Underhanded History of the USA

By Nick Thorkelson + Jim O'Brien

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH
(SEE HORSE'S MOUTH INSIDE FRONT COVER)
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.
In the beginning, Columbus discovered America.

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 European kings and merchants wanted gold and silver either by finding it, as they did in South America, or by forcing the merchants of India and the Far East to hand over part 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 for getting 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.

Now that's what I call a just and honorable peace.

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 North American independence was only temporary. With its profits made from its thefts and its control of trade in other parts of the world, Europe was undergoing rapid economic growth— and its ability to dominate the rest of the world was growing along with its wealth.

Well at least he's a Christian.
The 17th 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.

Don't knock the Rock.

The North American colonies were conceived in white supremacy:

The theft of land from native North Americans and—almost from the start—slavery.

Let's get out there and tote that barge! Let's get out there and lift that bail!

During all this, the North American colonies were a sideshow. They had no gold or silver, and their slave 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. So...
--- If we consider just the white settlers, colonial society in North America 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 North American 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. Women were just as important as men in this kind of economy and they had more power in the family than they were to have later.

Maybe if I was a teacher I could make them listen.

My husband—I think I'll keep him.
**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.

Now for a 1776 blockbuster. I want you boys to do a psychedelic version of "Keep on Using Me."

What the British did wasn't really too awful by today's standards. Up to the 1760s Britain had pretty much left the North American 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 the British to try to squeeze as much wealth as they could from the colonies. When Britain tried to tax the colonies and regulate the colonial merchants, revolution broke out.
John Adams, one of the Revolution's leaders and later President, said that ⅓ of the colonists had supported it, ⅓ opposed it, and ⅓ were neutral. Without money and ships from France, the Revolution would have been in rough shape. But these boys aren't Christians, they're French agents.

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

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

What about my pursuit of happiness?

The times they are a-changing, Jack.

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

Mr. Jefferson, what class of people stands to gain the most by this revolution?

The yeoman farmer!

He don't mean yo' man.

Revolution is when the ruling class blows it so the people take over.

The American Revolution was based on principles that have wide implications. The idea that people have the right to overthrow a govt. that has become oppressive, stated in the Declaration of Independence, was a new + startling notion in the 1770's.
After a few years of anarchy, the people wisely adopted the Constitution, which has served us right up to the present.

Anarchies of 1786:
I've come to get the money for the mortgage on the house.

Stranger, reckon you can't get there from here.

We'll see about that.

How come them bankers can't appreciate Yankee humor?

Cousin Homer, your honor, I need a foreclosure on Capt. Shays's farm out by...

Wait a minute... you hear something?

Eek! Militants!

Ok, gentlemen, we're in charge here now.

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

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, secure justice, insure domestic tranquility...

Domestic tranquility? Well I can dig that... WHOMP!
The Constitutional Convention of 1787 represented the wealthy slaveowners from the South, landowners, lawyers, and merchants from the North. Only one delegate 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.)

Like the repayment of soldiers certificates at full value

Now that we've got them all!

Seems like they're always too busy to vote.
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 set 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 and personal rivalries within tribes.

Look, I found a good Indian! Aw the only good Indian is a dead Indian.

But under such determined leaders as Tecumseh and Osceola, many Indian nations united in defense of their lands and ways of life. Their 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 west.
The first president to grab off new territory was Thomas Jefferson, who ran for office saying the federal government had too much power already. 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 War of 1812, fought under the next president, James Madison, the U.S. tried to conquer Canada but was defeated.

When do I GET to liberate myself?

This is the army of liberation calling!

We have not yet begun to fight.

Look, honey, we can put Illinois over here and Wisconsin would look nice over here and...
MEANWHILE---

YOU THINK THAT YOUR JOURNEY IS COMING TO AN END?

PING!

ZIP!

WHILE THIS WAS GOING ON, ELI WHITNEY'S INVENTION OF THE COTTON GIN GAVE A NEW LEASE ON LIFE TO SLAVERY.

IT'S JUST THE BEGINNING, FRIEND!

BEFORE THE COTTON GIN (A MACHINE THAT PULLS 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 SOUTHERN BACK COUNTRY. PLANTATIONS SPREAD ACROSS THE SOUTH TO ALABAMA, TENNESSEE, MISSISSIPPI, AND LOUISIANA.

FLORIDA WAS NOT VERY SUITABLE FOR PLANTATIONS, BUT THE ARMY WAS SENT THERE IN THE 1830'S 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.

MARTHA, DO YOU HEAR DRUMS?
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.

Elbow room!

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, Kentucky, Maryland), where cotton growing was unfeasible, did slave breeding for the deeper south, once 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 needed for expansion + 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.

How's your rising been?
I can't complain.

How's your rising been?
?

How's your rising been?

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.

Get on the wagon rolling west out to the great unknown, or you'll be left alone.

But...
AMIDST ALL THIS TALK ABOUT THE COMMON MAN, A NEW GROUP OF THE EXTRA-RICH (MERCHANDISE IN THE NORTH. SKILLED MANUFACTURERS, MANUFACTURERS, MANUFACTURERS, BANKERS, REAL-STATE SPECULATORS) WAS EMERGING AS A NEW ARISTOCRACY 

SOME DAY, SON, THIS WILL ALL BE YOURS. EVERY ONE OF THEM?

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.

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...

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.

AND I'LL SET YOU UP IN MY OWN SHOP AND YOU WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT A THING!!
Workers organized trade unions to resist the worst aspects of the new wage-labor system.

There exists a perpetual antagonism between capital and labor— one side striving to sell their labor for as much, and the other striving to buy it for as little, as possible.

— Constitution of the Printers Union, 1830.

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

Just the same, non-factory workers were able to win a permanent gain in the form of contracts and laws limiting the working day to ten hours.

The logic of the new factory system was expressed in 1855 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 and useless I reject them and get new, and these people are part of my machines."
The Civil War came about when fanatics on both sides refused to compromise.

What would you say to a compromise?

Listen, as long as he's my slave while he's awake, I don't care what he does with the rest of his time.

What would you say to a compromise?

Tell you what, I'll put off bein' free till I'm through tearing this place apart.

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

Surely you're joking—these people like working for me.

Slaveholders had to take elaborate precautions against revolts and escapes. The largest uprising was led by Nat Turner in Southern Virginia in 1831, but there were many smaller revolts both before and after that.
Power concedes nothing without demand.

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 300 slaves to freedom.

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.

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.

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

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

Slave owners are weird.

Get 'em!

I mean they don't have freedom down South like we do.

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.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SPOKE FOR THESE SMALL FARMERS, BUSINESSMEN AND BANKERS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST WHEN HE SAID THE TERRITORIES SHOULD BE:

HOMES FOR FREE WHITE PEOPLE.

IN THE DECADE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, AS THE SLAVEOWNERS KEPT DEMANDING A LARGER SHARE OF THE WEST, THE INDEPENDENT MIDDLE CLASS RESPONDED BY CREATING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.
**Quiz Time:** Who Freed the Slaves?

Lincoln Freed the Slaves?

Nope

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it.*

*Lincoln to Horace Greeley, 1862

The Republican Party Freed the Slaves?

Nope

No interference with slavery where it exists. No slavery in the Territories.*

*Republican Party Platform, 1860

The Workers Freed the Slaves!

Depends on which workers you mean. A greater proportion of workers than of other people volunteered for the Union Army, but white workers in New York, Cleveland, and Detroit responded to Union Conscription with riots. The main targets were not the rich people who could buy their way out of the Army, but free blacks.

Who then?

Us

Here's how →
Slaves freed themselves by running away from their plantations and refusing to work whenever the Union army got close.

Consarn it, Big Jim, I believe we're surrounded by them damn Yankees.

What you mean "we," Chick?

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-moulderin' in the grave.

John Brown?

Moulderin'?

Should it allow them to fight in the Union army?

But his soul goes marching on!

Marching?!

Military necessity became the deciding factor in each case:

By declaring the slaves free, the North could deprive the Confederates 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.

1864: 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 policies of 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.)

But these pressures, and Lincoln's responses, 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.

THE SOUTH SHALL RISE AGAIN.

YOU CAN'T GET AS HIGH AS ME, COZ.

THE RECONSTRUCTION CONGRESS WAS HARDLY EXTREMIST:

WHILE WE'RE GIVING THEM THE VOTE, HAVEN'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 EXPECTED, NOT GIVING THE FREEDMEN AN ECONOMIC BASE GUARANTEED THAT RECONSTRUCTION WOULD FAIL EVENTUALLY.
Ignorant Negroes, who didn't have the experience to appreciate democracy.

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.

Say, now!

Now then. The Southern planters' response to Reconstruction was terrorism. The Ku Klux Klan (founded in 1869) 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 THE FEDERAL TROOPS OUT OF THE SOUTH AND ALLOW CONSERVATIVE WHITES (WHO WERE WILLING TO LET NORTHERN BUSINESS PENETRATE THE SOUTH) TO 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.

WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE

SEE WHO?
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 new industries as steel and oil.

The Republican party quickly outgrew its semiradical 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—
Farmers and Merchants depended for their survival on the railroads who could make or break towns and cities by their decisions.

How's your rising been?

Think think can

Young industrialists like Jay Gould, Philip Armour, J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller—had stayed home during the Civil War and built up their own fortunes.
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!

Periodic depressions threw millions of workers out of their jobs. Depressions were 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 20 languages would be spoken in a single factory.

We gotta get rid of that foreman!

Nein, nein, wir muss bin getten ribt off dot voorman!

¡Mira, mira! ¡El foreman gotta go!

The dispensary's straight ahead...
WELL EVERY CLOUD HAS A SILVER LING.

YES, NOW THAT YOU MENTION IT.

THERE WAS RESISTANCE.

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.

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.

NOW I'LL NEVER BE PRESIDENT.

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.

But racism proved too strong. By 1900 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.

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 smell 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 husband's consent in many states, nor 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, which 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.

- The Homestead Steel Strike in 1892, when workers occupied the factory and held off the company’s private army with guns.

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

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

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

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

What a tragic breakdown in communication.

They can’t be true Americans if they think violence will solve their problems.

Mother of God, the niggers are coming!

This sort of thing just alienates their supporters.

Well, if that’s what it takes to teach them some respect, so be it.

Man, these workers is cra-zee.
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'.
At the very end of the 19th century, America came to the aid of her less fortunate neighbors in Cuba and 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 conquer the Philippines.

**Quiz Time:** What is imperialism?

Imperialism is political control of one country by another, such as European imperialism in Africa or 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.

JEES, 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 →
Millions of people, mostly 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. (These unions commonly excluded blacks and were indifferent at best to women workers and new immigrants.) These 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.
Who benefited most from the progressive reforms?

Well, women, certainly. They got the vote.

So what?

The tree of freedom is not just for white men.
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).

Edward N. Hurley, appointed by Wilson as Head of the Federal Trade Commission, I am there as a businessman. I do not mind telling you that when I was offered the place, I told the President that all I knew was business, that I knew nothing about the old laws nor the new ones, and that I would apply what force I had in the interest of business.
In 1917, Americans united with great patriotic enthusiasm to fight the German menace.

November 1916: Committee to re-elect the president.

April 1917: Commander-in-chief.

Vote. "He kept us out of war." Wilson says.

"Smash the Kraut." Says Wilson.

World War I was, above all, a war between 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 took place in Russia and the world's first socialist country was born. The U.S. sent troops, along with England and France, in an unsuccessful attempt to kill off the revolution.

Why didn't you bring me their heads?!

Gee, boss, we didn't have any more chance than a bag full of pigs.
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.

You can't send these 2nd class to keep a 2nd class permit you have to do a mailing every month and you missed last month.

But last month's magazines were confiscated by the government!

That's not my department.

The feds wrecked my printing press!

Called me an impudent snob.

The industrial workers of the world were treated most harshly because they insisted that class struggle should go on during wartime. Hundreds of their leaders were jailed and their offices destroyed. The IWW never recovered.

If you don't come in Sunday, don't come in Monday.

I think class struggle should go on during wartime, too.

After the war, the "red scare" of 1919-20 meant the continued jailing of radicals, especially immigrants, on trumped-up charges.
Fellow workers! This is no ordinary struggle! This is a war to make the world safe for democracy!

The American Federation of Labor, much larger than the I.W.W., 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 metal 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.

Time's up!

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...
People lived high in the '20s—
Bootleg whiskey—
Bathtub gin—
"Jazz"—
"Flappers"—
"23 skidoo"—
(Sigh)
WHERE WAS I?

Then the people were punished for their frugality when the U.S. suffered the Great Depression.

The people who were frivolous...

We're not 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 THEY 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 DECIDE 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.
"These huckster mobile hotplates are so sexy I can't stand it and I oughtta know," says Lance Huckster, noted playboy industrialist.

The capitalists tried to "solve" this problem by advertising. The advertising industry got its first big growth in the 'twenties.

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. The government refused to help.

This 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 anymore without a lot of government help.
Well the depression was bad but the New Deal pulled us out of it.

F.D.R. F.D.R. F.D.R.
Who gave the people the right to survive
Who gave the workers the right to organize
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 people to resist evictions.

Also in 1930, the unemployed councils organized massive marches for unemployment compensation or jobs in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, L.A., N.Y., 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 passed in 1935, more radical programs, some of them put forward by demagogues like Huey Long and Father Coughlin, had attracted millions of supporters.

The government ought to take away all large fortunes and give everybody $5,000 a year.

Think I'll give the people the right to survive.
1934 saw mass militant workers' action, led by socialists of various stripes, in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and the southern cotton belt states.

In 1936-1937, sit-down strikes (plant takeovers) in Akron, Ohio, Flint, Michigan, 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 big industries - auto, steel, meatpacking, electronics, rubber, and textiles - in which the bosses had tried to gain absolute controls (through assembly lines and speedup) in the 1920's. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), composed of these new industrial unions, was formed in 1935 and rivaled 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 WHAT 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.

NEW DEAL MEASURES IMPROVED THINGS AT FIRST. BUT IN 1937 THINGS GOT WORSE. IN 1940, AFTER 7 YEARS OF THE NEW DEAL, EVERY 6th WORKER WAS STILL LOOKING FOR A MEAL. IT WAS WORLD WAR II, WITH MILITARY SPENDING, THAT 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. 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. IT SUBJECTED THEM TO CLOSER REGULATION THAN THEY WERE USED TO. BUT SUCH REGULATION EVENTUALLY RESTORED CONFIDENCE IN THE BANKS + THE STOCK EXCHANGE AND DROVE OUT THE SMALLER COMPANIES THAT STOOD IN THE WAY OF CONSOLIDATION. AND SOONER OR LATER THE REGULATORY AGENCIES FELL INTO THE USUAL PATTERN OF BEING DOMINATED BY THE COMPANIES THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO CONTROL.

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 that 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 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 self-determination.
FOR THE U.S., GOING TO WAR MEANT THAT NEW DEAL REFORM EFFORTS WERE LARGELY ABANDONED. AS FOR SAID, "DR.-NEW DEAL," IT WAS REPLACED BY "DR.-WIN-THE-WAR." BIG CORPORATION EXECUTIVES FLOODED INTO THE GOVERNMENT AS "DOLLAR-A-YEAR" MEN—STILL PAID BY THEIR OWN COMPANIES, TO WHOM THEY REMAINED LOYAL.

WE'RE THINKING OF YOU, HITLER! WITH FULL EMPLOYMENT, LABOR UNIONS CAME. BUT STRIKES WERE NOT ALLOWED. SO THE NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONS THAT HAD BEEN FORMED IN THE '30S WERE USED AS INSTRUMENTS TO INSURE THAT WORKERS STAYED ON THE JOB.

KEEP THE GOODS COMING—CIO

THERE WERE THOUSANDS OF WILDCAT STRIKES DURING THE WAR (5000 IN 1944 ALONE), BUT ONLY THE COAL MINERS UNION DEFIED THE GOVERNMENT BY AUTHORIZING A STRIKE.
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 a March on Washington in 1941, 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.

What are you going to do with this "Pentagon" after the war's over?

Oh we'll probably use it to store old records.
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 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. gave massive aid to rebuild the capitalist economies of Japan and Western Europe, so these countries could be healthy junior partners of U.S. foreign policy.
With Germany and Japan defeated, and with England, France, and Russia exhausted by the war (20 million Russians dead as against 1.5 million Americans), the U.S. was by far the world's strongest nation.

It's a free world, a free-hee-hee world.

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.

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 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.
In the "Third World" (the underdeveloped + 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—it was in 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 in Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, and it was tried in Cuba in 1961.

No, thanks.
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.

We're not extremists—we often settle for half-measures.

North Korea invaded the South after repeated border skirmishes. 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—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 1/6 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 some 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 peacetime draft in the country's history.
- Limits on the "right to strike.

There was a lot of talk in the '50s about labor-management partnership. The partnership worked like this.!

Chimney, our production is a little down this week. We want you to work two shifts 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 nearlly 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 + there was a vigorous campaign to convince women that their place was in the home + that they should depend on men to earn a living.

Blacks, Puerto Ricans, + Chicanos who moved into the cities were given the worst jobs + 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.

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

Now for a 1957 blockbuster, I got a great tune for you boys - the "Responsibility Rock".

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/year not to grow cotton).
THE ONLY ACTIVE ROLE MOST PEOPLE GOT TO PLAY IN THE SOCIETY WAS TO BUY THINGS; THINGS THEY DIDN'T NEED—

FELLOW AMERICANS! THIS IS NO ORDINARY WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY SALE! THIS IS A CHANCE TO MAKE OUR COUNTRY STRONG!

—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 COMI X)

WOW—DIS BABY REALLY HUGS THE ROAD ON THE TAKEOFF!

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

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

PING—PING CLUNK
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.

WHERE THEY ALL GOING IN SUCH A HURRY?

DON'T WORRY—WE'LL BE BACK!

CITY SERVICES WERE NEGLECTED, WHILE TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WERE SPENT ON NEW ROADS, WHICH REPRESENTED A TAXPayers' SUBSIDY TO THE AUTOMOBILE + OIL INDUSTRIES.

THE PEOPLE WHO COULDN'T MOVE OUT TO THE SUBURBS (BLACKS, PUERTORICANS, CHICANOS, POOR WHITES) WERE TREATED AS PAWNS. "URBAN RENEWAL" PROGRAMS FINANCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DESTROYED THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS. WHENEVER BANKERS + 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 AND 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.

That's OK, we weren't going to order any.

Black militancy grew and deepened.

We shall overcome.

How stirring!

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.

Hey, general, how come these people are saving from communism, keep trying to kill us?

Well, we have access to classified information they probably don't know about.

Self-determination movements also grew among other national minorities, especially Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.
DRAFT RESISTANCE AND REVOLTS IN THE ARMY HASTENED THE END OF THE WAR BY MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RELY ON ITS GROUND TROOPS.

SURELY YOU'RE JOKING... THESE BOYS LIKE FIGHTING UNDER MY COMMAND.

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.

Young people, who were the most visible opponents of the Indochina war, created a "new left" which rebelled against the entire life patterns + 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.

If there are no further questions, class is dismissed.
(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.


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


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).

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).


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


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