, including geographic terms and concepts. High schools students are still confused by words like latitude and longitude. Many students cannot remember the significance of a scale on a map. Because geography relies on key terms and concepts, students who are academically weaker must be given more opportunity to learn and understand these key phrases.

Learning disabled students in secondary classrooms are exposed to a wide range of information that they find difficult to process. Teachers, special education instructors, and the state Board of Regents need to mindfully examine geography based curriculum material from the student's perspective.

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## Kermit Hall and “The Power of Comparison in Teaching Civic Literacy”

by Kate Botta-Raso & Erin Lask

Kermit Hall, who gave the keynote address for the Civics Mosaics 4th Annual Summer Institute in Washington D.C. on July 10, 2006, recently died. In his speech, Hall addressed the topic “The Power of Comparison in Teaching Civic Literacy.” As teachers we recognize the essential elements of good instruction and that we must regularly reflect to ensure that we are practicing effective strategies. Kermit Hall reminded us of this, as he modeled these best practices. The text of his remarks is available at <http://www.albany.edu/president/speeches.shtml>.

Most teachers have knowledge of the elements of good teaching: create a classroom community; define meaningful objectives and state them clearly; engage students with real-life examples to keep information relevant; have strong content-area knowledge; and allow for student participation and questions. But as teachers we are well-aware that there is sometimes a detachment between knowledge and understanding. Do these essential elements of good teaching actually form the basis of what we are doing in our social studies classrooms? Are we doing more than just teaching our students an abstract set of historical facts? William Arthur Ward wrote, “The mediocre teacher tells. The good teacher explains. The superior teacher demonstrates. The great teacher inspires.” Are we inspiring our students to be thoughtful, intelligent, civic-minded citizens?

This kind of reflection and self-assessment regarding how to teach social studies is encouraged through participation in the Civics Mosaic program. Civics Mosaic is a program for teachers who seek to introduce a conceptual and comparative political perspective in their classrooms. A series of international teacher exchanges, professional development seminars and development of a textbook and other resources will help students understand their country’s own political principles and choices by comparing and contrasting them with those of other countries. This year, Civics Mosaic fellows from the United States and Russia had the further advantage of hearing Kermit Hall speak. Although many of the teachers in attendance had heard Hall on previous occasions, this particular address exemplified his mastery both as a scholar and as a teacher.

Before he gave his address, Hall circled the room and introduced himself at every table. He asked questions, “Where are you from? What do you teach?” and was genuinely interested in the replies. In the first few minutes of his address he empowered the participants. He did not relate to the group as purely passive listeners. He recognized the audience was comprised of experienced teachers and established an atmosphere of mutual respect. Kermit Hall spoke with conviction about the important role a teacher plays in helping students understand civic mindedness. He made every effort to develop a community of learners within that conference room.

Early in his remarks Hall clearly conveyed his objective, to prove the importance of comparison in teaching civic literacy. By using quotes from noted historical figures such as H.G. Wells, Stalin, Gandhi, Bismarck and George Bernard Shaw, Hall captured the attention of every teacher in the audience. Hall spoke to the Civics Mosaic teachers with a genuine interest, a passion, and a commitment to the same topics as those gathered in Washington. Hall eloquently expressed that what civic educators are doing is not only important and valuable but necessary in this global world. As Hall spoke he modeled the comparative method to demonstrate how students can gain a better understanding of their own government through the analysis of others. He cited specific laws and provisions from the constitutions of Japan, the Philippines, Nigeria, Brazil, Canada and South Africa and urged teachers to be critical thinkers when teaching about American democracy.

Hall’s expertise in judicial scholarship was evident as he challenged teachers to think about the un-democratic nature of the U.S. Supreme Court. He emphasized the interconnectedness of today’s world by using diverse examples from literature, global history and current affairs. Hall encouraged questions and urged teachers to use the Socratic Method in the classroom to promote dialogue.

Teachers of social studies gain inspiration from many sources: from colleagues who are exceptional at what they do, from leaders such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Nelson Mandela and Aung San Sui Kyi who have accomplished amazing feats with great dignity and from our students who have overcome significant challenges. In this case, two teachers were inspired by a man who was a scholar, a university president and, above all, a teacher. Kermit Hall reminded us that teachers of democracy ought to reform themselves. We will keep his words alive as we meet our new students and strive to be the kind of teachers that inspire.



# Henry VIII Creates a New Church for England

by Stephanie Schneider

This play is designed for a unit on the Renaissance and Reformation and can be used with either a self-contained special education class or an inclusion class. Its is about why Henry VIII separated the Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church. Scenes and reading passages, other than for the narrator, are intentionally brief. Maximum student involvement is of the utmost importance. Students should make scenery and either puppets or costumes.

## Scene One

Narrator: Henry VIII became the king of England in 1509. Just eighteen at the time, he married Catherine of Aragon. Catherine of Aragon gave birth to two sons but sadly they both died. Finally she gave birth to a daughter who survived. The girl was named Mary.

Henry: I know I have been a defender of the Catholic Faith, but I have a problem.

Pope: What is your problem, Henry?

Henry: I need an annulment from Catherine of Aragon.

Pope: Why?

Henry: Catherine has only given me one child. A daughter Mary! I need a son to be the rightful heir to my throne.

Pope: My dear Henry, there is a problem. Charles the Fifth, the Holy Roman Emperor, is the nephew of Catherine. Although popes have annulled marriages before, I simply cannot grant your request.

Henry: I am not happy with your decision! I need to do something quickly! First I will stir up English feelings against the Pope and then I shall take over the church in England.

Narrator: Acting through Parliament, Henry had a series of laws passed. They took the English Church away from the Pope's control and gave power over the church to Henry. The Act of Supremacy passed in 1534 made Henry the "only supreme head on Earth of the Church of England." Henry then appointed an archbishop who annulled his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.

## Scene Two

Narrator: Anne Boleyn captivated Henry VIII and she showed a real interest in religious reformation. However, the people of England were not terribly fond of her, because Henry and Anne married before Henry's marriage to Catherine had officially been annulled.

Henry: Marriage to you is not what I expected! Where is my son?

Anne: Henry, we have a beautiful daughter named Elizabeth. She will be a great queen in the future.

Henry: A woman cannot be a good ruler! Why won't you produce me a son?

Anne: Henry, there is no need to get upset.

Henry: I'm sorry Anne, but you must go to the Tower of London.

Anne: You mean. . .

Henry: One divorce is enough. I must do what I must do.

Anne: But I have done nothing wrong!

Henry: First, I shall make serious charges against you. I will say that you have committed treason against England. You know the penalty.

Anne: Oh Henry. . .

Henry: off with your head!

Narrator: Anne Boleyn was beheaded in the Tower of London after Henry charged her and her brother with treason. A master swordsman with a sharp sword was brought in to kill Anne.

### Scene Three

Narrator: Jane Seymour first came to the court of Henry VIII as a servant to Catherine of Aragon. She later became Anne Boleyn's lady-in-waiting. She married Henry twenty-four hours after Anne's execution.

Henry: Oh what a joy this day is!

Jane: Yes, our son Edward will someday become King.

Henry: But darling, I'm afraid your health is failing.

Jane: Yes, but at least I could fulfill my duty to produce an heir for you.

Narrator: Jane Seymour died two weeks after Edward was born.

### Scene Four

Narrator: Henry did not marry Anne of Cleves for a full two years after the death of Jane Seymour. The marriage to Anne was more of a political move than a marriage of love. Anne of Cleves was from an important French family. Henry may have married her in an effort to get an ally against the Roman Catholic Church.

Henry: Why did I even marry you Anne of Cleves?

Anne: Are you trying to get out of this just because our two families are at odds?

Henry: You too domestic and care little about art and literature.

Anne: Is that why you want to get out of this marriage?

Henry: Yes.

Anne: You are insane. I will say my previous engagement was not properly broken. Give me some property and we shall call this a deal.

Henry: Good riddance!

Narrator: Anne of Cleves accepted the title of "King Sister" as well as some property in exchange for the divorce.

### Scene Five

Narrator: Kathryn Howard was Anne Boleyn's first cousin and lady-in-waiting for Anne of Cleves. She married the forty-nine year old King when she was only nineteen. Henry was fond of Kathryn and bought her lavish gifts. However, rumors of infidelity spoiled the union.

Kathryn: Henry, I am nineteen, still so young.

Henry: You betrayed me!

Kathryn: Have I not lifted your spirits?

Henry: Your infidelity is too hard to ignore.

Kathryn: What is my fate?

Henry: off with your head!!

Narrator: Kathryn Howard was executed in the Tower of London where Anne Boleyn was executed.

### Scene Six

Narrator: Henry's last wife was Katherine Parr. Katherine was twice a widow. She had a keen interest in learning and was a supporter of the Protestant Reformation. She carried for Henry as his health started to fail.

Katherine: Henry, your health is failing you.

Henry: I can only hope for a bright future for England.

Katherine: I hope I have done all I could for this royal court.

Henry: You caused religious tension, but you have been a good mother figure to Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward.

Narrator: Henry died on January 28, 1547.

### The End

## Teaching about Muslims and Islam in Secondary Social Studies

by Nadia Pervez

As a Pakistani Muslim, born and raised in the United States, I remember one particular incident that made me acutely aware of my perceived “otherness.” While teaching a tenth grade Global History class, a student asked me if I was embarrassed to be Muslim and Pakistani. When I asked why, she responded that Osama bin Laden was Muslim and probably hiding out in “my country.” She could not see or accept me as American, and she did not see bin Laden’s actions as those of an extremist. Rather, she viewed his Islam as my Islam and all Muslims as the same.

Although there are no specific studies on how students feel about Muslims, there is one that looks at the attitudes adult Americans have towards Muslims and Islam. The Council on American-Islamic Relations (<http://www.cair-net.org>) sponsored a study which collected data through 1,000 telephone interviews across the United States. The study found that 1 in 4 people held negative views of Muslims and believed statements such as “Muslims teach their children to hate,” “Muslims value life less than other people,” and “(t)he Muslim religion teaches violence and hatred.” Half of those surveyed believed that Islam encouraged the oppression of women. Only 44 percent strongly agreed that people who use Islam to justify violence are misinterpreting the religion.

Holding negative views about an ethnic or religious group can manifest itself in many ways, both subtle and overt, conscious and unconscious. In the United States a general lack of understanding and tolerance towards Islam helps explain the number of hateful acts against Muslim-Americans which have risen sharply since September 2001. According to the Council on American Islamic Relations, in 2003 reports of “harassment, violence and discriminatory treatment increased nearly 70 percent over 2002.” Hate crimes have become increasingly malicious and dangerous, ranging from the ripping off of headscarves and vandalism to arson and murder.

Misconceptions about Islam seem to permeate our government, news media and educational institutions. In June, 2003, General William Boykin, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence made several speeches to church groups in which the war on terror was described as one between Christianity and Islam. In reference to a Muslim militia leader in Somalia, Boykin said, “I knew that my God was a real God and his was an idol.”

High profile members of the media have also expressed negative attitudes about Islam and Muslims. Joy Behar, host of ABC’s “The View,” said that on an airplane “You don’t want [to be sitting next to] somebody who’s reading the Quran as you’re going down.” Talk show host Laura Schlessinger told a mother whose daughter was scheduled to take a class field trip to a local mosque, “I am horrified that you would let her go. . . What culture and what religion were all the murderers of 9/11. . . That’s the culture you want your daughter to learn about?”

Muslims and Islam have also been targets of mischaracterization at institutions of education. A California Business Management Professor at Imperial Valley College in Imperial, CA remarked to a class “the only way to end Islamic terrorism is to eliminate the Islamic religion.” In a public middle school in Tampa Florida, a substitute teacher was fired for mocking and threatening a student whose name was “Islam.”

For all of these reasons, it is essential that conversations about Islam take place in schools. Education offers a beacon of hope and is the cure for the brand of evil described in this article. Teachers need to acknowledge and address the feelings of humiliation, intimidation, alienation and anger that many students from these groups experience. They also have a special responsibility to foster tolerance and understanding toward different people, ideas, and cultures.

To effectively teach students about others in meaningful ways teachers must possess a good deal of content knowledge and integrate it into their curriculum. The social studies classroom, in particular, is an important space where dialogue can begin. It is here that teachers can create an environment that examines contemporary issues and addresses stereotypical and racist attitudes through careful selection of curricula materials, meaningful aims and open discussion. But first we must learn ourselves.

Asking students to discuss their views on Islam or Muslims or asking Muslims to discuss their experiences post 9/11 can be challenging and controversial. But research has shown that teachers who foster open dialogue and discuss controversy in their classroom are more likely to foster political tolerance amongst their students, an important goal of global citizenship.

## The Line Between Us: Teaching about the Border and Mexican Immigration

Review by Rachel Thompson

According to the Census Bureau, the United States population currently includes 14.3 million Latinos. The largest group is of Mexican heritage. On May 1, 2006 hundreds of thousands of these Latino's marched in cities across the United States chanting "Si, se puede!" and "Today we March, Tomorrow we Vote!" The protest was organized in response to recent Congressional proposals that would make illegal immigration a felony, add a guest worker program, and deny automatic amnesty for illegal immigrants already in the United States. It is critical that our students understand the implications of these proposals. Our students must come to understand not only the causes and effects of Mexican migration, but also the connections between policy and the social, political and economic lives of Mexicans both in the United States and in Mexico. *The Line Between Us: Teaching About the Border and Mexican Immigration* 2006, by Bill Bigelow, a Rethinking Schools publication, is a teacher resource that will help teachers do just that (available from <http://www.rethinkingschools.org>).

Bigelow developed this book after a trip to Mexico to explore life in Tijuana as part of a collaboration between *Rethinking Schools* and Global Exchange, an international human rights organization. His goal is to encourage students to make connections between their lives and the lives of Mexican immigrants and to breakdown the "Us" and "Them" mindset. Bigelow asks questions that lead students to look at the connections between historical events and the present, between trade and immigration, and international policies and the daily lives of people. The guide's opening chapter begins with a narrative overview of his experiences using the material in his own classroom.

The first section of the curriculum guide is an examination of borders in general with a focus the history of the US – Mexican border and personal stories from people who have crossed the border. The unit continues with an in depth look at the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, and its impact on Mexico, its people, and economy. To complete the unit, students take part in a series of collaborative and individual culminating activities where they voice opinions and demonstrate factual knowledge about Mexican immigration. Sections 2 – 5 of the guide include lesson plans, readings, ideas for additional projects and activities, role-play scenarios, Q & A sheets, maps, political cartoons, poems, primary source documents, charts, graphs, personal stories and even an economic game. Bigelow's use of photographs, vignettes, poems and political cartoons evokes strong feelings in the students that build empathy for migrants. Section 6, Resources, includes additional teaching ideas such as a textbook critique, connections between this curriculum and pieces in *Rethinking Globalization*, as well as a list of additional books, curricula, videos, organizations, websites and journals which can provide further information.

This curriculum can be used in a number of ways in the classroom. While Bigelow intended this to be a four week unit, he ended up spending six weeks on it. We all feel the pressure of the passing school year and, while six weeks may be too long for many of us to spend on this, the documents and lessons can stand alone. Also, while the content is geared toward an advanced level high school class, the concepts can be taught to other students. A middle school class can examine how economic policies impact a wide range of people. An elementary class, especially fifth grade, can explore the concept of borders, their role and impact on people and places.

Some of the questions that arise in this unit that can be used to explore any migrant group are:

1. How have specific historical, social, economic and political policies caused immigration?
2. What are borders and how are they formed?
3. Who are the people who control our land and why?
4. Who lives in the U.S. today? Who lived here in the past? Why did people move? What caused the shift?
5. How has immigration influenced the country people migrated to as well as the country and people left behind?
6. What are the specific social, economic and political policies that lead to immigration?
7. How do the experiences of different immigrant groups today compare? How can we explain the differences?

Bigelow is forthright in presenting the curriculum as a work in progress. He is still developing lessons on United States immigration policy and wants to include more activities that will encourage students to take an active role in the immigration debate. I like the emphasis he places on understanding the history of the border. Our

students often have no idea of how borders are formed and decided. Bigelow makes it a point for students to recognize that “borders were not decided by some border deity” (p. 13). Students are given the opportunity to express their opinions about what a border is and what they think it should do. They discuss the differences between natural borders and boundaries as compared to man-made borders. The lesson serves as a stepping stone to discuss questions such as what happens when people and cultures overlap? Should borders that are decided by war be considered fair and legal borders? What happens when a man-made border interrupts the ability people to gain access to the coast or to fresh water?

While overall I found this guide to be very useful, there are some areas where I think it is lacking. Aside from the list of web resources in Section 6, there is little reference to the use of technology in the classroom either as a tool for teaching and learning or as a student resource. There is not enough discussion about those I call the “forgotten immigrants” and the work they do around us every day. These are the bus boys, the dishwashers, the cleaning ladies, and the day laborers who pass by us almost unseen in our daily lives. We pay so little attention to what they do for us that it is almost as if they do not exist. Finally, while the lessons are wonderfully relevant and full of content knowledge, they are inaccessible “as is” for students on lower reading levels without significant teacher adaptation..

I strongly recommend this book become a part of every teacher’s resource and curriculum library. Bigelow’s voice and experiences in his many trips across the border to Tijuana are carried through each of the lessons. Overall, the curriculum is thought-provoking and provocative, driven by Bigelow’s attempt to have students draw connections between their lives and those of the immigrants they are learning about. The unit provides numerous opportunities for students to voice their opinions with lessons that encourage student collaboration, critical thinking, self-reflection, group discussion and debate. Social Studies teachers can easily adapt individual lessons or the entire curriculum to meet the needs of their classroom and their students.

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## **“Vows of Separation” – The Expatriation Act of 1907**

by Susan Puglia Owens

1921 was a momentous year for twenty-one year old Mary Borelli of Mt. Vernon, New York. On June 5th she was to marry Domenick Sabatini, a handsome 26 year old Italian immigrant who had served in the United States Army. Like other women of that time period, she also looked forward to voting for the first time. Unknown to Mary, her marriage vows that June stripped her of her United States citizenship and all the privileges it brings!

How is this possible in a country that prides itself on protecting the rights of its citizens? Little known to most Americans, the Expatriation Act was passed by the 59th Congress on March 2, 1907. It stated “that any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband.”

On her wedding day, Mary not only became Domenick’s wife, but a citizen of Italy! No consideration was made for the fact that Domenick had an Honorable Discharge from the United States Army or that he had already filed a petition to be naturalized. He received his citizenship in September of 1922 – just a year after their marriage. Nothing mattered– his Honorable Discharge and service in the US Army, his formal filing of “First Papers” or the Intent to Naturalize – except the fact that he was an alien at the time of their marriage. At the time of their wedding neither Domenick nor Mary knew the impact this would have on Mary’s citizenship status.

Ethel C. Mackenzie brought a challenge to this law all the way to the Supreme Court. Ethel had married a British citizen and was now considered a subject of Great Britain. She had been denied voter registration in San Francisco, California. It was argued that the plaintiff was a citizen by fact of her birth in the United States and that sex is not involved in the question of citizenship. The Supreme Court astonishingly upheld the 1907 law. Justice McKenna delivered the opinion of the court. Husband and wife merge their identity and give dominance to the husband in marriage. The law was clear. Marriage was a choice. This put women in the position of choosing love of family or love of country!

It is ironic that this gender discrimination occurred at a time when women were beginning to gain rights. This law only applied to female citizens who married male aliens. Female aliens who married male citizens automatically became citizens. This fact was not lost on Women’s Rights advocates of the day, such as Jeanette Rankin. She led a fight to repeal this legislation. After 1922, all aliens, whether male or female had to apply individually for citizenship. The Expatriation Act was repealed. But, what of those women who had previously lost their citizenship due to marriage? One would think they would automatically be reinstated as citizens. But, logic did not prevail. These women had to apply for citizenship and move through the naturalization process. Most women were busy raising families and making ends meet. Applying, paying the fee and going to court to be questioned by a judge was an unfair choice these women had to make.

Over the years, the process became easier, but the fact remains that these women were denied their rights and caught up in the anti-immigrant sentiments of their day. Mary Borelli was unaware of her lack of citizenship until she attempted to sponsor her sister-in-law Rose for citizenship in 1940. According to family members she was visibly upset to think she was no longer a citizen and immediately began the process to become one again. The ultimate irony occurred when her husband Domenick, naturalized in 1922 and the “cause “ of her expatriation , was one of the sponsors that signed her petition to naturalize!

Today, this part of our history seems to have been forgotten. Few have ever heard of this happening to American women of the early twentieth century. As a teacher and historian I have become fascinated with this little known law that affected so many women. Of course, the fact that Mary was my grandmother added to my interest. In addition, my paternal grandmother, Antoinette Mele, went through the same circumstances when she married my grandfather, Nicolo Puglia, in 1912. Family lore recalls her being called a “woman without a country.” She also had to go through the process of repatriation and even had to go before a judge and be questioned about America. She was willing to pay \$5 of the very tight family budget, with six children, to get her citizenship back! I believe their compelling stories need to be told to honor their memories and those of all the American women from 1907-1922 who lost their citizenship for the love of a good man.



# La Sabranenque – Life and Work in Medieval France

by Alan & Judith Y. Singer

Imagine spending your summer vacation as a volunteer apprentice stone mason restoring a castle and chapel in southern France. What better way is there to learn about the interaction of history, geography, technology, religion, culture and social class than by using medieval construction techniques and materials to repair a ruined defense fortification or a toppled building? In August 2006, we spent two week as part of the La Sabranenque historical restoration team in Saint Victor la Coste, France in the Province of Langedoc. La Sabranenque staff picked us up in Avignon, two and a half hours from Paris on the TGV high speed train.

In the mornings, volunteers and staff worked a two-to-three hour shift at nearby Castle Giçon, located in the middle of a vineyard. Our team included two master stonemasons and about twenty-five volunteers and other staff. People worked at their own pace and to the capacity of their own physical ability. We repaired an entry way path and roof, replaced a corner stone, and built a new terrace wall to protect the chapel from erosion. We gathered and sorted rocks for use as corners, on the sides and for the interior of the walls. We mixed mortar, cleaned and leveled surfaces, and built the walls. After lunch, work was optional, but if you chose to continue, you had an opportunity to work more closely with the master stonemasons.

La Sabranenque emphasizes use of traditional techniques and materials rather than exact replication. One of the things we learned was that exact replication is virtually impossible as the rocks were continuing reused throughout the centuries and the castles, towns and walls were repeatedly modified.

Some things you ought to know about La Sabranenque if you are considering this adventurous educational experience.



**Volunteers rebuild a terrace at Castle Giçon.**

- La Sabranenque is not for everyone. Terrain is hilly with rocky paths and there is heavy lifting. Participation requires basic physical fitness, but no special work skills. You learn by doing.
- Saint Victor la Coste is relatively isolated with no regional bus service. Wineries and a small town square are within walking distance. Taxi service is available.
- Most of volunteers were college architecture and language students. There were also some retirees.
- Conversations switched back and forth between English and French with a smattering of Italian, Spanish and Dutch. Monolingual Americans had no trouble communicating with other volunteers and staff.
- Accommodations are rustic but comfortable with shared bathrooms. The regional food is excellent, especially the fresh picked produce and local red wine. The cost for a two week session was under \$750 per person.
- The Rhone River valley has beautiful landscapes and picturesque towns and castles. There are plenty of site-seeing opportunities in Avignon , the 14th century home of the Roman Catholic Church, and Arles, a medieval town with and Roman ruins and a Saturday farmer's market.

To learn more about La Sabranenque, visit their website, <http://www.sabranenque.com>. *Social Science Docket* welcomes articles describing summer and staff development programs. Email submissions to [catajs@hofstra.edu](mailto:catajs@hofstra.edu).

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