Change is such an integral part of human history that, as far back as the 5th Century B.C., the great Greek philosopher Heraclitus noted that “All is flux; nothing stays still.” At about the same time, Buddhism—a major religion in Asia—made the same point by declaring “impermanence” one of three “marks of existence.”

What usually drives change is a desire to live or do better—to replace the pains, irritants, and shortcomings of the present with a more perfect future. Unfortunately, that’s not always what happens. Once the status quo is weakened or gone, history can—and often does—move in an unpredicted and undesirable direction.

For the past six years, global attention has been directed toward just such a dramatic development in the Middle East, an area that includes the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Egypt, and northeast Africa. History knows few people as restless and discontented as the Arabs have been since the end of World War I, when the Ottoman Empire was divided up between the victorious Great Britain and France.

Egypt became a British protectorate, and was given the control over Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. The French were put in charge in Syria and Lebanon. The two colonial powers drew boundaries of their spoils that were acceptable to the Europeans, but ignored the complex relationships among the area's ethnic and religious groups. The result was trouble—states that encompassed a kaleidoscope of frequently antagonistic Sunni, Shiite, and Alawite Arabs; Kurds; the Druze; and Armenian and Maronite Christians.

1. Discontent (adjective): not content or satisfied; restlessly unhappy
2. The Ottoman Empire (c. 1299-1922) was founded by Turkish tribes at the end of the thirteenth century in present day southeast Europe, as well as parts of the Middle East and North Africa. The Ottomans ended the Byzantine Empire with the 1453 conquest of Constantinople (now Istanbul) and ruled from there into 20th century.
3. A state that is controlled and protected by another
4. Goods captured in time of war
5. The more traditional of the two main branches of Islam
6. A Shiite is a member of the Shia branch, the more liberal of the two branches of Islam.
7. An Alawite is a member part of the Shia branch of Islam, mostly centered in Syria.
8. Islamic people living in Kurdistan
On top of living with unwanted neighbors, the people of the Middle East found themselves being ruled by a revolving door of unsavory, incompetent, and corrupt military and civilian tyrants. In 1949, the Arabs were still more humiliated by the wholesale eviction of Palestinians from the newly created state of Israel, and their helpless fury grew worse with each military triumph of the Jewish state. During the six decades that followed, the region experienced 12 armed rebellions or full-scale wars and a bloody overthrow of five regimes—a constant and destructive turmoil that kept the area, except for the oil-rich Persian Gulf, both backward and poor.

Into this overheated, frustrated atmosphere, on December 18, 2010, one of the tens of thousands of dirt poor, unemployed Tunisian youngsters, literally tossed a match that triggered an explosion. His name was Mohamed Bouazizi, and on that day he was, as usual, selling fruit at a roadside stand when a municipal inspector came by and demanded to see his vendor's license.

Since Bouazizi had neither a license nor money for a bribe, the official confiscated the fruit. Anguished beyond endurance, Bouazizi doused himself with gasoline and set himself afire. His death on January 4, 2011, turned out to be the last straw that broke the thin veneer of stability in a region that, ironically, gave birth to the three great religions of peace: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

The young vendor's dramatic suicide unleashed the pent-up anger and distress of hundreds of thousands of Tunisian activists, trade unionists, students, professionals, and ordinary Arabs, who collectively poured into the streets to demand a change. It was the most dramatic wave of social and political unrest in Tunisia in decades, and the demonstrators paid a high price. Scores of them died or were injured fighting the security forces and the police, but within a few days they forced Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the country's unpopular and longtime president, to flee into exile in Saudi Arabia.

The success of the Tunisian rebellion set aflame the rest of the change-hungry region. Led by young, highly educated urban Arabs, fueled by their own frustrations and grievances, and organized with the help of social media, anti-government street protests quickly spread to other Arab countries. By the end of January 2011, the “days of rage”—which usually started after the Muslim prayers on Friday afternoon—began changing the political map of the Middle East.

The most significant early result of the upheaval followed two weeks of massive protests in Cairo's al Tahrir square. The resignation of Egypt's president Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011, convinced the world that Arabs had embarked on a fundamentally new and better path. Casting for a shorthand name, the press called the region's liberalization mood “Arab Spring,” an echo of an earlier historic landmark, “the Prague Spring” in Central Europe.

**An Early Optimistic “Spring”**

Although similar, the Arab upheaval did not quite match the changes that began in the then-Czechoslovakia in January 1968.
In the mid-1960s, the Moscow-subservient Communist government in Prague introduced a few minor reforms that were meant to improve the country's ailing economy. What followed was a classic example of what happens when a repressive regime tries to ease its controls: once loosened, the whole lid blows off.

Following on the heels of twenty years of Communist dictatorship, the modest reform program triggered a groundswell\(^\text{12}\) of demands that climaxed in the election of a reform-minded Communist party boss, Alexander Dubček.\(^\text{12}\)

Building on the country's democratic past, Dubček promised to enact “socialism with a human face” and loosened restrictions on the freedom of the media, speech, and travel. Within a few weeks, the whole country was agog\(^\text{13}\) as its students, artists, and intelligentsia lost their fear of the secret police and launched a crusade for a major political make-over.

Disregarding Dubček's go-slow agenda, they formed a non-Marxist political party and founded political clubs that agitated for still more freedoms. Censorship of the press and television was scrapped and the 16 million Czechs and Slovaks were free—for the first time since 1948—to travel abroad. By June, their liberalization was in full swing and the term “Prague Spring” had entered the world’s political vocabulary.\(^\text{15}\)

As could have been expected, the Soviets could not tolerate freedom in Eastern Europe. On August 21, 1968, they put an end to the “Prague Spring” by invading the rebellious nation with 200,000 troops and 2,000 tanks. Dubček was removed from power and the Communist party resumed its dictatorship.

**The “Arab Spring”**

The Arab version of the Czechoslovakian phenomenon followed a similar trajectory\(^\text{14}\) in terms of its early success. In addition to El Abidine Ben Ali and Mubarak, rulers had been forced out of office in Libya and Yemen within a year; civil uprisings had erupted in Bahrain and Syria; major protests had broken out in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Sudan; and minor protests had taken place in Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Djibouti, Western Sahara, and the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

As in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, however, most of the gains proved short-lived. In November 2011, Egypt's first free elections in 30 years brought into power the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist party\(^\text{15}\) whose early decrees touched off a violent battle between the party members and their liberal opponents. In 2013, a military coup d'état\(^\text{16}\) forced the Brotherhood out of power and eventually replaced it with a repressive regime headed by a former general. Since then, Egypt has returned to the same type of governance it had before Mubarak was ousted.\(^\text{17}\);

In Libya, the August 23, 2011 overthrow of strongman Muammar Gaddafi, unleashed a chaotic free-for-all among competing militias that degenerated into a civil war. The extensive fighting has caused tens of thousands of casualties; involved armed intervention by France and the United States; and, so far, has produced no elections and no government capable of governing the entire state.

12. **Groundswell (noun)**: a buildup of opinion or feeling in a large segment of the population
13. **Agog (adjective)**: eager or anxious for something
14. **Trajectory (noun)**: a process of change or development that leads toward a particular result
15. A fundamentalist group of Muslims who want to reorder government using strict laws from the Islam religion
16. A sudden, violent seizure of power from the government
17. **Oust (verb)**: to remove from an occupied place or position
The most disastrous consequence of the “Arab Spring” protest movement has been the civil war in Syria, where several pro- and anti-democracy militias are battling the Syrian army in an attempt to depose President Bashar al-Assad. The bloody conflict has so far helped enlarge the territory controlled by the terrorists of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL); forced the flight of close to a million Syrians to Europe; and caused the death of an estimated 300,000 civilians and fighters—all without removing al-Assad from the presidential palace.

Five years after the first protests in the streets, Tunisia remains the only Arab country to have enjoyed the fruits of its “Spring.” There, the rebellion eventually led to free elections and a thorough democratization, a change that was acknowledged in 2015 by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the four civic organizations that stepped in during the rebellion and made a “decisive contribution to the building of a pluralistic democracy.”

Elsewhere in the Middle East, the increasingly heard new name for the “Arab Spring” is “Arab Winter.”

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18. **Depose (verb):** to suddenly and forcefully remove from office

19. The Tunisian General Labour Union, the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, the Tunisian Human Rights League, and the Tunisian Order of Lawyers

20. **Pluralistic (adjective):** of the conviction that various religious, ethnic, racial, and political groups should be allowed to thrive in a single society
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which TWO of the following best identify the central ideas of this article? [RI.2]
   A. Leaders who gain power through coups are never as effective as those who orchestrate the coups would hope.
   B. Mohamed Bouazizi single-handedly roused the anger and frustration of thousands of Arabs through his act of self-immolation.
   C. The events of the Arab Spring followed an extensive history of conflict in a region with a history of colonization.
   D. The Arab Spring and the Prague Spring represent two historical revolutions in which high school students created change.
   E. All Islamic branches agreed to only use prayer as their form of protest against Europe.
   F. The uprising discussed in the article—like many uprisings before it—has not resulted in widespread, meaningful social or political change.

2. PART B: Which TWO phrases from the text best support the answers to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “…the people of the Middle East found themselves being ruled by a revolving door of unsavory, incompetent, and corrupt military and civilian tyrants.” (Paragraph 5)
   B. “The young vendor’s dramatic suicide unleashed the pent-up anger and distress of hundreds of thousands of Tunisian activists, trade unionists, students, professionals, and ordinary Arabs…” (Paragraph 8)
   C. “Dubček was removed from power and the Communist party resumed its dictatorship.” (Paragraph 16)
   D. “The Arab version of the Czechoslovakian phenomenon followed a similar trajectory in terms of its early success.” (Paragraph 17)
   E. “In Libya, the August 23, 2011 overthrow of strongman Muammar Gaddafi unleashed a chaotic free-for- all among competing militias that degenerated into a civil war.” (Paragraph 19)
   F. “Five years after the first protests in the streets, Tunisia remains the only Arab country to have enjoyed the fruits of its ‘Spring.’” (Paragraph 21)

3. PART A: What does the word “veneer” most closely mean as it is used in paragraph 7? [RI.4]
   A. Hypothesis
   B. Reality
   C. Conspiracy
   D. Appearance

4. PART B: Which of the following phrases from paragraph 7 of the text best supports the answer to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “neither a license nor money for a bribe”
   B. “doused himself with gasoline”
   C. “turned out to be the last straw”
   D. “ironically, gave birth to the three great religions of peace”
5. Which statement best describes the relationship between the Arab Spring and the Prague Spring?
   A. Both were motivated by widespread sociopolitical unrest and enjoyed some early triumphs, but resulted in no substantial change.
   B. Both incidents resulted in the formation and rise to power of militant, anti-democratic factions.
   C. The Prague Spring directly led the way for the Arab Spring by contributing to the relaxing of political restrictions in the region.
   D. They both affected meaningful change in regions characterized by governmental repression and religious conflict.

6. How did the Arab Spring and the Prague Spring “follow a similar trajectory” (Paragraph 17)? Cite evidence from the text in your response.
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. Based on the text and your knowledge of history, do you think the disastrous effects of disregarding “the complex relationships among the area's ethnic and religious groups” (Paragraph 4) are common? Do leaders who participate in international affairs make this mistake often? Are the consequences usually so drastic?

2. In the text, both governments and rebels in the Middle East and in Prague used violence to either re-establish order or to fight against injustice. Do you think violence is ever justifiable? What do you think is the most effective form of protest?

3. In the context of this article, how do people create change? In your opinion, what is the most effective way to practice social activism? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.

4. In the context of this article, how and why do people resist change? Consider the reinstatement of repressive regimes in Czechoslovakia and the Middle East following the uprisings in your answer. Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.
**An Obstacle**

*By Charlotte Perkins Gilman*  
1884

**Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) was a writer and lecturer for social reform. Gilman was a feminist during a time when it was not socially acceptable to be one. As you read “An Obstacle,” consider the context of the poem and what it was like to live as a woman within the late 19th century. Take notes on the figurative language and personification used in the poem, and how they contribute to the poem’s message.**

1. I was climbing up a mountain-path  
   With many things to do,  
   Important business of my own,  
   And other people's too,

5. When I ran against a Prejudice  
   That quite cut off the view.

   My work was such as could not wait,  
   My path quite clearly showed,  
   My strength and time were limited,

10. I carried quite a load;  
    And there that hulking Prejudice  
    Sat all across the road.

   So I spoke to him politely,  
   For he was huge and high,

15. And begged that he would move a bit  
    And let me travel by.  
    He smiled, but as for moving! —  
    He didn't even try.

   And then I reasoned quietly

20. With that colossal \(^1\) mule:  
    My time was short — no other path —  
    The mountain winds were cool.  
    I argued like a Solomon;\(^2\)  
    He sat there like a fool.

25. Then I flew into a passion,  
    and I danced and howled and swore.  
    I pelted and belabored him  
    Till I was stiff and sore;  
    He got as mad as I did —

30. But he sat there as before.

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1. **Colossal** *(adjective)*: extremely large  
2. A wise person
And then I begged him on my knees;
I might be kneeling still
If so I hoped to move that mass
Of obdurate$^3$ ill-will —
[35] As well invite the monument
To vacate Bunker Hill!$^4$

So I sat before him helpless,
In an ecstasy$^5$ of woe —
The mountain mists were rising fast,
[40] The sun was sinking slow —
When a sudden inspiration came,
As sudden winds do blow.

I took my hat, I took my stick,
My load I settled fair,
[45] I approached that awful incubus$^6$
With an absent-minded air —
And I walked directly through him,
As if he wasn't there!

"An Obstacle" by Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1884) is in the public domain.

3. **Obdurate** (*adjective*): stubborn
4. The Bunker Hill Monument was built to commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill, one of the first major battles in the American Revolutionary War. The monument is a towering, granite obelisk.
5. **Ecstasy** (*noun*): an overwhelming state of emotion, usually joy or rapture
6. A male demon known for attacking women
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. How does the setting of the poem contribute to its central theme?
   A. The winding path implies that the speaker is lost, literally and figuratively, emphasizing the theme of identity.
   B. The speaker climbs a mountain path, which suggests an upward struggle; thus, the setting underscores the central theme of resilience in the face of adversity.
   C. The misty forest setting (as well as Prejudice's strange appearance) suggests some sort of supernatural element, contributing to the theme of fear.
   D. The poem takes place over the course of a day and ends as the sun begins to set; thus the linear setting (a day coming to a close) contributes to the theme of death.

2. Summarize how the speaker responds to Prejudice over the course of the poem. Be sure to include any figurative interpretations or meaning of these reactions.

   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

3. PART A: Which of the following statements best explains the reference to the monument of Bunker Hill in lines 35-36?
   A. The reference to the monument of Bunker Hill is an indication that the poem takes place in the Bunker Hill region (i.e. Massachusetts).
   B. The reference to the monument of Bunker Hill foreshadows the speaker's eventual defeat of the looming enemy (i.e. Prejudice).
   C. The speaker compares Prejudice to the monument of Bunker Hill to describe Prejudice's physical size.
   D. The speaker compares Prejudice to the monument of Bunker Hill to describe Prejudice's level of stubbornness; like the massive monument, he cannot be moved.

4. PART B: Which of the following phrases best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “that hulking Prejudice / Sat all across the road” (Lines 11-12)
   B. “I might be kneeling still / If so I hoped to move that mass / Of obdurate ill-will--” (Lines 32-34)
   C. “The mountain mists were rising fast, / The sun was sinking slow--” (Lines 39-40)
   D. “And I walked directly through him, / As if he wasn't there!” (Lines 47-48)
5. How does the final stanza contribute to the speaker's developing point of view?
   A. The final stanza reveals that Prejudice was only in her head.
   B. The final stanza reveals the speaker's own stubborn nature, contributing to the poet's characterization of her.
   C. The final stanza shows the speaker overcoming Prejudice by how she views him (i.e. by electing to ignore him).
   D. The final stanza develops the speaker's point of view because she can suddenly handle carrying the heavy load she bears.
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. Consider the context of this work. What does this poem teach us about women and men in the late nineteenth century? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.

2. What does the author imply about the nature of prejudice in this poem? How does the author suggest one should react to prejudice?

3. Have you ever faced prejudice in your life? What, in your opinion, is an effective way to deal with prejudice?

4. In the context of this poem, how does a person overcome adversity? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.
**China's Cultural Revolution**

By Mike Kubic

2016

In this informational text, former Newsweek correspondent Mike Kubic explains the history of Chairman Mao Zedong’s Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution in 1950s-60s communist China. Mao was a charismatic leader whose ideologies were attractive to many people, but his policies did not have the consequences he promised. As you read this text, take notes on the author’s use of language, and what it reveals about his point of view toward Mao’s policies.

In 1958, Communist China – the full name is “The People’s Republic of China” – was barely nine years old when its founder, Mao Zedong, decided to rapidly change it from an ancient agricultural society to a modern industrial state. If the project was outsized and over-ambitious, so was its author: Mao, in addition to being a revolutionary, a warrior, and an ideologue, was an unabashed advocate of violence and one of the most powerful and prolific dictators of the 20th Century. In his book, *Red Star Over China*, Edgar Snow, who knew Mao well, described his achievements as “perhaps unique...in China’s 3,000 years of written history.”

Mao’s attempt to order a quick transformation of a country of 1.4 billion was also unique, but it turned out to be a catastrophic failure. By 1976, when he died, his modernization campaign resulted in the annihilation of an estimated 30 million to 45 million of his countrymen.

Mao’s first step was to launch a so-called “Great Leap Forward,” a 1958 program that called for a drastic state seizure of China’s farms and boosting of industrial production. The venture, which happened to coincide with three years of drought, was brutally executed by Communist Party cadres with complete disregard for its enormous human and economic costs.

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1. Communism is a social, political, and economic system in which everyone in a country has collective ownership of “the means of production” like resources, labor, and land, so that instead of a society divided into a few wealthy upper class factory owners and a lot of poor working class people, communism creates a classless society. Communism is usually opposed to capitalism, a system in which “the means of production” are privately owned.
2. **Ideologue (noun):** a visionary or theorist
3. **Unabashed (adjective):** unashamed
4. “Cadres” refers to the core people in an organization
The result of “Great Leap Forward” was a 25 percent decrease in China’s grain production. When the Communist enforcers confiscated the meager harvests to feed the party elites and workers in the cities, there ensued a mass starvation that wiped out entire populations of thousands of villages. In 1961, the program was abandoned after ruining China’s precarious\(^5\) economy and without accomplishing any of its objectives.

According to Chinese official archives, the total death toll of the “Great Leap Forward” was 15 million, but Western experts have put the carnage up to three times as high. One of them, Dutch historian Frank Dikötter, wrote that “coercion,\(^6\) terror, and systematic violence were the foundation of the Great Leap Forward” and it “motivated one of the most deadly mass killings of human history.”

To restore his prestige as a reformer, Mao launched in 1966 another, even more ambitious program for changing China. He accused his alleged party enemies of sabotaging his drive to modernize the country, and called on the Chinese youth to carry out a cultural revolution by defeating “diehard bourgeois\(^7\) elements” and enforcing the ideological purity of his regime.

**The Red Guards and the Little Book of Mao’s Thoughts**

Mao’s call to “rebel against the system” fell on the receptive ears of a generation of Chinese that, as a result of aggressive propaganda,\(^8\) worshipped him as a leader of superhuman wisdom, abilities and powers. Within days after he spoke, a group of middle school students in Beijing took the name of “Chairman Mao’s Red\(^9\) Guards” and started a movement that was rapidly embraced by millions of youngsters who followed Mao’s bidding with a fanatic obedience and energy. Dressed in old military fatigues and wearing red armbands, the zealots poured out of their homes and classrooms and set out to purge China of “revisionists” and anyone else they deemed to be “backward” or insufficiently enthusiastic about their leader. Their ideological guidebook was a slender collection of Mao’s maxims\(^10\) that captured the violent spirit of his rule. Titled “The Little Book of Mao’s Thoughts,” it became the second most widely printed work after the Bible, and included Mao’s most prominent teachings. For example:

- “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun;”
- “Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to crush the enemy;”
- “Politics is war without bloodshed, while war is politics with bloodshed;”
- “War can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun,” and
- “The atom bomb\(^11\) is a paper tiger which the United States reactionaries\(^12\) use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn’t.”

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5. **Precarious (adjective):** uncertain; dangerously likely to fall apart or collapse
6. **Coercion (noun):** governing by force
7. “Bourgeois” describes the upper and middle classes of capitalist society, and principles that are materialist and capitalist.
8. **Propaganda (noun):** a form of biased communication, aimed at promoting or demoting certain views, perceptions or agendas
9. “Red” is the color symbolically used to represent communism.
10. **Maxim (noun):** a short, expressive statement expressing a general truth or rule of conduct
11. The atom (or atomic) bomb is a type of nuclear weapon used in war that can create huge amounts of destruction, wiping out land for miles and miles and killing or harming thousands of people.
12. **Reactionary (noun):** a person who opposes political or social liberalization or reform
Armed with this list of unquestioned verities, tens of millions of these crusaders roamed the cities and countryside, persecuting the intelligentsia and denouncing what had remained of China's ancient culture. University teachers, prominent scientists, artists and other members of the hated “elites” were marched out of their offices and homes to be executed or sent to do forced labor on the collective farms.

Millions of others were subjected to a wide range of abuses including public humiliation, arbitrary imprisonment, torture, sustained harassment, and seizure of property. A large segment of the urban population was forcibly displaced, most notably by their transfer to rural regions during a phase of the “Cultural Revolution” called “the Down to the Countryside Movement.” Historical relics and artifacts were destroyed, and cultural and religious sites were ransacked.

Praised by Mao, who mingled with about one million of the “Red Guards” when they came to meet him in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the youngsters became increasingly belligerent and blind to China's realities. At the height of their rampage, they even looted the barracks and seized the weapons of a Chinese army unit they regarded as “unreliable.”

An estimated 11 million strong, the “Red Guards” eventually proclaimed as their goal, “First, [to] make China red from inside out, and then [to] help the working people of other countries make the world red...And then, the whole universe.”

**Aftermath**

Obsessively secretive, no Chinese regime has allowed a full disclosure of the enormous human and material damage done by the “Great Leap Forward” and the “Cultural Revolution.” Mao officially ended the latter in 1969, but the “Red Guards” really ran out of steam only after Mao's death in 1976.

Regarding a retribution for the crimes of the era, official annals mention that thousands of the former “Red Guards” were sent out for “reeducation by the peasants” – an inadequate but in a way fitting punishment for what had been done to millions of alleged “bourgeois revisionists.”

In his book *China's Fate*, Edward A. Gargan, a journalist and expert on China, summed up the results of the Red Guard's decade-long rampage like this:

“At the end of the Cultural Revolution, China was, simply put, a police state in which the Chinese people had no individual rights, no control over their lives, over what they could read, where they worked, where their children went to school. Worse, the state sought to control the very substance of what people thought.”

The grapes of wrath planted by Mao's blunders ripened in the spring of 1989, when a new generation of Chinese youth launched a massive movement demanding democracy – only to be defeated in a blood bath on June 4, known as “the massacre on the Tiananmen Square.”

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13. **Verity (noun):** a true principle or belief; a truth
14. “Intelligentsia” refers to the scholars, academics, and educated people in a society.
15. **Arbitrary (adjective):** based on random choice or personal whim rather than a set of rules like reason or the law
16. **Belligerent (adjective):** warlike and aggressive
17. **Retribution (noun):** punishment inflicted on someone as revenge for a wrong or crime
18. a record of events of a particular year
19. “Grapes of wrath” is a common phrase, first referenced in the Biblical Book of Revelation (14:19), that often refers to an unjust or oppressive situation, action, or policy that may inflame desire for revenge.
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which TWO of the following best identify the central ideas of this text?
   A. Mao was an evil dictator because he planned to kill 45 million Chinese people.
   B. Mao was an ambitious leader who wanted to help China, but his philosophy was ignored when young people took over.
   C. Mao’s policies hurt China’s economy, stripped individual freedoms, and cost millions of lives.
   D. Dictatorship can be good when it leads to the redistribution of wealth and leads to greater social equality.
   E. In order to move forward, one must destroy the old, including old culture, old beliefs, and old government.
   F. When people follow the status quo or a charismatic leader, dangerous consequences and violence can arise.

2. PART B: Which TWO phrases from the text best support the answers to Part A?
   A. “If the project was outsized and over-ambitious, so was its author: Mao” (Paragraph 2)
   B. “Mao’s first wrong step was to launch a so-called ‘Great Leap Forward,’ a 1958 program that called for a drastic collectivization of China’s farms and boosting of industrial production.” (Paragraph 4)
   C. “To restore his prestige as a reformer, Mao launched in 1966 another, even more ambitious program for changing China.” (Paragraph 7)
   D. “Mao’s call to ‘rebel against the system’ fell on the receptive ears of a generation of Chinese that, as a result of aggressive propaganda, worshipped him... [T]he zealots poured out of their homes and classrooms and set out to purge China of ‘revisionists’” (Paragraph 8)
   E. “Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to crush the enemy” (Paragraph 8)
   F. “At the end of the Cultural Revolution, China was, simply put, a police state in which the Chinese people had no individual rights, no control over their lives, over what they could read, where they worked, where their children went to school.” (Paragraph 15)

3. PART A: What does the word “zealot” most closely mean as it is used in paragraph 8?
   A. Someone gullible or easily persuaded
   B. Minors; young people
   C. Leaders; courageous and driven individuals
   D. Fanatical followers of a cause
4. PART B: Which phrase from paragraph 8 best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “Mao’s call to ‘rebel against the system’ fell on the receptive ears of a generation of Chinese”
   B. “a group of middle school students in Beijing took the name of ‘Chairman Mao’s Red Guards’ and started a movement that was rapidly embraced by millions of youngsters”
   C. “followed Mao’s bidding with a fanatic obedience and energy”
   D. “set out to purge China of ‘revisionists’ and anyone else they deemed to be ‘backward’”

5. What does Kubic’s use of language reveal about the author’s point of view toward Mao? Cite evidence from the text in your response.

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Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. The establishment of Chairman Mao's Red Guards is often looked to as an example of the vulnerability of young people to propaganda, manipulation, and ideological myopia. Have you seen or experienced any instances of this – teenagers latching on to a cause or belief without questioning it – in recent years? Have you learned of other instances of this in history? Why do you think this happens?

2. In the context of this text, why do people follow the crowd? Why do you think the students in the Red Guard formed their army? What might other consequences of following the crowd be?

3. Mao advocated for war as the means of progress, first in China, then for workers worldwide. In your opinion, is war usually the most effective means for creating change? What are other ways people create change in society? Which ways are the most effective, and under what circumstances?
Excerpt from 'Susan B. Anthony, The Woman'
By Helen Dare
1905

Susan B. Anthony was an American social reformer and women's rights activist who played a pivotal role in the movement to give women the right to vote. In this excerpt of an article published in The San Francisco Call, journalist Helen Dare interviews Susan B. Anthony and provides an analysis of her impact on society. As you read, take notes on how the author describes her interview subject.

Somehow the tall, gaunt figure, the pale, lean, earnest, intellectual face of Susan B. Anthony is indissolubly linked with a love of my youth — my dear Knight of La Mancha.

Somehow, to the end of time, I shall see her in my mind's eye — the Donna Quixote of the Nineteenth Century.

Don't laugh.

This is not the place to laugh.

I am not poking covert ridicule at Susan B.

I am not trying to be cheaply smart at the expense of so great and admirable a personality.

I think, indeed, that the silly season in relation to Susan B. Anthony is over, permanently over; that she has come into her own; that even the "funny man" of our newspaper world finds the point of his paragraph dulled by his respect for her, that he has voluntarily blue-penciled her off the list of his stick subjects.

It is not an inadvertence — a slip of the pencil — when I call her the Donna Quixote of the Nineteenth Century. It is to the nineteenth century that her activities and her story belong; it is upon the horizon of that time that her gaunt, Quixotish figure is scrawled — indelibly.

Now she is but the lingering of the sunset slope, in the pleasant afterglow of labor faithfully done and life well spent — yet still active, still a force, it must be remembered.

1. "The Knight of La Mancha" refers to the Don Quixote, the protagonist from the famous novel "The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha." Don Quixote is a knight that becomes so obsessed with stories of chivalry in the past that he begins imagining himself living out those stories in the present. Don Quixote is considered by most of the people in the story to be a fool.

2. "Stick subjects" refers to the subjects a writer might revisit multiple times.
In my mind's eye — and, let me hasten to assure you, I am not a woman's suffragist; I am without prejudices; I am still in a state of receptivity — the windmills my Donna Quixote has tilted against are not the figments of HER fancy. They are other people's windmills, millions of other people's, and the lances my Donna Quixote tilted with were Reasonableness, and Logic, and Common Sensibilities.

So you see now why I said, “Don’t laugh.”

[...]

Anywhere there is a frontier, where there are new and hard conditions to be met, tasks to be done, you may find this Susan B. Anthony kind of womanliness.

It is the homespun, dyed-in-the-wool brand, as distinguished from the boudoir, beauty-doctored brand.

Let me show her to you in her rocking chair.

It is not without determined effort and much expense of strenuosity that I can do it, for Susan B. Anthony is the liveliest girl of 85 that I ever pursued.

Although eighty-five are her birthdays, she has not reached the chimney-corner age.

You cannot say to yourself, when I have finished this, that and the other — attended to the more pressing affairs — I will drop in on Miss Anthony. She is 85, and sure to be at home.

On the contrary, you will get up, as I did, earlier than your wont, and if you're wise and would save time and travel you will start before breakfast — as I did not, alas!

As for me, Miss Anthony had but one boat the start of me, not more I'm sure, and I followed her trail to Oakland, to Berkeley and back again to San Francisco, with Miss Anthony always one jump, and sometimes two, ahead of me.

She crowded into her round trip a luncheon, a reception, a drive through the university grounds, with a comprehensive inspection of the university, another reception, a little talk, a dinner party and got to bed (and to sleep, too, no doubt) all before I could catch up with her.

That's doing pretty well for a girl of eighty-five, isn't it?

3. A “woman's suffragist” is someone who fights for women's right to vote.
4. imagination
5. Don Quixote was famous for trying to fight windmills because he imagined they were giants. Fighting with a lance (a long wooden weapon used by a soldier on horseback) was called “tilting.” This is the origin of the idiom “tilting at windmills,” which means to fight an imaginary enemy.
6. a woman's bedroom
7. Strenuosity (adjective): great difficulty
8. likely to do something
So that, when at last I take you in with me and show her to you in her rocking chair, I may be pardoned for regarding it as something of an achievement.

Well, here she is, a fine, venerable, commanding figure, “Susan B. Anthony, the woman.”

She is tall and gaunt. In her long, busy life she has had no time to acquire embonpoint of her thinness — yet I think it is more likely because of the blending of what is fine and true and strong into an impressive personality — she recalls a Toledo blade my fencing master took pride in.

This Toledo blade, like Susan B., was fine and true and strong, with an edge so keen it would cut a hair. Even I, who was no connoisseur, could appreciate that it was something above the common when the fencing master, in a particularly gracious mood, would press its point to the floor and bend it almost to a circle, then release it and let it fly back like a flash of light.

Susan B. Anthony is like the Toledo blade, we see as we sit at her knee for this close examination of her in her rocking chair, for she has not snapped or broken under the pressure of the burdens of life.

She is still vivid, strong and mistress of her mind, not dwelling reminiscently in the past, but pointing with commanding hand to what must be done in the present and the future.

[...]

I ask the eternal question — why?

Why did Susan B. take up the cause of woman’s suffrage? Why did she give her private, personal woman's life to it?

“I had taught school for fifteen years — from the time I was fifteen until I was thirty. I got a dollar and a half a week — six dollars a month — for the same work that a man for thirty dollars for, just because he was a man. I taught during the summer term, giving my place up to a man during the winter term, because at that time a woman was not considered capable of going through the snow, and keeping the fire in the school going, as a man — and the children who attended the school — had to do.

“The man who filled my place during the winter terms was staying at our house. Somebody asked him how he was getting along with the school.

“Oh,’ said he, ‘I ain’t looked the barn over yet. I’ll know better when I look it over!’

“This was the answer of the man who took my place, and who was paid $30 a month against my $6. Naturally I gave it some thought. I wondered why it was that he should have the advantage.

“Just about this time Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton came to our town to speak on woman’s rights. I was told about Lucretia Mott and her pretty Quaker kerchief and sweet face, and about Mrs. Stanton and her black curls and fresh color and ready wit, and urged to go hear them. I laughed at the idea.

9. the fat part of a body
10. a specific type of fencing sword
11. Connoisseur (noun): an expert judge
12. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were both famous women’s rights activists in the 19th century.
“’Oh fudge!’ I said, ’I don’t want to vote.’

“But I did go to hear them, and I did come to understand why the man who was not so competent as I was got my place and $30 a month to my $6.

“The upshot of it was that I saw the importance of the ballot to women, and I started out to do what I could to get it for them. I gave up teaching in 1859, and I’ve been working for this one thing ever since.”

Here, in a paragraph or two, is the whole story of Susan B. Anthony, Suffragist.

All the rest is addition, repetition and detail.

Once having set her foot on the road that seemed the right road to her there has been no turning back. Always the goal has been just a little farther ahead and always she has set her face to it. For one half a century it has kept just out of reach, it has eluded the grasp. Disappointment has followed disappointment.

Yet — the Toledo blade, so fine, so true, so strong, never snaps nor breaks. See it spring back!

“Each defeat,” says Susan B. Anthony, “is a victory!

“We haven’t got the ballot for women — except in four States, when we want national suffrage — but see what we have got for them!

“When the movement was begun women had no right to their children, no right to their wages, no right to their prosperity. They couldn’t get an education — the institutions of learning were closed to them. They couldn’t earn a living, except by doing housework, or teaching, or working in factories.

Women have marriage rights now. They have rights in their children. They have a right to the wages they earn, to the property they inherit. The high schools, the colleges, the universities are open to them: the avocations. There isn’t a place to-day where woman goes to earn a dollar, or to fit herself for the earning of the dollar, that she is not indebted to woman’s suffragists for.”

[...]

Yet in spite of all the things that were attained on the way to the one thing that is wanted, that fine Toledo blade has been near to breaking many times. There was one time when — Susan B. is relating —

“We worked for ten years getting laws passed protecting woman’s property rights and her rights in her children. It took us from 1851 to ’61, and then in the next session at Albany,” the battle ground was in New York then, “they were annulled because it was claimed they would interfere with the adjudicating on estates.”

“And ten years of effort wasted?”

“The work of ten years.”
“How disappointing — how terribly discouraging.”

“Yes — it was for a moment. Then we took a fresh start.”

So perfectly is the Toledo blade tempered.

There is one little word which occurs three times in the second section of the fourteenth amendment which Susan B. Anthony has petitioned every Congress since the Congress of 1865 to remove. It is the world “male.” It is the word that stands between her and the achievement of her lifelong purpose.

“I am an optimist,” she tells me on top of this story of persistence. “Each time we go back we hope to win; and each time we are defeated we begin the work all over again. Yet with each defeat we make a little headway, we learn.”

“And for this,” I ask, “you have given up your personal and private and woman's life?”

“Why, this IS my personal life, my whole life.”

“And do you not regret what you have missed?”

Susan B. chooses to misinterpret diplomatically. She knows very well what I mean, but she has the artfullest of diplomatists when she chooses to be, and she chooses just now to be and to give an evasive answer.

“Oh course,” she says, “I have missed much along the lines of culture. My work has been entirely along humanitarian lines, and I have had no time for any other. I hear of clubs of woman taking up the study of Pericles, or Archimedes, and — I have missed that opportunity for culture.”

She says it blandly. I look up quickly. Is that or is that not a whack — a little whack — at the frittering club woman? Is that or is it not a fleeting gleam of laughter in her calm blue eyes?

I’m sure I don’t know, and I leave it to you.

But I get back to my question — in spite of Susan B.’s evasiveness — and I ask it a little straighter from the shoulder:

“You never cared to marry, and — ”

“I never had time to think of it.”

“Are you glad or sorry, now?”

“I’ve had a good many dear friends who married,” and the humorous smile plays gently, “and I never knew any of them that I’d want to change places with.”

13. Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution protects the right to vote for all male citizens that are over the age of 21.

14. Pericles (495 – 429 B.C.) and Archimedes (287 – 212 B.C.) were both Greek scholars.
“And you’ve not been lonely?” I ask this knowing full well that in every city, in every State, and all the world over there are friends of Susan B. Anthony honored in counting her their friend.

“How could I be? I have been busy all my life, and I have many friends wherever I go. I have lived in the best society.” Susan B. smiles her humorous smile and runs over some names that are not in the “smart set” but that are big names in the big, big world, and comments that, “that is one of the big advantages of the reformer — the privilege of living in the best society.”

I look with fresh interest at the calm, strong face with its something of eagle quality. The lines and furrows are all of thought, none are the ravages of warring emotions. It is purely and entirely of intellectual cast, bespeaking the brain to conceive, the will to achieve.

Around this fine old figure, that is fine as silk and steel are fine with the fineness of concentrated power, what eddies of silly ridicule and petty criticism and foolish misinterpretation have swirled, and through them all she has gone straight to her goal, not reaching but always keeping in sight.

She is saying: “I have not seen the ballot given to women, and I probably shall not see it, but I can drop out and a dozen or a hundred others can drop out and the movement will go on just the same, and win at last.”

“And in spite of the disappointment you are satisfied with your life’s work?”

“I am satisfied — I am more than satisfied.”

"Susan B. Anthony, The Woman" from The San Francisco Call by Helen Dare (1905) is in the public domain.

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15. **Furrow (noun):** a wrinkle on someone’s face
16. **a circular movement of air or water**
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. **PART A:** Which TWO of the following statements best identify the central ideas of this interview? [RI.2]
   A. Susan B. Anthony has an unfavorable perception of her work in the women's suffrage movement because they had not yet accomplished their goals.
   B. There are few examples of empowered, outspoken leaders that young women could choose to emulate.
   C. Susan B. Anthony considers her involvement in the women's suffrage movement to have enriched her life.
   D. Most advocates for women's suffrage have experienced extreme negative consequences as a result of their choice to pursue equality.
   E. The fight for women's suffrage has been challenging and has not enjoyed broad public support, but leaders continue to be hopeful.
   F. Women have rejected the traditional expectations of society as a result of Susan B. Anthony's life and legacy.

2. **PART B:** Which TWO details from the text best support the answers to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “I think, indeed, that the silly season in relation to Susan B. Anthony is over, permanently over; that she has come into her own” (Paragraph 7)
   B. “It is not without determined effort and much expense of strenuosity that I can do it, for Susan B. Anthony is the liveliest girl of 85 that I ever pursued.” (Paragraph 15)
   C. “For one half a century it has kept just out of reach, it has eluded the grasp. Disappointment has followed disappointment.” (Paragraph 40)
   D. “Each time we go back we hope to win; and each time we are defeated we begin the work all over again. Yet with each defeat we make a little headway, we learn.” (Paragraph 54)
   E. “I have missed much along the lines of culture. My work has been entirely along humanitarian lines, and I have had no time for any other.” (Paragraph 59)
   F. “that is one of the big advantages of the reformer — the privilege of living in the best society.” (Paragraph 68)

3. **PART A:** What does the word “inadvertence” most closely mean as it is used in paragraph 8? [RI.4]
   A. not done far enough in advance
   B. not intended or planned
   C. to accidentally call someone the wrong name
   D. to scrawl on a sheet of paper

4. **PART B:** What detail from the text provides the best support to the answer to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “silly season in relation to Susan B. Anthony is over, permanently over” (Paragraph 7)
   B. “a slip of the pencil” (Paragraph 8)
   C. “it is upon the horizon of that time that her gaunt, Quixotish figure is scrawled” (Paragraph 8)
   D. “Now she is but the lingering of the sunset slope,” (Paragraph 9)
5. Which of the following best explains how the events described in paragraphs 30-37 develop the author's portrayal of Anthony?  
   A. They emphasize that Anthony was always sensitive to the unfair treatment of women and this motivated her to become a women's rights activist.  
   B. They describe how Anthony's critiques of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton inspired her to join the fight for women's right to vote.  
   C. They show why Anthony responded so positively to failure in her life, even when it seemed like success may never be possible.  
   D. They reveal that it was Anthony's personal experience being paid less than a male teacher that led her to connect with the women's rights movement.

6. How does Helen Dare use comparisons to characterize Susan B. Anthony, and what do these comparisons reveal about her point of view?
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. The author of this interview claims that she is not “a woman's suffragist.” Why might she make this claim in her interview? Do you believe her? Why or why not?

2. In the context of this interview, how have our conceptions of the roles of men and women changed over time?

3. In the context of this interview, how do people create change? Cite evidence from this text, your own experiences, and other history and literature in your answer.
First Lady Hillary Clinton’s Address to the
United Nations Fourth World Conference on
Women
By First Lady Hillary Clinton
1995

Hillary Clinton was the First Lady of the United States from 1993-2001, as well as a senator to New York from 2001-2009, Secretary of State from 2009-2013, and the Democratic nominee for President in 2016. In 1995, Clinton delivered this speech to the United Nation’s Fourth World Conference on Women. In the speech, Clinton discusses the many violations of human rights that women around the world endure. As you read, note the rhetorical tools such as repetition, parallelism, pathos, logos, and ethos that Clinton uses in her argument.

[1] Thank you very much, Gertrude Mongella,¹ for your dedicated work that has brought us to this point, distinguished delegates, and guests:

I would like to thank the Secretary General for inviting me to be part of this important United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.² This is truly a celebration, a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in the community, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens, and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country. We come together in fields and factories, in village markets and supermarkets, in living rooms and board rooms. Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concern. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families. However different we may appear, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future, and we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world, and in so doing bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in our lives — the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to participate fully in the political life of our countries.

¹. Gertrude Mongella (b. 1945) of Tanzania was the UN Secretary General of the Fourth World Conference on Women.
². The United Nation’s Third World Conference on Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985.
There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces. There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. Let them look at the women gathered here and at Huairou — the homemakers and nurses, the teachers and lawyers, the policymakers and women who run their own businesses. It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look, and face the world's most pressing problems. Wasn't it after all — after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum. In that forum, we talked about ways that government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working to address the health problems of women and girls. Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local — and highly successful — programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations do as well. That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on this planet does have a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children, and families. Over the past two and a half years, I've had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care. I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in safe, and nurturing after-school centers. I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping to build a new democracy. I have met with the leading women of my own hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for children in their countries. I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, or rickshaws, or thread in order to create a livelihood for themselves and their families. I have met the doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard. Women comprise more than half the world's population, 70% of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write. We are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued — not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries. Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated. They are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation. They are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers. They are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending offices and banned from the ballot box.

The purpose of the World Conferences on Women was to promote equality between men and women.
Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not. As an American, I want to speak for those women in my own country, women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can’t afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air, and clean airwaves; for older women, some of them widows, who find that, after raising their families, their skills and life experiences are not valued in the marketplace; for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, or fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their children; and for women everywhere who simply don’t have time to do everything they are called upon to do each and every day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women. The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand there is no one formula for how women should lead our lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her own God-given potential. But we must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments — here and around the world — accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights. The international community has long acknowledged and recently reaffirmed at Vienna that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear. No one — No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse, or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated. Even now, in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world’s refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse. I believe that now, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break the silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and for the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women’s rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words. But the voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou must be heard loudly and clearly:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution for human greed — and the kinds of reasons that are used to justify this practice should no longer be tolerated.
It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire, and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.  

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights once and for all. Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely — and the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the rights to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries, if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure. It is indefensible that many women in nongovernmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend — or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of Women's Suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote. It took 72 years of organized struggle, before that happened, on the part of many courageous women and men. It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot being fired.

But we have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and to build a better world. We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war. But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

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4. Genital mutilation is a cultural practice or cutting or removing part or all of a female's external genitals. It is most common today in Northern and central parts of Africa as well as some countries on the Saudi Peninsula.
5. Women's Suffrage, or the right for women to vote, was nationally granted to American women in 1920.
6. V-J Day, or "Victory over Japan Day," refers to the day when Japan surrendered during World War II.
7. Tyranny (noun): cruel and unfair treatment by people with power over others, such as heads of government.
Now it is the time to act on behalf of women everywhere. If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too. Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care. Families rely on women for labor in the home. And increasingly, everywhere, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace everywhere in the world, as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled, subjected to violence in and outside their homes — the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our — and the world’s — call to action. Let us heed that call so we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future. That is the work before you. That is the work before all of us who have a vision of the world we want to see — for our children and our grandchildren.

The time is now. We must move beyond rhetoric. We must move beyond recognition of problems to working together, to have the common efforts to build that common ground we hope to see.

God’s blessing on you, your work, and all who will benefit from it.

Godspeed and thank you very much.

*First Lady Hillary Clinton's Address to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women by First Lady Hillary Clinton is in the public domain.*
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which TWO of the following best identify the central ideas of this speech?
   A. More women must be empowered to become business owners and office managers.
   B. Violations of women's rights are violations of human rights.
   C. Domestic violence is the most pressing issue for women around the world.
   D. The best way to improve the lives of women is to enable them to be productive mothers.
   E. The U.N. must promote the work that women do so they receive equal recognition as men.
   F. Improving the lives of women improves the lives and health of their families and communities.

2. PART B: Which TWO phrases from the text best support the answers to Part A?
   A. “If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations do as well.” (Paragraph 7)
   B. “Yet much of the work we do is not valued -- not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.” (Paragraph 10)
   C. “At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.” (Paragraph 11)
   D. “As an American, I want to speak for those women in my own country, women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.” (Paragraph 12)
   E. “If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights once and for all.” (Paragraph 26)
   F. “It is indefensible that many women in nongovernmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend -- or have been prohibited from fully taking part.” (Paragraph 27)

3. PART A: Which statement best describes how the style of the text contributes to its persuasive rhetoric?
   A. Clinton's use of repetition and lists enhance the urgency of her message.
   B. Clinton's examples of women she has met elevate the ethos of her argument.
   C. Clinton's details on the many jobs women perform daily enhance the speech's pathos.
   D. Clinton's juxtaposition between women's rights and human rights orients the listener.
4. PART B: What paragraph from the text best supports your answer to Part A?
   A. Paragraph 9
   B. Paragraph 13
   C. Paragraph 17
   D. Paragraph 31

5. What is Clinton's overall purpose in this speech?
   A. To promote growth
   B. To incite action
   C. To inspire hope
   D. To instill fear

6. How does Paragraph 15 contribute to the development of ideas in the speech?

7. Explain the connection that Clinton makes between women having economic opportunity and having happy, healthy families. Cite evidence from the text in your answer.
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. How does Clinton view the role of women in the world as it is and as it should be?

2. Clinton lists many human rights abuses that women endured daily in 1995. In your opinion, have we improved on these human rights areas?

3. If you were to re-write this speech for this year, what would you include in your list of issues that limit women's access to equality and to human rights?

4. In the context of this article, how might promoting women's rights help achieve peace, both among individuals and nations? Cite evidence from the text, your personal experience, and other literature, art, and history in your answer.
For a North Korean refugee raising her kids in the UK, the past is never far

By Jieun Baek
2018

North Korea is a country located in East Asia in the northern region of the Korean Peninsula and is run by an authoritarian government. Kim Jong-un, the supreme leader of North Korea, and his government limit the political and individual freedoms of their citizens. In this informational text, Jieun Baek discusses one woman who escaped North Korea and is now raising her family in the United Kingdom. As you read, take notes on Jihyun Park's experiences sharing her past in North Korea with her children.

Grace Park is an 8-year-old girl from Manchester, United Kingdom, who likes making colorful bracelets with plastic lanyards, playing games with her two older brothers, and writing poems for her mum.

The childhood of Grace's mother, Jihyun Park, wasn't so carefree. She grew up in Chongjin, North Korea, where political life begins at an age when children are supposed to be watching cartoons and goofing around with friends.

As an 8-year-old, the elder Park was tasked with memorizing the biographies of Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il. She spent hours perfecting synchronized musical performances for the leaders' birthdays and meticulously ironing her red scarf for school. On the playground, her classmates played war games and pretended to kill American soldiers.

Park has a harrowing life story that includes two escapes from North Korea, forced repatriation, torture in a North Korean political prison camp, and being sold into sex trafficking. Through unyielding perseverance, she made her way to the United Kingdom, where she now lives with her husband and three children.

As a U.S.-born Korean-American, I have been researching various aspects of North Korea, from the underground network of people who smuggle outside information into the isolated country, to the country's defectors.

I first became aware of Jihyun Park's remarkable story after reading about her online in 2014. When I learned she had children, I was particularly interested in what it was like to raise a child in a world that, compared to North Korea, has unparalleled freedoms.

1. **Meticulous (adjective)**: showing great attention to detail
2. **Harrowing (adjective)**: very distressing
3. the return of someone to their own country
4. a person who leaves their country or cause in favor of an opposing one
So in October 2017, I met with Park at her home in Manchester. She talked about the joy she gets from being able to raise her kids in ways that would have been impossible under the shadow of political oppression. At the same time, there’s a real struggle to explain her past to her children — a life that differs so starkly from their own.

**Worlds apart**

As she prepared lunch for her two young children (the eldest is in college), Park told me that she would wake up as a child and never see her own mother.

Like most North Korean mothers, Park’s mother was required to tend to collective chores before her own household chores. While it was still dark outside, she would sweep the neighborhood roads before sweeping her own home. Even as a housewife, she never made lunch for her daughter because she had so many collective duties to perform — picking up trash, collecting wood and picking vegetables to meet the neighborhood quota to donate to the state. She never saw her daughter off at school. Nor did she ever pick her up.

Park said that she often thinks about this as she drops off and picks up her children from school. A simple daily task that so many parents take for granted (or begrudgingly do) wasn’t even possible in North Korea.

Yet life in the United Kingdom hasn’t been without its own set of challenges.

When she first dropped off her daughter Grace at nursery school a few years ago, Park couldn’t communicate with the teachers about her toddler. When teachers tried to tell her that Grace had a good day or a challenging day, Park didn’t understand. For a young mother from North Korea, the language and cultural barriers resulted in a spate of misunderstandings and missed opportunities.

When Grace entered preschool, Park worried that she would be discriminated against. After all, she and her family were in “someone else’s country,” as Park put it; they were Asian refugees with little to no money.

But she was pleasantly surprised that Grace ended up meeting a diverse group of friends, some of whom were also refugees. Grace taught her fellow preschoolers how to say hello in Korean (“ahn-nyoung”) and Grace learned how to say a few phrases in Russian, Arabic, Urdu and Polish.

Today, Grace speaks English with a thick Manchester accent and speaks Korean with a heavy northeastern North Korean accent.

**The scars of the past**

Because Grace was born in the U.K., Park has struggled with how to tell her about her past and her home country without scaring or worrying her.

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5. **Begrudge (verb)**: said, done, or given reluctantly
6. a series or succession
Two years ago, Grace noticed the deep scar on her mother’s leg and asked how mum got hurt. Park delicately tried to explain the torture she experienced in a North Korean political prison camp. (She was sent there as punishment for trying to escape the country in 1998.)

When Grace started watching some interviews and documentaries featuring her mother, much of it went over Grace’s head. But while watching an interview conducted by Amnesty International, Grace did lean over and silently hug her mother.

Something must have resonated.

Other disconnects seem more difficult to overcome. Many kids are unable to appreciate a routine as commonplace and mundane as a family dinner.

But to Park, these dinners are filled with meaning: They’re when she feels the most blessed. Meal time with her family in North Korea was rushed. Bellies were never full, and if there were any talking, it would be her father sternly lecturing the family about politics.

Now she’s able to eat second helpings of tasty food, tell jokes and laugh with her children. When Grace does occasionally complain about the food, Park is quick to remind Grace that they have relatives in North Korea who are never able to eat until they’re full.

“So why can’t we send them food?” Grace and her brother wonder.

**Communication breakdown**

How does a mother raised in a totalitarian state explain North Korea’s political situation to her young daughter? Where to begin? Why can’t they send them food?

Grace has asked several times to make a phone call to her aunties and uncles in North Korea. Or they could use Park’s phone to FaceTime them. Or at least email them pictures for Christmas.

When Park tells her daughter that their aunts and uncles don’t have internet, Grace suggests communicating “the old-fashioned way” — handwriting a letter, sticking a stamp on the envelope, and dropping off the letter at their local post office. Maybe they’ll write back and send them pictures of their families in North Korea?

Grace and her brother do recognize Kim Jong Un. When his image appears on television, they giggle and make fun of his weight and his hairstyle. They also blame Kim Jong Un for their mother’s scar on her leg, and for not being able to call their relatives in North Korea. But Grace and her brother still don’t seem to grasp why they can’t just pick up the phone and call their relatives.

Park told me that the challenge of explaining her life and the country she is from extends beyond educating her children. With her newfound freedom, she feels the moral duty to be the voice of millions of voiceless North Koreans to anyone who will listen.

7. a London-based organization based on human rights
8. a type of government that attempts to assert total control over the lives of its citizens
To ensure that future generations don’t forget the tragic experiences and memories of North Korean citizens, she founded Stepping Stones in 2017. The nonprofit organization raises awareness about human rights violations in North Korea, with a specific focus on women and children. The group is lobbying to make Feb. 17 an international day to remember all North Korean citizens who have been oppressed by the North Korean regime. (Stepping Stones chose this date to coincide with the day that the U.N. Commission of Inquiry on North Korea’s Human Rights released their report in 2014.)

In the meantime, Grace continues to live life like an ordinary kid. She rides her bike, makes glittery bracelets, and runs around with her classmates. Her days are filled with crayons, coloring books, play dates and fuzzy hairbands.

It’s a childhood that couldn’t be any more different from her mother’s.

For that, Park couldn’t be more grateful.

“For a North Korean refugee raising her kids in the UK, the past is never far behind” by Jieun Baek, University of Oxford, January 25, 2018. Copyright © The Conversation 2018, CC-BY-ND.
1. PART A: Which statement identifies the central idea of the text?
   A. Park has struggled with how best to make her children, who enjoy freedom in the U.K., understand her violent and oppressive life in North Korea.
   B. While Park is happy that she has been able to provide such an easy life for her children, she often wishes she could have had the same experience.
   C. Explaining her violent and oppressive past to her children only dredges it up, and Park would prefer to move on with her life in the U.K.
   D. Park hopes her story will inspire her children to take action and one day challenge the oppressive government in North Korea.

2. PART B: Which detail from the text best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “Park has a harrowing life story that includes two escapes from North Korea, forced repatriation, torture in a North Korean political prison camp, and being sold into sex trafficking.” (Paragraph 4)
   B. “As she prepared lunch for her two young children... Park told me that she would wake up as a child and never see her own mother.” (Paragraph 8)
   C. “How does a mother raised in a totalitarian state explain North Korea's political situation to her young daughter? Where to begin? Why can't they send them food?” (Paragraph 24)
   D. “To ensure that future generations don't forget the tragic experiences and memories of North Korean citizens, she founded Stepping Stones in 2017.” (Paragraph 29)

3. Which of the following describes the author's main purpose in the text?
   A. to explore Park's experiences raising her children in the U.K. and educating them about North Korea
   B. to emphasize the horrible violations of human rights that Park experienced while in North Korea
   C. to remind readers how many people are struggling to escape North Korea and how few people succeed
   D. to explore how Park transitioned from a life of oppression to living freely in the U.K. with her family

4. How do paragraphs 8-10 contribute to the development of ideas in the text?
   A. They discuss the duties that Park enjoys in her new life that most parents don't appreciate or realize are a privilege.
   B. They show how Park's strained relationship with her own mother is different from Park's relationship with her daughter.
   C. They stress the human rights violations that took place in North Korea while Park was living there as a child.
   D. They emphasize the differences between Park's childhood in Korea and her daughter's life in the U.K.
5. How does the author develop her analysis of Park's experiences helping her children understand her life in North Korea?
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. In the text, the author discusses Jihyun Park's desire to share her experiences with her children and ensure that the rest of the world doesn't forget North Korean citizens. What do you think Park hopes others will be able to learn from her experiences? Do you think sharing her experiences — and the experiences of other North Korean citizens — could help contribute to widespread change?

2. In the text, the author details some of the difficult obstacles that Jihyun Park overcame in North Korea. What do you think was difficult about coming to England as a refugee after these experiences? How do you think Park was able to prevail over these difficult experiences?
The year was 2081, and everybody was finally equal. They weren't only equal before God and the law. They were equal every which way. Nobody was smarter than anybody else. Nobody was better looking than anybody else. Nobody was stronger or quicker than anybody else. All this equality was due to the 211th, 212th, and 213th Amendments to the Constitution, and to the unceasing vigilance of agents of the United States Handicapper General.

Some things about living still weren't quite right, though. April for instance, still drove people crazy by not being springtime. And it was in that clammy month that the H-G men took George and Hazel Bergeron's fourteen-year-old son, Harrison, away.

It was tragic, all right, but George and Hazel couldn't think about it very hard. Hazel had a perfectly average intelligence, which meant she couldn't think about anything except in short bursts. And George, while his intelligence was way above normal, had a little mental handicap radio in his ear. He was required by law to wear it at all times. It was tuned to a government transmitter. Every twenty seconds or so, the transmitter would send out some sharp noise to keep people like George from taking unfair advantage of their brains.

George and Hazel were watching television. There were tears on Hazel's cheeks, but she'd forgotten for the moment what they were about.

On the television screen were ballerinas.

A buzzer sounded in George's head. His thoughts fled in panic, like bandits from a burglar alarm.

“That was a real pretty dance, that dance they just did,” said Hazel.

“Huh,” said George.

“That dance — it was nice,” said Hazel.
“Yup,” said George. He tried to think a little about the ballerinas. They weren't really very good — no better than anybody else would have been, anyway. They were burdened with sashweights and bags of birdshot,¹ and their faces were masked, so that no one, seeing a free and graceful gesture or a pretty face, would feel like something the cat drug in. George was toying with the vague notion that maybe dancers shouldn't be handicapped. But he didn't get very far with it before another noise in his ear radio scattered his thoughts.

George winced. So did two out of the eight ballerinas.

Hazel saw him wince. Having no mental handicap herself, she had to ask George what the latest sound had been.

“Sounded like somebody hitting a milk bottle with a ball peen hammer,”² said George.

“I'd think it would be real interesting, hearing all the different sounds,” said Hazel a little envious. “All the things they think up.”

“Um,” said George.

“Only, if I was Handicapper General, you know what I would do?” said Hazel. Hazel, as a matter of fact, bore a strong resemblance to the Handicapper General, a woman named Diana Moon Glampers. “If I was Diana Moon Glampers,” said Hazel, “I'd have chimes on Sunday — just chimes. Kind of in honor of religion.”

“I could think, if it was just chimes,” said George.


“Good as anybody else,” said George.

“Who knows better than I do what normal is?” said Hazel.

“Right,” said George. He began to think glimmeringly about his abnormal son who was now in jail, about Harrison, but a twenty-one-gun salute in his head stopped that.

“Boy!” said Hazel, “that was a doozy, wasn't it?”

It was such a doozy that George was white and trembling, and tears stood on the rims of his red eyes. Two of the eight ballerinas had collapsed to the studio floor, were holding their temples.

“All of a sudden you look so tired,” said Hazel. “Why don't you stretch out on the sofa, so's you can rest your handicap bag on the pillows, honeybunch.” She was referring to the forty-seven pounds of birdshot in a canvas bag, which was padlocked around George's neck. “Go on and rest the bag for a little while,” she said. “I don't care if you're not equal to me for a while.”

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¹ small pellets designed for shooting birds
² a hammer with a rounded end opposite the face
George weighed the bag with his hands. “I don’t mind it,” he said. “I don’t notice it anymore. It’s just a part of me.”

“You been so tired lately — kind of wore out,” said Hazel. “If there was just some way we could make a little hole in the bottom of the bag, and just take out a few of them lead balls. Just a few.”

“Two years in prison and two thousand dollars fine for every ball I took out,” said George. “I don’t call that a bargain.”

“If you could just take a few out when you came home from work,” said Hazel. “I mean — you don’t compete with anybody around here. You just set around.”

“If I tried to get away with it,” said George, “then other people’d get away with it — and pretty soon we’d be right back to the dark ages again, with everybody competing against everybody else. You wouldn’t like that, would you?”

“I’d hate it,” said Hazel.

“There you are,” said George. “The minute people start cheating on laws, what do you think happens to society?”

If Hazel hadn’t been able to come up with an answer to this question, George couldn’t have supplied one. A siren was going off in his head.

“Reckon it’d fall all apart,” said Hazel.

“What would?” said George blankly.

“Society,” said Hazel uncertainly. “Wasn’t that what you just said?”

“Who knows?” said George.

The television program was suddenly interrupted for a news bulletin. It wasn’t clear at first as to what the bulletin was about, since the announcer, like all announcers, had a serious speech impediment. For about half a minute, and in a state of high excitement, the announcer tried to say, “Ladies and Gentlemen.”

He finally gave up, handed the bulletin to a ballerina to read.

“That’s all right — “ Hazel said of the announcer, “he tried. That’s the big thing. He tried to do the best he could with what God gave him. He should get a nice raise for trying so hard.”

“Ladies and Gentlemen,” said the ballerina, reading the bulletin. She must have been extraordinarily beautiful, because the mask she wore was hideous. And it was easy to see that she was the strongest and most graceful of all the dancers, for her handicap bags were as big as those worn by two-hundred pound men.

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3. Society (noun): a community of people living in a particular country or region who have shared customs, laws, and culture
And she had to apologize at once for her voice, which was a very unfair voice for a woman to use. Her voice was a warm, luminous, timeless melody. “Excuse me — ” she said, and she began again, making her voice absolutely uncompetitive.

“Harrison Bergeron, age fourteen,” she said in a grackle squawk, “has just escaped from jail, where he was held on suspicion of plotting to overthrow the government. He is a genius and an athlete, is underhandicapped, and should be regarded as extremely dangerous.”

A police photograph of Harrison Bergeron was flashed on the screen—upside down, then sideways, upside down again, then right side up. The picture showed the full length of Harrison against a background calibrated in feet and inches. He was exactly seven feet tall.

The rest of Harrison’s appearance was Halloween and hardware. Nobody had ever born heavier handicaps. He had outgrown hindrances faster than the H-G men could think them up. Instead of a little ear radio for a mental handicap, he wore a tremendous pair of earphones, and spectacles with thick wavy lenses. The spectacles were intended to make him not only half blind, but to give him whanging headaches besides.

Scrap metal was hung all over him. Ordinarily, there was a certain symmetry, a military neatness to the handicaps issued to strong people, but Harrison looked like a walking junkyard. In the race of life, Harrison carried three hundred pounds.

And to offset his good looks, the H-G men required that he wear at all times a red rubber ball for a nose, keep his eyebrows shaved off, and cover his even white teeth with black caps at snaggle-tooth random.

“If you see this boy,” said the ballerina, “do not — I repeat, do not — try to reason with him.”

There was the shriek of a door being torn from its hinges.

Screams and barking cries of consternation came from the television set. The photograph of Harrison Bergeron on the screen jumped again and again, as though dancing to the tune of an earthquake.

George Bergeron correctly identified the earthquake, and well he might have — for many was the time his own home had danced to the same crashing tune. “My God — ” said George, “that must be Harrison!”

The realization was blasted from his mind instantly by the sound of an automobile collision in his head.

When George could open his eyes again, the photograph of Harrison was gone. A living, breathing Harrison filled the screen.

Clanking, clownish, and huge, Harrison stood — in the center of the studio. The knob of the uprooted studio door was still in his hand. Ballerinas, technicians, musicians, and announcers cowered on their knees before him, expecting to die.

4. Luminous (adjective): glowing and bright
5. Consternation (noun): feelings of anxiety or distress, typically due to something unexpected
6. Cower (verb): to crouch down in fear
“I am the Emperor!” cried Harrison. “Do you hear? I am the Emperor! Everybody must do what I say at once!” He stamped his foot and the studio shook.

“Even as I stand here” he bellowed, “crippled, hobbled, sickened — I am a greater ruler than any man who ever lived! Now watch me become what I can become!”

Harrison tore the straps of his handicap harness like wet tissue paper, tore straps guaranteed to support five thousand pounds.

Harrison’s scrap-iron handicaps crashed to the floor.

Harrison thrust his thumbs under the bar of the padlock that secured his head harness. The bar snapped like celery. Harrison smashed his headphones and spectacles against the wall.

He flung away his rubber-ball nose, revealed a man that would have awed Thor, the god of thunder.

“I shall now select my Empress!” he said, looking down on the cowering people. “Let the first woman who dares rise to her feet claim her mate and her throne!”

A moment passed, and then a ballerina arose, swaying like a willow.

Harrison plucked the mental handicap from her ear, snapped off her physical handicaps with marvelous delicacy. Last of all he removed her mask.

She was blindingly beautiful.

“Now — ” said Harrison, taking her hand, “shall we show the people the meaning of the word dance? Music!” he commanded.

The musicians scrambled back into their chairs, and Harrison stripped them of their handicaps, too. “Play your best,” he told them, “and I’ll make you barons and dukes and earls.”

The music began. It was normal at first — cheap, silly, false. But Harrison snatched two musicians from their chairs, waved them like batons as he sang the music as he wanted it played. He slammed them back into their chairs.

The music began again and was much improved.

Harrison and his Empress merely listened to the music for a while — listened gravely, as though synchronizing their heartbeats with it.

They shifted their weights to their toes.

Harrison placed his big hands on the girl’s tiny waist, letting her sense the weightlessness that would soon be hers.

And then, in an explosion of joy and grace, into the air they sprang!
Not only were the laws of the land abandoned, but the law of gravity and the laws of motion as well.

They reeled, whirled, swiveled, flounced, capered, gamboled, and spun.

They leaped like deer on the moon.

The studio ceiling was thirty feet high, but each leap brought the dancers nearer to it.

It became their obvious intention to kiss the ceiling. They kissed it.

And then, neutraling gravity with love and pure will, they remained suspended in air inches below the ceiling, and they kissed each other for a long, long time.

It was then that Diana Moon Glampers, the Handicapper General, came into the studio with a double-barreled ten-gauge shotgun. She fired twice, and the Emperor and the Empress were dead before they hit the floor.

Diana Moon Glampers loaded the gun again. She aimed it at the musicians and told them they had ten seconds to get their handicaps back on.

It was then that the Bergerons’ television tube burned out.

Hazel turned to comment about the blackout to George. But George had gone out into the kitchen for a can of beer.

George came back in with the beer, paused while a handicap signal shook him up. And then he sat down again. “You been crying” he said to Hazel.

“Yup,” she said.

“What about?” he said.

“I forget,” she said. “Something real sad on television.”

“What was it?” he said.

“It's all kind of mixed up in my mind,” said Hazel.

“Forget sad things,” said George.

“I always do,” said Hazel.

“That's my girl,” said George. He winced. There was the sound of a riveting gun in his head.

“Gee — I could tell that one was a doozy,” said Hazel.

“You can say that again,” said George.
“Gee — ” said Hazel, “I could tell that one was a doozy.”
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. Which statement best expresses the theme of this short story?
   A. Attempting to achieve complete equality will only result in widespread dissatisfaction and lack of creativity.
   B. The government should encourage everyone to hide their differences in order to have a more peaceful and equal society.
   C. Forcing uniformity on people doesn't result in equality, but rather causes conflict and unhappiness.
   D. People don't realize how important individuality is until they have what makes them different taken away.

2. How does Harrison's removal of his handicaps develop the plot of the story?
   A. Harrison inspires people to rebel against the government.
   B. Harrison briefly shows people what is possible without handicaps.
   C. Harrison's violent outburst makes the audience believe that handicaps are good.
   D. Harrison makes his parents proud that he stood up for what is right.

3. PART A: How do the different handicaps contribute to the theme of the story?
   A. They show how being unique can be dangerous to yourself and the people around you.
   B. They emphasize how the most ordinary people are often the most valued in a society.
   C. They stress how the work towards achieving total equality won't be easy or pleasant.
   D. They illustrate how much must be done to make the most unique and talented individuals conform.

4. PART B: Which section from the text best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “He began to think glimmeringly about his abnormal son who was now in jail, about Harrison, but a twenty-one-gun salute in his head stopped that.” (Paragraph 21)
   B. “he tried. That's the big thing. He tried to do the best he could with what God gave him. He should get a nice raise for trying so hard.” (Paragraph 39)
   C. “And it was easy to see that she was the strongest and most graceful of all the dancers, for her handicap bags were as big as those worn by two-hundred pound men.” (Paragraph 40)
   D. “Diana Moon Glampers loaded the gun again. She aimed it at the musicians and told them they had ten seconds to get their handicaps back on.” (Paragraph 79)
5. What message does Kurt Vonnegut convey through the satire “Harrison Bergeron,” and how does the title character develop this message?
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. In your opinion, is it fair that some people in the story have more handicaps than others? Why or why not? How do the handicaps enforce sameness rather than equality? How do you think people in our society would respond if they had enforced handicaps?

2. In the story, people are reluctant to join Harrison and take off their handicaps. Why do you think this is?

3. How does the government enforce these handicaps? How does the government enforce order in our society today?

4. In the context of the short story, what should the future look like? What implications does this story have for how people and the government should act?
Freedom fighter for North Koreans  
By Anne Hannah Foong  
2017

North Korea is a country located in East Asia in the northern region of the Korean Peninsula and is run by an authoritarian government. Kim Jong-un, the supreme leader of North Korea, and his government strictly control the freedoms of their citizens and violate their human rights. In search for a better life and chance of survival, some North Koreans defect from their country, or abandon it in favor of another country. One of these defectors is Jihyun Park, who was forced to leave North Korea during a famine, or food shortage.

As Jihyun Park recounts, the memory of her first family member dying of starvation is vivid. Bones stuck out sharply, making arms and legs look like sticks. Her uncle wasn't the first fatality. “The famine slowly tortured everyone. All over the city, there were families like us waking up on a bright summer morning only to face death.”

Jihyun Park carries a slight limp. It's a reminder of the ordeals she underwent while escaping the atrocious North Korean dictatorship regime.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, North Korea has relied heavily on the Soviet's support for their agriculture and social economies, which supplied the country's public monthly ration distributions. The demise of the Soviets in 1991 threw North Korea into economic chaos and, due to the dysfunctional distribution of food by the government and bad weather, the infamous Arduous March famine (1994 — 1998) left an unknown death toll believed to be between thousands and millions of dead. It was one of the worst famines ever recorded in history. “The stomachs of the children on our street were distended from starvation. We were forced to forage for whatever food we could find in forests and gardens. I remember digging up tree roots with my fingers to boil and eat,” says Park.

Jihyun Park was told that “the West was to be blamed for its imposed economic sanctions on our country.” Just like the rest of the population, she was brainwashed from birth to obey the state.

Park graduated from university holding a mathematics and science degree in 1996 and was training as a teacher. Her dream didn't come to fruition.

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1. **Atrocious** *(adjective)*: horrifyingly wicked  
2. swollen or bloated  
3. **Forage** *(verb)*: to search widely for food  
4. the point at which a plan is realized
Her mother left home. Her father collapsed from a hemorrhage. Her brother was being chased by military officials for dealing with gold illegally. Park was left to tend to her sick father and salvage whatever she could to sustain them. It was in these moments of desperation that her sick father secretly persuaded her to leave North Korea.

The remorse etched in Park is still visible as she thinks back to that life-changing decision.

“It was my father's will. Not even observing my father's death, I left. Leaving my father lying in the cold room, I left for a journey that would never bring me back home. I will never see him again and I don't know where he is buried.”

Park and her brother crossed the border into China and were separated at the border. Once in China, she fell victim to human trafficking. “A broker told me that I would need money to save my brother, and so I was sold to a Chinese man for 5,000 yuan (approximately £500). However, I never saw my brother again and my life as a slave began,” says Park.

According to Amnesty International, the vast majority of North Korean defectors are women — nearly 80%.

In June 2009, the U.S State Department released a Trafficking Persons Report which found that the “most common cases are women being sold as brides to Chinese nationals. In other cases, North Korean women and girls are lured out of North Korea to escape poor economic, social, and political conditions by the promise of food, jobs, and freedom, only to be forced into prostitution, marriage, or exploitative labor arrangements once in China. In some cases, North Korean women are sold multiple times to different men by the same trafficker. The illegal status of North Koreans in China and other Southeast Asian countries increases their vulnerability to trafficking for purposes of forced labor and sexual exploitation.”

Park remembers: “These men saw North Korean women as products that were purchased. If they were damaged or became useless, they saw it acceptable to ‘resell’ to other people. The ‘owners’ did not want us to congregate outside for fear we would encourage each other to escape. One woman was bought by two men who combined their money to buy her. She was kept in a room and was never allowed to step foot outside.”

For six years, Park worked from dusk to dawn. She was deprived of basic necessities, suffered estrangements 5 from the community and endured years of forced sex with her abusive alcoholic husband. Soon, she became pregnant. She hid her pregnancy, afraid that she would be forced to abort while continuing her strenuous daily work.

Park's son, Yong, came into the world in 1999. Initially, he was to be sold but after pleading and begging Park was able to keep Yong with her in China, where he grew up stateless. 6 When he was five, Park was reported to the Chinese authorities and forcefully separated from Yong, kicking and screaming. Park was then deported and her son remained in China.

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5. no longer on friendly terms with a group or a part of it
6. not recognized as a citizen of any country
“China did not recognize us as political refugees, but as illegal migrant workers. Any North Koreans caught on Chinese soil would be forcibly repatriated\(^7\) back to face a long sentence to political prison camps. China’s violations of human rights are no secret, especially towards North Korean women. I know the truth because I am one of those women who experienced exploitation and violations.”

Park was sent to Tumen’s detention center in China. A week later, she was deported back to North Korea as a criminal. In North Korea, Park moved from a prison camp to a labor camp in Onsung to a provincial correction camp. She still bears the scars and memories of what it is to be caught escaping the Kim Jung Il’s regime.

“One day I needed to go to the toilet desperately and asked them (the guards) many times, but they never answered. I could not stop and use the bathroom. As a punishment, they forced me to clean the toilet with bare hands without any water.”

In Onsung labor camp, Park and the prisoners lived and worked like animals, pulling ox carts, digging the ground with their bare hands, and carrying heavy loads barefoot. After working from 4 am to 11 pm, they were only given pig’s rice. They ate raw potatoes and picked seed out of animal dung. Park lived with more than a hundred people crammed into a single room with only two buckets to use as toilets. Survival and her son, Yong, were the only thoughts that kept her going.

One day, Park woke up to find one of her legs was swollen with gangrene\(^8\) due to the constant beatings by guards and continually working in the sewage. Worried she would infect others in the institution, the guards authorized Park’s release with a signature from one of her family members. “The camp released me with a signature from my uncle. My uncle left me, saying he would never see me again.”

Park struggled to survive on the streets as her infected leg rotted and quickly spread to her other limbs. It was a kind-hearted herbal doctor who saved her leg. He placed some herb in the rotting bone and gave her white powder to extract the gangrene. All the while, Park was only thinking about her son.

“I needed to get back to China for my son. I had to find him, although I didn’t know if he was even still alive or if my husband had sold him. The only way to escape and to find my son was to sell myself.”

Park fled her country once again over the mountains with the help of a trafficker, desperate to find her son. Their reunion was both exhilarating and heart-breaking. She barely recognized him with his sunken cheeks and flaking filthy skin.

Her ordeal was far from over. Once she found her son, they took a dangerous route to Mongolia after an unsuccessful attempt to find help in the South Korea Embassy. “The border fence was two meters high. We cut a hole and everyone ran. I couldn’t run because of my leg. I walked, gripping my son’s hand.” She could hear sounds of car engines and her heart plunged. She thought all was lost. A man turned back and ran towards them, carried her son, holding her hand and ran, crossing the border into Mongolia. “I looked up and it’s the first time I saw hope. I did not know it was love because I’ve never experienced love.”

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\(^7\) to send someone back to their own country  
\(^8\) the death of tissue in a living body, due to infection resulting from blocked blood supply
The man, Kwang, who is now her husband, was also a North Korean defector. Together they stayed in the Mongolian desert for three days and, due to harsh conditions, returned to China and made a living selling Korean food. One day, she met a Korean-American pastor who introduced them to a UN officer in Beijing. The rest was history.

Jihyun Park now lives in Bury, Manchester. “I arrived in the UK with a heartwarming welcome. I got a refugee visa and I cried and cried.” Finally, her life began.

In 2013, the UK rejected 30 asylum applications from North Korean defectors. It was the first time Park had ever heard of North Korean refugees being rejected. She went to London to give her testimony about North Korean human rights violations and violence in front of the United Nations Commissions of Inquiry in North Korea.

In June 2015, the European Alliance for Human Rights in North Korea (EAHRNK) released a report entitled, “A Case for Clarification: European Asylum Policy and North Korean Refugees.” The report says a great majority of North Korean defectors who seek asylum in European countries are encountering difficulties. In 2013, all 128 applications to the Netherlands were rejected. Another 126 rejected applications in Belgium and 19 cases in France were rejected, and another five were rejected in Sweden.

Jihyun Park is now the UK’s Outreach and Project Officer at EAHRNK, which engages in research and advocacy for improving humanitarian conditions in the DPRK. Her “Phoenix” internship project is designed to support and help young North Korean refugees by providing mentoring and training as they integrate into their new countries, with the hope of “rebuilding of the North Korean state, infrastructure, and economy” in the future.

“Depriving the people of their liberty and exploiting human rights for three dictatorships in 70 years makes North Korea the worst country. At present, the dictatorship regime in North Korea is the most brutal dictatorship in the world. North Koreans living in the 21st century are completely isolated from the outside world. North Koreans live in dark tunnels with no electricity and go out to work from early morning to late evening during the cold winters to put one meal on the table on a daily basis. However, North Korea is also changing. Many North Koreans are working to be freed. They say there is a light at the end of the tunnel. Soon, the dictatorial regime of 70 years will collapse by the North Koreans aspiring to freedom.” says Jihyun Park.

Her husband, Kwang, is always there by her side to assure her.

“You have experienced the ordeals that North Korean women have to go through in China. You also have spent time at the detention and re-education centers in North Korea. It is our responsibility to make the rest of the world aware of the current suffering of these women. If by any chance somebody points finger at you or laughs at you, I will be the shield that protects you,” he said.

In the words of Jihyun Park,

“And also I thank my eldest son who showed me how much he supported my project and my two youngest who always show me so much love with their big smiles. Without their help I would not be here today; I would not have the courage to fight for the North Korean women's human rights.”
Jihyun Park: Defector. Refugee. Survivor. Freedom fighter for North Koreans from April Magazine by Anne Hannah Foong. Copyright © 2017 by Copyright Holder. Used by permission of Publisher. All rights reserved.
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: What is the central idea of the text?
   A. North Koreans would be better off staying in North Korea, as defectors are often trafficked or captured and sentenced to labor camps.
   B. The human rights violations that North Korean defectors experience in China is worse than what they can expect in labor camps or times of famine.
   C. Countries are accepting more North Korean refugees now than ever, as the rampant human rights violations present there are coming to light.
   D. Many defecting North Koreans struggle to attain refugee status in other countries, and are often subjected to human rights violations or sent back to North Korea.

2. PART B: Which two details from the text best supports the answer to part A?
   A. “The stomachs of the children on our street were distended from starvation. We were forced to forage for whatever food we could find in forests and gardens. I remember digging up tree roots with my fingers to boil and eat,’ says Park.” (Paragraph 3)
   B. “The illegal status of North Koreans in China and other Southeast Asian countries increases their vulnerability to trafficking for purposes of forced labor and sexual exploitation.” (Paragraph 11)
   C. “Together they stayed in the Mongolian desert for three days and, due to harsh conditions, returned to China and made a living selling Korean food.” (Paragraph 24)
   D. “I arrived in the UK with heartwarming welcome. I got a refugee visa and I cried and cried.’ Finally, her life began.” (Paragraph 25)
   E. “The report says a great majority of North Korean defectors who seek asylum in European countries are encountering difficulties. In 2013, all 128 applications to the Netherlands were rejected. Another 126 rejected applications in Belgium and 19 cases in France were rejected, another five were rejected in Sweden.” (Paragraph 27)
   F. “They say, there is a light at the end of the tunnel. Soon, the dictatorial regime of 70 years will collapse by the North Koreans aspiring to freedom.” (Paragraph 29)

3. Which statement best describes how the author develops her analysis of the treatment of women who defect from North Korea?
   A. by narrating and quoting Jihyun Park’s horrible experience in North Korea and her difficult journey seeking asylum
   B. by comparing the experiences of North Korean men who sought asylum with the experience of North Korean women
   C. by sharing her own experiences as a refugee and comparing them to Jihyun Park’s experiences escaping North Korea
   D. by highlighting how North Korea’s punishment of women who defect has become more severe over the time
4. How do paragraphs 10-12 contribute to the development of ideas in the text?
   A. They emphasize how the treatment of women in North Korea is significantly worse than that of men in North Korea.
   B. They suggest that women are not as successful at escaping North Korea as men who defect are.
   C. They show how women are particularly vulnerable to being taken advantage of when they defect from North Korea.
   D. They show how women who defect from North Korea have to work harder to get refugee status.

5. What connection does the author draw between North Korea’s human rights violations and the human rights violations North Korean women suffer in China? Use details from the text to support your response.
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. In the text, the author discusses all that Jihyun Park has overcome. How did she find the strength to survive human trafficking in China and the labor camps in North Korea? Why do you think she decides to share her story, despite how painful it must be?

2. In the text, Jihyun Park testifies in London about North Korea's human rights violations. How do you think Park is changing the conversation about North Korean refugees? Why is it important for her to share her experiences with human rights violations in North Korea? Do you think Park can also create change within North Korea, despite no longer being in the country? Why or why not?

3. In the text, the author discusses how North Korean women are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking in China. How do you think China's government can help protect women from these abuses? Why do you think China merely sends North Korean defectors back to North Korea, rather than give them refugee status?
Serena Williams' catsuit controversy evokes the battle over women wearing shorts

By Deirdre Clemente
2018

In this informational text, Deirdre Clemente discusses the controversy surrounding what Serena Williams, a famous tennis athlete, decided to wear to the French Open. Deidre uses this recent example to explore the attention that female athlete's outfits have received historically. As you read, take notes on the expectations about how women should look and what they should wear.

At the French Open, Serena Williams wore a custom-made black catsuit. On Aug. 24, the president of the French Tennis Federation said the outfit "wouldn't be back." It "went too far," he continued. It didn't "respect the game and the place."

Among Williams' defenders, the pushback was swift — the decision indicative of how female athletes face more scrutiny and are held to outdated dress standards.

As a historian of the American fashion industry, I'm not surprised when an outfit worn by a female athlete generates outrage. I thought of Suzanne Lenglen, the French tennis star of the late 1910s who shocked onlookers with her knee-length tennis dress. Coincidentally, Stade Roland Garros, the stadium where Serena wore her suit during the French Open, has a court named after Lenglen.

This is simply the most recent chapter of a centurylong debate over the place of informality and immodesty in our dress: how short can that skirt be? Should the first lady be able to don a tank top? What about wearing sneakers to prom?

Sportswear, which can be both informal and immodest, has served as a flashpoint in these debates — particularly for women.

In 1936, a sportswriter named Paul Gallico argued that female athletes and their clothing were offensive.

Women who play sports, he wrote, “stick out places when they play, wear funny clothes, get out of breath or perspire.” He didn't like that because “it's a lady's business to look beautiful, and there are hardly any sports in which she seems able to do it.”

1. **Scrutiny (noun):** critical observation or examination
2. a place, event, or time at which trouble comes about
Nothing, it seemed, upset people more than women in shorts. Starting in the late 1920s, shorts became the much-contested replacement for bloomers, the puffy-legged, bifurcated garment worn under long skirts. Women who did wear athletic garb were supposed to keep out of the public eye because it was deemed unfeminine and, yes, immodest.

Female tennis players were on the frontlines of the battle for public acceptance of shorts. Even though tennis industry officials and country club muckety mucks wrote dress codes that outlawed shorts, many women refused to adhere to the rules and continued showing up to play wearing them.

Some were thrown off the courts. But it's hard to enforce dress codes when everybody's doing it.

Not surprisingly, this really rankled the old guard.

“If you gals really knew how cute you look in a well-cut dress, you wouldn't hanker to wear shorts,” one etiquette writer grumbled in the 1936 book, “Co-Ediquette: Poise and Popularity for Every Girl.” “Of course, you've got to be comfortable, ah, me! Even if you have to insult the aesthetic sense of men to do it?”

Most women shrugged — and kept on wearing shorts, on and off the court.

In time, shorts as hiking wear, shorts as gardening garb and shorts as loungewear became increasingly common. It seems the old guard had been worn down — or simply died off.

By the end of the 1930s, younger women were acknowledging a shift in attitudes. “American women live 24 hours a day in sports clothes,” one college student told the Boston Post. “Husbands no longer come home and deliver stern lectures upon finding their wives cooking supper in shorts. It's just taken for granted.”

While some husbands may have skipped the stern lectures, it took three more decades for shorts to fully reach widespread acceptance.

But in tennis, notions of immodesty and informality die hard. When female tennis players such as Billie Jean King wore very short, gored skirts and sleeveless polo shirts in the 1970s, they were criticized for their “radical” outfits. Time and again, the powers-that-be in tennis push back on immodesty, and the players push forward towards personal choice and — dare we say — personal style.

So, we've seen this all before. New stuff — never-seen-before stuff — has long spelled trouble for female athletes and sparked public outcry.

Today, the sartorial standards of what you can and can't wear in certain settings have changed so radically that institutions can't keep up. You almost feel sorry for the French official who announced the ban on the catsuit. In the big picture, he won't do anything to stop the crawl of social change.

And how did Serena Williams respond to being chastised for wearing her black catsuit?

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3. divided in two parts
4. **Rankle** *(verb)*: to cause persisting annoyance or resentment
5. the original or long-standing members of a group, reluctant to accept change
6. a style of folded skirt
7. related to clothing or style of dress
She simply showed up a few days later to win U.S. Open matches wearing a tulle tutu.
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which statement identifies the central idea of the text?
   A. Sports is the one area where women should not be judged for what they wear, as their clothing is a means to optimize their athletic performance.
   B. Men have used harsh dress codes as a way to discourage women from participating in athletic activities that they deem inappropriate for women.
   C. Women need to continue to challenge dress codes in sports by wearing what they’re comfortable in, rather than what is expected of them by the public.
   D. Women's fashion, especially women's fashion in sports, has always been examined and criticized more severely than men's fashion.

2. PART B: Which detail from the text best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “Coincidentally, Stade Roland Garros, the stadium where Serena wore her suit during the French Open, has a court named after Lenglen.” (Paragraph 3)
   B. “Women who did wear athletic garb were supposed to keep out of the public eye because it was deemed unfeminine and, yes, immodest.” (Paragraph 8)
   C. “In time, shorts as hiking wear, shorts as gardening garb and shorts as loungewear became increasingly common. It seems the old guard had been worn down — or simply died off.” (Paragraph 14)
   D. “You almost feel sorry for the French official who announced the ban on the catsuit. In the big picture, he won't do anything to stop the crawl of social change.” (Paragraph 19)

3. How have people's views on women's fashion in America changed over time?
   A. People are just as critical of women's fashion today, as they were decades ago.
   B. People have only ever been accepting of women's fashion that highlights their femininity.
   C. People have become more tolerant of a wider range of women's styles, but continue to criticize them.
   D. People have become increasingly critical of women's fashion as more options have become available.

4. How does the author's inclusion of sports and etiquette writers' comments contribute to the text (Paragraph 12 and Paragraph 7)?
   A. They highlight how absurd people's criticism of women's appearances and dress were.
   B. They emphasize how male and female athletes are criticized for what they wear in sports.
   C. They show how people's views about women's fashion in sports has largely remained the same.
   D. They help readers understand the logic behind certain dress codes in sports.
5. What connection does the author draw between criticism of Serena Williams’ tennis outfit and past scrutiny of women’s athletic clothing?
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. In the text, the author discusses the emphasis that has been put on women's clothing throughout history. Why do you think female athletes’ fashion choices receive more scrutiny than male athletes’ fashion choices? What message do you think it sends to female athletes when more attention is paid to what they’re wearing than how they’re playing?

2. In the text, the author discusses how America has become more tolerant of women's fashion choices over the past few decades, but the dress code in tennis remains strict. Why do you think people continue to be preoccupied with what female tennis players wear? Do you think there should be any sort of dress code for tennis players, or other athletes? Why or why not?

3. In the text, the author discusses how people's views and acceptance of what female athletes wear has changed over time. How do you think this change started and progressed? Do you think Serena Williams’ decision to wear a catsuit and a tutu will continue to change the expectations around women's clothing in athletics? Why or why not?
Shirley Chisholm's Presidential Announcement Speech Transcript

By Shirley Chisholm
1972

Shirley Chisholm (1924-2005) was an American politician, educator, and author. She was the first black woman elected to the United States Congress in 1968 and the first woman and black person to run for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1972. As you read, take notes on why Chisholm thinks she would be a good choice for the Democratic nomination.

Chisholm: I stand before you today as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States of America. I am not the candidate of black America, although I am black and proud. I am not the candidate of the women's movement of this country, although I am a woman and I'm equally proud of that. I am not the candidate of any political policies or fatcats or special interests. I stand here now, without endorsements from many big name politicians or celebrities or any other kind of prop, I do not intend to offer you the tired clichés that have too long been an accepted part of our political life. I am the candidate of the people of America. Fellow Americans, we have looked in vain to the Nixon administration for the courage, the spirit, the character, and the words to lift us, to bring out the best in us, to rekindle in each of us the faith of the American dream. Yet all that we have received in return is just another smooth exercise in political manipulation, deceit and deception, callousness and indifference to our individual problems, and the disgusting playing of divisive politics, pitting the young against the old, labor against management, North against South, blacks against whites. The abiding concern of this administration has been one of political expediency rather than the needs of man's nature. The president has broken his promises to us, and has therefore lost his claim to our trust and confidence in him. I cannot believe — [applause] I cannot believe that this administration would ever have been elected four years ago if we had known then what we know today. What we are entering — we are entering a new era, in which we must, as Americans, demand stature and size from our national leadership — leadership which is fresh, leadership which is open, and leadership which is receptive to the problems of all Americans. I have faith in the American people. I believe that we are smart enough to correct our mistakes. I believe that we are intelligent enough to recognize the talent, energy, and dedication that all Americans, including women and minorities, have to offer. I know from my travels to the cities and the small towns of America that we have vast potential which can and must be put to constructive use in getting this great nation together. I know that millions of Americans from all walks of life agree with me, that leadership does not mean putting the air to the ground, to follow public opinion, but to have the vision of what is necessary, and the courage to make it possible. Americans all over are demanding a new sensibility, a new philosophy of government from Washington. Instead of sending spies to snoop on participants at Earth Day, I would welcome the efforts of concerned citizens of all ages to stop the abuse of our environment. Instead of watching a football game on television while young people beg for the attention of their president concerning our actions abroad, I would encourage them to speak out, organize for peaceful change, and vote in November. Instead of blocking efforts to control the huge amounts of money given political candidates by the rich and the powerful, I would provide certain limits on such amounts, and encourage all the people of this nation to contribute small sums to the candidates of their choice. Instead of calculating the political costs, this or that policy, and [inaudible] in favor of this or that group, depending on whether that group voted for me in 1968, I would remind all Americans at this hour of the words of Abraham Lincoln, "a house divided cannot stand." We Americans are all fellow countrymen. One day confronting the judgment of history in our country, we are all God's children, and the will of each of us is as precious as the will of the most powerful general or corporate millionaire. And my presence before you now symbolizes a new era in American political history. I've always earnestly believed the great potential of America. Our constitutional democracy will soon celebrate its 200th anniversary, effective testimony to the longevity of our cherished Constitution and its unique Bill of Rights which continuously give to the world an inspirational message of freedom and liberty. [inaudible] I do not believe that in 1972 the great majority of Americans will continue to harbor such narrow and petty prejudices. I am convinced that the American people are in a mood to discard the politics and political personalities of the past. I believe that they will show in 1972, and thereafter, that they intend to make independent judgments on the merits of a particular candidate, based on that candidate's intelligence, character, physical ability, competence, integrity, and honesty. It is, I feel, the duty of responsible leaders in this country to encourage and maximize, not to dismiss and minimize, such judgement [...] Our will can create a new America in 1972, one where there's freedom
from violence and war at home and abroad. Where there's freedom from poverty and discrimination. Where there exists at least a feeling that we are making progress and ensuring for everyone medical care and employment and decent housing. Where we more decisively clean up our streets, our water, and our air. We work together, black and white, to rebuild our neighborhoods and to make our city twice as attractive and efficient and, fundamentally, where we live in the confidence that every man and every woman in America has at long last the opportunity to become all that he was created of being such as his ability. In conclusion, all of you who share this vision, from New York to California, from Wisconsin to Florida, our brothers and sisters on the road to national unity and a new America. [applause] Those of you who were locked outside of the convention hall in 1968, those of you who can now vote for the first time, those of you who agree with me that the institutions of this country belong to all of the people who inhabit it, those of you who have been neglected, left out, ignored, forgotten, or shunned aside for whatever reason, give me your help at this hour. Join me in an effort to reshape our society and regain control of our destiny as we go down the Chisholm trail of 1972. [applause]

**Reporter:** You represent a trend for more women and specifically black women to get involved with politics and go after elected office in this country.

**Chisholm:** Yes I specifically recommend, do I recommend a trend for more women and specifically black women to enter in to politics...

**[5]** **Reporter:** Elected office.

**Chisholm:** Elected office. Yes I definitely am feeling and recognizing that as a result of over 20 years in political life, only emerging 8 years ago publicly, there is a great need for more women in the political arena. I happen to believe that there's certain aspects of legislation that probably would be given much more attention if we had more women's voices in the halls of the legislatures on the city, state, and national level. And I will — legislation that pertains to daycare centers, education, social services, mental services — the kind of legislation that has to do with the conservation and preservation of the most important resources that any nation has, and that is its human resources.

**Reporter:** Congresswoman, did you feel your candidacy will hurt the presidential candidacy of Mayor Lindsey?

**Chisholm:** Well, Mayor Lindsey will be getting votes from the same area that I anticipate getting votes, and I dare say that my candidacy might not only hurt Mayor Lindsey, it might hurt a few others who have the same political [inaudible] [...] close to $44,000 from the American people. I want to say in terms of my projection of $300,000 which was made earlier, that the benefits that are being planned and will be conducted in February, March, and April, will net me, I'm quite sure, way above that amount. So I am going to be optimistic now that I've made my announcement today, to be able to get some sizeable contributions, may I say, that just this past week, I received two contributions from individuals in America, two contributions of $5,000 each, and that is very encouraging. [...] I just want to say this, and it's very important for all Americans to recognize: the United States Constitution stipulates\(^5\) that anyone that is 35 years of age or over and is a natural born citizen can run for the presidency. All of who meet that criteria, the people will make that decision.

1. a term referring to a wealthy political donor
2. **Expediency** *(noun):* the quality of being convenient and practical despite possibly being immoral
3. “Putting air to the ground” is a phrase that refers to involving a weapon launched from an aircraft.
4. long life
5. **Stipulate** *(verb):* to demand or specify something, typically as part of an agreement
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which statement best expresses the central idea of Shirley Chisholm's speech?
   A. Chisholm believed that women and women of color had previously been excluded from politics, not because of their lack of support, but because of the lack of funding they received.
   B. Chisholm ran for the Democratic nomination to give specifically women, and women of color, a voice in American politics.
   C. Chisholm believed that the white male Democratic nominations for the presidency weren't representing the needs of all Americans.
   D. Chisholm ran for the Democratic nomination because she believed she could change American politics for the better and bring a divided nation together.

2. PART B: Which detail from the text best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “The abiding concern of this administration has been one of political expediency rather than the needs of man's nature. The president has broken his promises to us, and has therefore lost his claim to our trust and confidence in him.” (Paragraph 2)
   B. “I know that millions of Americans from all walks of life agree with me, that leadership does not mean putting the air to the ground, to follow public opinion, but to have the vision of what is necessary, and the courage to make it possible.” (Paragraph 2)
   C. “I happen to believe that there's certain aspects of legislation that probably would be given much more attention if we had more women's voices in the halls of the legislatures on the city, state, and national level.” (Paragraph 6)
   D. “the United States Constitution stipulates that anyone that is 35 years of age or over and is a natural born citizen can run for the presidency. All of who meet that criteria, the people will make that decision.” (Paragraph 8)

3. What is Shirley Chisholm's overall purpose in her speech?
   A. to discredit the other candidates running for the Democratic nomination
   B. to persuade people that she is the right choice for the Democratic nomination
   C. to convince people that she has overwhelming support for the Democratic nomination
   D. to pressure people to vote for her for the Democratic nomination

4. How does paragraph 6 contribute to Chisholm's discussion of politics?
   A. It emphasizes how the nation could benefit from more women in politics.
   B. It explains why women struggle to reach positions of power in politics.
   C. It shows why women, specifically black women, should support Chisholm's campaign.
   D. It highlights the obstacles that black women face in politics.
5. What is the relationship between unity in America and the success of the nation? Cite evidence from the text in your response.

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Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. Shirley Chisholm announced her candidacy for the Democratic nominations decades before Barack Obama became president or Hillary Clinton ran for the presidency. How do you think Chisholm’s political accomplishments contributed to other women and black people’s fight to have a voice in politics?

2. How have American politics changed since Shirley Chisholm’s bid for the Democratic nomination? Do you think Chisholm would be happy with women’s, specifically black women’s, representation in politics today? Why or why not?

3. Shirley Chisholm ran for the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States because she saw a problem in government and she felt she was the best person to fix it. How does this act itself help to create change? How can you create change in your school or community?
The Leaders Who Ruined Africa and the Generation Who Can Fix It

By Fred Swaniker
2014

Fred Swaniker is an entrepreneur and leadership development expert who focuses on developing leaders in Africa. In this TED Talk, Swaniker discusses the impacts of Africa’s previous leaders and his hopes for its future leaders. As you read, take notes on the characteristics of Africa’s political institutions.

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I experienced my first coup d’état at the age of four. Because of the coup d’état, my family had to leave my native home of Ghana and move to the Gambia. As luck would have it, six months after we arrived, they too had a military coup. I vividly remember being woken up in the middle of the night and gathering the few belongings we could and walking for about two hours to a safe house. For a week, we slept under our beds because we were worried that bullets might fly through the window.

Then, at the age of eight, we moved to Botswana. This time, it was different. There were no coups. Everything worked. Great education. They had such good infrastructure that even at the time they had a fiber-optic telephone system, long before it had reached Western countries.

The only thing they didn't have is that they didn't have their own national television station, and so I remember watching TV from neighboring South Africa, and watching Nelson Mandela in jail being offered a chance to come out if he would give up the apartheid struggle. But he didn't. He refused to do that until he actually achieved his objective of freeing South Africa from apartheid. And I remember feeling how just one good leader could make such a big difference in Africa.

Then at the age of 12, my family sent me to high school in Zimbabwe. Initially, this too was amazing: growing economy, excellent infrastructure, and it seemed like it was a model for economic development in Africa. I graduated from high school in Zimbabwe and I went off to college.

Six years later, I returned to the country. Everything was different. It had shattered into pieces. Millions of people had emigrated, the economy was in a shambles, and it seemed all of a sudden that 30 years of development had been wiped out. How could a country go so bad so fast? Most people would agree that it's all because of leadership. One man, President Robert Mugabe, is almost single-handedly responsible for having destroyed this country.

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1. the violent overthrow or alteration of an existing government by a small group
2. a revolutionary, politician, and philanthropist who served as President of South Africa from 1994-1999
3. a system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination in South African between 1948 and 1991
4. Shambles (noun): a state of total disorder
Now, all these experiences of living in different parts of Africa growing up did two things to me. The first is it made me fall in love with Africa. Everywhere I went, I experienced the wonderful beauty of our continent and saw the resilience and the spirit of our people, and at the time, I realized that I wanted to dedicate the rest of my life to making this continent great. But I also realized that making Africa great would require addressing this issue of leadership. You see, all these countries I lived in, the coups d'état and the corruption I'd seen in Ghana and Gambia and in Zimbabwe, contrasted with the wonderful examples I had seen in Botswana and in South Africa of good leadership. It made me realize that Africa would rise or fall because of the quality of our leaders.

Now, one might think, of course, leadership matters everywhere. But if there's one thing you take away from my talk today, it is this: In Africa, more than anywhere else in the world, the difference that just one good leader can make is much greater than anywhere else, and here's why. It's because in Africa, we have weak institutions, like the judiciary, the constitution, civil society and so forth. So here's a general rule of thumb that I believe in: When societies have strong institutions, the difference that one good leader can make is limited, but when you have weak institutions, then just one good leader can make or break that country.

Let me make it a bit more concrete. You become the president of the United States. You think, "Wow, I've arrived. I'm the most powerful man in the world." So you decide, perhaps let me pass a law. All of a sudden, Congress taps you on the shoulder and says, "No, no, no, no, no, you can't do that." You say, "Let me try this way." The Senate comes and says, "Uh-uh, we don't think you can do that." You say, perhaps, "Let me print some money. I think the economy needs a stimulus." The central bank governor will think you're crazy. You might get impeached for that. But if you become the president of Zimbabwe, and you say, "You know, I really like this job. I think I'd like to stay in it forever." (Laughter) Well, you just can. You decide you want to print money. You call the central bank governor and you say, "Please double the money supply." He'll say, "Okay, yes, sir, is there anything else I can do for you?" This is the power that African leaders have, and this is why they make the most difference on the continent.

The good news is that the quality of leadership in Africa has been improving. We've had three generations of leaders, in my mind. Generation one are those who appeared in the '50s and '60s. These are people like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. The legacy they left is that they brought independence to Africa. They freed us from colonialism, and let's give them credit for that. They were followed by generation two. These are people that brought nothing but havoc to Africa. Think warfare, corruption, human rights abuses. This is the stereotype of the typical African leader that we typically think of: Mobutu Sese Seko from Zaire, Sani Abacha from Nigeria. The good news is that most of these leaders have moved on, and they were replaced by generation three. These are people like the late Nelson Mandela and most of the leaders that we see in Africa today, like Paul Kagame and so forth. Now these leaders are by no means perfect, but the one thing they have done is that they have cleaned up much of the mess of generation two. They've stopped the fighting, and I call them the stabilizer generation. They're much more accountable to their people, they've improved macroeconomic policies, and we are seeing for the first time Africa's growing, and in fact it's the second fastest growing economic region in the world. So these leaders are by no means perfect, but they are by and large the best leaders we've seen in the last 50 years.

5. Resilience (noun): the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties
6. relating to large-scale or general economics
So where to from here? I believe that the next generation to come after this, generation four, has a unique opportunity to transform the continent. Specifically, they can do two things that previous generations have not done. The first thing they need to do is they need to create prosperity for the continent. Why is prosperity so important? Because none of the previous generations have been able to tackle this issue of poverty. Africa today has the fastest growing population in the world, but also is the poorest. By 2030, Africa will have a larger workforce than China, and by 2050, it will have the largest workforce in the world. One billion people will need jobs in Africa, so if we don’t grow our economies fast enough, we’re sitting on a ticking time bomb, not just for Africa but for the entire world.

Let me show you an example of one person who is living up to this legacy of creating prosperity: Laetitia. Laetitia’s a young woman from Kenya who at the age of 13 had to drop out of school because her family couldn’t afford to pay fees for her. So she started her own business rearing rabbits, which happen to be a delicacy in this part of Kenya that she’s from. This business did so well that within a year, she was employing 15 women and was able to generate enough income that she was able to send herself to school, and through these women fund another 65 children to go to school. The profits that she generated, she used that to build a school, and today she educates 400 children in her community. And she’s just turned 18. (Applause)

Another example is Erick Rajaonary. Erick comes from the island of Madagascar. Now, Erick realized that agriculture would be the key to creating jobs in the rural areas of Madagascar, but he also realized that fertilizer was a very expensive input for most farmers in Madagascar. Madagascar has these very special bats that produce these droppings that are very high in nutrients. In 2006, Erick quit his job as a chartered accountant and started a company to manufacture fertilizer from the bat droppings. Today, Erick has built a business that generates several million dollars of revenue, and he employs 70 people full time and another 800 people during the season when the bats drop their droppings the most. Now, what I like about this story is that it shows that opportunities to create prosperity can be found almost anywhere. Erick is known as the Batman. (Laughter) And who would have thought that you would have been able to build a multimillion-dollar business employing so many people just from bat poo? The second thing that this generation needs to do is to create our institutions. They need to build these institutions such that we are never held to ransom again by a few individuals like Robert Mugabe.

Now, all of this sounds great, but where are we going to get this generation four from? Do we just sit and hope that they emerge by chance, or that God gives them to us? No, I don’t think so. It’s too important an issue for us to leave it to chance. I believe that we need to create African institutions, home-grown, that will identify and develop these leaders in a systematic, practical way. We’ve been doing this for the last 10 years through the African Leadership Academy. Laetitia is one of our young leaders. Today, we have 700 of them that are being groomed for the African continent, and over the next 50 years, we expect to create 6,000 of them.

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7. economic well-being  
8. to breed and raise  
9. Chartered accountants offer financial advice, audit accounts, and provide information regarding financial records.
But one thing has been troubling me. We would get about 4,000 applications a year for 100 young leaders that we could take into this academy, and so I saw the tremendous hunger that existed for this leadership training that we're offering. But we couldn't satisfy it. So today, I'm announcing for the first time in public an extension to this vision for the African Leadership Academy. We're building 25 brand new universities in Africa that are going to cultivate this next generation of African leaders. Each campus will have 10,000 leaders at a time so we'll be educating and developing 250,000 leaders at any given time. (Applause)

Over the next 50 years, this institution will create three million transformative leaders for the continent.

My hope is that half of them will become the entrepreneurs that we need, who will create these jobs that we need, and the other half will go into government and the nonprofit sector, and they will build the institutions that we need. But they won't just learn academics. They will also learn how to become leaders, and they will develop their skills as entrepreneurs. So think of this as Africa's Ivy League, but instead of getting admitted because of your SAT scores or because of how much money you have or which family you come from, the main criteria for getting into this university will be what is the potential that you have for transforming Africa?

But what we're doing is just one group of institutions. We cannot transform Africa by ourselves. My hope is that many, many other home-grown African institutions will blossom, and these institutions will all come together with a common vision of developing this next generation of African leaders, generation four, and they will teach them this common message: create jobs, build our institutions.

Nelson Mandela once said, "Every now and then, a generation is called upon to be great. You can be that great generation." I believe that if we carefully identify and cultivate the next generation of African leaders, then this generation four that is coming up will be the greatest generation that Africa and indeed the entire world has ever seen.

Thank you.

(Applause)
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which of the following identifies the central idea of the text? [RI.2]
   A. The sudden and violent changes in government that Swaniker has experienced in Africa makes him fearful for the quality of its future.
   B. The previous three generations of Africa’s leaders have ruined Africa, but the fourth generation of leaders have given Swaniker hope that it can succeed.
   C. While Africa has had problematic leaders in the past, Swaniker believes that Africa must prepare a fourth generation of leaders that will drive economic growth.
   D. Swaniker believes that no generation of leaders in Africa will succeed until the power that is given to leaders is better controlled and monitored.

2. PART B: Which section from the text best supports the answer to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “I vividly remember being woken up in the middle of the night and gathering the few belongings we could and walking for about two hours to a safe house. For a week, we slept under our beds because we were worried that bullets might fly through the window.” (Paragraph 1)
   B. “How could a country go so bad so fast? Most people would agree that it’s all because of leadership. One man, President Robert Mugabe, is almost single-handedly responsible for having destroyed this country.” (Paragraph 5)
   C. “In Africa, more than anywhere else in the world, the difference that just one good leader can make is much greater than anywhere else, and here’s why. It’s because in Africa, we have weak institutions, like the judiciary, the constitution, civil society and so forth.” (Paragraph 7)
   D. “I believe that we need to create African institutions, home-grown, that will identify and develop these leaders in a systematic, practical way. We’ve been doing this for the last 10 years through the African Leadership Academy.” (Paragraph 13)

3. PART A: How does paragraph 11 contribute to the development of ideas in the text? [RI.5]
   A. It shows the potential that individual leaders possess.
   B. It portrays Africa’s current economy as a struggling one.
   C. It proves that Africa’s economy is improving with every generation.
   D. It emphasizes the importance of pursuing an education.

4. PART B: Which detail from paragraph 11 best supports the answer to Part A? [RI.1]
   A. “Laetitia’s a young woman from Kenya who at the age of 13 had to drop out of school because her family couldn’t afford to pay fees for her.”
   B. “So she started her own business rearing rabbits, which happen to be a delicacy in this part of Kenya that she’s from.”
   C. “This business did so well that within a year, she was employing 15 women and was able to generate enough income that she was able to send herself to school”
   D. “The profits that she generated, she used that to build a school, and today she educates 400 children in her community. And she’s just turned 18.”
5. How does Swaniker portray the relationship between leadership and institutions, and why is this relationship important for the future of Africa?
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. Are some people born leaders? To what extent are leaders discovered or developed? How does Swaniker’s proposal for preparing future leaders compare to how leaders are prepared in the United States?

2. In the context of the text, what is the goal of education? How do the goals of the African Leadership Academy compare to other schools? How does Swaniker’s goal for education compare to goals you associate with education?

3. In the context of the text, how does power corrupt? How have Africa’s leaders been vulnerable to corruption in the past? How will the next generations of leaders avoid falling victim to similar corruption?

4. In the context of the text, how do people create change? How did Swaniker’s own experiences shape his understanding of how people create change? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.
The Plea for Eight Hours
By Terence Powderly
1890

Terence Vincent Powderly (1849-1924) was an Irish-American Labor union leader, who was the head of the Knights of Labor in the late 1880s. In “The Plea for Eight Hours,” Powderly makes an argument in favor of the eight-hour workday. As you read, make notes about the methods Powderly uses to persuade his audience, as well as how he describes the evolution of labor.

One of the principles of organized labor is to "reduce the hours of labor to eight per day," and at the present time there is an agitation going on throughout the United States and England which has for its object the accomplishment of this looked-for result.

All employers of labor claim to be workers; they assert that they have to toil as wearily as do the men whom they employ. They will tell the advocate of the short-hour work-day that there is no necessity for a shortening of the hours of labor, and that a man should be allowed to work as long as he pleases. That all employers are workers is true, but there is this difference between them and their employees: the employer may work one hour or ten as he pleases; the workman must work whether it pleases him or not. The employer enjoys a profit on each hour of labor performed by the employee, while the latter has no share in the profit whatever; he simply receives all that he can wrest from his employer. Competition obliges the humane employer to adopt the same methods as the skinflint, or go out of business, and, as a consequence, the lowest rate of compensation for which men will work is all that he will pay. Justice seldom enters into the adjustment of wages: necessity is the standard by which they are regulated.

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1. someone who spends as little money as possible
Previous to 1825 men worked from sun-up to sun-down, and they saw but little of their homes on what was then rigidly observed as "the Sabbath." The adornment of the home gave the head of the family no concern, for he spent but a short time in the house. He knew but little of the wants of the household except those that pertained to food; and to the fact that he went forth for the purpose of supplying the family with food we owe the term "bread-winner" as applied to the laborer. To be a bread-winner was all that the workman of the last century aspired to; and yet he grew tired of the contest, for it brought him but a scanty portion of what he struggled for. In 1825, the agitation for the establishment of the ten-hour system began, and it continued until it was officially recognized by the President of the United States in 1840. Strikes, contentions, disputes, and, very often, bloodshed, at length brought the ten-hour system into operation, and with its final adoption the workman became ambitious of being more than a bread-winner.

The steam railroad was then courting commercial acquaintance, and in rapid sequence came the telegraph, the lightning-express train, and the daily paper, with its record of yesterday's proceedings. Invention took new life in every department of trade and industry, and we now find ourselves able to do in a minute what it formerly required hours to perform. Since 1840 the agencies of production have gained a power and force that were not deemed possible during the years which rolled between the dawn of the Christian era and that date. Previous to that time brain work was not supposed to be entitled to any more consideration than hand labor, so far as the hours of service were concerned. Until recent years it was not supposed that the clerk or the employee of the counting-house should remain at his post a shorter number of hours than the mechanic or the laborer. What was wanted in order to allow all men to labor was light, and the light came.

Fewer hours of toil mean more time to read, and after the adoption of the ten-hour system the workman took more of interest in the press of the land; he had more time to read; and, that fact once established, it became a paying investment to advertise in "the papers." The number of papers began to increase, for the masses had more time to read; having more time to read, they learned what was going on throughout the world, and they naturally acquired new tastes and desires. The adornment of the home became an object with the man who could see his home by daylight, and the demand for articles of home consumption and adornment increased very rapidly. The "oldest inhabitant" has only to travel back some fifty years in memory to see a house with bare floors from cellar to garret, sawed-off stumps serving as chairs, stone dishes on the table, and sheepskins for blankets. He will remember that the workman of that day lived in a log hut, and that he had to stuff the cracks with fresh mud every fall; that a coat of whitewash was a luxury, and that corned beef and cabbage were regarded as delicacies. It was very easy to supply these wants, and had men continued to work on for as many hours as they were able, they would never have dreamed of improving their condition.

That the condition of the workman has improved wonderfully is true, but to no one can the credit of this be given save the workman himself. He alone sought for the means of improvement, and his every step has been contested by those for whom he toiled, and by others who never gave a thought to his surroundings. It is true that philosophers and philanthropists have spoken in favor of the "man who worked," but their pleadings and writings had no more effect on the minds of the wealth-getters than has a zephyr on the Eiffel Tower. To look back at the sanitary condition of the workman's home and surroundings is to learn that, if he had had to work on the inside of factory walls at that period, he would have lived but half as long as at the present time. If the man who lived in a log hut, where "the wind whistled through the chinks," was obliged to work in the stifling atmosphere of the present-day factory, he would die of lung trouble in a very short time. Workshop, means of transportation, dwellings, and every surrounding have changed, and for the better.
Too many advocates of the eight-hour day are in ignorance of the vital principle which underlies the agitation. They argue in this fashion: If the hours of labor are cut down to eight, the idle men who have flocked to this country will be employed, and we shall be correspondingly happy. Following that course of reasoning to its logical conclusion, we should have to cut down the hours of labor still further in a few years to accommodate the idle thousands imported to this country by steam and railway companies; and after the number of the unemployed increased again, we should have to reduce the hours of labor again and again until the unemployed of Europe and of Asia had landed, when we should have nothing to do.

On higher ground does the sincere advocate of the short-hour work-day base his agitation. The final solution of the work-day problem will come when the workman becomes a sharer in what he creates. To-day the laborer is considered by his employer to be no more a factor in the field of production than the spade which he handles. The laborer has no other interest in the work he performs than to draw pay for the work done at the end of the week or month. Workman and employer find their interests to be identical in that one particular — to get the most out of each other.

Take an employer who gives work to one hundred men. The value of their labor we will rate at $2 a day. He pays them an average of $1 a day each. His profits will equal the total wages paid, and in twenty years he may retire a wealthy man. How fares it with his workmen? They remain poor and retire only to the poor-house or the cemetery. What do the riches of the one represent? Unpaid labor. To labor, then, belong the vast sums that rich men leave after them to erect poor-houses and charitable institutions, which would not be necessary if the workmen were paid what they earned.

We have the Moses Taylor Hospital in Scranton, to which the miners of this valley will be admitted upon receiving injuries in the mines. That hospital represents $300,000 of their own earnings, which by right belongs to them; and yet they must enter its door as objects of charity because an unjust system enabled one man to rob them of that sum. Had the miners of this valley been sharers from the beginning in the earnings of the mines, had they received a just share of the profits which their labor created, they would to-day be in a position of independence, and when misfortune overtook them they would not have to seek admittance, for sweet charity's sake, within walls every brick of which is cemented in their own sweat and blood. Had they been sharers in the profits, every hour of toil performed by them would be an hour of profit also, and they would find pleasure in working as many hours as they desired. They would work as they pleased, and would not be driven to it. The incentive to labor for something more than a master would be there, and each one would be a part of that which he created. Until such a day as that comes we must agitate for shorter hours of toil, so that men may have the time to prepare for the system of the future.

2. **Philanthropist** (*noun*): someone who shows a spirit of goodwill and generosity toward all people, typically through donating to charity
3. a mild wind
No one now thinks of requiring the bank clerk to work ten hours, or even eight. His mind would not stand the strain, and the physical part would also decay. The work of the future will be scientific in its nature, and will call for more exercise of the brain than of the hand. Witness the rapidity with which women are being crowded into the places made vacant by men, and we realize that it is no longer strength, but skill, that is required. No man or woman can work as long at an occupation which requires skill as at one which calls for no exercise of the mental powers. Turn to statistics, and it will be seen that the mechanic dies many years in advance of the day-laborer. One exercises the muscles alone; the other exercises brain and muscle. The double wear ends existence more quickly. Brain work will soon be required in all callings, and if for no other than a sanitary reason, the hours of labor should be reduced to the eight-hour standard.

Men who work short hours are better educated than those who do not; they have more time in which to study. A thinking, studious man will learn that overexertion shortens life, and he will guard against it. Thousands go to early graves through overwork every year, and until the struggle for existence is shortened by cutting down the hours of toil, this condition of affairs will continue.

We see the miners and operators of the West combining to curtail the production of coal, and we see the farmers of the West burning corn and grain as fuel. We notice factories shutting down every now and then, and when we ask questions, we are told, "These periodical depressions must come every few years." These periodical depressions need not come every few years, and they would not come if we had an eight-hour work-day in existence and workmen were educated in the science of government. Capitalism cares but little how long men work; its rule is grasping, and it drives whom it controls with pitiless spur. Must we look to Wall Street for reforms of any kind? Even Wall Street itself will answer "No." Must we look to those who control the currency of the country for a proper system of finance? If we do, things will grow worse, and in the end we must turn to the intelligence of the masses for a reform of the evils that are now growing upon us. How can the masses be educated if they are obliged to work long hours when they get a chance, and fret because they are idle during "periods of depression" which give the Anarchist the best of arguments and increase the number of his converts?

The manufacturer complains that he must keep his factory running long hours in order to pay his taxes. He should study the question of taxing land for full value for use, and know that his improvements should not be taxed out of his hands. The manufacturer complains that he cannot pay the interest on borrowed capital unless he works his factory long hours. He should study the question of finance, and learn that his government, and not its enemies, should regulate and control the volume of currency, that it may become a circulating medium, instead of an interest-gathering machine. He complains of excessive freight charges, and declares that he must work long hours in order to meet his obligations. Let him unite with the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance in demanding that his government control the avenues of transportation and distribution. To study how to solve these problems, men must work fewer hours each day.
Should this much-desired reform be inaugurated by strikes? is asked. Not necessarily. In a given occupation or trade the employers and workmen throughout the country should agree on the establishment of the eight-hour work-day. To institute it by means of a strike in one part of the country would but place the short-hour employer at the mercy of his long-hour competitors. To demand the same rate of compensation for short hours as is now paid would be unjust. To rush the system through would unsettle affairs; and for that reason Knights of Labor ask for a gradual reduction of the hours of labor. We believe that, unless workmen are educated to understand the full and true reasons why their hours of labor should be reduced, they will not retain what they get; and for this reason we appeal to their reasoning powers rather than to their powers of endurance in case of a strike. Employers as well as workmen will soon realize that the short work-day will be the most beneficial. In any event its introduction will soon be announced.
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which of the following best describes Terrance Powderly’s main argument for converting to an eight-hour work day?
   A. Reducing hours will overall improve the physical lives of the laborers, allowing them more rest and leisure.
   B. Reducing hours will allow people to educate themselves on economy and business so that they may improve labor inequities and depressions.
   C. Reducing hours will guarantee jobs for the unemployed, especially increasing waves of immigrants.
   D. Reducing hours will make the laborer more productive because he or she will be forced to get just as much done but in less time.

2. PART B: Which of the following quotes best supports the answer to Part A?
   A. “Fewer hours of toil mean more time to read, and after the adoption of the ten-hour system the workman took more of interest in the press of the land; he had more time to read.” (Paragraph 5)
   B. “If the hours of labor are cut down to eight, the idle men who have flocked to this country will be employed, and we shall be correspondingly happy.” (Paragraph 7)
   C. “...we should have to cut down the hours of labor still further in a few years to accommodate the idle thousands imported to this country by steam and railway companies; and after the number of the unemployed increased again, we should have to reduce the hours of labor again and again until the unemployed of Europe and of Asia had landed, when we should have nothing to do.” (Paragraph 7)
   D. “These periodical depressions need not come every few years, and they would not come if we had an eight-hour work-day in existence and workmen were educated in the science of government.” (Paragraph 13)

3. How do employees differ from employers when it comes to labor hours?
   A. Employers typically work more hours because they are running and managing the business.
   B. Employees are the workers; employers are not considered workers because they rarely directly contribute to production.
   C. Employers can work however many hours they wish and share in a profit from the employees; this is not true for the employees.
   D. Employees may be considered tools, but they are much more vital to production than the employers.
4. "Justice seldom enters into the adjustment of wages: necessity is the standard by which they are regulated." (Paragraph 2) How does this statement develop Powderly’s central ideas?

5. What is the author’s likely purpose in referencing the Moses Taylor Hospital in Paragraph 10?
   A. To make an argument in favor of universal healthcare to prevent workers from resorting to questionable health care providers
   B. To argue in favor of the formation of the coal miners’ labor union, making the employers pay for their injuries
   C. To use as an example of how profit stolen from laborers creates the charity that the same laborers use due to poverty
   D. To criticize the professionalism of the staff at Moses Taylor Hospital for looking down on the coal miners that they treat
Discussion Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. Do you agree with Powderly's stance on the eight-hour workday? Why or why not?

2. Evaluate the following argument: We should allow workers to have the freedom to work as long as they choose.

3. How would Terrance Powderly respond to the argument above?

4. Do you believe that this essay remains relevant today? In the context of this essay, how do people create change? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.
The Two Brothers

By Leo Tolstoy

1886

Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was a Russian writer who is widely regarded as one of the greatest authors of all time. He is best known for his novels War and Peace (1869) and Anna Karenina (1877), although he also wrote many short stories, novellas, plays, and philosophical essays. Throughout his life, Tolstoy became increasingly spiritually and politically radical, eventually coming to reject the institution of marriage and the idea of private property in land ownership. As you read, take notes on the way the events of the narrative hint at the ending.

Once upon a time, in the days long since gone by, there dwelt at Jerusalem two brothers; the name of the elder was Athanasius, the name of the younger John. They dwelt on a hill not far from the town, and lived upon what people gave to them. Every day the brothers went out to work. They worked not for themselves, but for the poor. Wherever the overworked, the sick were to be found—wherever there were widows and orphans, thither went the brothers, and there they worked and spent their time, taking no payment. Thus the brothers went about separately the whole week, and only met together in the evening of the Sabbath at their own dwelling. Only on Sunday did they remain at home, praying and conversing together. And the Angel of the Lord came down to them and blessed them. On the Monday they separated again, each going his own way. Thus did the brothers live for many years, and every week the Angel of the Lord came down to them and blessed them.

One Monday, when the brothers had gone forth to work, and had parted their several ways, the elder brother, Athanasius, felt sorry at having had to part from his beloved brother, and he stood still and glanced after him. John was walking with bent head, and he did not look back. But suddenly John also stopped as if he perceived something and continued to gaze fixedly at it. Presently he drew near to that which he had been looking upon, and then suddenly leaped aside, and, not stopping for another instant, ran towards the mountain and up the mountain, right away from the place, just as if some savage beast were pursuing him. Athanasius was astonished, and turned back to the place to find out what his brother had been so afraid of. At last he approached the spot, and then he saw something glistening in the sun. He drew nearer—on the grass, as if poured out from a measure, lay a heap of gold. And Athanasius was still more astonished, both at the sight of the gold and at the leaping aside of his brother.

1. Dwell (verb): to live in or at a specified place
2. This character seems to be named after Athanasius, a renowned Christian theologian who is often considered one of the greatest champions of the Catholic faith.
3. To or toward that place.
4. A day of religious observance and abstinence from work, kept by Jews from Friday evening to Saturday evening, and by most Christians on Sunday.
“What was he afraid of, and what did he run away from?” thought Athanasius. “There is no sin in gold, sin is in man. You may do ill with gold, but you may also do good. How many widows and orphans might not be fed therewith, how many naked ones might not be clothed, how many poor and sick might not be cared for and cured by means of this gold? Now, indeed, we minister to people, but our ministration is but little, because our power is small, and with this gold we might minister to people much more than we do now.” Thus thought Athanasius, and would have said so to his brother, but John was by this time out of hearing, and looked no bigger than a cockchafer on the further mountain.

And Athanasius took off his garment, shovelled as much gold into it as he was able to carry, threw it over his shoulder, and went into the town. He went to an inn, gave the gold to the innkeeper, and then went off to fetch the rest of it. And when he had brought in all the gold he went to the merchants, bought land in that town, bought stones, wood, hired labourers, and set about building three houses. And Athanasius abode in the town three months, and built the three houses in that town; one of the houses was an asylum for widows and orphans, the second house was a hospital for the sick, the third house was a hospice for the poor and for pilgrims. And Athanasius sought him out three God-fearing elders, and the first elder he placed over the refuge, the second over the hospital, and the third over the hospice for pilgrims. And Athanasius had three thousand gold pieces still left. And he gave a thousand to each of the elders that they might have wherewith to distribute among the poor. And all three houses began to be filled with people, and the people began to praise Athanasius for all that he had done. And Athanasius rejoiced thereat, so that he had no desire to depart from the town. But Athanasius loved his brother, and, taking leave of the people, and not keeping for himself a single coin of all this money, he went back to his dwelling in the selfsame old garment in which he had come to town.

[5] Athanasius was drawing near to his mountain, and he thought to himself: “My brother judged wrongly when he leaped aside from the gold and ran away from it. Haven't I done much better?”

And Athanasius had no sooner thought this than suddenly he beheld standing in his path the Angel who had been sent to bless them, but now looked threateningly upon him. And Athanasius was aghast and could only say:

“Wherefore, my Lord?”

And the Angel opened his mouth and said:

“Depart from hence! Thou art not worthy to dwell with thy brother. That one leap aside of thy brother's was worth more than all that thou hast done with thy gold.”
Athanasius began to talk of how many poor and how many pilgrims he had fed, and of how many orphans he had cared for.

And the Angel said to him:

“That same Devil who placed the gold there in order to corrupt thee, hath also put these big words into thy mouth.

And then the conscience of Athanasius upbraided him, and he understood that what he had done was not done for God, and he wept and began to repent.

Then the Angel stepped aside from the road, and left free for him the path in which John was already standing awaiting his brother. And from thenceforth Athanasius yielded no more to the wiles of the Devil who had strewn the gold in his path, and he understood that not by gold, but by good works only, could he render service to God and his fellow-man.

And the brethren dwelt together as before.

"The Two Brothers" by Leo Tolstoy (1886) is in the public domain.

16. **Upbraid (verb):** to find fault with; to scold
17. **Repent (verb):** to act regretful for doing something wrong
18. **From that time or point onward.**
19. **Wiles (noun):** tricks played on someone to try and make them believe something
Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which of the following statements best summarizes a theme of this story? [RL.2]
   A. The only way to be forgiven for your sins is to leave your loved ones behind.
   B. People can do more good with simple, kind actions than they can with money.
   C. It is best to live a structured life in order to avoid the temptations of the world.
   D. People should be forgiven for their sins once they recognize their mistakes.

2. PART B: Which TWO phrases from the story best support the answer to Part A? [RL.1]
   A. “Thus did the brothers live for many years, and every week the Angel of the Lord came down to them and blessed them.” (Paragraph 1)
   B. “...and not keeping for himself a single coin of all this money, he went back to his dwelling in the selfsame old garment in which he had come to town.” (Paragraph 4)
   C. “And all three houses began to be filled with people, and the people began to praise Athanasius for all that he had done.” (Paragraph 4)
   D. “Thou art not worthy to dwell with thy brother. That one leap aside of thy brother's was worth more than all that thou hast done with thy gold.” (Paragraph 9)
   E. “...and he understood that not by gold, but by good works only, could he render service to God and his fellow-man.” (Paragraph 14)
   F. “And the brethren dwelt together as before.” (Paragraph 15)

3. How does the repetition of the following phrase in Paragraph 1 help develop the plot of the story: “the Angel of the Lord came down to them and blessed them?” [RL.5]
   A. It illustrates the brothers’ strong beliefs in God, even though Athanasius had been behaving greedily.
   B. It demonstrates that the Angel led a simple, repetitive life, which sets an example for how Athanasius should live.
   C. It proves that all that is necessary to get special attention from God is to live humbly and pray.
   D. It illustrates that the Angel blessed the brothers for their kind actions, in contrast to the later events of the story.

4. Which statement best explains how Athanasius responds to the Angel’s scolding? [RL.3]
   A. He believes that he has done good deeds with the money and does not deserve to be scolded.
   B. At first he is surprised and defensive, but later he recognizes his mistakes.
   C. He had predicted the confrontation, so he quickly accepts the Angel’s scolding.
   D. He realizes that he has missed his brother and decides to live with him once more.
5. What do Athanasius and John’s different responses to seeing the gold reveal about their contrasting points of view in the beginning of the story? Cite evidence from the text in your response.
Discussion Questions

*Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.*

1. In deciding to take the gold he finds, Athanasius reasons that “There is no sin in gold, sin is in man.” Is this true? If so, why are his actions still so shameful that the Angel considers him unworthy to share the same living space as John? Do you agree or disagree with the Angel’s judgment?

2. Why do you think Tolstoy composed this story so that the older brother behaved in a way that the reader is intended to see as foolish? Does it help to dispel the notion that younger people should show deference to their elders, as everyone is imperfect? Why or why not?

3. Do you think John’s initial response to his sighting of the gold was reasonable, or was he overreacting? If the Angel of the Lord had not intervened at the end of the story, do you think Athanasius would still have wished that he had responded in the same way that his brother did?

4. In the context of the story, does money buy happiness? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.

5. In the context of this story, how do people create change? Is it better to have good intentions and simple actions, or money, to create change? Cite evidence from this text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.