Congratulations on being half done with your high school career! I look forward to having you in class next year. In order to be adequately prepared for class this fall, you are required to complete some work over the summer. I promise this is not just “busy work.” The tasks you complete will be an integral part of next year's AP Language course. I will do my best to explain your assignments, but please contact me if you have any questions over the summer. I will get back to you as soon as possible.

**Expectation:** All elements of this assignment are due the first day of school. You are responsible for completing your work in accordance with the expectations explained on this sheet. If turning in homework on time has been difficult for you in the past, please be aware that your habits must change. Late work in an AP class is not acceptable.

**Plagiarism:** This school’s plagiarism policy will be applied to any work on the summer assignment. You will not receive credit for plagiarized work, and you may not redo the assignment. You may not use materials from another student. Do not work collaboratively on this assignment. (Collaboration has its place. However, you are working to prepare for the AP exam where no collaboration is allowed). I have zero tolerance for dishonesty. So-called “help” sources like SparkNotes are not permitted at any time in this class. If you are having difficulty comprehending a text or completing the assignments, please contact me via school email.

**Formal Writing:** It is imperative for college-bound students to write formally. Unless specifically instructed otherwise, avoid contractions, first and second-person pronouns, slang, or any other nonstandard wording. Formal writing also requires complete sentences free from punctuation and word usage errors. The OWL at Purdue university is a great place to go for writing and grammar questions. The web address is https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/section/1/. It is one of the best sites and is used nationwide.

**Assignment #1 The Crucible -- 40 points**

This summer you are assigned to read Arthur Miller’s play *The Crucible*, available in the WHS library. Feel free to review Puritanism in the Colonies during the 1600s and early 1700s and the Salem Witch Trials. You may also wish to spend a few minutes researching the McCarthy era in American history. Arthur Miller wrote his famous play as a response to what was happening in the United States during Senator Joseph McCarthy's 1950-1954 investigation and interrogation of supposed communists who, according to McCarthy, had infiltrated American government and society. *The Crucible*, set in 1692 Salem, MA, during the height of the witch trials, mirrors some of the behaviors of the McCarthy era. Remember that *The Crucible* is historical fiction, so some details are not factual but used only for character or plot development. If you are interested in the history of *The Crucible*’s setting, a great site is http://www.17thc.us/index.php. Its author, Margo Burns, has created a great list of other sites and primary source sites. I also encourage you to look online for Arthur Miller’s article “*Why I Wrote The Crucible.*” It is not required reading, but it will give you wonderful perspective on the environment in which Miller and his contemporaries were living and working.

I have also included some background information for you to peruse before you read the play. There are many good sources about the McCarthy era online, so spend some time looking at them. You can also find primary source video clips on YouTube. The clips are in black and white, but they are usually pretty easy to hear and understand.

I encourage you to use Post-It notes to mark interesting, surprising, or confusing passages in your copy of *The Crucible*. You should be prepared to discuss your readings during the first week of school. If you prefer to purchase your own copy so you can highlight and make notations on the pages, feel free to do so. However, please purchase the same edition the other students are using (from the WHS library) so your page numbers correspond with your classmates’ copies of the play.

As AP students, I expect that you can understand the value of reading the play instead of just finding the movie and watching it. If you take the lazy way out and try to only watch the movie, you will struggle with the assignment. The movie is wonderful, but it cuts numerous scenes, moves entire scenes out of order, and adds scenes not found in the play. The play is not that long. Just read it.

Please prepare a formal essay based on the prompt on page 2. **You must use specific details and quotations from the play.** Follow the rules in the table below unless one of the informal items appears in a direct quote. If something “prohibited” falls in a direct quote, the rules will not apply. Your argument should drive the essay. Use details from the text to support your argument rather than just summarizing the plot of the play.
AP writers DO NOT summarize plot. AP Language and Composition essays typically have no set length, so neither will this essay. However, avoid writing more than five or six paragraphs.

This essay will be submitted to TurnItIn.com once the class returns to school. Any essay that is not submitted to Turn It In once students receive their Chromebooks will not be scored. Type the essay as a Word or Google Doc, please. Use standard MLA 8 format. You can find examples of MLA format online. I suggest using the Purdue Online Writing Lab (OWL). Remember that the public libraries have computers, so you should be able to type the paper. A typed, printed copy of the paper is due at the beginning of class on the first day of school. If you absolutely cannot type it this summer, you must have the hand-written essay ready to show me on the first day of class. Please note that not every student has the same essay prompt. This is a formal, graded assignment. Informal writing results in a 20% deduction from your original score. Below are some helpful items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb tense:</th>
<th>Always use present tense unless there is a compelling reason not to.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>NEVER use 1st person (I, we, me, my, our, ours) or 2nd person (you, your, yours).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractions</td>
<td>Avoid contractions. Use the real words (can’t = cannot, doesn’t = does not, isn’t = is not, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalization</td>
<td>Use standard, formal capitalization. “Text talk” is not formal and will lower the grade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Play titles, book titles, and any other long works are italicized. Articles, poems, songs, and short works are in quotation marks. Always capitalize the first, last, and all important words of any title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word Usage</td>
<td>People are “hanged,” while pictures are “hung.” Also, make sure you are using the correct affect and effect, to and too, and other commonly confused words. Look online if you have questions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Prompt: Read again the opening scene of Act II and the last 10-12 pages of the play. Then, in a well-organized essay, discuss how the playwright uses the language of John and Elizabeth’s conversations to convey important insights into their marriage. Be sure to illustrate how their relationship seems to improve by the end of the play. How does Miller use language to show this change in their relationship?

Background Information: The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy

First elected as a U.S. Senator from Wisconsin in 1946, few noticed Joseph McCarthy during his first three years in the Senate. All that changed when in February 1950 he made a bombshell speech. Addressing the Republican Women's Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, he announced that he had evidence that in spite of the Truman administration's efforts to eliminate disloyal elements from government service, 205 members of the Communist Party continued to work for the State Department.

It is likely that even McCarthy himself was surprised at the public reaction to his revelations. In the past two years the United States had watched as China had become a communist country, the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb, and North Korea launched an invasion of South Korea. America, which had seemed the world's dominant power in 1945, felt its position slipping away, and McCarthy's accusations provided a convenient explanation.

The Senate, therefore, was inclined to look into these charges, and a committee was soon set up under Maryland Democrat Millard Tydings. The charges, Tydings concluded, were without foundation, but few were paying attention. Three days after the Maryland senator publicly rejected McCarthy's accusations Julius Rosenberg was arrested for passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The issue of Soviet penetration of the U.S. government seemed shockingly real. As for Tydings, when he stood for reelection later that year McCarthy and his allies accused him of being "soft on communism." Marylanders took the charge seriously—Tydings, who had been in the Senate since 1927, was defeated.

The message sent by the Tydings defeat was clear—it was dangerous to stand in the way of Joe McCarthy. For the next two years the accusations flew, and quite a few Democrats (and even some Republicans, such as Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, who dared criticize the senator from Wisconsin) found themselves accused of being "communist sympathizers." In
1952, aided in part by McCarthy's accusations (but probably more so by the stalemated war in Korea), the Republican Party won control of both houses of Congress, while GOP candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected president in a landslide.

In the short term at least, Republican dominance in Washington gave McCarthy new prestige and power. He was awarded the chair of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, and used his position to subpoena a series of government employees. His accusations did not remain limited to the State Department. Soon employees of Voice of America, and even officers and enlisted men of the U.S. Army, were called before McCarthy's committee and accused of being at best naïve dupes of communism, and at worst traitors to their country.

In the long run, however, Republican control of Congress and the White House led to McCarthy's downfall. Many Republicans had privately expressed doubts about McCarthy's reckless accusations, but had remained silent when his targets were Democrats. Among these was Eisenhower himself, who had refused even to defend his former Army colleague George C. Marshall when McCarthy suggested that he was a subversive. However, after 1952 the Wisconsin Senator was becoming more and more of an embarrassment to the GOP. When in 1953 he began to suggest that communists had infiltrated the Army, Eisenhower went on the attack, issuing an order forbidding any member of his administration from testifying before McCarthy's committee.

The final straw came in 1954, when the Army accused McCarthy and his chief lieutenant, Roy Cohn, of pressuring the Army into giving preferential treatment to Cohn's friend G. David Schine. Now it was McCarthy himself who was on the hot seat, and in the resulting Army-McCarthy Hearings, broadcast on nationwide television, the Wisconsin Senator came across as a common bully. Meanwhile, the Army's chief counsel, Joseph N. Welch, finally shamed him with the famous words, "Have you no sense of decency, sir?" In December 1954 he was formally censured by the Senate, which put an end to his investigations once and for all. A painful chapter in America's history had at last come to its close.

(Article credit: Adapted from EdSitement, a National Endowment for the Humanities project)

Assignment #2: Annotation and Argument (reading selections at end of packet)-- 30 points

Today's internet-based society leaves little room for immediate, easy interaction with text. One of the most important skills you can learn in this class is how to interact with what you read. Thus, most of what we read will NOT be online. The AP exam is not online, so the more practice you have with annotating text, the better. Annotating is a valuable skill for college, too. Even the most accomplished high school students return from college somewhat shocked and often a bit overwhelmed with the amount of reading and studying necessary to succeed beyond the first semester or two. It is crucial that you begin learning how to manage that material. Annotating helps you work smarter, not harder.

Annotating text simply means marking text with questions, reactions, and commentary. It may also include using highlighters. I have provided several readings for you to annotate. Please use these paper copies and annotate right on them. You will turn them in on the first day of school. Annotating means you actually comment in the margins, underline or circle items, or jot down notes for your own benefit. Annotating is not simply underlining or highlighting something. If it is important enough to underline or highlight, it is important enough to warrant commentary.

There is no right or wrong way to annotate, but consider these suggestions:

- reading the text multiple times
- questioning the author's ideas (compare them to your own ethics and morals)
- comparison or contrast with other events (past or present)
- notation literary elements & why they might be used
- short summaries of sections
- circling unfamiliar words and defining them
- drawing small pictures to illustrate a concept

In addition to annotations, be sure to highlight (in yellow or another bright color) two or three lines from each selection that seem especially relevant. They are the kinds of lines that make a reader stop and reflect. After you highlight those impactful lines, make a few notes about why each line stood out to you. I have listed some teacher web pages that will give you pointers and examples to help you get started. You can also find many examples online. (Remember that Ms. Smith will post this on her WHS library web page, so you can also access these as live links)
Please keep in mind that I want your ideas, not something you found online. You are being assessed on your ability to interact with the text rather than write down someone else’s summary of the text. Put down your thoughts. Connect to things you know or have experienced.

Other Notes and Information

Required Supplies for First Day of School
Ignore the generic list supplied by the school district. For AP Language, we will use the following items on a daily basis. You are expected to have them in class the first day. You are required to stay organized and follow my directions for managing the many handouts I provide. Please bring the following:

- 1 ½ “ 3-ring binder dedicated entirely to this class (A spiral notebook with folders will not work.)
- 6 section dividers ready to be labeled in class
- loose-leaf paper (NOT tear-out notebook paper)
- pencil and black pen
- correcting pen (red, green, orange, purple, etc.)
- yellow and pink highlighters

** If finances make it difficult to purchase these items, do not hesitate to contact me. I can make confidential arrangements to get you the necessary items if you give me at least two weeks’ notice. I want each student to be successful, and that includes having everything to start off the year in a positive way.

Things to Do This Summer to Enhance Learning

- Review parts of speech, sentence structure, and punctuation rules. The Internet is crammed with grammar and writing sites. I recommend the Purdue OWL website, but you can use others, of course. This is not a grammar course. I will teach some small lessons on “problem” areas, but students are expected to know the basics of good writing. I expect that you put to use the grammar and sentence structure instruction you have received for the past several years.

- Make sure you know how to use and spell commonly confused words such as affect/effect, its/it’s, your/you’re, whether/weather, and they’re/their/there. There are many websites to help with this. so if you need to improve, do so.

- Substandard sentence structure, writing and word usage will drop your scores in class and on the AP exam. Make the effort to improve.

- Get in the habit of reading news daily. I cannot predict what the 2020 AP Language test will contain, but students from past years said our class work and discussion with current events helped them with examples for their essays on the test. You have the world at your fingertips. Use that cell phone for something besides brain-numbing videos and Snapchat stories.

- Read nonfiction books. I will say it often in class, but there is no way to make up for not reading. There is no magic test-prep book that will give you the wide range of content, style, and perspective you need to be a good reader and writer. You simply must put in the time and read quality nonfiction. If you have not been much of a reader -- especially nonfiction -- this summer is the perfect time to start. Think of it this way: No college scholarship selection committee or future employer is going to care if you have read the latest teen romance or murder mystery. However, both of those entities will expect you to be able to read nonfiction information and use it effectively.

- Explore magazines, newspapers, and websites that challenge your political perspective. Learn to see both sides of an issue. If you only get your news from MSNBC or FOX, then you are missing valuable perspective. More than likely those far left and far right sources are just confirming what you already think. You don’t have to agree with someone else in order to appreciate his or her perspective.
Not By Math Alone
Originally Published in the Washington Post March 25, 2006
By Sandra Day O’Connor and Roy Romer

Fierce global competition prompted President Bush to use the State of the Union address to call for better math and science education, where there’s evidence that many schools are falling short.

We should be equally troubled by another shortcoming in American schools: Most young people today simply do not have an adequate understanding of how our government and political system work, and they are thus not well prepared to participate as citizens.

This country has long exemplified democratic practice to the rest of the world. With the attention we are paying to advancing democracy abroad, we ought not neglect it at home.

Two-thirds of 12th-graders scored below “proficient” on the last national civics assessment in 1998, and only 9 percent could list two ways a democracy benefits from citizen participation. Yes, young people remain highly patriotic, and many volunteer in their communities. But most are largely disconnected from current events and issues.

A healthy democracy depends on the participation of citizens, and that participation is learned behavior; it doesn’t just happen. As the 2003 report “The Civic Mission of Schools” noted: “Individuals do not automatically become free and responsible citizens, but must be educated for citizenship.” That means civic learning -- educating students for democracy -- needs to be on par with other academic subjects.

This is not a new idea. Our first public schools saw education for citizenship as a core part of their mission. Eighty years ago, John Dewey said, “Democracy needs to be reborn in every generation and education is its midwife.”

But in recent years, civic learning has been pushed aside. Until the 1960s, three courses in civics and government were common in American high schools, and two of them (“civics” and “problems of democracy”) explored the role of citizens and encouraged students to discuss current issues. Today those courses are very rare.

What remains is a course on “American government” that usually spends little time on how people can -- and why they should -- participate. The effect of reduced civic learning on civic life is not theoretical. Research shows that the better people understand our history and system of government, the more likely they are to vote and participate in the civic life.

We need more and better classes to impart the knowledge of government, history, law and current events that students need to understand and participate in a democratic republic. And we also know that much effective civic learning takes place beyond the classroom -- in extracurricular activity, service work that is connected to class work, and other ways students experience civic life.

Preserving our democracy should be reason enough to promote civic learning. But there are other benefits. Understanding society and how we relate to each other fosters the attitudes essential for success in college, work and communities; it enhances student learning in other subjects.

Economic and technological competitiveness is essential, and America's economy and technology have flourished because of the rule of law and the “assets” of a free and open society. Democracy has been good for business and for economic well-being. By the same token, failing to hone the civic tools of democracy will have economic consequences.

Bill Gates -- a top business and technology leader -- argues strongly that schools have to prepare students not only for college and career but for citizenship as well.

None of this is to diminish the importance of improving math and science education. This latest push, as well as the earlier emphasis on literacy, deserves support. It should also be the occasion for a broader commitment, and that means restoring education for democracy to its central place in school.

We need more students proficient in math, science and engineering. We also need them to be prepared for their role as citizens. Only then can self-government work. Only then will we not only be more competitive but also remain the beacon of liberty in a tumultuous world.
Speech to Congress
March 15, 1965

President Lyndon Baines Johnson delivered this speech in the wake of violence against African Americans preparing to march to Montgomery in the name of Civil Rights. The marchers were particularly concerned about voting-rights discrimination and were attacked by police because of their protest. This is a long speech but well worth the time invested.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress:

I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy.

I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause.

At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man’s unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.

There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed.

There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight.

For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great Government—the Government of the greatest Nation on earth.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.

In our time we have come to live with moments of great crisis. Our lives have been marked with debate about great issues; issues of war and peace, issues of prosperity and depression. But rarely in any time does an issue lay bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved Nation.

The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue. And should we defeat every enemy, should we double our wealth and conquer the stars, and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people and as a nation.

For with a country as with a person, “What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?”

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans—we are met here as Americans to solve that problem.

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: “All men are created equal”—“government by consent of the governed”—“give me liberty or give me death.” Well, those are not just clever words, or those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.
Those words are a promise to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions; it cannot be found in his power, or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall choose his leaders, educate his children, and provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

To apply any other test—to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, his religion or the place of his birth—is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.

Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country, in large measure, is the history of the expansion of that right to all of our people.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if he persists, and if he manages to present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

And if he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire Constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of State law. And even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read and write.

For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin.

Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and ingenious discrimination. No law that we now have on the books—and I have helped to put three of them there—can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it.

In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

The broad principles of that bill will be in the hands of the Democratic and Republican leaders tomorrow. After they have reviewed it, it will come here formally as a bill. I am grateful for this opportunity to come here tonight at the invitation of the leadership to reason with my friends, to give them my views, and to visit with my former colleagues.

I have had prepared a more comprehensive analysis of the legislation which I had intended to transmit to the clerk tomorrow but which I will submit to the clerks tonight. But I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—federal, state, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to
flout our Constitution.

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting.

I will welcome the suggestions from all of the Members of Congress—I have no doubt that I will get some—on ways and means to strengthen this law and to make it effective. But experience has plainly shown that this is the only path to carry out the command of the Constitution.

To those who seek to avoid action by their National Government in their own communities; who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple:

Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong—deadly wrong—to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

I have not the slightest doubt what will be your answer.

The last time a President sent a civil rights bill to the Congress it contained a provision to protect voting rights in federal elections. That civil rights bill was passed after eight long months of debate. And when that bill came to my desk from the Congress for my signature, the heart of the voting provision had been eliminated.

This time, on this issue, there must be no delay, no hesitation and no compromise with our purpose.

We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in. And we ought not and we cannot and we must not wait another 8 months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more, and the time for waiting is gone.

So I ask you to join me in working long hours—nights and weekends, if necessary—to pass this bill. And I don't make that request lightly. For from the window where I sit with the problems of our country I recognize that outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation, the grave concern of many nations, and the harsh judgment of history on our acts.

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome.

As a man whose roots go deeply into Southern soil, I know how agonizing racial feelings are. I know how difficult it is to reshape the attitudes and the structure of our society.
But a century has passed, more than a hundred years, since the Negro was freed. And he is not fully free tonight.

It was more than a hundred years ago that Abraham Lincoln, a great President of another party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but emancipation is a proclamation and not a fact.

A century has passed, more than a hundred years, since equality was promised. And yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise. And the promise is unkept.

The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American.

For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear, because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

So I say to all of you here, and to all in the Nation tonight, that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future.

This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all: black and white, North and South, sharecropper and city dweller. These are the enemies: poverty, ignorance, disease. They are the enemies and not our fellow man, not our neighbor. And these enemies too, poverty, disease and ignorance, we shall overcome.

Now let none of us in any sections look with prideful righteousness on the troubles in another section, or on the problems of our neighbors. There is really no part of America where the promise of equality has been fully kept. In Buffalo as well as in Birmingham, in Philadelphia as well as in Selma, Americans are struggling for the fruits of freedom.

This is one Nation. What happens in Selma or in Cincinnati is a matter of legitimate concern to every American. But let each of us look within our own hearts and our own communities, and let each of us put our shoulder to the wheel to root out injustice wherever it exists.

As we meet here in this peaceful, historic chamber tonight, men from the South, some of whom were at Iwo Jima, men from the North who have carried Old Glory to far corners of the world and brought it back without a stain on it, men from the East and from the West, are all fighting together without regard to religion, or color, or region, in Viet-Nam. Men from every region fought for us across the world 20 years ago.

And in these common dangers and these common sacrifices the South made its contribution of honor and gallantry no less than any other region of the great Republic—and in some instances, a great many of them, more.

And I have not the slightest doubt that good men from everywhere in this country, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Golden Gate to the harbors along the Atlantic, will rally together now in this cause to vindicate the freedom of all Americans.

For all of us owe this duty; and I believe that all of us will respond to it.

Your President makes that request of every American.

The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this Nation. His demonstrations have been designed to call attention to injustice, designed to provoke change, designed to stir reform.
He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent bravery, and his faith in American democracy.

For at the real heart of battle for equality is a deep-seated belief in the democratic process. Equality depends not on the force of arms or tear gas but upon the force of moral right; not on recourse to violence but on respect for law and order.

There have been many pressures upon your President and there will be others as the days come and go. But I pledge you tonight that we intend to fight this battle where it should be fought: in the courts, and in the Congress, and in the hearts of men.

We must preserve the right of free speech and the right of free assembly. But the right of free speech does not carry with it, as has been said, the right to holler fire in a crowded theater. We must preserve the right to free assembly, but free assembly does not carry with it the right to block public thoroughfares to traffic.

We do have a right to protest, and a right to march under conditions that do not infringe the constitutional rights of our neighbors. And I intend to protect all those rights as long as I am permitted to serve in this office.

We will guard against violence, knowing it strikes from our hands the very weapons which we seek—progress, obedience to law, and belief in American values.

In Selma as elsewhere we seek and pray for peace. We seek order. We seek unity. But we will not accept the peace of stifled rights, or the order imposed by fear, or the unity that stifles protest. For peace cannot be purchased at the cost of liberty.

In Selma tonight, as in every—and we had a good day there—as in every city, we are working for just and peaceful settlement. We must all remember that after this speech I am making tonight, after the police and the FBI and the Marshals have all gone, and after you have promptly passed this bill, the people of Selma and the other cities of the Nation must still live and work together. And when the attention of the Nation has gone elsewhere they must try to heal the wounds and to build a new community.

This cannot be easily done on a battleground of violence, as the history of the South itself shows. It is in recognition of this that men of both races have shown such an outstandingly impressive responsibility in recent days—last Tuesday, again today.

The bill that I am presenting to you will be known as a civil rights bill. But, in a larger sense, most of the program I am recommending is a civil rights program. Its object is to open the city of hope to all people of all races.

Because all Americans just must have the right to vote. And we are going to give them that right.

All Americans must have the privileges of citizenship regardless of race. And they are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

But I would like to caution you and remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job, and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

Of course, people cannot contribute to the Nation if they are never taught to read or write, if their bodies are stunted from hunger, if their sickness goes untended, if their life is spent in hopeless poverty just drawing a welfare check.

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.
My first job after college was as a teacher in Cotulla, Texas, in a small Mexican-American school. Few of
them could speak English, and I couldn't speak much Spanish. My students were poor and they often
came to class without breakfast, hungry. They knew even in their youth the pain of prejudice. They never
seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often
walked home late in the afternoon, after the classes were finished, wishing there was more that I could
do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the
hardships that lay ahead.

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of
a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my
fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to
help people like them all over this country.

But now I do have that chance—and I'll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use
it with me.

This is the richest and most powerful country which ever occupied the globe. The might of past empires is
little compared to ours. But I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or
extended dominion.

I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of their world. I want to be the
President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of tax-eaters.

I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of
every citizen to vote in every election.

I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellow men and who promoted love
among the people of all races and all regions and all parties.

I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth.

And so at the request of your beloved Speaker and the Senator from Montana; the majority leader, the
Senator from Illinois; the minority leader, Mr. McCulloch, and other Members of both parties, I came here
tonight—not as President Roosevelt came down one time in person to veto a bonus bill, not as President
Truman came down one time to urge the passage of a railroad bill—but I came down here to ask you to
share this task with me and to share it with the people that we both work for. I want this to be the
Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, which did all these things for all these people.

Beyond this great chamber, out yonder in 50 States, are the people that we serve. Who can tell what
deep and unspoken hopes are in their hearts tonight as they sit there and listen. We all can guess, from
our own lives, how difficult they often find their own pursuit of happiness, how many problems each little
family has. They look most of all to themselves for their futures. But I think that they also look to each of
us.

Above the pyramid on the great seal of the United States it says—in Latin—"God has favored our
undertaking."

God will not favor everything that we do. It is rather our duty to divine His will. But I cannot help believing
that He truly understands and that He really favors the undertaking that we begin here tonight.
The Mindless Menace of Violence
April 5, 1968

Senator Robert F. Kennedy delivered this address to the Cleveland City Club just one day after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. At the time, Kennedy was campaigning for the Presidency, a position his brother, John F. Kennedy, held until being assassinated in 1963. Robert Kennedy was struck down by an assassin two months after delivering this speech.

This is a time of shame and sorrow. It is not a day for politics. I have saved this one opportunity to speak briefly to you about this mindless menace of violence in America which again stains our land and every one of our lives.

It is not the concern of any one race. The victims of the violence are black and white, rich and poor, young and old, famous and unknown. They are, most important of all, human beings whom other human beings loved and needed. No one - no matter where he lives or what he does - can be certain who will suffer from some senseless act of bloodshed. And yet it goes on and on.

Why? What has violence ever accomplished? What has it ever created? No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet.

No wrongs have ever been righted by riots and civil disorders. A sniper is only a coward, not a hero; and an uncontrolled, uncontrollable mob is only the voice of madness, not the voice of the people.

Whenever any American's life is taken by another American unnecessarily - whether it is done in the name of the law or in the defiance of law, by one man or a gang, in cold blood or in passion, in an attack of violence or in response to violence - whenever we tear at the fabric of life which another man has painfully and clumsily woven for himself and his children, the whole nation is degraded.

"Among free men," said Abraham Lincoln, "there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet; and those who take such appeal are sure to lose their cause and pay the costs."

Yet we seemingly tolerate a rising level of violence that ignores our common humanity and our claims to civilization alike. We calmly accept newspaper reports of civilian slaughter in far off lands. We glorify killing on movie and television screens and call it entertainment. We make it easy for men of all shades of sanity to acquire weapons and ammunition they desire.

Too often we honor swagger and bluster and the wielders of force; too often we excuse those who are willing to build their own lives on the shattered dreams of others. Some Americans who preach non violence abroad fail to practice it here at home. Some who accuse others of inciting riots have by their own conduct invited them.

Some look for scapegoats, others look for conspiracies, but this much is clear; violence breeds violence, repression brings retaliation, and only a cleaning of our whole society can remove this sickness from our soul.

For there is another kind of violence, slower but just as deadly, destructive as the shot or the bomb in the night. This is the violence of institutions; indifference and inaction and slow decay. This is the violence that afflicts the poor, that poisons relations between men because their skin has different colors. This is a slow destruction of a child by hunger, and schools without books and homes without heat in the winter.

This is the breaking of a man's spirit by denying him the chance to stand as a father and as a man among other men. And this too afflicts us all. I have not come here to propose a set of specific remedies nor is there a single set. For a broad and adequate outline we know what must be done. When you teach a man to hate and fear his brother, when you teach that he is a lesser man because of his color or his beliefs or the policies he pursues, when you teach that those who differ from you threaten your freedom or your job or your family, then you also learn to confront others not as fellow citizens but as enemies - to be met not with cooperation but with conquest, to be subjugated and mastered.

(continued on next page)
We learn, at the last, to look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort. We learn to share only a common fear - only a common desire to retreat from each other - only a common impulse to meet disagreement with force. For all this there are no final answers.

Yet we know what we must do. It is to achieve true justice among our fellow citizens. The question is now what programs we should seek to enact. The question is whether we can find in our own midst and in our own hearts that leadership of human purpose that will recognize the terrible truths of our existence.

We must admit the vanity of our false distinctions among men and learn to find our own advancement in the search for the advancement of all. We must admit in ourselves that our own children's future cannot be built on the misfortunes of others. We must recognize that this short life can neither be ennobled or enriched by hatred or revenge.

Our lives on this planet are too short and the work to be done too great to let this spirit flourish any longer in our land. Of course we cannot vanish it with a program, nor with a resolution.

But we can perhaps remember - even if only for a time - that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life, that they seek - as we do - nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

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**Success is counted sweetest (112)**

*by Emily Dickinson*

Emily Dickinson never titled her poems -- thus the number above -- and lived most of her adult life in near seclusion. Her sister discovered over 1000 poems after Emily's death in 1886. She remains one of the most influential yet enigmatic writers of the 19th century.

Success is counted sweetest  
By those who ne'er succeed.  
To comprehend a nectar  
Requires sorest need.

Not one of all the purple Host  
Who took the Flag today  
Can tell the definition  
So clear of victory

As he defeated – dying –  
On whose forbidden ear  
The distant strains of triumph  
Burst agonized and clear!
When I Heard the Learn’d Astronomer
by Walt Whitman

Whitman was a pioneer in American poetry, and audiences did not immediately appreciate his writings. Eventually he became famous for his poems, particularly those dealing with the Civil War and President Abraham Lincoln.

When I heard the learn’d astronomer,
When the proofs, the figures, were ranged in columns before me,
When I was shown the charts and diagrams, to add, divide, and measure them,
When I sitting heard the astronomer where he lectured with much applause in the lecture-room,
How soon unaccountable I became tired and sick,
Till rising and gliding out I wander’d off by myself,
In the mystical moist night-air, and from time to time,
Look’d up in perfect silence at the stars.

Mother to Son
by Langston Hughes

Hughes was perhaps the most prominent writer of the 1920s Harlem Renaissance. He was known for his musical style and for his ability to show life in Harlem for its residents young and old. This poem was written in 1922.

Well, son, I’ll tell you:
Life for me ain’t been no crystal stair.
It’s had tacks in it,
And splinters,
And boards torn up,
And places with no carpet on the floor—
Bare.
But all the time
I’se been a-climbin’ on,
And reachin’ landin’s,
And turnin’ corners,
And sometimes goin’ in the dark
Where there ain’t been no light.
So boy, don’t you turn back.
Don’t you set down on the steps
’Cause you finds it’s kinder hard.
Don’t you fall now—
For I’se still goin’, honey,
I’se still climbin’,
And life for me ain’t been no crystal stair.