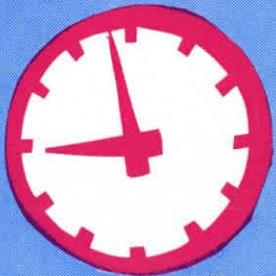




# UNDERHANDS



## History of the USA

BY NICK THORKEKELSON + JIM O'BRIEN



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HI,  
KIDS.

LOTS OF  
PEOPLE ASK ME,  
WHAT'S SO HIP  
ABOUT THE HORSE'S  
MOUTH? WELL!

SUPPORTING WESTERN  
CIVILIZATION ON YOUR BACK  
FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES AT  
A STRETCH GIVES YOU AN  
INTERESTING PERSPECTIVE  
ON THINGS.

ONE THING  
YOU NOTICE IS  
HOW SOME CREATURES  
DO ALL THE WORK  
WHILE SOME OTHER  
CREATURES TAKE  
ALL THE GOODS  
+ ALL THE  
CREDIT.

TAKING CREDIT  
FOR SOMEBODY ELSE'S  
WORK IS USUALLY  
CALLED "HISTORY."

THIS HERE IS AN  
UNDERHANDED HISTORY  
BECAUSE WE LET  
PROFESSOR DIVINE  
SAY HIS PIECE BUT THEN  
WE TRY TO SET THE  
RECORD STRAIGHT.

#72363



**IN THE BEGINNING COLUMBUS DISCOVERED AMERICA.**

**money money**

**I'VE JUST DISCOVERED AMERICA!**

**WHY DIDN'T WE DISCOVER IT?**



Columbus's voyage was part of Stage One of European domination over the rest of the world. In this stage (the 15th and 16th centuries) the European kings and merchants wanted gold and silver. They tried to get it mainly in India and the Far East, by forcing the merchants there to turn over a large share of their profits. Because Europe had better guns and ships, it was able to get its way.

**LET'S GET OUT THERE AND MURDER 'EM!**

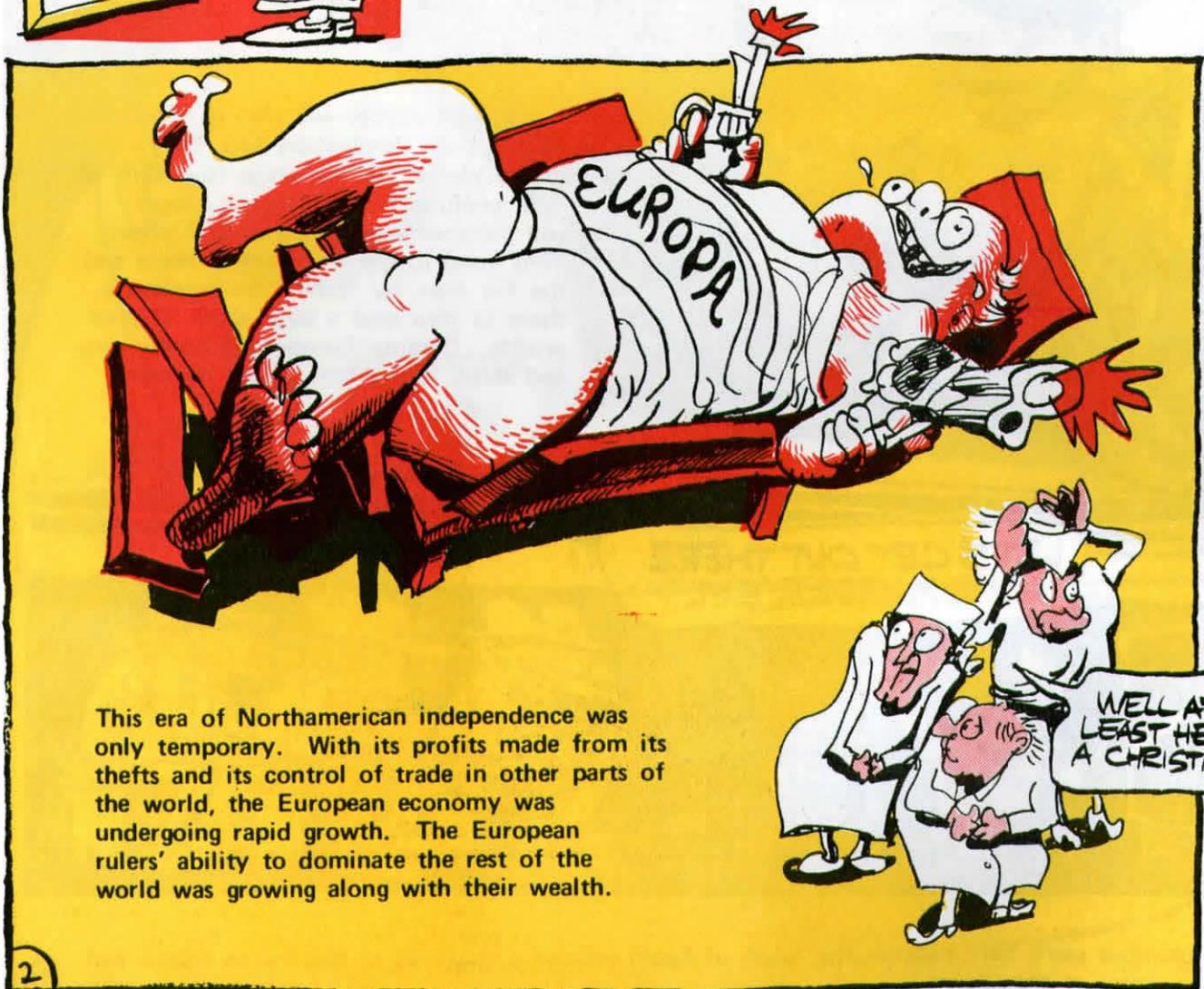


Columbus came here because the rulers of Spain wanted a short-cut to the Indian Ocean and the riches of the Orient.

In South America during the century after Columbus, the Aztec and Inca civilizations were robbed and destroyed because they had gold and silver which the European kings wanted. These were the first Americans to discover Europe.

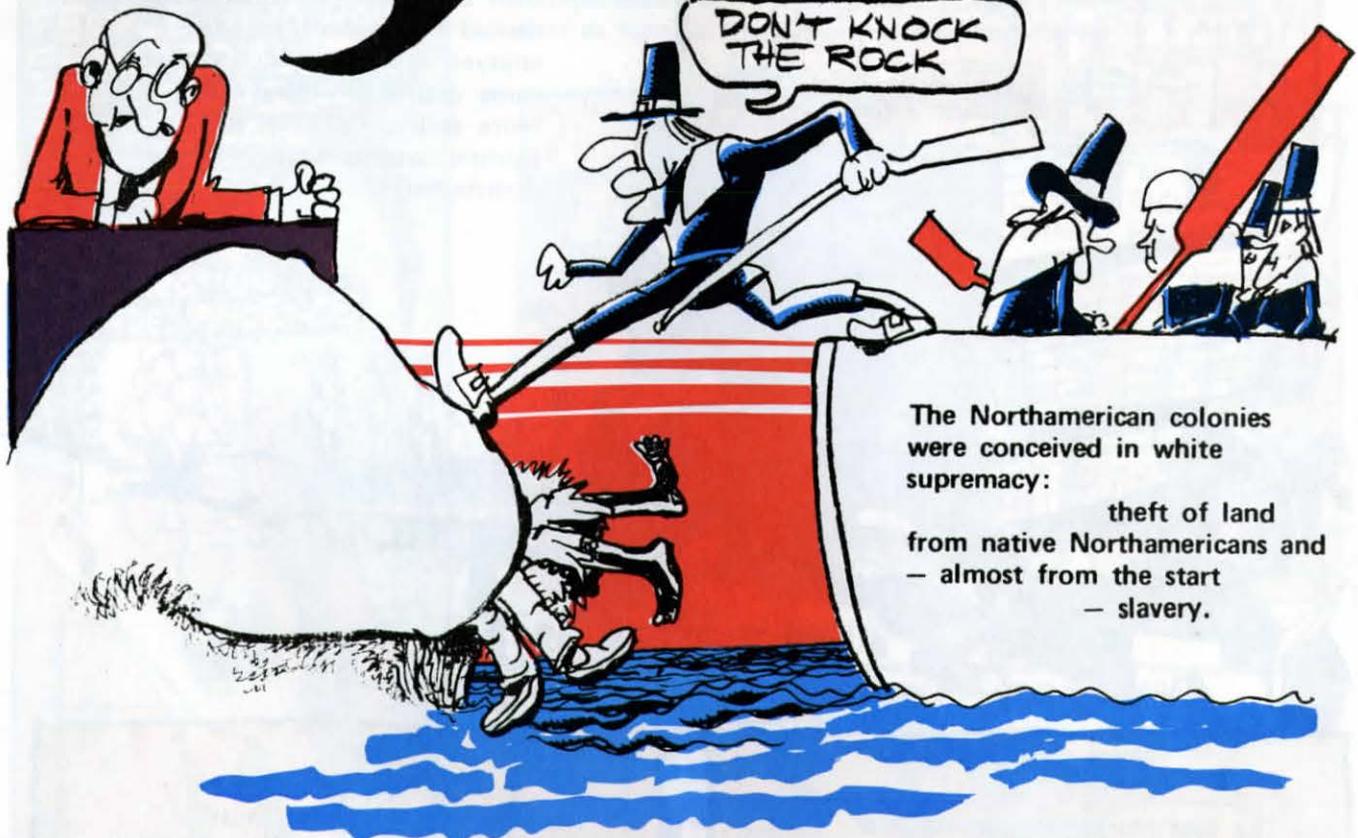


The Indians who occupied North America lived, in general, in harmony with nature. In thousands of years they had done scarcely any damage to the land or its wildlife. They also had communal ideas about the land – it was to be used by everybody, owned by nobody.



This era of Northamerican independence was only temporary. With its profits made from its thefts and its control of trade in other parts of the world, the European economy was undergoing rapid growth. The European rulers' ability to dominate the rest of the world was growing along with their wealth.

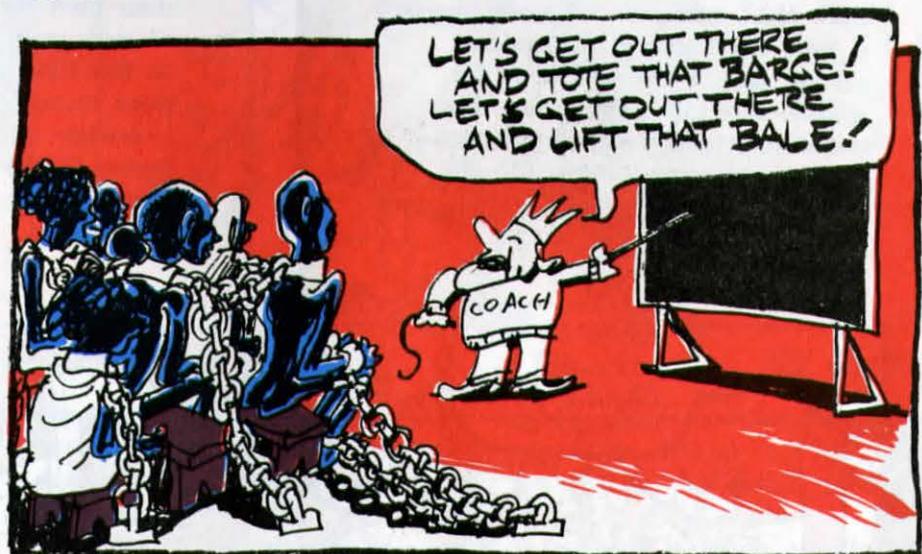
THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY COLONIZATION OF THE ATLANTIC COAST BY ENGLAND WAS CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY—ABOVE ALL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR EUROPEANS PERSECUTED BY THE INTOLERANCE OF THE OLD WORLD.



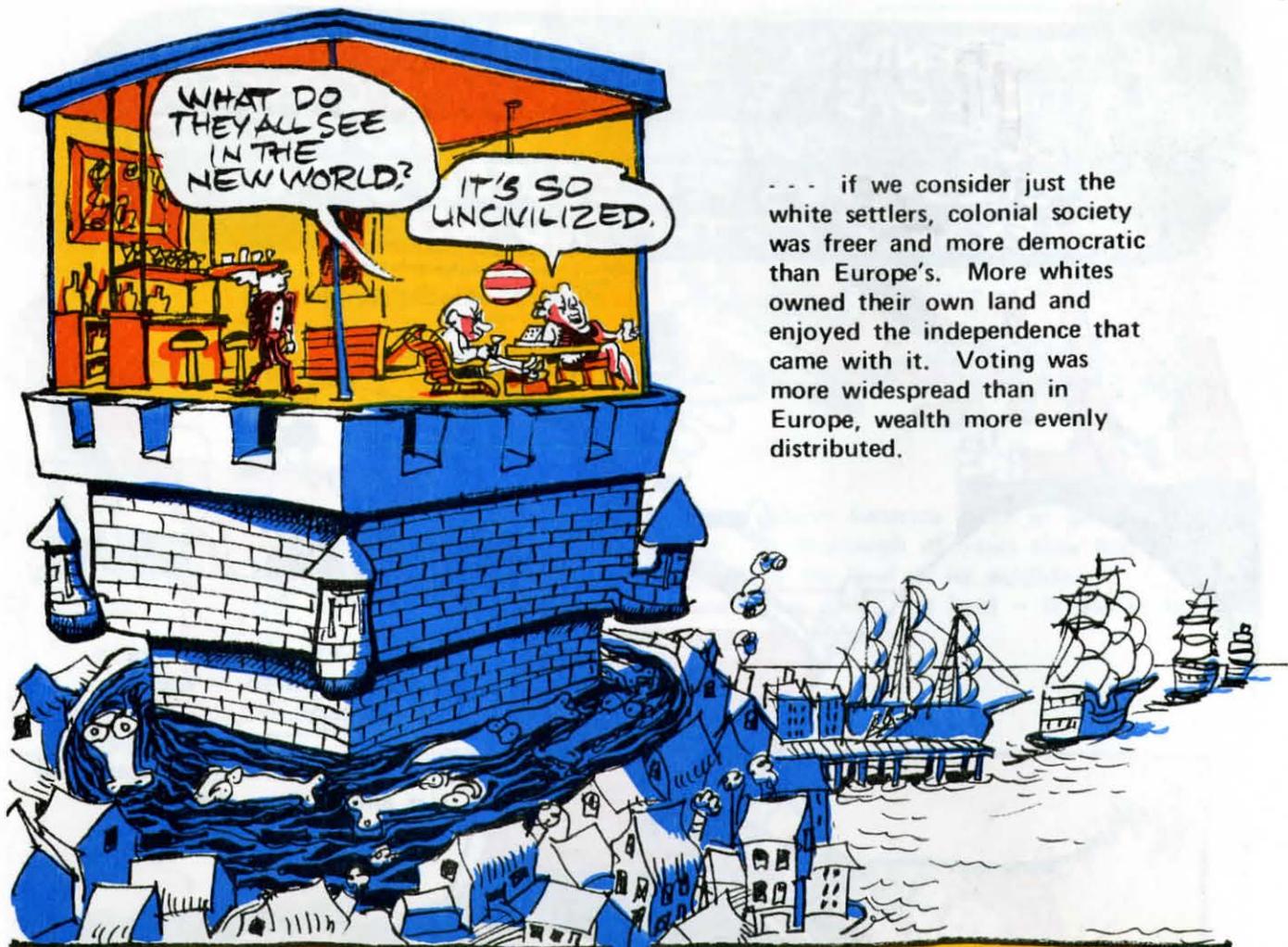
The Northamerican colonies were conceived in white supremacy:

- theft of land from native Northamericans and
- almost from the start — slavery.

This was Phase II of European imperialism, in which the European rulers used their ships and guns to bring tens of millions of West Africans to work as slaves on sugar, rice, and tobacco plantations in the New World. The European upper class continued to get richer and richer at the expense of the rest of the world.



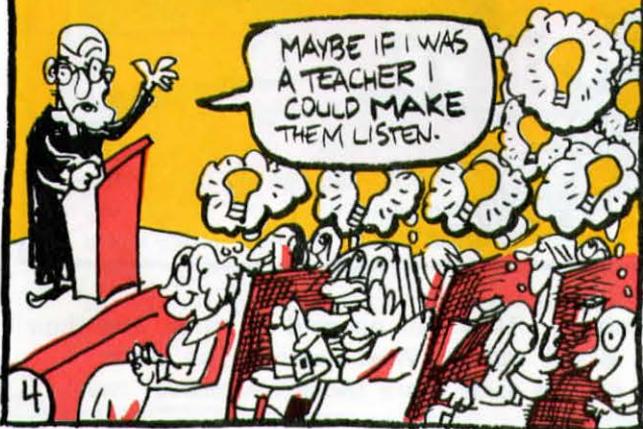
During all this, the Northamerican colonies were a sideshow. They had no gold or silver, and their plantations were much less profitable than the ones in Brazil and the West Indies. The white settlers were left to fend for themselves and they just pushed aside more Indians whenever they wanted more land.



... if we consider just the white settlers, colonial society was freer and more democratic than Europe's. More whites owned their own land and enjoyed the independence that came with it. Voting was more widespread than in Europe, wealth more evenly distributed.

The first Northamerican colonies were NOT based on religious liberty — only the Quakers and a few smaller groups believed in it for anyone but themselves. But the social structure was so loose that freedom of thought established itself anyway.

Families not only grew most of their own food but also made most of their own clothes, furniture, etc. In this kind of economy women were recognized as being just as important as men. They had more power in the family than they were to have later.



# QUIZ TIME: What's a Revolution?

REVOLUTION IS THE LAST RECOURSE OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE ENDURED ALL THE SUFFERING A PEOPLE CAN ENDURE.

CHECK THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



It's not so much the suffering that provokes a war of independence as it is the DEPENDENCE, and the knowledge that as long as the dependence continues - - -



- - - suffering can't be far behind.



What the British government did wasn't really too awful by today's standards. Up to the 1760s Britain had pretty much left the Northamerican colonies alone, and the settlers had gotten used to the idea that the wealth they got out of the New World was theirs to use as they would. But wars, mismanagement, and greediness led British officials to try to squeeze as much wealth from the colonies as they could. When Britain tried to tax the colonies and regulate the colonial merchants, revolution broke out.

**A REVOLUTION HAPPENS WHEN A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WANT A CHANGE.**

John Adams, one of the Revolution's leaders and later president, said that 1/3 of the colonists had supported it, 1/3 opposed it, and 1/3 were neutral. Without money and ships from France, the Revolution would have been in rough shape.



I'M WILLING TO DISCUSS LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF WHATCHAMACALLIT WITH ANY SINCERE CHRISTIAN...



BUT THESE BOYS AREN'T CHRISTIANS, THEY'RE FRENCH AGENTS.

**REVOLUTIONS HAVE A BAD WAY OF PROVIDING A STAGE FOR ALL SORTS OF UNDESIRABLES AND RIFFRAFF.**

Revolutions hardly ever happen without somebody out front who doesn't have much to lose.

DID YOU KNOW THAT THOSE PEOPLE THAT GOT THEMSELVES KILLED IN THE SO-CALLED BOSTON MASSACRE WERE AN URBAN MOB, THAT THEY WERE LOOKING FOR TROUBLE?



MERCHANTS AGAINST SHARING LOOT WITH THE BRITISH TREASURY

WORKERS AGAINST DYING IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

WORKERS AGAINST LOSING JOBS TO BRITISH SOLDIERS

MY GOODNESS, IT'S THE REPRESSION!

BETTER THEM THAN US, EH?

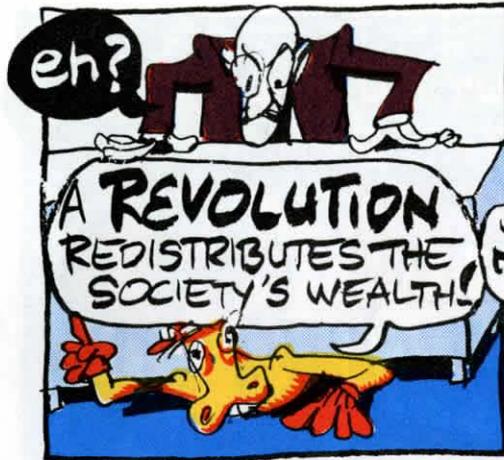
Anyway, it's undesirables like workers and farmers who wind up making the sacrifices that win revolutions (and other wars).



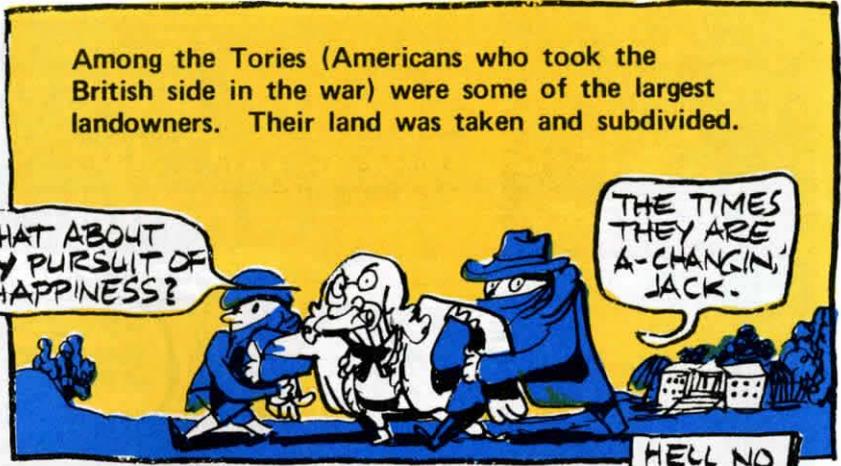
WHAT ARE THESE "CERTIFICATES" YOU PAID US WITH GENERAL? ARE WE SUPPOSED TO BELIEVE THIS IS MONEY?

NOW FELLOW PATRIOTS! THIS IS NO ORDINARY FREEZING WINTER AT VALLEY FORGE! THIS IS A FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!

FREEDOM? WELL I CAN DIG THAT...



WHAT ABOUT MY PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS?

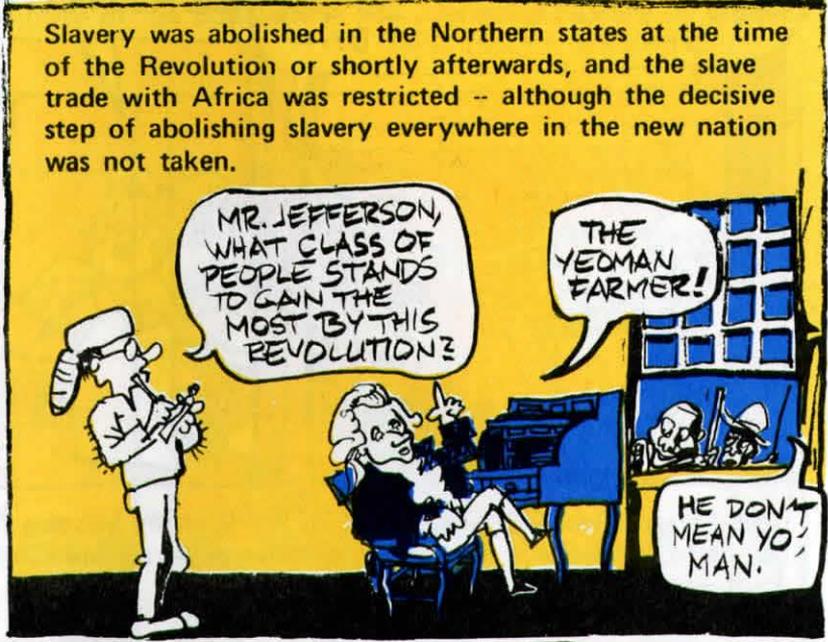
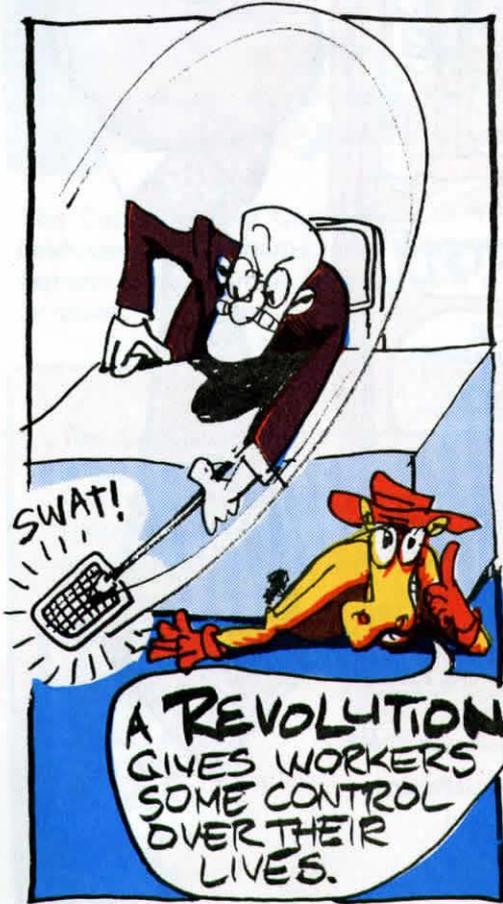


Among the Tories (Americans who took the British side in the war) were some of the largest landowners. Their land was taken and subdivided.

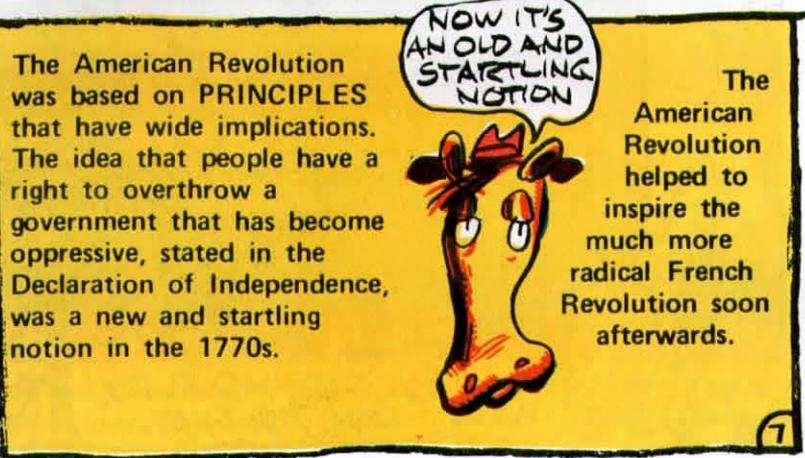
HELL NO WE WONT GO



Urban laborers could no longer be drafted into the British navy whenever a commander decided he needed more men.



Slavery was abolished in the Northern states at the time of the Revolution or shortly afterwards, and the slave trade with Africa was restricted -- although the decisive step of abolishing slavery everywhere in the new nation was not taken.

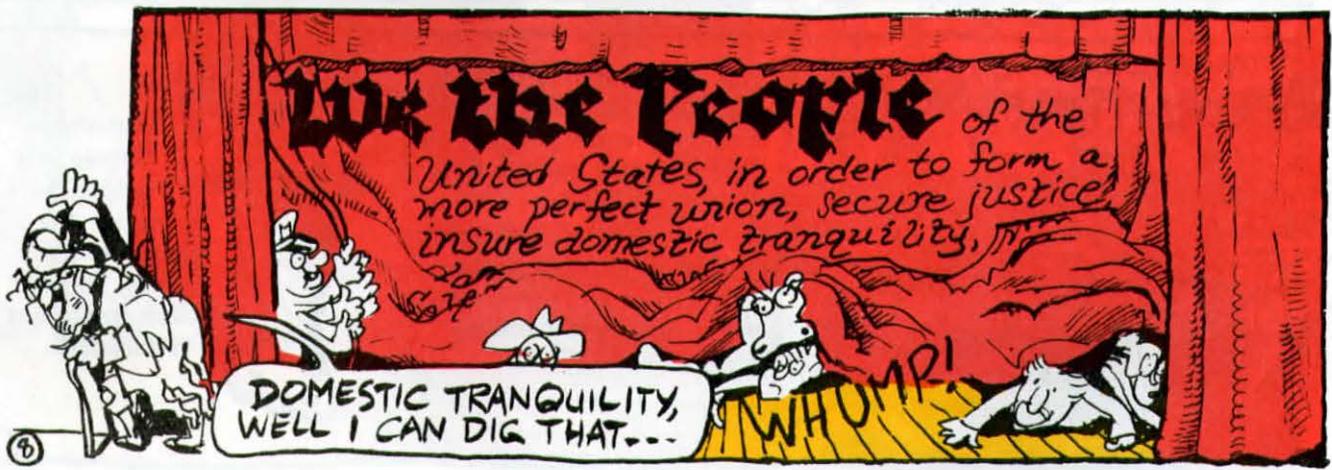


After a few years of anarchy, the people wisely adopted the Constitution, which has served us right up to the present

ANARCHIES OF 1786:



The "Shays Rebellion" succeeded in saving many western Massachusetts farms from foreclosure before it was overpowered while trying to capture guns from the armory in Springfield.





The Constitutional Convention of 1787 represented the wealthy: slaveowners from the South, landowners, merchants, and lawyers from the North. Not one of the 55 delegates was a small farmer, though small farmers were a majority of the population. Of course, there were no workers or slaves there, and no women.

The Constitution they wrote was a deal between Northern businessmen and Southern slaveowners. It established a federal government ready to support business interests by any means necessary.



It also protected slavery and gave the South extra votes in Congress (by counting 3/5 of the slaves, even though they couldn't vote, in figuring how many Congressmen each state would get).



In order to win popular approval for the new Constitution, however, its supporters had to agree to add a Bill of Rights, embodying the civil liberties which the Americans had fought for in the Revolution.



THE NEW COUNTRY WAS ONLY A FRACTION OF ITS PRESENT SIZE BUT SOON IT STARTED FILLING OUT TO ITS NATURAL BORDERS.

There was nothing natural about the expansion of the U.S. to the Pacific Ocean:

IT MAY BE REGARDED AS CERTAIN THAT NOT A FOOT OF LAND WILL EVER BE TAKEN FROM THE INDIANS WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT! THE SACREDNESS OF THEIR RIGHTS IS FELT BY ALL THINKING PERSONS IN AMERICA AS MUCH AS IN EUROPE.  
—THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1786

I THINK HE SAID, "THERE'S CERTAIN BLACKFOOT LANDS THAT WE CAN TAKE IF WE CAN FIND SOME GOOD INDIAN TO CONSENT."

LIKE HE SAID, "THEY NEED A FEW SACRED RITES TO GET THEM THINKING LIKE AN AMERICAN FROM EUROPE."



Some Indians signed treaties, hoping to use the power of the U.S.A. to bolster their position in inter-tribal disputes or in personal rivalries within tribes.



LOOK, I FOUND A GOOD INDIAN!

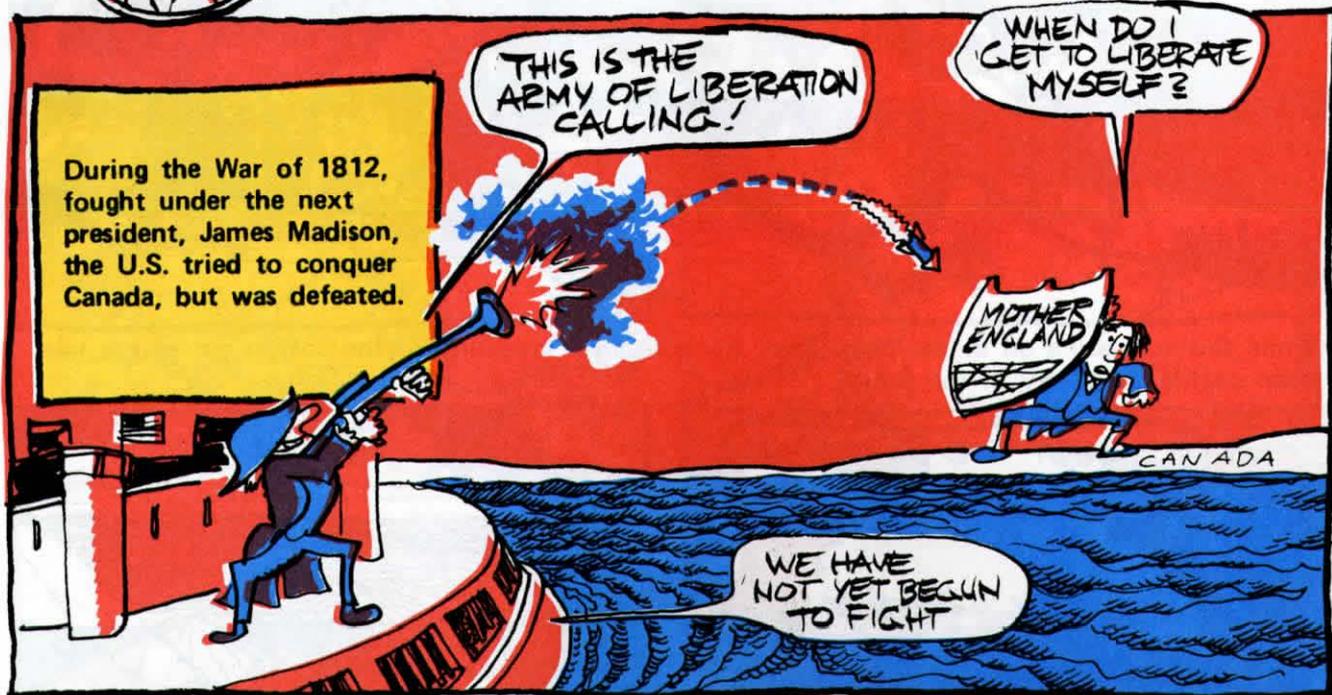
AW THE ONLY GOOD INJUN IS A DEAD INJUN.



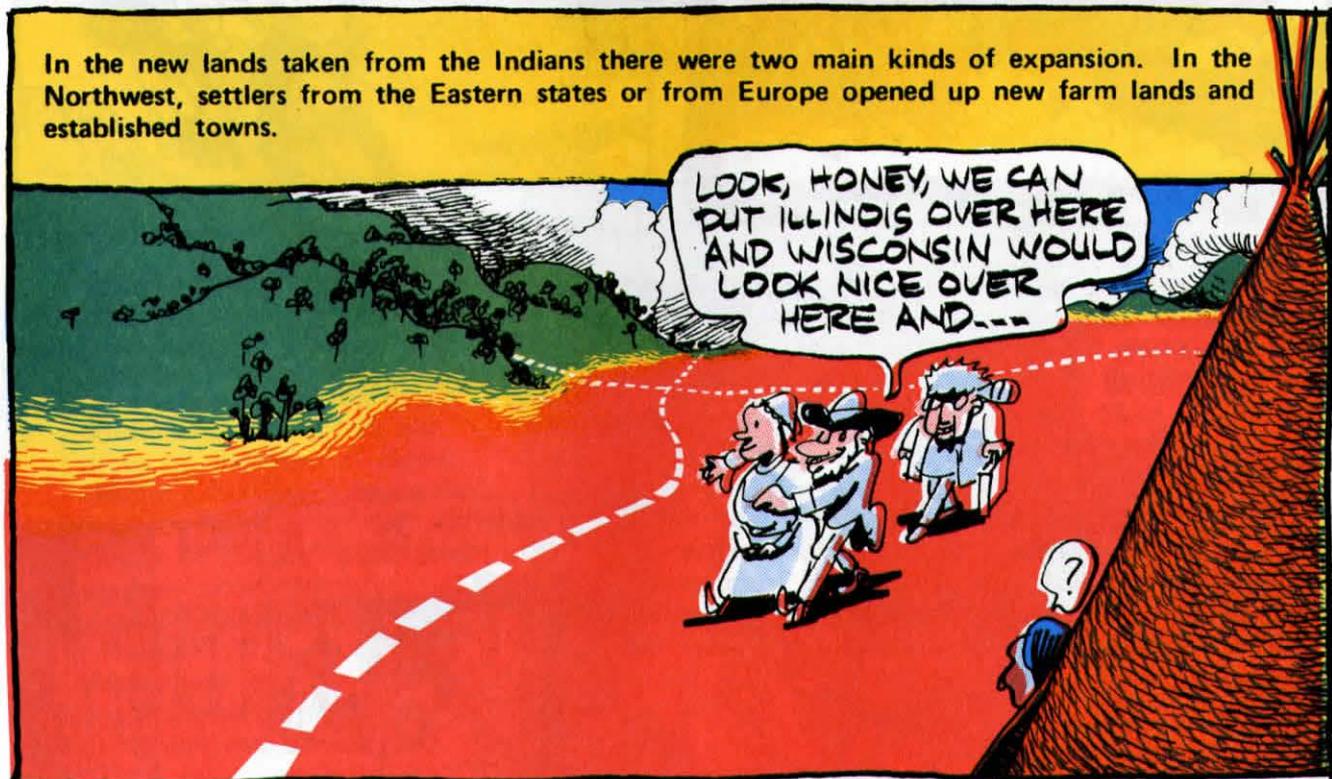
But under such determined leaders as Tecumseh and Osceola, many Indian nations united in defense of their ways of life. The superior numbers and technology of the whites proved too much for them and by 1840 all the surviving Indians east of the Mississippi had been put on reservations or removed to the West.



The first president to grab off new territory was Thomas Jefferson, who ran for office in 1800 saying the federal government had too much power already. In 1803 he bought the Louisiana Territory, not from the Indians who lived there, but from France. (France needed the money because it had just been kicked out of Haiti by black revolutionaries after a long and costly war.)



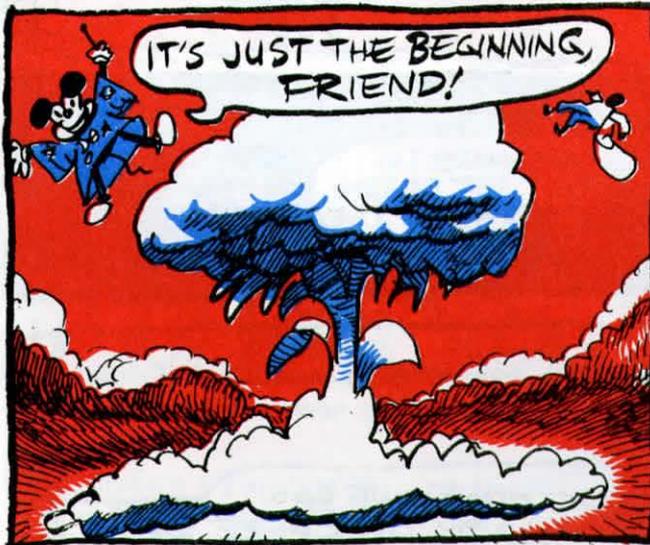
In the new lands taken from the Indians there were two main kinds of expansion. In the Northwest, settlers from the Eastern states or from Europe opened up new farm lands and established towns.



MEANWHILE...



While this was going on in the Northwest, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin gave a new lease on life to slavery in the South.



Before the cotton gin (a machine that pulls the seeds out of cotton) the only kind of cotton that could be used was grown on the coastal lowlands of Georgia and the Carolinas. Now cotton could be grown and harvested in the vast lands of the Southern back country. Plantations spread across the South to Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

Florida was not very suitable for plantations, but the Army was sent there in the 1830s to prevent the Seminole Indians, who lived there, from giving refuge to runaway slaves. Remnants of the Seminole nation held out in the swamps and could never be forced to sign a treaty.



In 1846 the U.S. provoked a war with Mexico to support the expansion of slavery. A vast new territory was added, including Texas and California (and 75,000 Mexicans who lived there).



WELL OF COURSE SLAVERY  
IN THE DEEP SOUTH WAS A  
BLOT ON THE YOUNG  
REPUBLIC'S RECORD—

Slavery was a NATIONAL system. The border states (Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky) "grew" slaves for the purpose of selling them to the deeper South, after the cotton gin drove up the price of slaves. Northern merchants benefitted as their ships carried the cotton to Europe. Northern industry benefitted from slavery because cotton was the chief U.S. product sold abroad and gave the U.S. the initial capital it needed for expansion and development.



OH ALL  
RIGHT, JUST  
THIS ONCE.

THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON SAW THE RISE OF THE COMMON MAN, WITH THE BROADENING OF THE FRANCHISE TO ALL THE PEOPLE.



It's true that the right to vote was expanded greatly for white males.



Women still couldn't vote.



The new laws made it HARDER for black men to vote in the North than it had been earlier. In the South, of course, they couldn't vote at all.

Unrestrained expansion during these decades before the Civil War did lead to the flourishing of an independent middle class (farmers and small businessmen) in the newer states of the West - - - -



**BUT**

Amidst all this talk about the common man, a new group of the extra-rich (merchants, bankers, real estate speculators) was emerging as a new aristocracy in the Northeast.

AND, AS **FOLK WISDOM** SAYS:

THE RICH GET RICHER WHILE THE POOR GET POORER!



The new wealth depended on the creation of a working class in the North. Skilled craftsmen who had been independent came under the control of merchant-capitalists.

SOME DAY, SON, THIS WILL ALL BE YOURS.

EVERY ONE OF THEM?

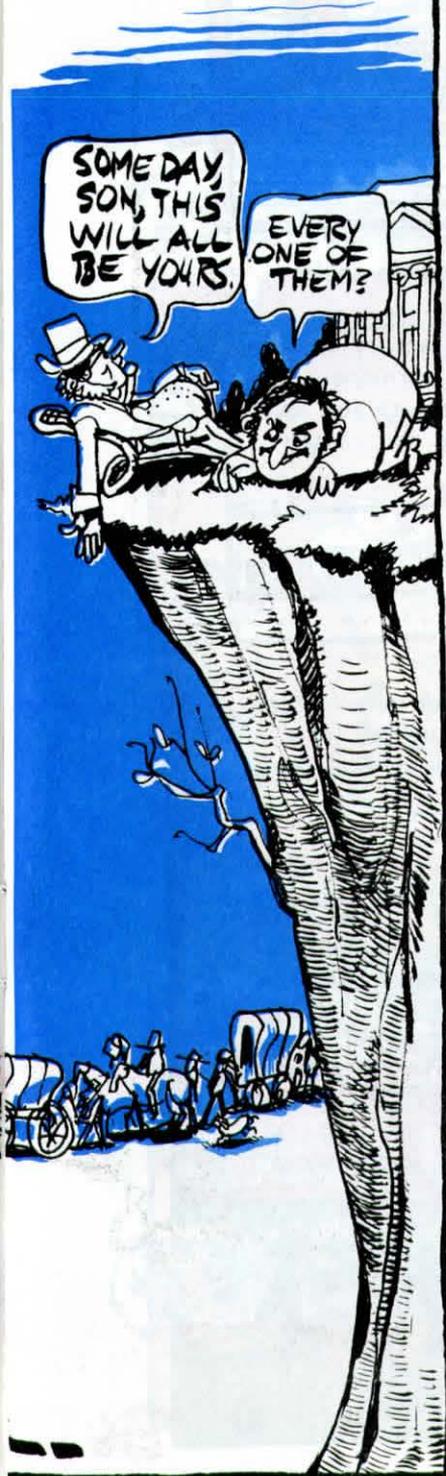
YOU MAKE A NICE GIZMO THERE, KID, AND BECAUSE I LIKE YOU SO MUCH I'LL TELL YOU WHAT I'M GONNA DO.

FIRST WE'LL GET RID OF ALL THESE UGLY TOOLS OF YOURS--

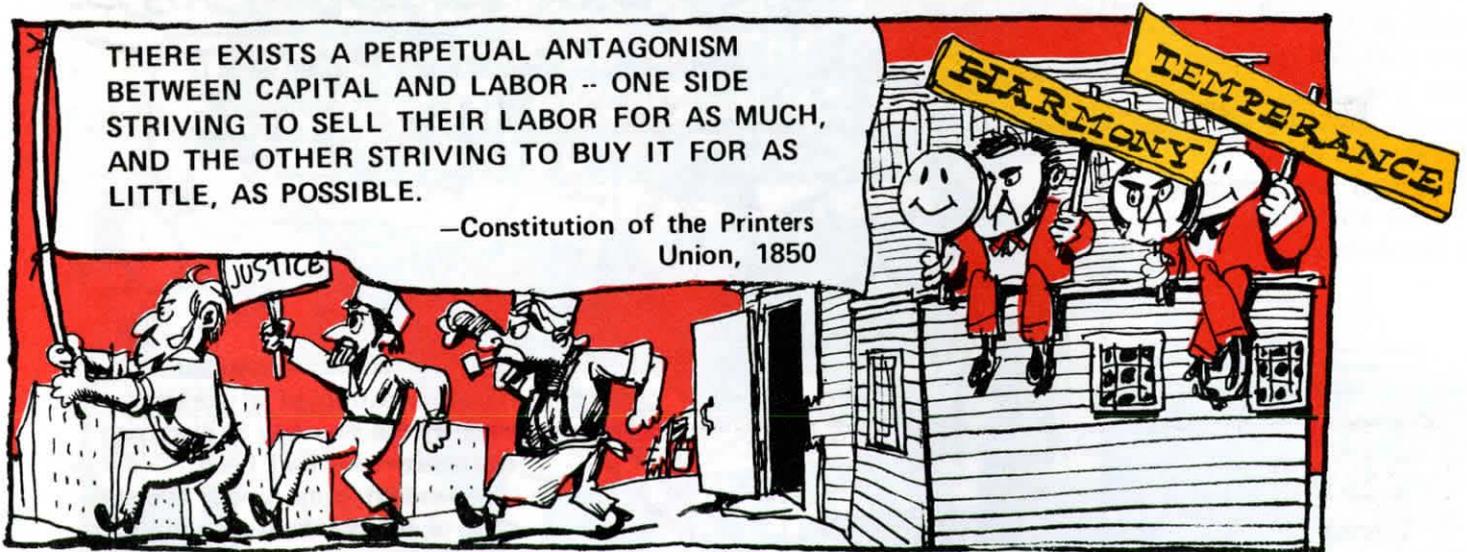
AND I'LL SET YOU UP IN MY OWN SHOP AND YOU WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT A THING--

JUST GET HERE AT SIX EVERY MORNING AND TURN OUT 20 TO 60 OF THESE THINGS EVERY DAY-- LET'S SAY 70--

AND I'LL TAKE CARE OF THE ACCOUNTING, AMORTIZATION, OVERHEAD, UH PROFITS, AND THE REST.



Workers organized trade unions to resist the worst aspects of the new wage-labor system.



These unions were too weak to survive the economic crises that shook American society periodically, like the Panic of 1837.



The worst conditions prevailed in the most advanced industries, such as textiles and later shoe-making, where the craftsmen were shoved aside completely and production was carried on by low-paid farm women and immigrants.



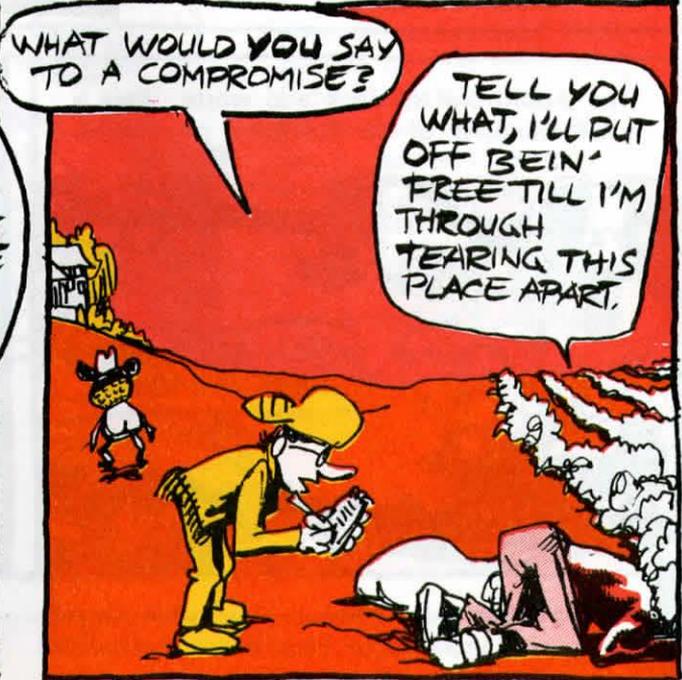
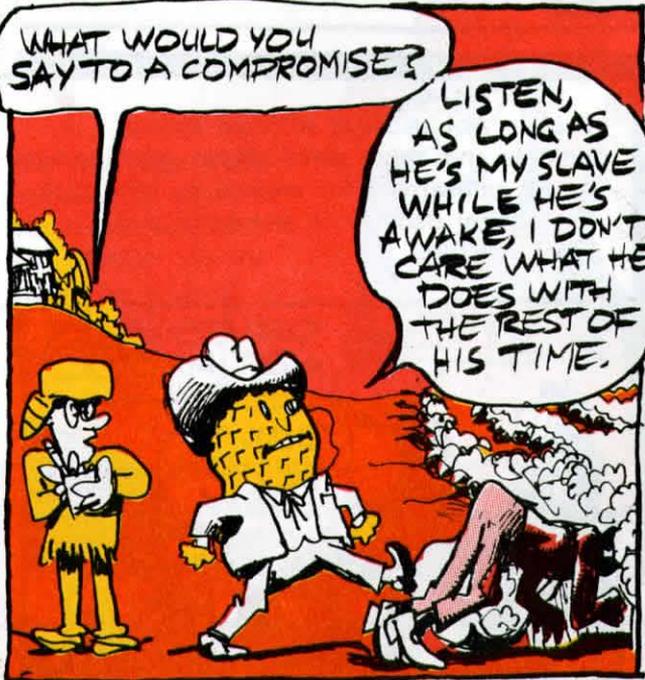
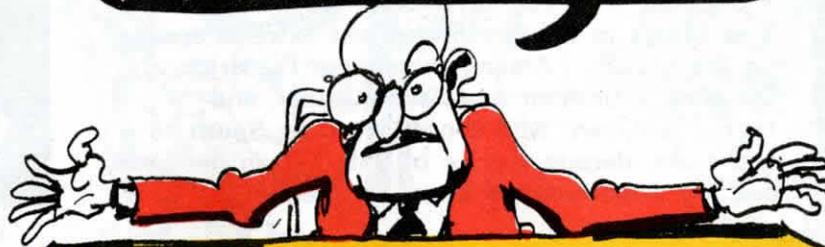
The logic of the new factory system was expressed by a factory manager in Fall River, Mass.:

I REGARD MY WORKPEOPLE AS I REGARD MY MACHINERY. SO LONG AS THEY CAN DO MY WORK FOR WHAT I CHOOSE TO PAY THEM, I KEEP THEM, GETTING OUT OF THEM ALL I CAN....WHEN MY MACHINES GET OLD + USELESS I REJECT THEM + GET NEW, AND THESE PEOPLE ARE PART OF MY MACHINES.





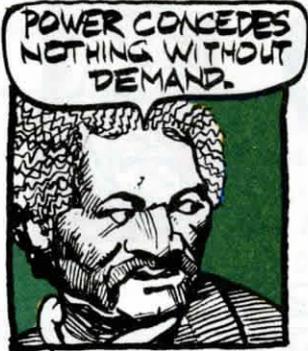
THE CIVIL WAR CAME ABOUT WHEN FANATICS ON BOTH SIDES REFUSED TO COMPROMISE.



The main "extremists" were the four million slaves who wanted slavery ended.



Slaveholders had to take elaborate precautions against escapes and revolts. The largest uprising was led by Nat Turner in southern Virginia in 1831, but there were many smaller revolts both before and after that.



DOUGLASS

Free blacks in the North also had extreme feelings on the subject. Among them were Frederick Douglass, a brilliant anti-slavery leader, and Harriet Tubman, who slipped into the South time and again, despite a price of \$20,000 on her head, and led three hundred slaves to freedom.



TUBMAN

Also among the extremists were the white people in the Abolitionist movement, including John Brown —



executed for leading a raid on the Harper's Ferry arsenal in 1859. He hoped to put guns in the hands of slaves.

The Abolitionists, black and white, were a small minority of the Northern population.



Prominent Abolitionists were often targets of mob violence in their own communities.

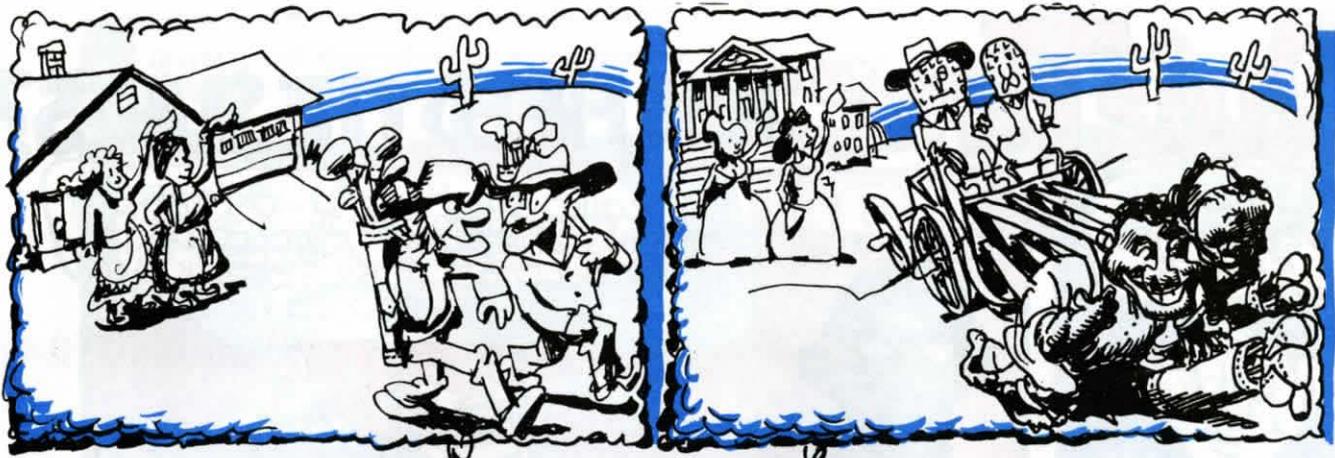
Female Abolitionists suffered special ridicule and abuse since before Abolitionism it was unheard-of for women to take part in political debates or engage in public speaking.



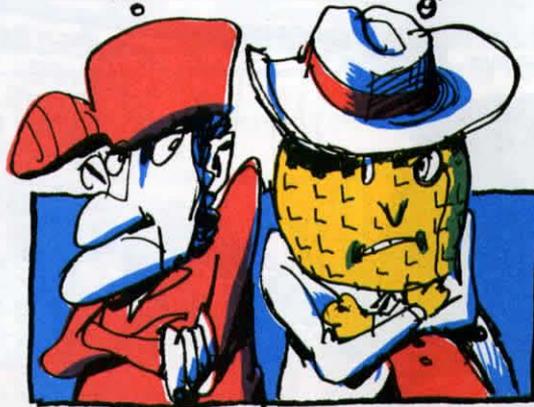
Still, the Abolitionists made a difference. Every social system develops an ideology, a set of ideas which justifies it. As capitalism grew in the North, it developed an ideology of "economic freedom" which viewed slavery as strange, brutal, and wrong —



So even though the Abolitionists were few in number, their opposition to slavery made sense to more and more people in the North.



The issue that kept cropping up between North and South was whether slavery should be allowed to EXPAND into the new western territories.



The slaveowners, who for all practical purposes controlled the federal government up until 1860, needed to keep controlling it to be certain that the government would always use its power to protect slavery. Thus they needed political control of the West, or at least part of it. They also needed the territories as an outlet for the expansion of slavery.

For the independent middle class, slave labor in the West meant an end to their own opportunities.

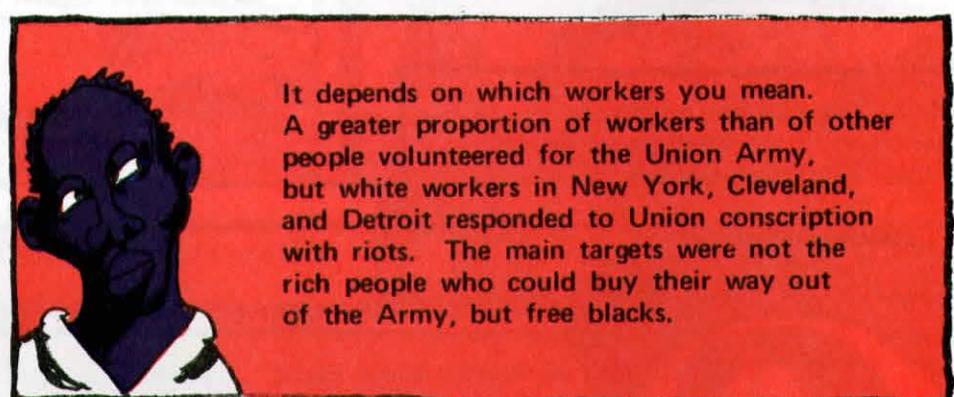
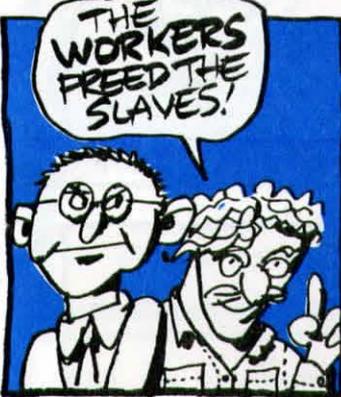
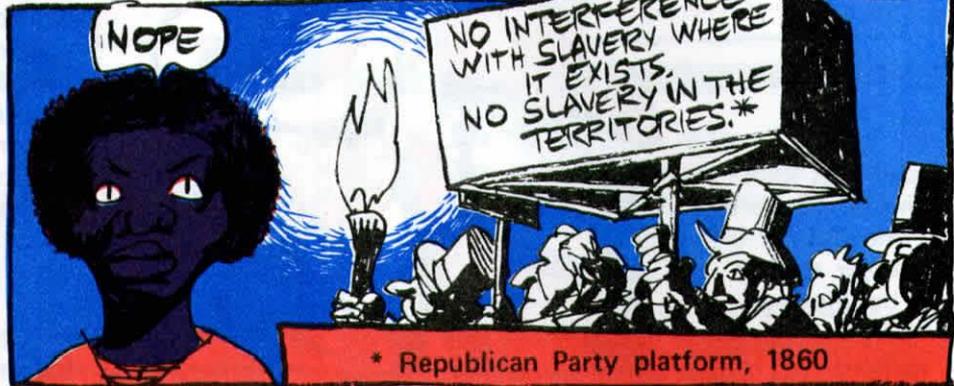
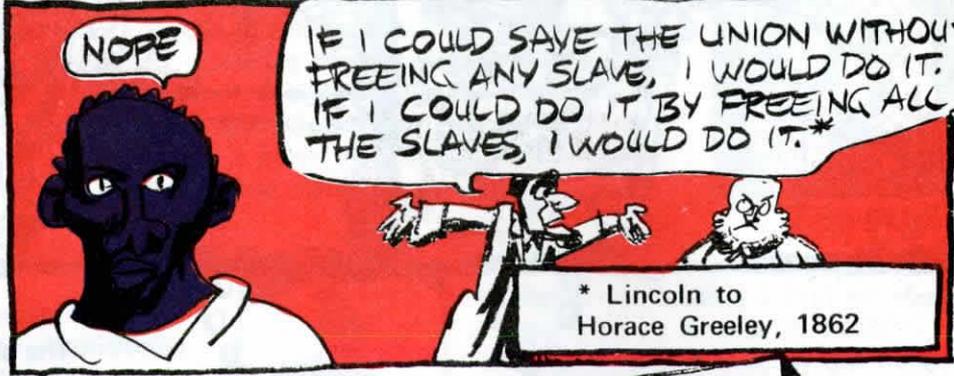
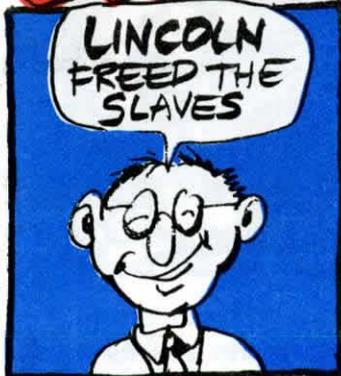


spoke for these small farmers, businessmen, and bankers of the Old Northwest when he said that the territories should be:

HOMES FOR  
FREE WHITE  
PEOPLE.

In the decade before the Civil War, as the slaveowners kept pushing for an ever-larger share of the West, the independent middle class responded by creating the Republican Party. Lincoln became president and the South, no longer in control of the national government, seceded.

# Quiz Time: WHO FREED THE SLAVES?



Slaves freed themselves by running away from their plantations and refusing to work whenever the Union Army got close.

CONSNARN IT, BIG JIM,  
I BELIEVE WE'RE SURROUNDED  
BY THEM DAMN YANKEES.

WHAT YOU  
MEAN "WE,"  
CHUCK?

They did this despite the Northern government's initial policy of avoiding all interference with slavery.

The growing number of runaways presented the government with two decisions:

Should it declare the runaways free?

JOHN BROWN'S BODY  
LIES A-MOULDERING  
IN THE GRAVE

JOHN  
BROWN?

MOULDERING?

Should it let them fight in the Union Army?

BUT HIS SOUL GOES  
MARCHING ON!

MARCHING!?

Each of these decisions was finally made on the basis of military necessity:

By declaring the slaves free, the North could deprive the South of a valuable source of man- and woman-power.

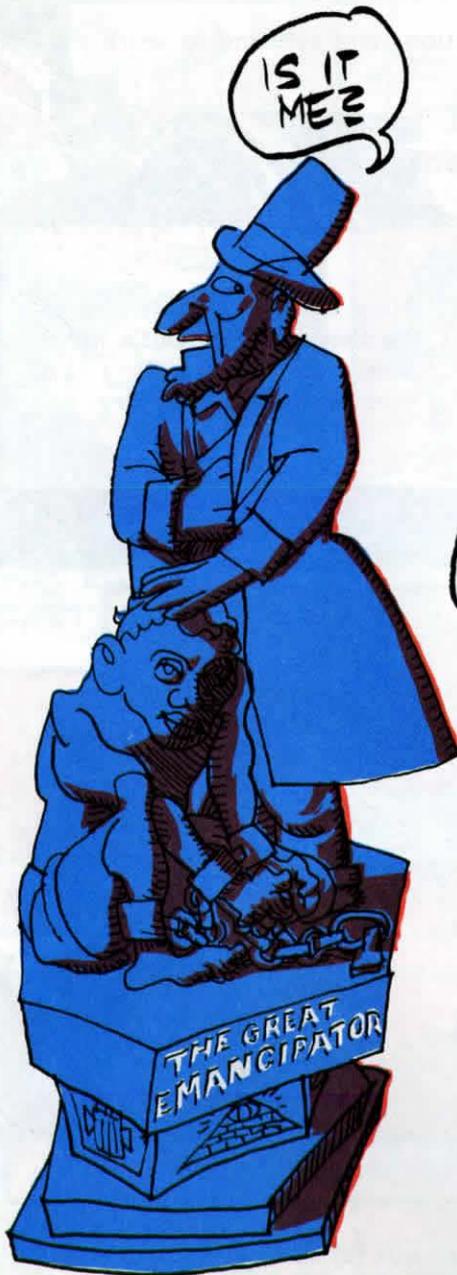
GROW YOUR  
OWN BEANS,  
BOSS.

In the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, Lincoln declared all slaves in the rebel-held areas to be free. By the last part of the war, the CONFEDERATE government was considering the abolition of slavery, to regain the black labor it was steadily losing.

At first, Lincoln refused to let escaped slaves, or even free blacks from the Northern states, fight in the armed forces. But after two costly years of war, he had little choice:

THERE ARE NOW IN THE SERVICE  
OF THE UNITED STATES NEAR  
200,000 COLORED MEN, DEFENDING  
AND ACQUIRING UNION TERRITORY....  
ABANDON ALL THE POSTS NOW GARRISONED  
BY BLACK MEN... AND WE WOULD BE  
COMPELLED TO ABANDON THE WAR  
IN THREE WEEKS.





The Abolitionists, along with many Republican politicians who saw the military necessity of abolishing slavery before Lincoln did, created a constant pressure on the government. (The women's rights movement, which had started before the civil war as an outgrowth of Abolitionism, focused all its energies during the war on supporting the Union cause and emancipation.)

VERY BECOMING, ABE.



But these pressures, and Lincoln's response, were made possible only because the black people themselves, by running away from slavery and clamoring to fight against the Confederates, created a situation in which emancipation was the only way to win the war.

The Civil War, sometimes called the "Second American Revolution," was actually a more far-reaching revolution than the first one. In four short years, four million people were freed.





**NOW  
NORTHERN  
EXTREMISTS  
FORCED  
"RECONSTRUCTION"  
DOWN THE  
THROATS OF  
THE SOUTHERN  
PEOPLE.**



Reconstruction was the first time that poor people, black OR white, had a real voice in their state governments.

Most officeholders were white, including poor whites from the mountain regions who had opposed the war.



**YOU CAN'T  
GET AS  
HIGH AS ME,  
CUZ.**



The Reconstruction Congress was hardly extremist:

**WHILE WE'RE GIVING THEM THE VOTE,  
HADN'T WE BETTER GIVE THEM SOME  
OF THE LAND THEY'VE BEEN  
WORKING?**

**NOW NOW!**

**NO NEED TO  
GO THAT FAR,  
CONGRESSMAN.**

**MY GOODNESS YOU  
GIVE A MAN A VOTE +  
YOU GIVE HIM A WAY  
OF THANKING YOU.**

**BUT GIVE A MAN  
SOME POWER AND  
HE'S LIKELY TO THINK  
HE DOESN'T NEED  
YOU ANYMORE.**

As Rep. Thaddeus Stevens predicted, not giving the freedmen an economic base guaranteed that Reconstruction would fail eventually.

IGNORANT NEGROES, WHO DIDN'T HAVE THE EXPERIENCE TO APPRECIATE DEMOCRACY,



Just like hungry people don't appreciate food.

VOTED FOR NEW STATE GOVERNMENTS WHICH WERE HORRIBLY CORRUPT...



No more corrupt than the all-white governments which came after Reconstruction in the South.



AND INEFFICIENT.

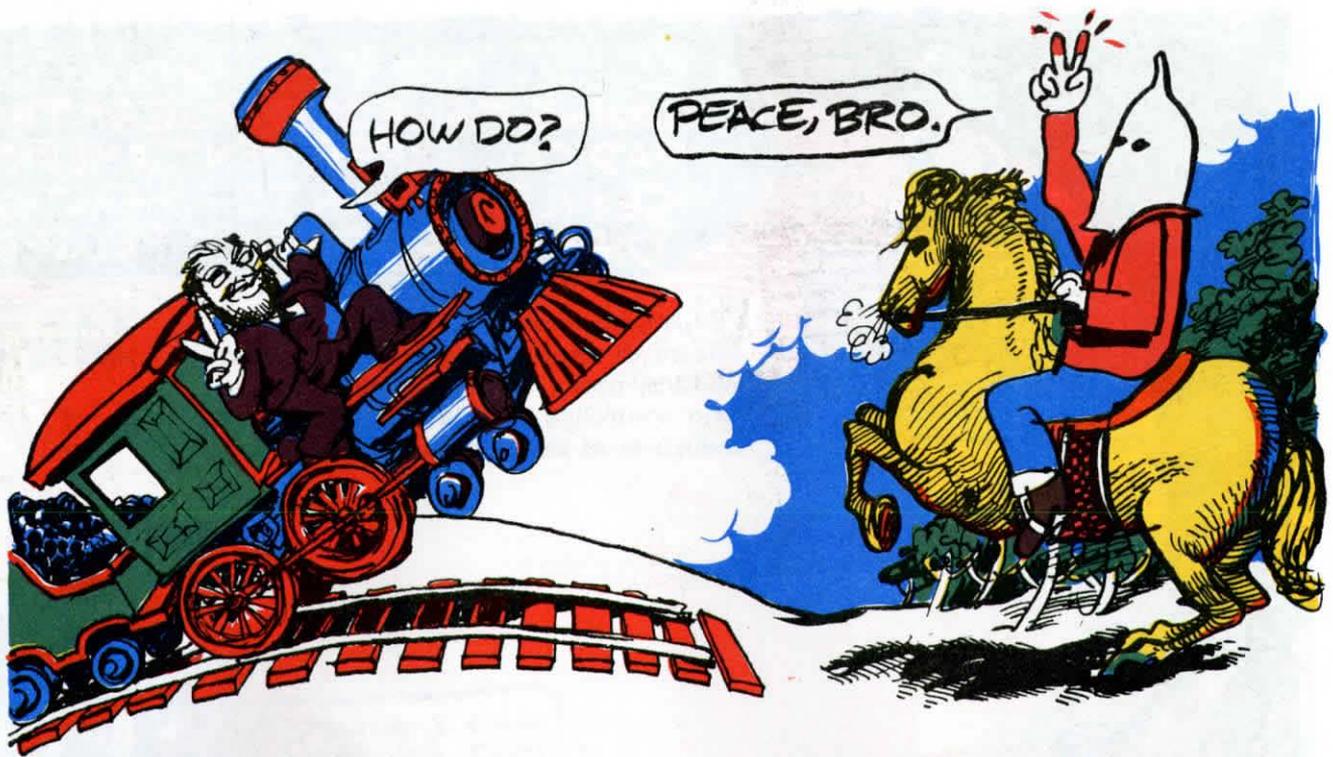
Reconstruction actually had a record of accomplishment. Despite the terrible poverty which followed the war, free schools were established for the first time in the South. Good new roads were built. Taxes were made more equal.



NOW THEN.

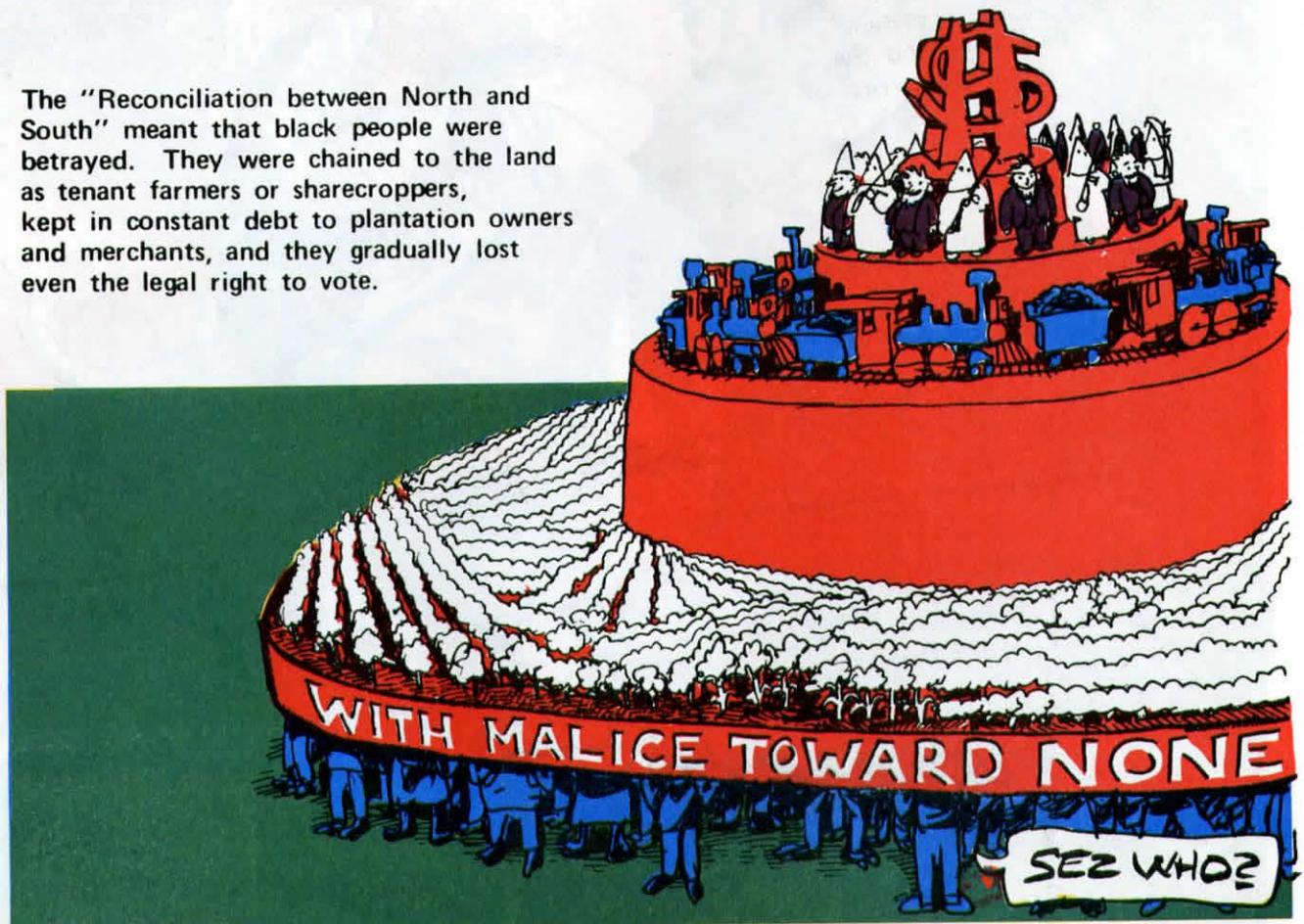


The Southern planters' response to Reconstruction was terrorism. The Ku Klux Klan (founded in 1868) and similar groups shot, whipped, and threatened blacks to keep them from voting and keep them working on the plantations.



In the "Compromise of 1877" the Republicans agreed to pull federal troops out of the South and allow conservative whites (who were willing to let Northern business penetrate the South) take over.

The "Reconciliation between North and South" meant that black people were betrayed. They were chained to the land as tenant farmers or sharecroppers, kept in constant debt to plantation owners and merchants, and they gradually lost even the legal right to vote.





SO MUCH FOR RECONSTRUCTION.  
HAVING FAILED TO DIGEST THIS  
RADICAL EXPERIMENT, AMERICA  
SETTLED DOWN TO A HEALTHY  
DIET OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Expansion after the war meant the seizure of unprecedented economic and political power by the "Robber Barons" who controlled the railroads and such industries as steel and oil.

The Republican Party quickly outgrew its semi-radical origins and put the government at the service of big business. At election time, the Republicans got a lot of mileage out of the glorious heritage of the Union Army. But the men who were best served by the Republicans — young industrialists like Jay Gould, Philip Armour, J. P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller — had stayed home during the Civil War and built up their own fortunes.

Farmers and merchants depended for their survival on the railroads, who could make or break towns and cities by their decisions. A town that was bypassed by the railroad lines could soon be off the map entirely.

HOW'S YOUR RISING BEEN?

I THINK I CAN  
I THINK I CAN  
I THINK I CAN

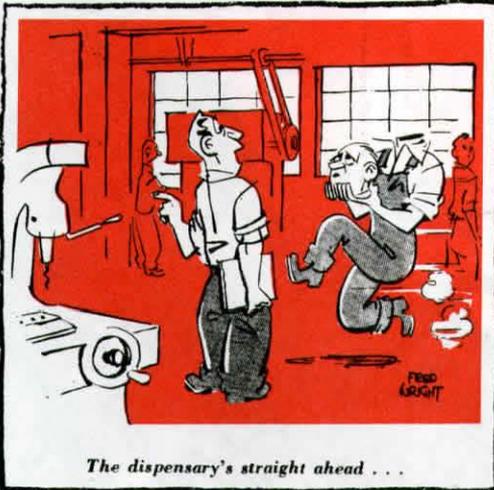


The rapid growth of industry meant that wage labor was becoming the way of life for an ever-greater part of the American people.

Industry brought millions of immigrants, most of them peasants from southern and eastern Europe. They were able to earn much more here than at home, but working conditions were brutal. Industrial accidents every year killed an estimated 35,000 workers and injured another 500,000.

Black people were excluded from jobs in the new industry, even from the skilled work they'd formerly done as slaves.

HURRY UP, MAMMY,  
I NEED NEW SHEETS!



The dispensary's straight ahead . . .



Every ten years or so, severe depressions threw millions of workers out of their jobs.

Depressions were much worse than they had been earlier in the century, since so many families had left their farms and could no longer grow their own food.

LET 'EM  
EAT  
COBBLESTONES

Capitalists used ethnic differences among workers to keep them divided. Often as many as twenty languages would be spoken in a single factory.

NEIN, NEIN,  
WIR MUSS BIN  
GETTEN RIBT  
OFF DOT  
VOORMAN!

¡MIRA, MIRA!  
¡EL FOREMAN  
GOTTA GO!

WE GOTTA  
GET RID OF  
THAT FOREMAN!





## THE INDIANS

didn't always take kindly to moving. The fiercest resistance was mounted by the Oglala Sioux, led by Crazy Horse. They destroyed General Custer's command at the Little Big Horn in Montana in 1876 before being defeated and forced onto reservations.

NOW I'LL NEVER BE PRESIDENT!



## THE FARMERS

who replaced the Indians in the Great Plains developed their own resistance before long. The People's Party (the "Populists") in the 1890's got millions of votes for a program that included government ownership of railroads and an end to special privileges of banks and corporations.



YOU CAN'T FIGHT THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE, FOLKS — WHY BY 1975, EVERYBODY'LL BE RIDING AROUND IN TRAINS.



Populists in the South united poor blacks and whites against the business interests that dominated the state governments.

YOU ARE KEPT APART THAT YOU MAY BE SEPARATELY FLEEDED OF YOUR EARNINGS. YOU ARE MADE TO HATE EACH OTHER BECAUSE ON THAT HATRED IS RESTED THE KEystone OF THE ARCH OF FINANCIAL DESPOTISM WHICH ENSLAVES YOU BOTH.

— SEZ TOM WATSON, POPULIST CONGRESSMAN FROM GEORGIA, 1892.

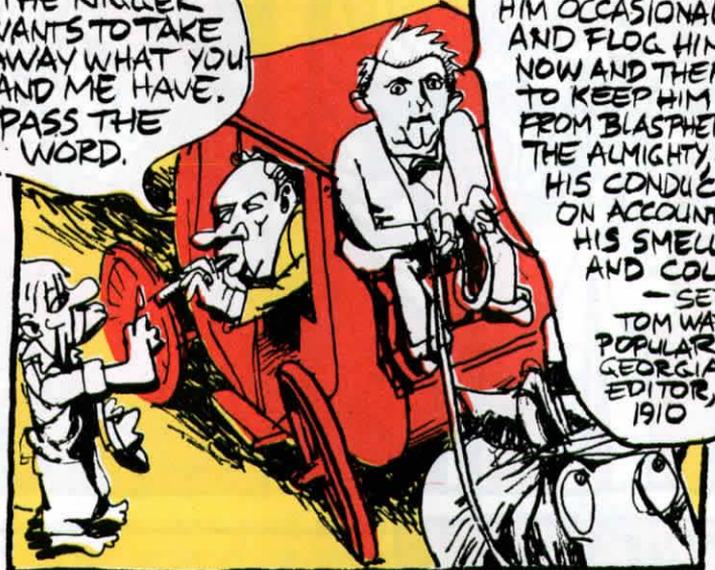


But racism proved too strong. By 1900, many whites who had supported Populism joined with conservatives to deprive blacks of the right to vote. Elaborate "Jim Crow" laws provided for the segregation of blacks from whites in all areas of public life.

THE NIGGER WANTS TO TAKE AWAY WHAT YOU AND ME HAVE. PASS THE WORD.

IN THE SOUTH, WE HAVE TO LYNCH HIM OCCASIONALLY, AND FLOG HIM NOW AND THEN, TO KEEP HIM FROM BLASPHEMING THE ALMIGHTY BY HIS CONDUCT, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS SMALL AND COLOR.

— SEZ TOM WATSON, POPULAR GEORGIA EDITOR, 1910



## WOMEN

picked up the struggle for equality where it had left off during the Civil War.



In the eyes of the law, women were in a state of abject dependence — especially in the East. Married women could not sign contracts without their husbands' consent in many states and could not even keep their own earnings if they worked.

Gradually women won an end to these restrictions. The major battle, however, was over the right to vote, a demand first raised after the Civil War. It was the focus of continual struggle until it was won nationwide in 1920.

# WORKERS

engaged in massive strikes, such as:

A walkout of railroad workers over much of the East and Midwest in 1877, in which over a hundred workers were killed by state militia and the U.S. Army;

WHAT A TRAGIC BREAKDOWN IN COMMUNICATION.



The Homestead steel strike in 1892, when workers occupied the factory and held off the company's private army with guns;

THEY CAN'T BE TRUE AMERICANS IF THEY THINK VIOLENCE WILL SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS.



City-wide general strikes in St. Louis (1877) and New Orleans (1892). In New Orleans, white and black workers fought together;

MOTHER OF GOD, THE NIGGERS ARE COMING!



A series of violent strikes in the silver, copper, and gold mines of the West;

THIS SORT OF THING JUST ALIENATES THEIR SUPPORTERS.



A nationwide coal strike in 1894, during which state militia were used against strikers in six different states;

WELL, IF THAT'S WHAT IT TAKES TO TEACH THEM SOME RESPECT, SO BE IT.



An even larger nationwide strike of railroad workers, also in 1894, in solidarity with striking workers at the Pullman Sleeping Car Company.

MAN, THESE WORKERS IS CRA-ZEE.



Workers fought longest and hardest for the 8-hour day, with a higher rate of pay for overtime. While it was an uphill battle, by the end of World War I it had succeeded in most industries.

YOU SAY YOU WANT A REVOLUTION?

WHY, NO---

YOU JUST WANT TO WASTE 2/3 OF YOUR TIME ON YOUR OWN SELFISH PLEASURES AND COMFORTS WHILE MY MACHINES GO HUNGRY?

WHY, YES---

THAT'S A REVOLUTION!



GEE, POP, IT LOOKS LIKE THE PEOPLE REALLY HAD IT TOGETHER IN THOSE DAYS.

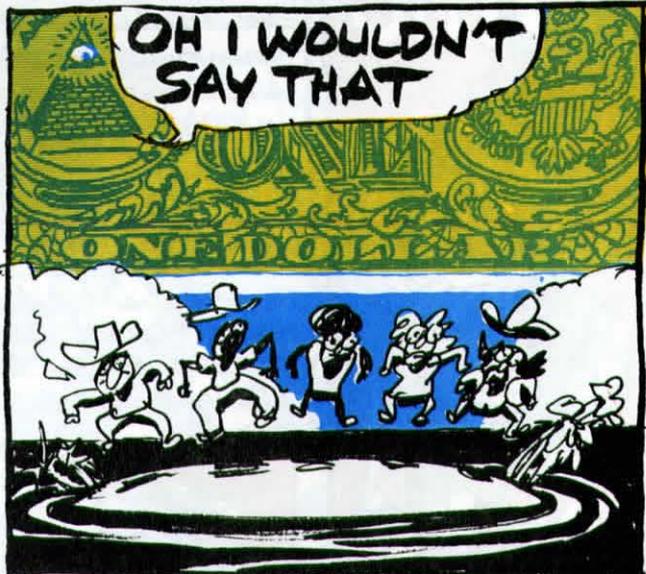
KEEP READIN'

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM WITH A FEW TRICKS UP HIS SLEEVE





AT THE VERY END OF THE 19TH CENTURY AMERICA CAME TO THE AID OF HER LESS FORTUNATE NEIGHBORS IN CUBA AND UH THE PHILIPPINES, FREEING THEM FROM THE CRUEL EMPIRE OF SPAIN.



The Cubans had been fighting a guerrilla war for independence for a decade. Intervention by the U.S. DID help them win. But right after the war, the U.S. Congress passed the Platt Amendment, which said the U.S. could intervene in Cuba anytime it wanted to. It did so repeatedly, whenever U.S. businessmen in Cuba smelled a threat to their profits.

As for the Filipinos, they were fighting the Spanish and — because the Spanish were pinned down by the Cubans — they were winning. U.S. intervention in the Philippines was for the purpose of conquest. It took 50,000 troops and continuous atrocities against civilians to establish American control of the Philippines.



# Quiz Time!



## WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

*Imperialism is political control of one country by another, such as European imperialism in Africa & Southeast Asia. In taking control of the Philippines, Uncle Sam was being an imperialist but it was quite out of character and he stopped doing it right away.*



Imperialism is NOT just formal colonial rule. It also includes ECONOMIC domination of one people by another.



Now that the U.S. had expanded its territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it was economic expansion abroad that was most important. American foreign policy, especially in Latin America, was designed to guarantee that other countries would buy American products and allow American companies to make profitable investments and grab cheap raw materials.

ONE OF THE PROUDEST CHAPTERS IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY WAS THE PROGRESSIVE ERA OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY, WHEN GREAT LEADERS LIKE THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND WOODROW WILSON WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR FAR-REACHING REFORMS.

JEEES, GRANDMA, WHAT FAR-REACHING REFORMS YOU HAVE!

SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL!

BUST THE TRUSTS!

THE UNION MAKES US STRONG!

ALL THE BETTER TO GET YOUR VOTES WITH, SWEETHEART.

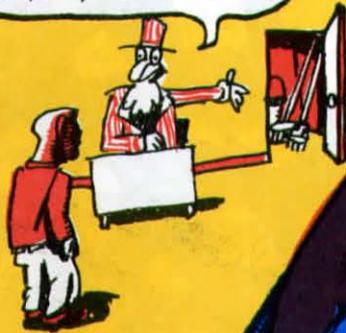
But what's that bulge in Grandma's stomach? Turn the page and find out →

Women fought long and hard for the right to vote, with unladylike tactics like marching, lobbying, and civil disobedience. Not until 1918 did President Wilson endorse the Women's Suffrage amendment to the Constitution.



Blacks, with some white supporters, started the modern civil rights movement to protest lynchings (there were more than 2,000 between 1890 and 1910) and fight "Jim Crow" segregation laws. The response of Wilson's "progressive" government was to order that federal offices in Washington be segregated.

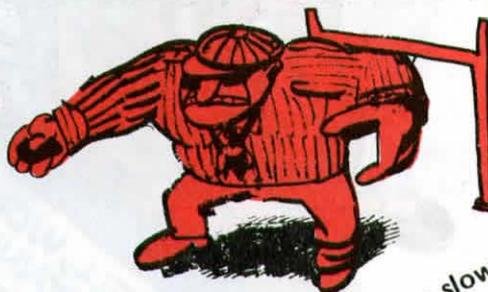
BOY, AH'VE DECIDED TO GIVE Y'ALL AN OFFICE OF Y'OWN.



Millions of people, especially from the independent middle class, were frightened by the giant new corporations ("the trusts") that suddenly seemed to dominate American society. Their fears got the most lip service from politicians, but no effective action.



Skilled white male workers formed over a hundred national unions, united in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). These unions commonly excluded blacks and were indifferent at best to women workers and new immigrants, but at least for their own members they were a means of protection against employers. The AFL unions were severely hampered by injunctions — court orders handed down at the request of employers, prohibiting normal strike activities.



The growth of the AFL unions was very slow.

Unskilled workers got much harsher treatment from the government. Repeatedly, state police and national guardsmen were used to break strikes. The worst violence was at Ludlow, Colo., in 1914, when company guards set fire to a tent colony set up by striking coal miners and their families, and then machine-gunned women and children as they fled the fire.



One group that did try hard to organize the unskilled workers, of all races and nationalities, was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). It wanted "one big union" of all workers, and unlike the AFL it aimed at the total control of production by workers. IWW members were constantly being beaten, harassed, and jailed.

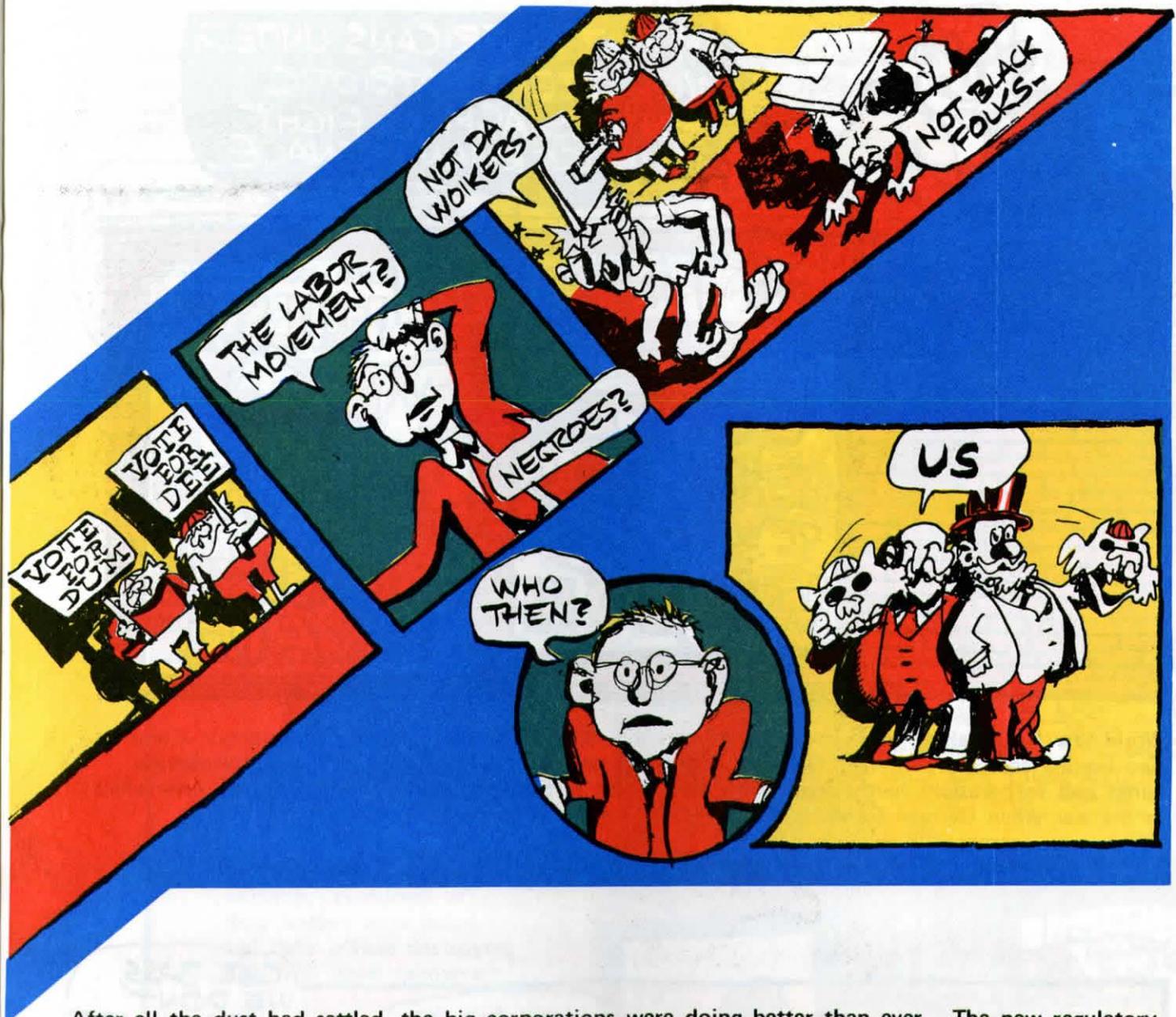


WELL, WOMEN CERTAINLY—

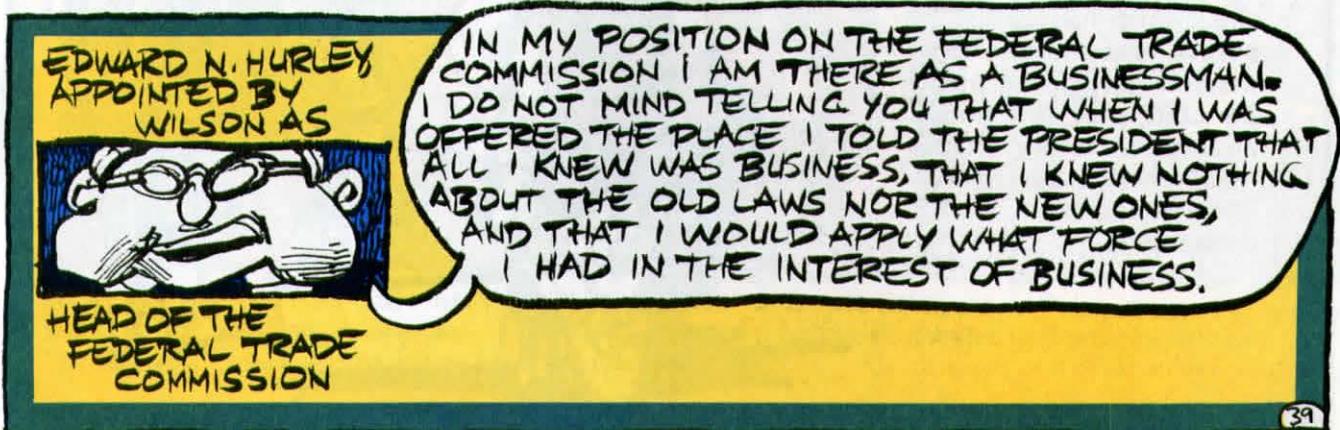
THEY GOT THE VOTE

SO WHAT?

**Quiz Time:** WHO BENEFITTED MOST FROM THE PROGRESSIVE REFORMS?

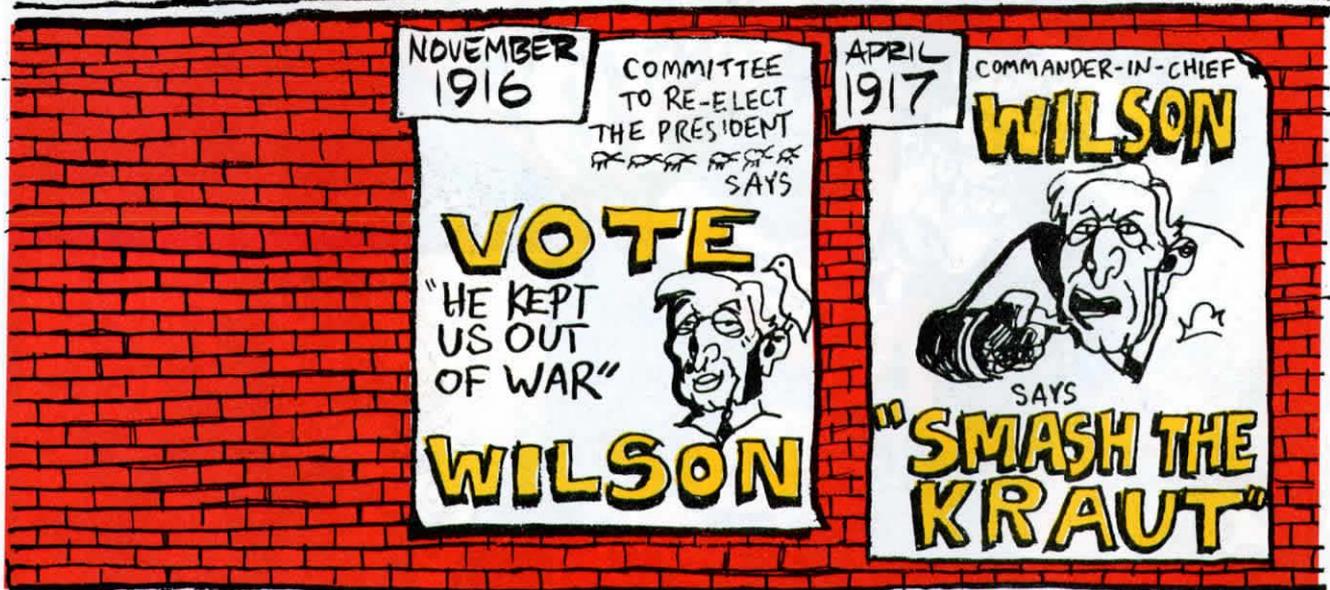


After all the dust had settled, the big corporations were doing better than ever. The new regulatory agencies came to rely on "experts" in deciding what rules to lay down, and these "experts" generally came from the big corporations themselves. The losers in this arrangement were the smaller companies (sometimes) and the consumers (just about always).



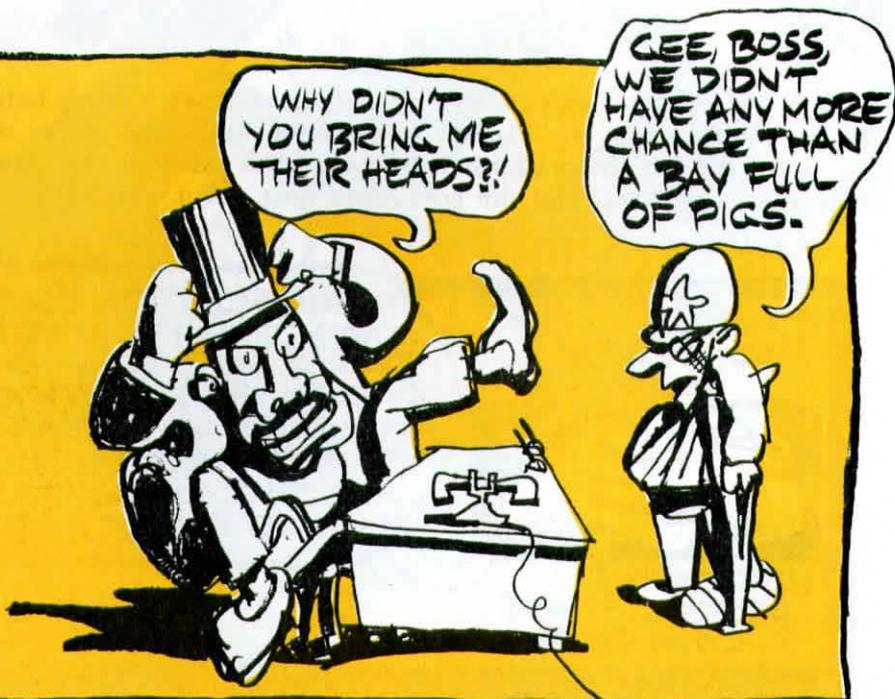


IN 1917, AMERICANS UNITED WITH GREAT PATRIOTIC ENTHUSIASM TO FIGHT THE GERMAN MENACE.

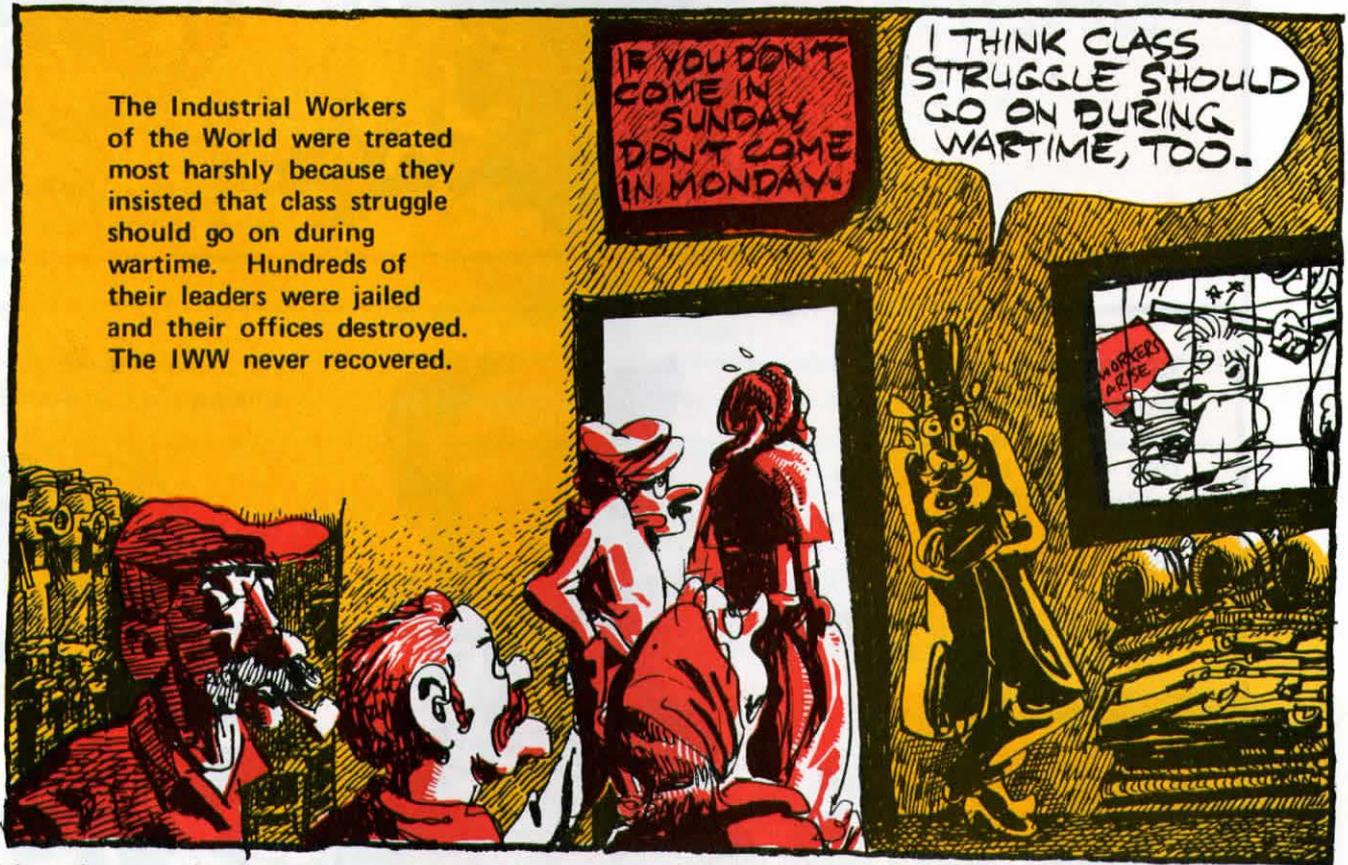
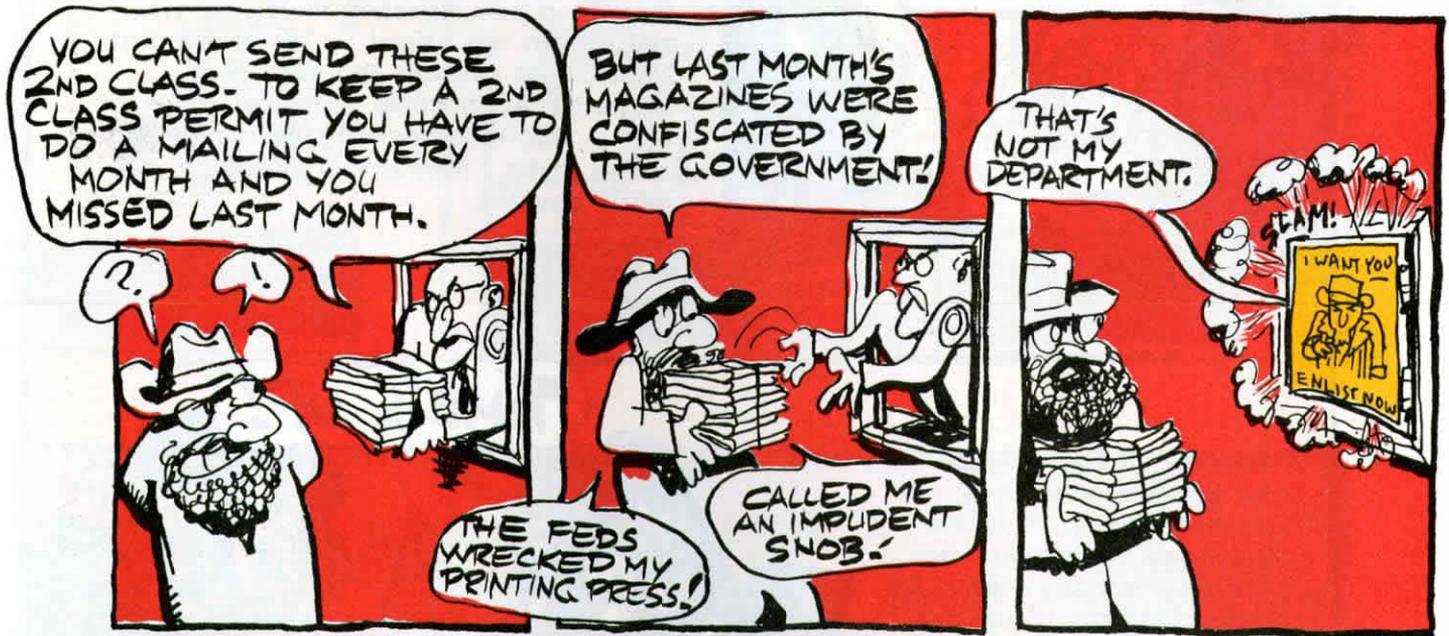


World War I was, above all, a struggle between the ruling classes of Britain and Germany, Europe's two leading capitalist nations. Ordinary Americans had no stake in the outcome, but American banks and corporations had a great many ties to the British economy. The U.S. finally intervened in the war when German submarines jeopardized American trade with Britain.

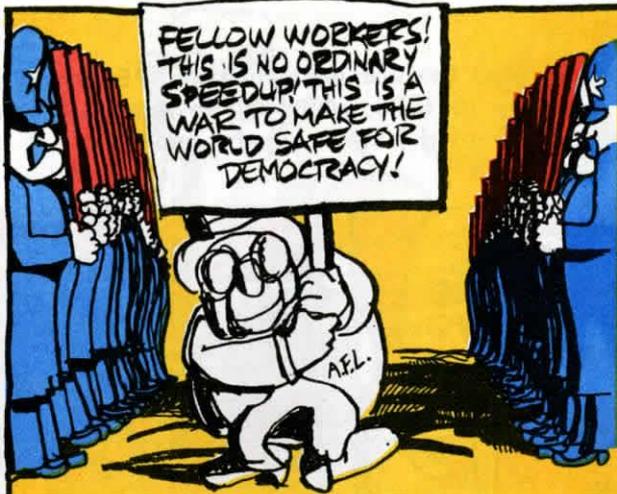
During the war, the Bolshevik Revolution pulled Russia out of the world capitalist system. Britain, France, and the U.S., which had carried on normal relations with the despotic government of the czars, now sent troops in an effort to kill off the new revolutionary regime. The attempt was unsuccessful.



Once we were at war, socialists and pacifists who opposed the war were muzzled. Eugene Debs was among the many who were jailed. (He ran for president in 1920, while still in Atlanta Penitentiary, and got a million votes.) Anti-war publications were prevented from using the mails.



After the war the Red Scare of 1919-20 meant the continued jailing of radicals, especially immigrant workers, on trumped-up charges. Even AFL labor unions found charges of "anarchism" and "Bolshevism" used against them by employers.



The American Federation of Labor, much larger than the IWW, cooperated with the Wilson administration during the war, and in turn was helped by the government. Nationalized railroads and stockyards instituted fair practices. Employment levels rose in the well-unionized construction and metals trades. Membership in unions nearly doubled.

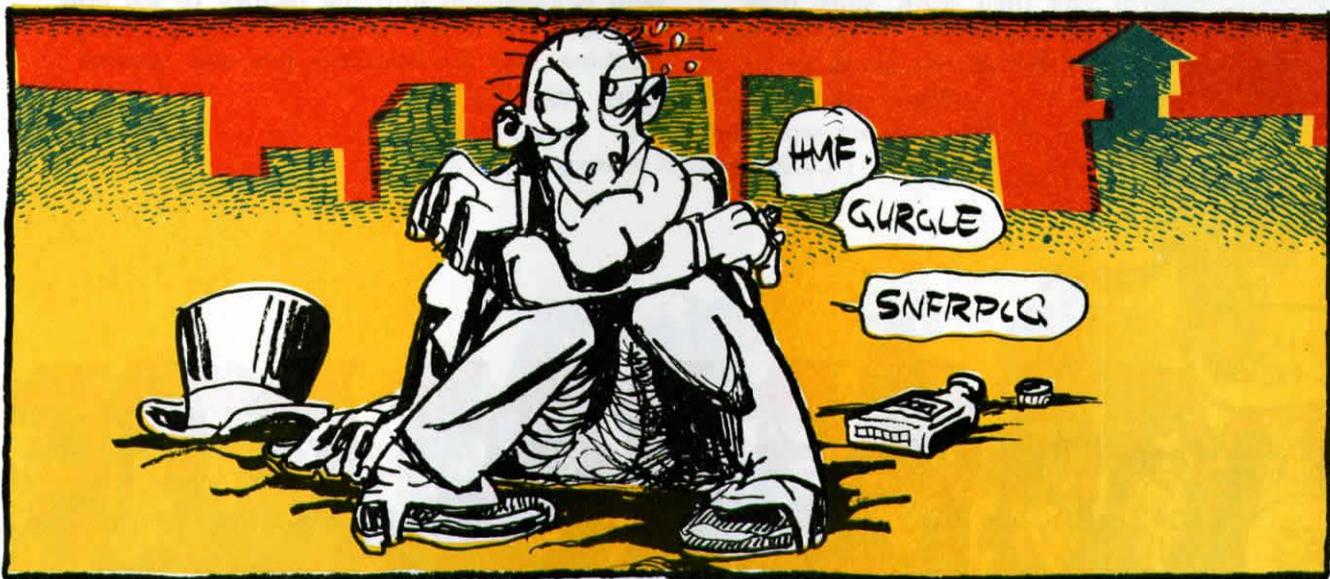
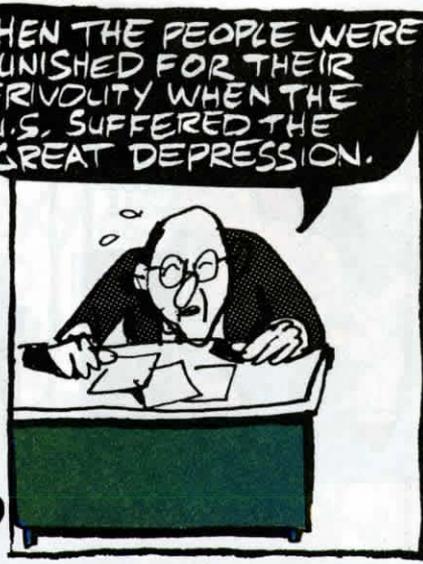
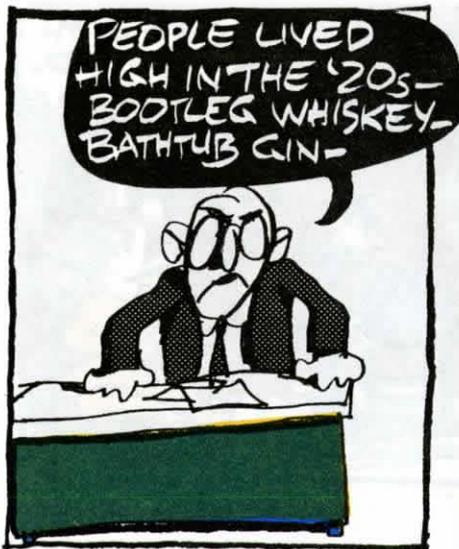
But when the war ended, the government abruptly stopped helping the unions. Employers (who called their anti-labor campaign the "American Plan") soon had the unions in a weaker position than before the war.



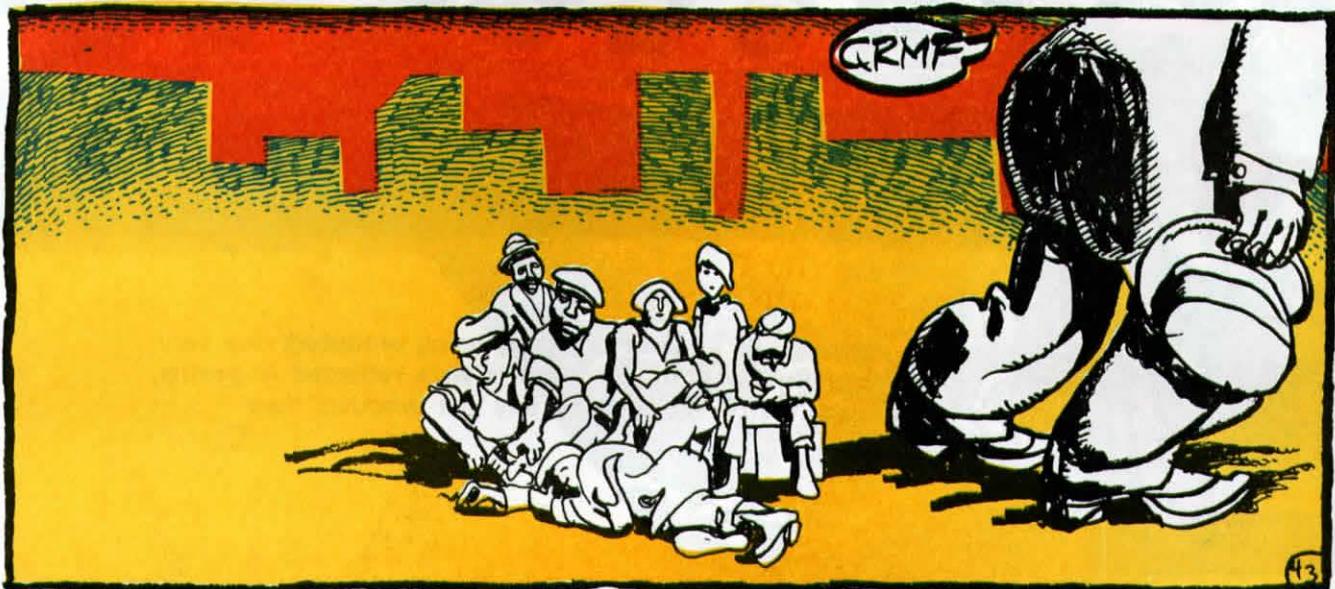
So the American capitalist class came out of the war stronger than ever — both in relation to the European countries (because the fighting had taken place in Europe) . . .

and in relation to the working class at home.





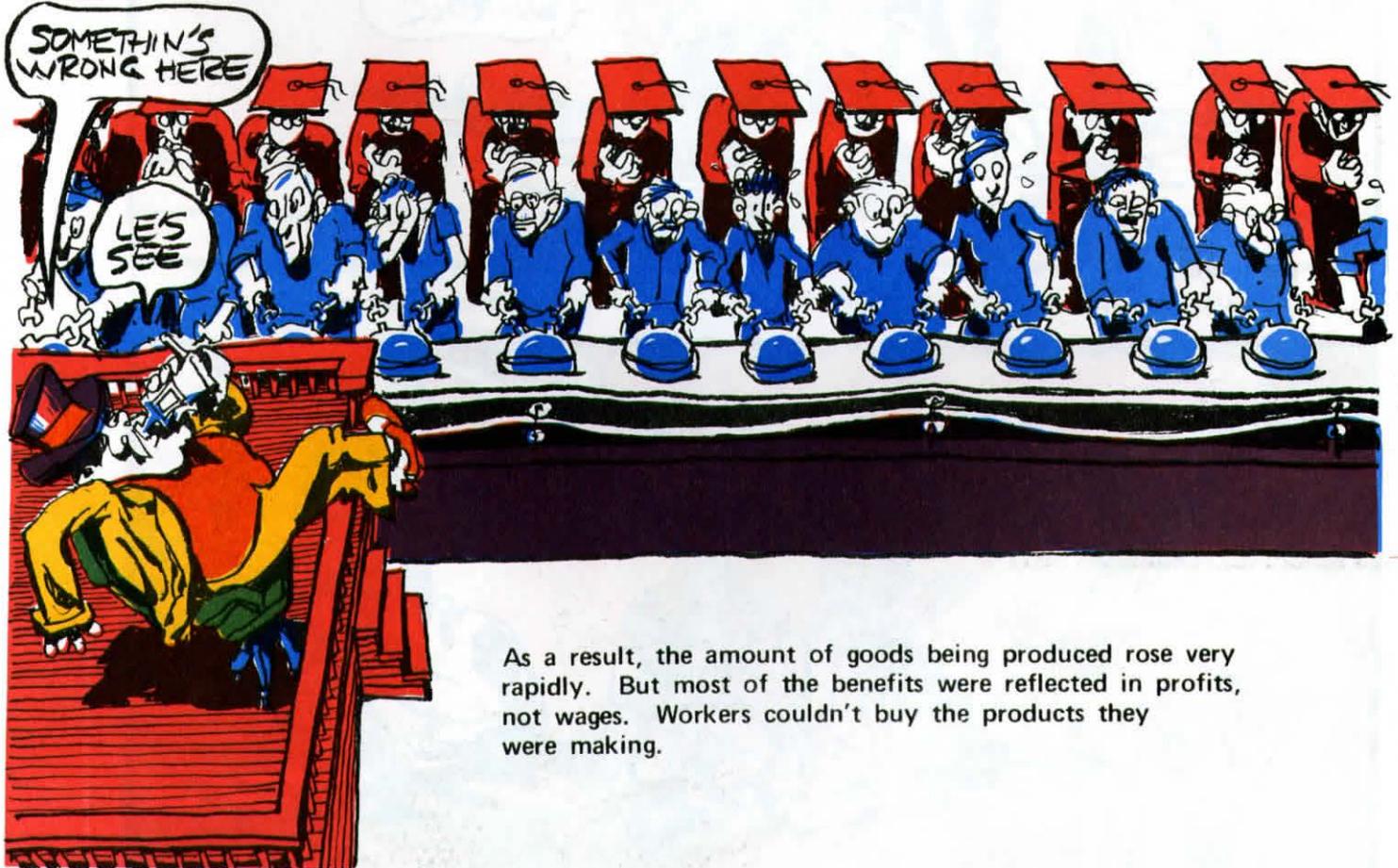
The people who were frivolous weren't always the people who were punished.





The growth of labor unions during the war scared the capitalists. Even without unions, workers often had a degree of control over their work, since they knew how to do it and the bosses didn't. After the war the capitalists not only did all the could to crush the unions - - -

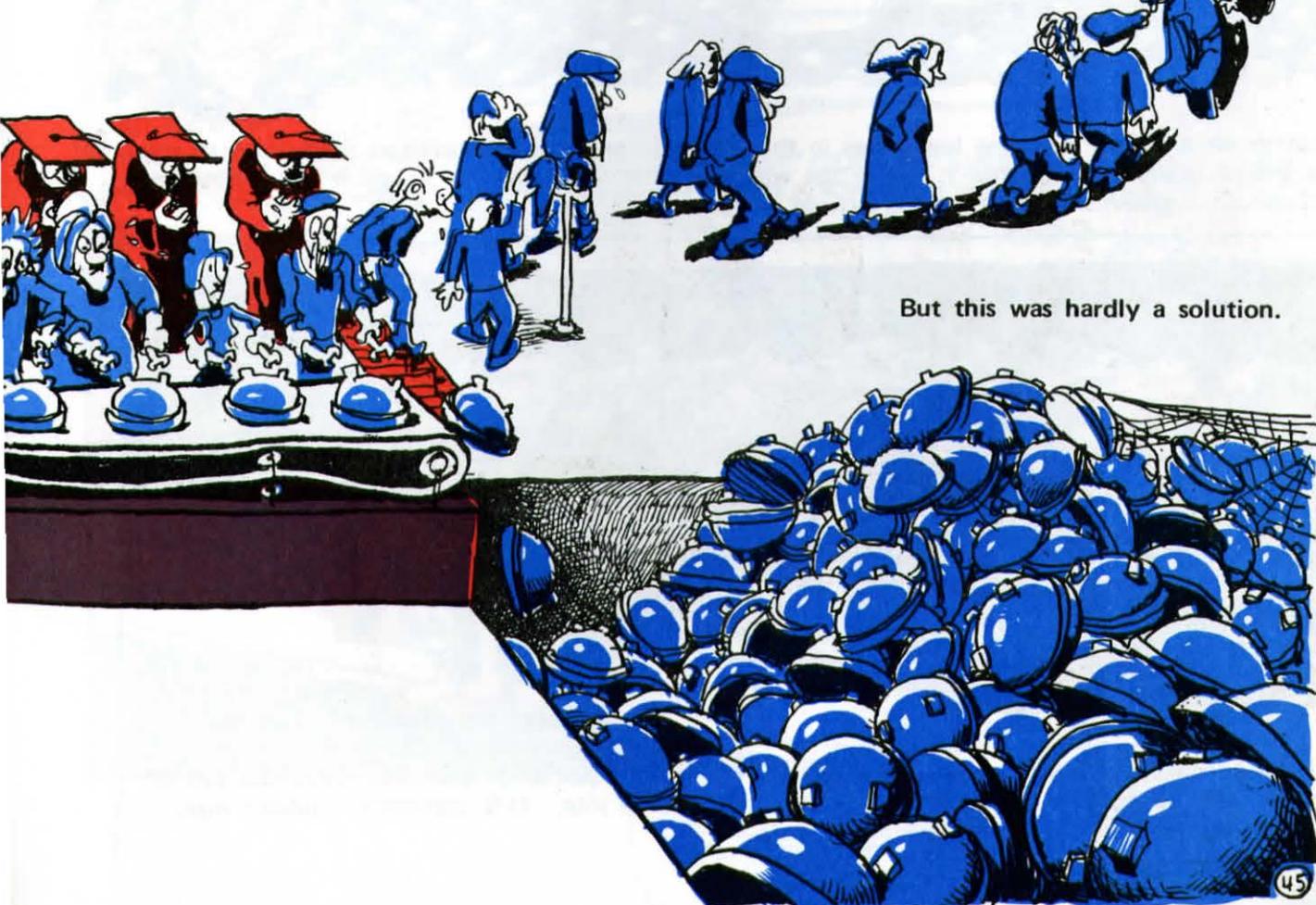
but also made widespread use of the "Taylor System." This meant sending college men with stopwatches into the factory to see how fast each job could be done. "Labor saving" machines and the assembly line also became much more common.



As a result, the amount of goods being produced rose very rapidly. But most of the benefits were reflected in profits, not wages. Workers couldn't buy the products they were making.

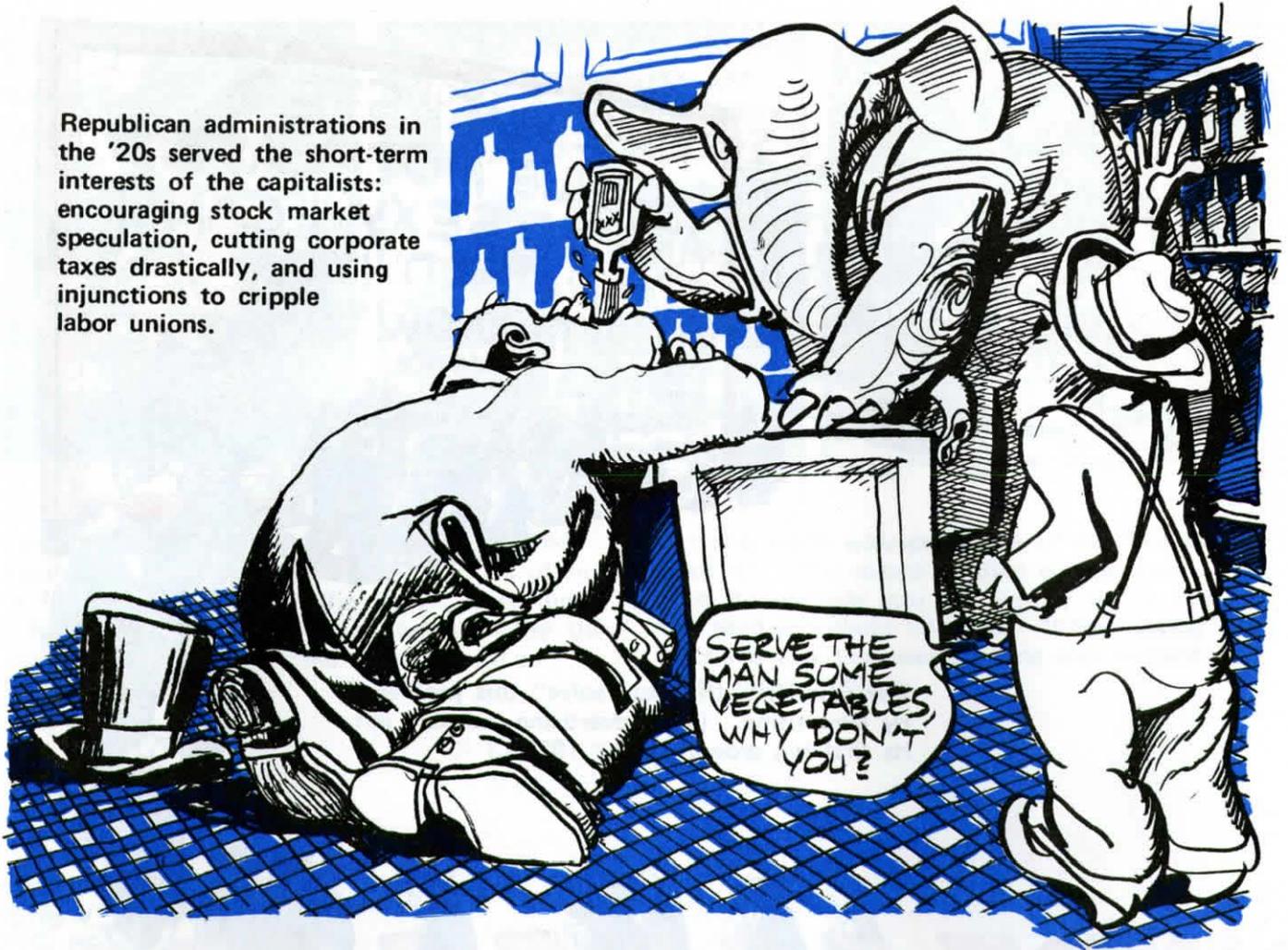


The capitalists tried to "solve" this problem by advertising. (The advertising industry got its first big growth in the 1920's.) - - -



But this was hardly a solution.

Republican administrations in the '20s served the short-term interests of the capitalists: encouraging stock market speculation, cutting corporate taxes drastically, and using injunctions to cripple labor unions.



Farmers were already suffering low prices in the '20s because they had increased production to meet the special needs of World War I. After the war they were producing just as much but getting less. Republican presidents blocked their efforts to get government help.



It all added up to a crisis of overproduction. By 1932 a quarter of the work force was out of work, and wages were way down for those who did have jobs. U.S. capitalism couldn't make it any more without a lot of government help.

WELL THE DEPRESSION WAS BAD BUT THE NEW DEAL PULLED US OUT OF IT.



F.D.R.



WHO GAVE THE PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO SURVIVE

F.D.R.



WHO GAVE THE WORKERS THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

F.D.R.



WHO PULLED US OUT OF THE DEPRESSION

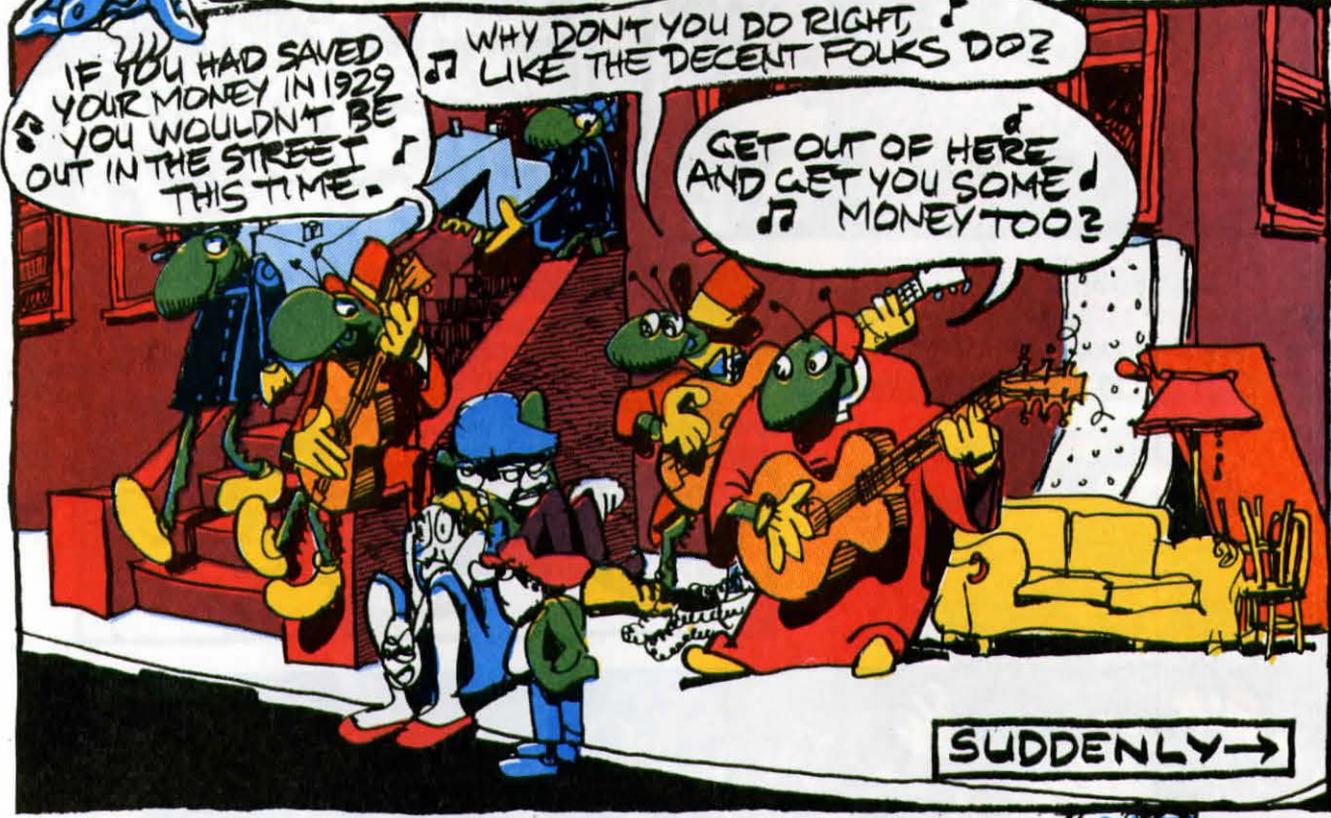


POOR OLD PEOPLE! WHAT WOULD THEY HAVE DONE WITHOUT F.D.R.-?

IF YOU HAD SAVED YOUR MONEY IN 1929 YOU WOULDN'T BE OUT IN THE STREET THIS TIME.

WHY DON'T YOU DO RIGHT, LIKE THE DECENT FOLKS DO?

GET OUT OF HERE AND GET YOU SOME MONEY TOO?



SUDDENLY →

(HERE'S WHAT THEY DID WITHOUT HIM IN 1930)-





Starting in 1930, local Unemployed Councils, often led by Communists, successfully organized black and white workers in a number of cities to resist evictions.

Also in 1930, the Unemployed Councils organized massive marches for unemployment compensation or jobs in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, and other cities.



In 1932 thousands of destitute unemployed World War I vets camped out in parts of Washington, D.C. for months, demanding relief.

Before Social Security was adopted in 1935, millions of people had supported more radical proposals, which called for a redistribution of the nation's wealth.



FATHER DEAR FATHER  
COME HOME WITH ME NOW-  
THE CLOCK OF THE PEOPLE  
STRIKES ONE-



WHERE DID  
I GO WRONG?

THE CLOCK  
OF THE PEOPLE  
STRIKES  
ONE WHAT?



STRIKES ONE BLOW  
FOR WORKERS' CONTROL!  
C'MON!



THIS I  
GOLTA  
SEE.

1934 saw a strike by textile workers throughout New England and the South, a violent auto-parts strike in Toledo backed by the city's unemployed, and city-wide general strikes led by socialists in Minneapolis and San Francisco.



In 1936 and 1937, sit-down strikes (plant takeovers) in Akron, Ohio, Atlanta, Ga., Flint, Mich., and elsewhere forced employers to recognize unions.

I THINK I'LL GIVE THE WORKERS  
THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE



The workers SEIZED the right to organize. By their own actions they brought unions into the very industries – auto, steel, meatpacking, electrical appliances, rubber, and textiles – in which the employers had seemed to have gained absolute control through assembly lines and speed-up in the 1920s. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), composed of these new industrial unions, was formed in 1935 and rivalled the AFL in power.

The reason FDR is often considered "pro-labor" is that up until World War II his administration was neutral in labor disputes instead of using its power to help the employer. This neutrality was much better than labor was used to in the past - - -



but it was not a pro-labor policy. In 1937 when police shot and killed ten peaceful strikers at Republic Steel, FDR condemned both sides.



WELL THE MAIN THING IS, I THINK I'LL PULL THIS COUNTRY OUT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION.



**IN**ew Deal measures improved things at first, But in 1937 things got worse! In 1940, after seven years of the New Deal, Every sixth worker was still looking for a meal! It was World War II, with military spending, Which spelled the Great Depression's ending. (And the Blacks stayed back.)



Most businessmen opposed the New Deal, but that's because they didn't recognize their own long-term interests. The Depression should have taught them that the economy would slide into chaos without a strong government to coordinate it. Faced with the breakdown of the capitalist system, the New Deal didn't break up the big companies and it didn't nationalize them either. Vast new government spending programs helped business by putting money in the hands of people who would otherwise be unable to buy the companies' products. Businesses were subjected to closer regulation than they were used to, but in practice this regulation has helped to solidify the economic power of the biggest companies in each industry.



EVERYTHING'S ROSY SINCE I TOOK THE CURE

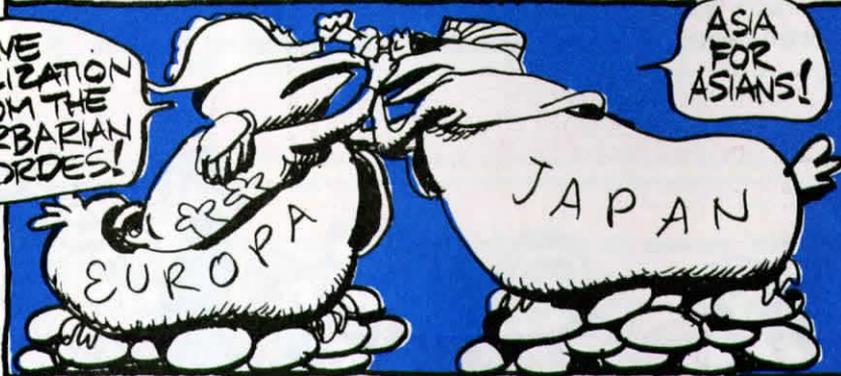
AT THE END OF THE 1930'S ANOTHER GANG OF RUFFIANS SET OUT TO CONQUER THE WORLD. THEY TANGLED WITH UNCLE SAM, WITH THE USUAL RESULTS.



Germany under the Nazis did represent a clear threat to the rest of the world, with its vision of a German "master race" forcing its will on everyone else. But in Asia, things weren't so simple.



SAVE CIVILIZATION FROM THE BARBARIAN HORDES!



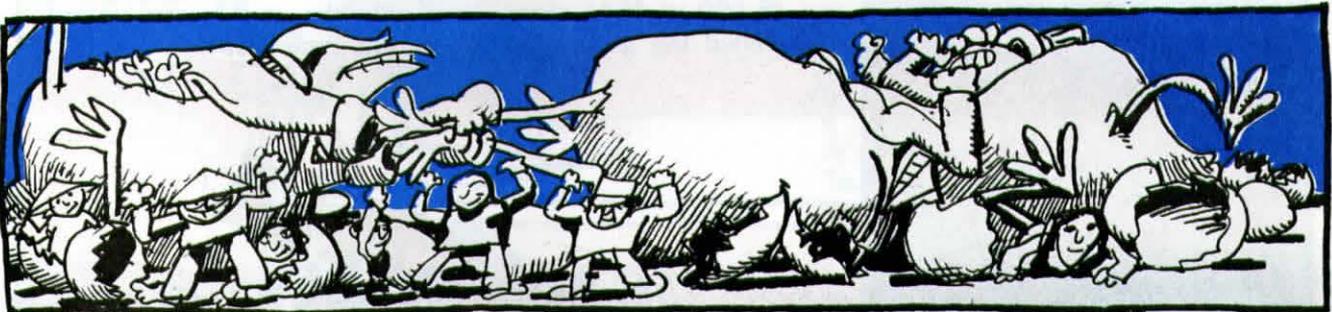
ASIA FOR ASIANS!

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL!



Japan was mainly threatening the empires of the European capitalist countries (the French in Indochina, the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in Malaya). It was a fight between two rival sets of imperialists.

The U.S. was ready to go to war on the European side when the Japanese struck first, at Pearl Harbor.



The best result of the war in Asia was that the chaos of war gave revolutionary socialist movements the space they needed to mobilize the people of Indochina, China, and Korea to fight for their self-determination.

For the U.S., going to war meant that New Deal reform efforts were largely abandoned. As FDR said, "Dr. New Deal" was replaced by "Dr. Win-the-War." Big corporation executives flooded into Washington as "dollar-a-year men" — filling important jobs in the wartime bureaucracy while remaining on the payrolls of their own companies.



WE'RE THINKING  
OF YOU, HITLER!



KEEP THE GOODS COMING  
—CIO

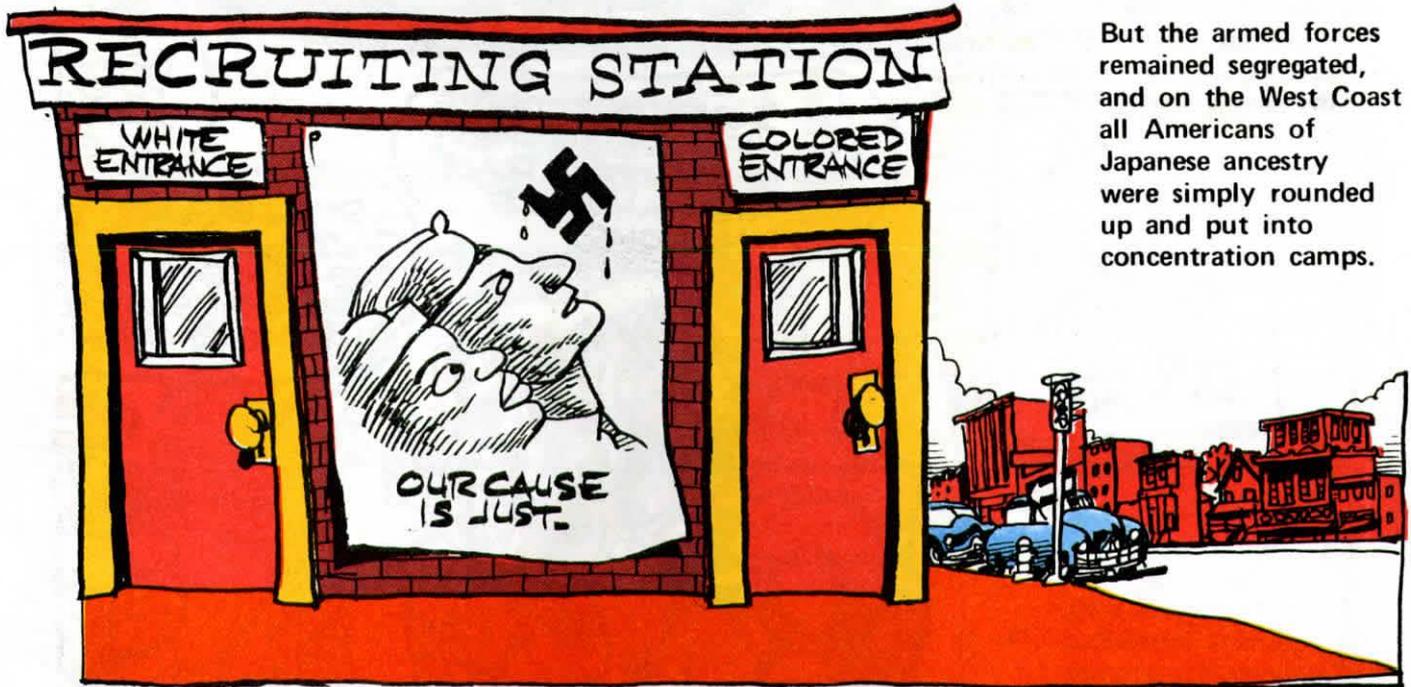
With full employment, labor unions grew. But strikes were outlawed in an agreement between the government and the labor-union leadership. So the new industrial unions which workers had created in the 1930s were now used as instruments for insuring that workers stayed on the job.



There were thousands of wildcat strikes during the war (5,000 in 1944 alone), but only the coal miners union defied the government by authorizing a strike.

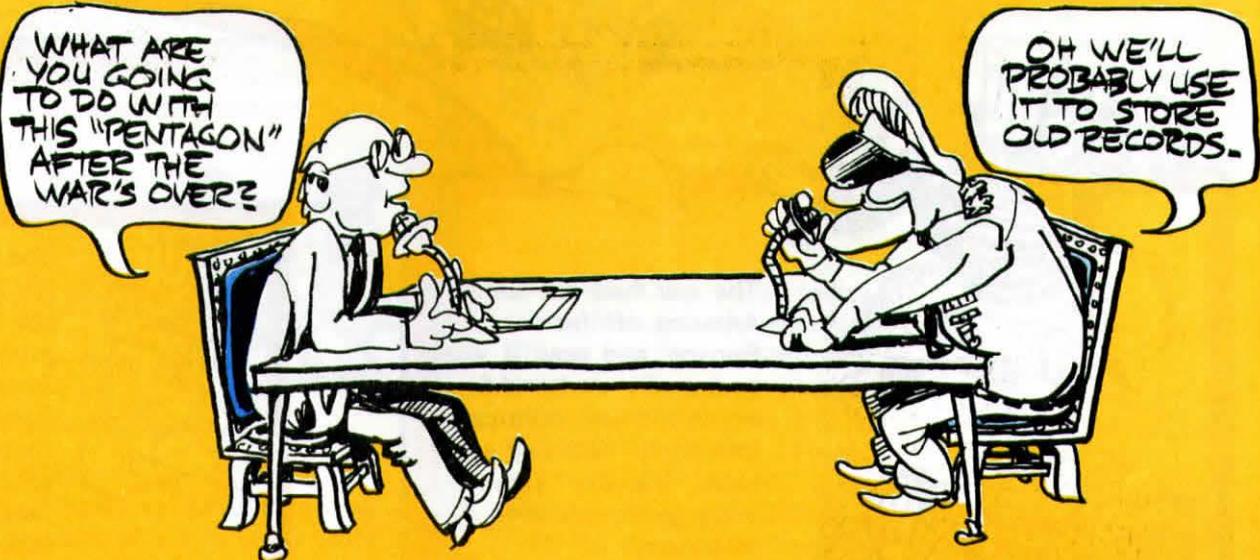
**RUMBLE**

Because the war against the Nazis was fought against a racist ideology, non-white people in the U.S. hoped some of the concern for "human dignity" would rub off on them. Blacks, by threatening to march on Washington, forced Roosevelt to outlaw discrimination in hiring for military contracts.



But the armed forces remained segregated, and on the West Coast all Americans of Japanese ancestry were simply rounded up and put into concentration camps.

World War II established a relationship of powers in the U.S. that persists today: a huge military establishment acting in harmony with the federal government and big business, the economy propped up by military spending, with civil liberties curbed in the "national interest," and the union leadership keeping workers in line.





AFTER WORLD WAR II, AMERICANS WERE EAGER TO RELAX. BUT THE WAR TAUGHT US: YOU CAN'T SHIRK YOUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

LET'S GET OUT THERE AND HELP THEM ACHIEVE THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS!

LET'S GET OUT THERE AND HELP THEM REALIZE THEIR POTENTIAL FOR SOUND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT!

LET'S GET OUT THERE AND HELP THEM ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF DEMOCRACY!



The war had cut Latin America off from Europe, and now it was exclusively under U.S. economic and political influence. Military aid kept "friendly" right wing governments in power.

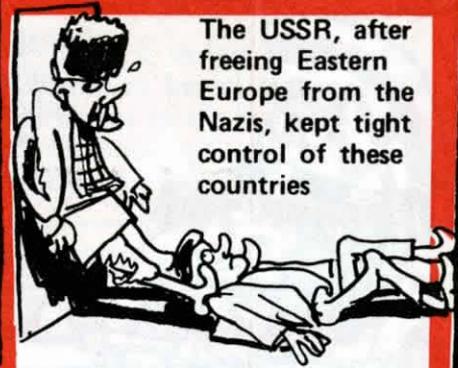


The U.S. spent billions to rebuild the capitalist economies of Japan and western Europe, so that these countries could be healthy junior partners of U.S. foreign policy.

With Germany and Japan defeated, and with Britain, France, and Russia exhausted by the war (20 MILLION Russians dead as against ½ million Americans), the U.S. was by far the world's strongest nation.



The USSR, after freeing Eastern Europe from the Nazis, kept tight control of these countries



so that its borders would be completely safe. Russian rule in eastern Europe was brutal, but it was not a step toward world conquest as American officials claimed.

The French (with massive U.S. aid starting in 1950) tried desperately to hold onto Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia against a popular Communist-led independence movement. After the French admitted defeat in 1954, the Eisenhower administration stepped in, stopped reunification of North and South, and set up a dictatorship under Ngo Dinh Diem.



In China, Communist forces triumphed over the corrupt Chiang Kai-Shek government in spite of U.S. aid to Chiang; when he lost, Chiang and his loyal troops fled to Taiwan, where with U.S. protection they set up a dictatorship over the native Taiwanese.



Most of Africa remained colonized by western Europe.



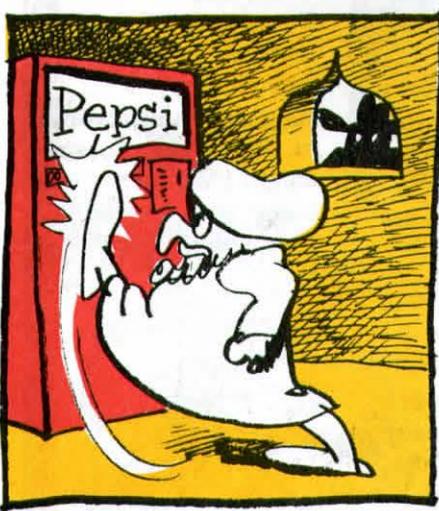
Whites in South Africa gradually established a rigid system of white supremacy during the postwar period.



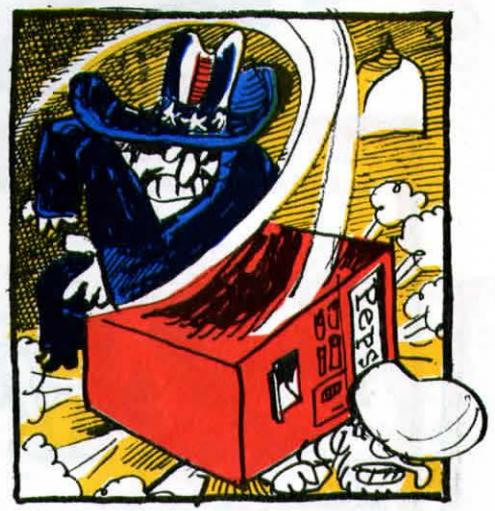


In the "Third World" (the underdeveloped and non-Communist countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa) American foreign policy was at its most brutal. Most foreign aid was in the form of military supplies to prop up unpopular (but pro-American) governments.

Even non-military aid usually had strings attached. In most cases it took the form of credits which could only be used to purchase goods from American companies.

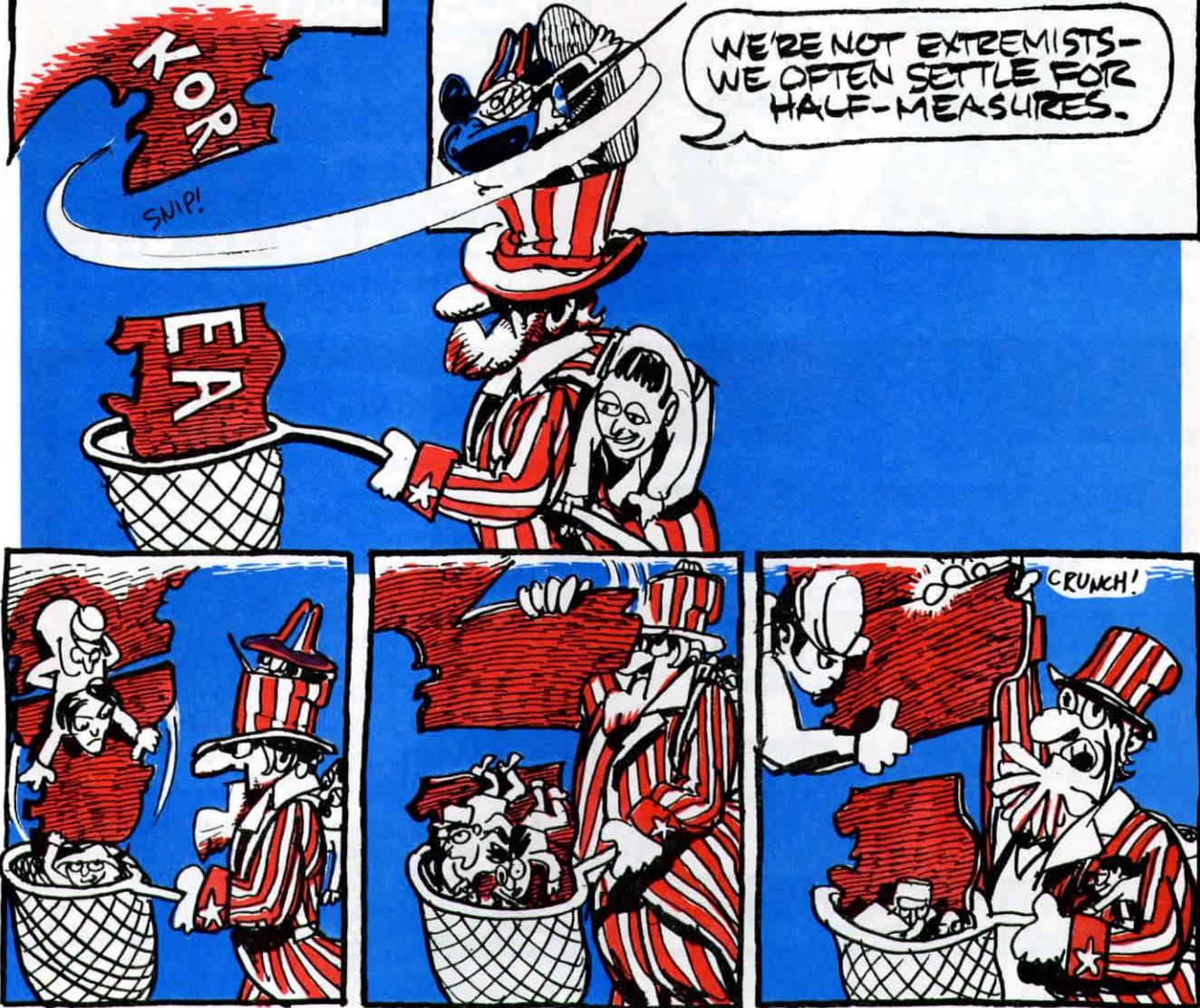


Any government that interfered with American companies doing business inside its borders was liable to be overthrown. This happened to Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, and it was tried in Cuba in 1961.



The one place where American soldiers were involved in a full-scale war in the 1950s was

At the end of World War II, the U.S. vetoed the creation of a popular independent government for all of Korea. Instead it set up a right-wing regime in the southern part of the country under Syngman Rhee, while a Communist government took power in the North.



North Korea invaded the South after repeated border skirmishes and after Rhee's government had been thoroughly discredited in popular elections. They met with very little resistance.

Rather than accept Rhee's demise, the Truman administration decided to send planes and troops — at first for the limited purpose of "repelling" the North, and then to conquer the entire country.

North Korea, with Chinese help, succeeded in restoring the original boundary line. The war cost 40,000 American lives. South Korea got itself an openly dictatorial government, backed by a permanent American military presence.

Today, South Korea is one of the favorite locations for American companies that want to lay off American workers in order to take advantage of lower wage rates abroad. (Electronics workers in South Korea are paid 1/10 of the U.S. rates; South Korea also forbids strikes.)

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, SOME HAUGHTY ELITISTS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO DISPARAGE AMERICAN GLOBAL POWER. (YOU WON'T FIND 'EM IN MY DEPARTMENT)



IF THEY WERE LOGICALLY CONSISTENT, THESE PEOPLE WOULD ALSO DISPARAGE THE PROSPERITY THAT GLOBAL POWER HAS BROUGHT US.

WHADDYA MEAN, "US"?



At home the balance sheet on American intervention in the "Third World" looks something like this:

**THE CORPORATIONS GOT:**

- EASY ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS, MARKETS, AND LOW-PAID LABOR IN COUNTRIES WITH "FRIENDLY" GOVERNMENTS
- GENEROUS CONTRACTS FROM THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT
- AN ATMOSPHERE OF INTENSE ANTI-COMMUNISM IN WHICH CRITICAL IDEAS WERE MADE TO SEEM TREASONOUS

**WORKING PEOPLE GOT:**

- THE CONSTANT THREAT OF "RUNAWAY SHOPS" AS CORPORATIONS CLOSE FACTORIES HERE AND OPEN NEW ONES ABROAD
- HEAVIER TAXES TO PAY FOR THE MILITARY
- THE FIRST EXTENDED PEACETIME DRAFT IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY
- LIMITS ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY



THESE FOREIGNERS DON'T LIKE US EITHER POP.

There was a lot of talk in the 1950's about labor-management partnership. The partnership worked like this

CHUMLEY, OUR PRODUCTION IS A LITTLE DOWN THIS WEEK. WE WANT YOU TO WORK TWO SHIFTS TODAY IF YOU CAN. IF YOU CAN'T MAKE SURE YOUR LOCKER IS CLEAN WHEN YOU LEAVE

A huge strike wave after World War II ended in a defeat for the workers. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and many state laws were passed, making it much harder for unions to recruit new members. Unions could negotiate for higher wages (which the companies could pass on as price hikes) but could not give workers the power to act on their own grievances on the shop floor.

There WAS nearly full employment for most of the 'fifties. Here's how:



Military spending



During World War II, millions of women had gone to work. Afterwards, these women lost their jobs and there was a vigorous campaign to convince women that their place was in the home and that they should depend on men to earn a living.



Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos who moved into the cities were given the worst jobs and were the first to be fired whenever the economy slowed down. This cushioned the impact of unemployment on white workers. On the average, non-white workers earned 1/2 as much as whites did.



Calling the tune were a relative handful of giant corporations, which employed an ever-growing proportion of the American people. Small farmers were still being forced off the land by the hundreds of thousands, as government subsidy programs strengthened the hand of the rich farmers. (One U.S. senator got over \$200,000 a year NOT to grow cotton.)

Big corporations absorbed more and more independent businessmen, whose children could only look forward to being employees of the big companies.



The only active role most people got to play in the economy was to buy things; things they didn't need —



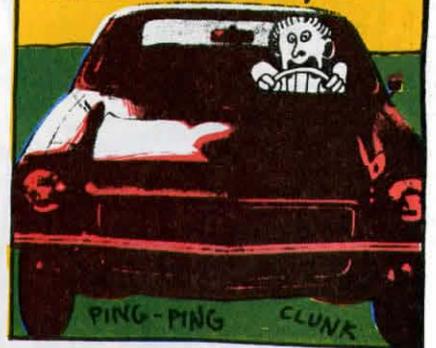
— and couldn't afford. Consumer credit, by which people went into debt at high interest rates, expanded very rapidly.



Companies also used "planned obsolescence" so that their products would only last a short time.

(Road test by Rising Up Angry comix)

HOW DO YOU LIKE MY NEW CAMERO? AIN'T IT A BEAUTY? I SAVED FOR 4 YEARS TO GET THE DOWN PAYMENT



WOW - DIS BABY REALLY HUGS THE ROAD ON THE TAKE OFF



NOSE DOWN - SPEED SHIFT - DIS IS LIVIN'. HEY!! IT STOPPED. WHAT'S GOING ON?

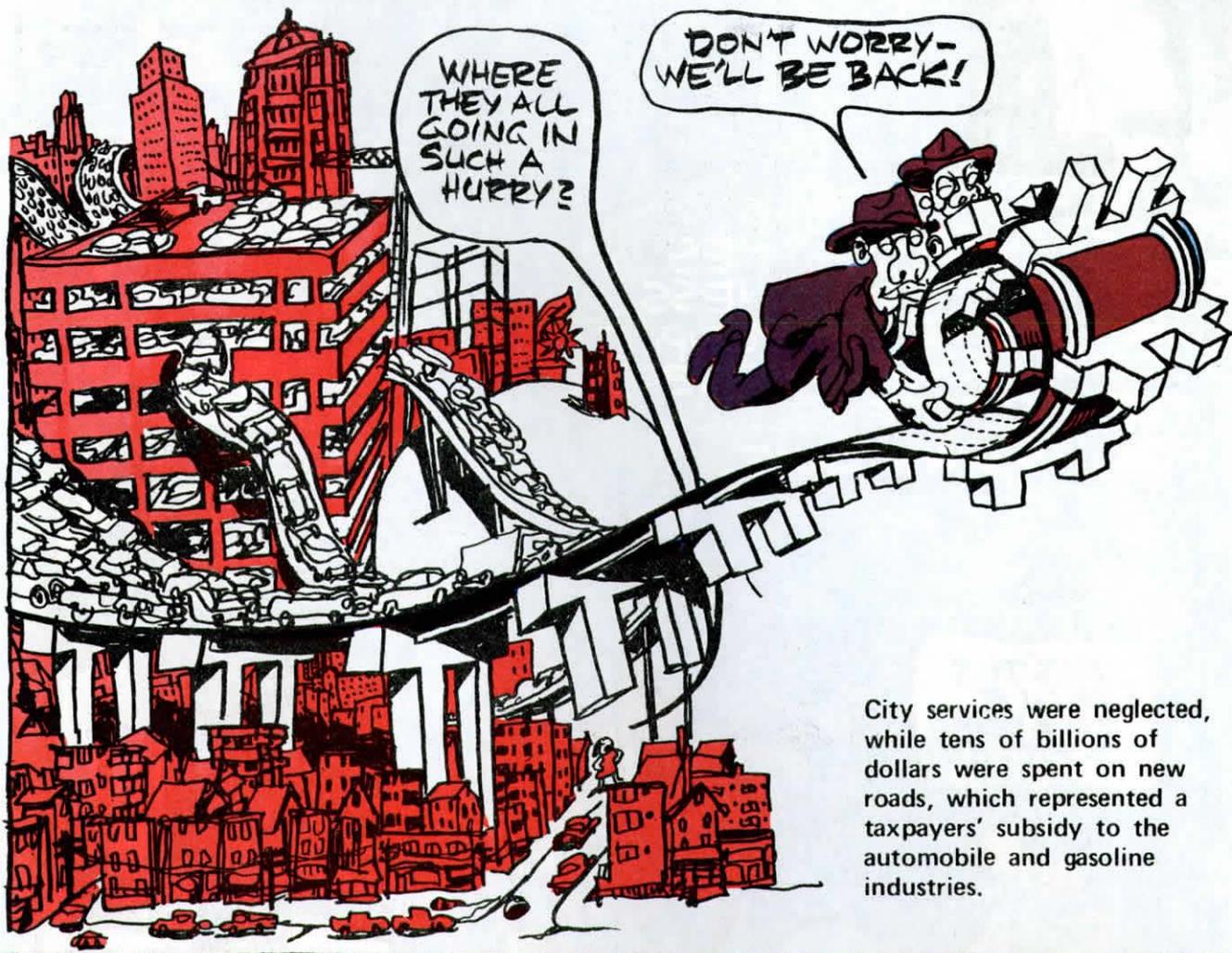
E-E-E-R-R-R-K-K



JEEZ - DA FRONT AXEL BUSTED, DA FRONT END FELL OFF, DA MOTORS STICKIN' UP AND MY WARRANTY JUST FLEW OUT DA WINDOW AND SELF DESTROYED. I'M GONNA KILL SOMEONE..



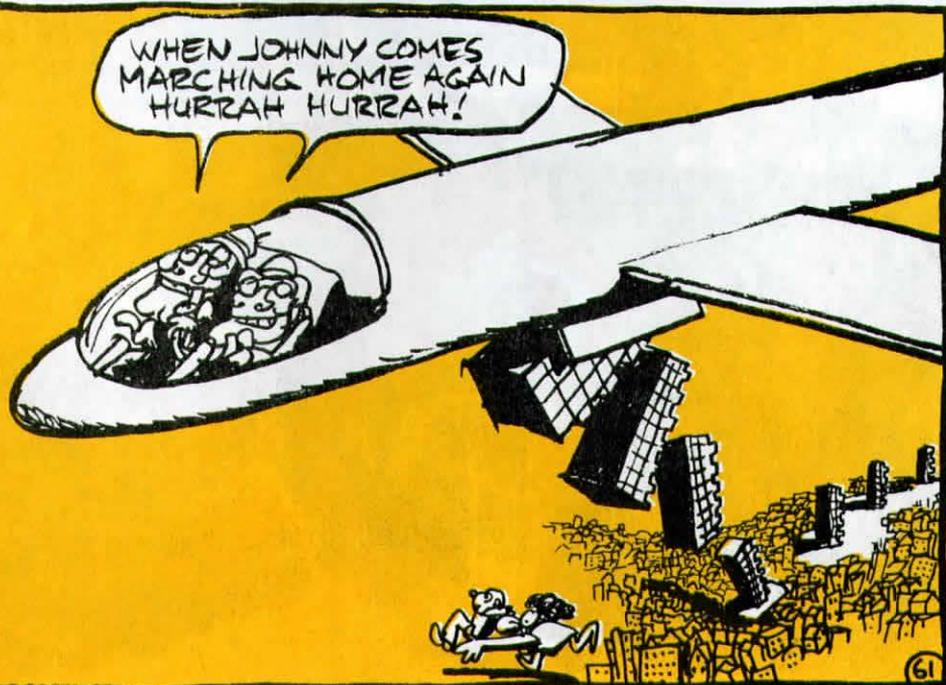
The new prosperity also meant giving up the cities as centers of community life. There was a great mushrooming of suburbs, where people couldn't live without cars.



City services were neglected, while tens of billions of dollars were spent on new roads, which represented a taxpayers' subsidy to the automobile and gasoline industries.

The people who COULDN'T move out (blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, poor whites) were treated as pawns. "Urban renewal" programs financed by the federal government destroyed their neighborhoods whenever bankers and realtors wanted to put in new highways, office buildings, or luxury apartments.

WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME AGAIN HURRAH HURRAH!



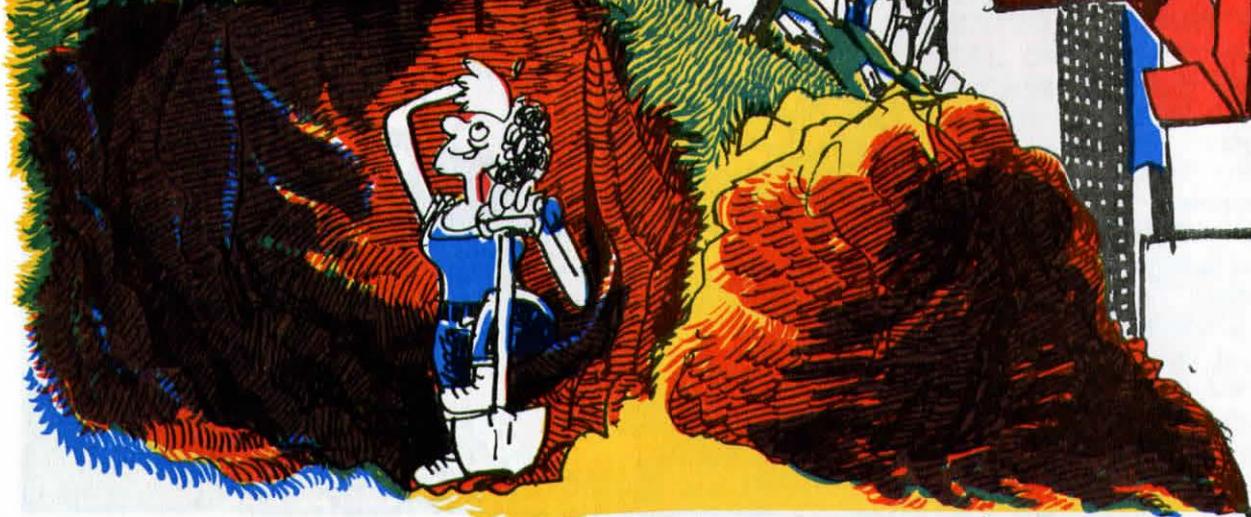


UNFORTUNATELY,  
PROSPERITY SOMETIMES  
BREEDS PERMISSIVENESS.  
IN THE '60S, YOUNG PEOPLE  
LOST ALL SENSE OF PURPOSE  
+ TURNED TO REBELLION  
FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

DOES THIS  
ERA GIVE  
YOU A SENSE  
OF PURPOSE?



YOU  
BET.



The upheavals of the '60s started with black college students sitting-in at segregated lunch counters in the South in 1960.

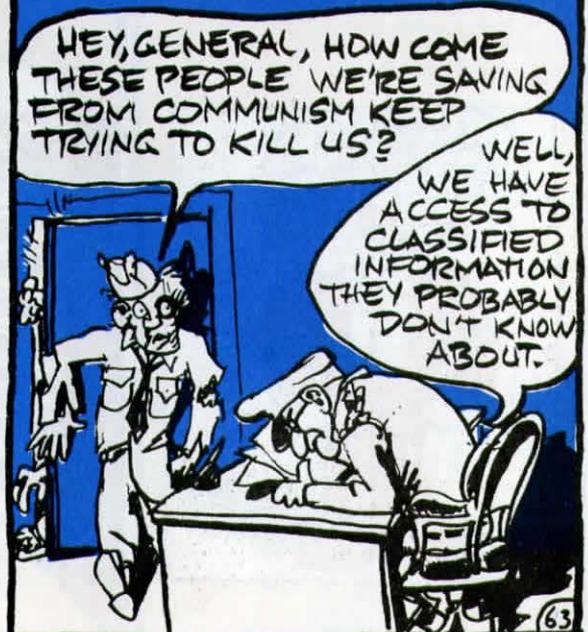


Black militancy grew and deepened.



Self-determination movements also grew among other national minorities: Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans.

The Indochina war, which escalated in 1965, drew continuous opposition – from a small but growing minority which supported the independence movements of Indochina and from a larger number (eventually a majority of the population) who saw that most Americans were being hurt by the U.S. government's futile effort to win a military victory.



Draft resistance and revolts in the armed forces hastened the end of the war by making it impossible for the government to rely on its ground troops.

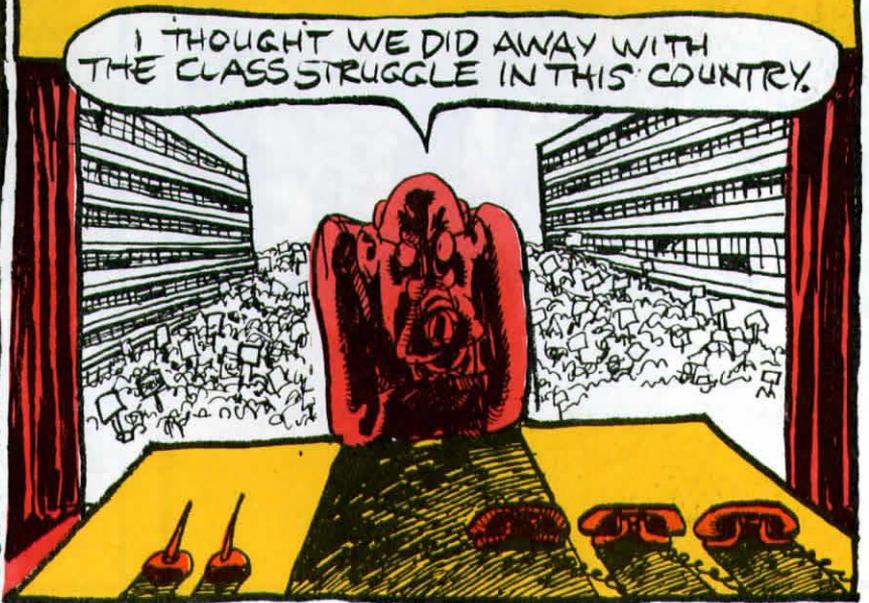


For the first time in U.S. history a broadly based women's movement made a thorough-going attack on all aspects of male supremacy — sex role stereotypes in education and culture, job discrimination, housework, child-raising, rape, etc., etc.



A gay liberation movement has also developed, among men as well as women, which has not only asserted the civil liberties of gay people but has also challenged the competitive tough-guy roles that men are expected to play in this society.

On the job, workers broke through the attempts of the Johnson and Nixon administrations to put a ceiling on wage increases. The strike wave of 1970 was the biggest since 1946.



Young people, who were the most visible opponents of the Indochina war, created a "New Left" which rebelled against the entire life-patterns and careers that society offered them.

All these movements amounted to a realization that our possibilities are not limited to what exists today — that a better society is possible.



# Further Reading

*(Names in parentheses are the publishers of the paperback editions)*

Alvin Josephy, *THE PATRIOT CHIEFS* (Viking) — on Indian resistance.

Eric Williams, *CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY* (Capricorn) — describes the British imperial system in which the Northamerican colonies existed.

Staughton Lynd, *CLASS CONFLICT, SLAVERY, AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: TEN ESSAYS* (Bobbs-Merrill).

Richard Hofstadter, *THE AMERICAN POLITICAL TRADITION AND THE MEN WHO MADE IT* (Vintage) — especially the chapters on Jackson and Lincoln.

Philip Foner, *HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES*, Volume 1 (not yet in paperback — hardbound edition by International Publishers).

W.E.B. DuBois, *BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA* (Atheneum) — puts the whole Civil War era in perspective.

C. Vann Woodward, *ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1877-1913* (Louisiana State University Press).

Eleanor Flexner, *CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES* (Atheneum)

Richard O. Boyer and Herbert Morais, *LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY* (United Electrical Workers) — labor history since the Civil War.

Jeremy Brecher, *STRIKE!* (Straight Arrow Books) — narrative and analysis of mass strikes during the past century.

William A. Williams, *THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY* (Delta) — American foreign policy since the late 19th century.

James Weinstein, *THE CORPORATE IDEAL IN THE LIBERAL STATE, 1900-1918* (Beacon) — on progressivism.

Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *MIDDLETOWN* (Harvest) — the impact of industrialization on a small American city in the early 20th century; the first two sections, on work and the family, are especially good.

David Brody, *STEELWORKERS IN AMERICA: THE NON-UNION YEARS* (Harper) — especially the first six chapters.

Art Preis, *LABOR'S GIANT STEP: TWENTY YEARS OF THE C.I.O.* (Pathfinder).

C. Wright Mills, *WHITE COLLAR* (Oxford) — the decline of the old independent middle class and the rise of a white collar work force.

Stephen Ambrose, *RISE TO GLOBALISM: AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY 1938-1970* (Pelican).

Howard Zinn, *POSTWAR AMERICA: 1945-1971* (Bobbs-Merrill).

