

"*Dissent in America* puts in [people's] heads—and hopefully in their minds—the words of those we usually read *about* but so rarely read. From Native Americans on the other side of 'progress' to ecoterrorists today, [this volume] allow[s] voices to speak that challenge and enrich our monotonous national narrative."

—James W. Loewen, author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your High School History Textbook Got Wrong*

Indispensable to students of American politics and social movements, this book belongs on the shelves of all who contemplate change and the forces of change within American culture."

—James W. Hilty, Professor of History and Dean, Ambler College, Temple University, and author of *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector*

"The story told in *Dissent in America* is in many ways the story of America itself. The beautifully chosen and elegantly introduced selections provide an informative and inspiring tribute to the courage of conviction and the transformative power of ideas and words. Combining fresh and familiar voices, the volume is as enjoyable as it is profound."

—Jeremy Varon, Associate Professor of History, Drew University, and author of *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*

"We have been spied on and lied to by the most powerful in Washington. In our post-9/11 era it is very important to know the roots of American dissent and the historical tradition of challenging the powerful in the United States. *Dissent in America* by Ralph Young is the original source record of our traditions of American dissent. It serves as a grounding in grassroots radical democracy for us all."

—Peter Phillips, Director of "Project Censored," and Professor of Sociology, Sonoma State University

"This impressive collection includes acute critiques of oppression and injustice throughout American history. Some of the most powerful demonstrate the dignity, eloquence, and courage of ordinary Americans who challenged and sometimes defeated entrenched interests."

—Daniel Chomsky, Lecturer in Political Science, Temple University

"Our liberties are in danger as 'national security' is invoked to deny us the right to dissent. But, in America, that has often been so, and Ralph Young's compelling work shows us, so importantly, that there have always been Americans who did not remain complicit in silence, but offered their voices in dissent against repression and censorship. Voices like Frederick Douglass, Mary Lease, Joe Hill, Emma Goldman, Allen Ginsberg, Martin Luther King, and so many others have provided us with a rich heritage which we must always remember, especially in times like this . . . when we need it most."

—Robert Buzzanco, Professor of History, University of Houston, and author of *Masters of War: Military Dissent and Politics in the Vietnam Era*

"In this wonderfully wide-ranging, intensely thought-provoking, and superbly edited collection of documents, Ralph Young demonstrates beyond any shadow of a doubt that the history of dissent forms the great backdrop for the development of American democracy."

—David M. Wrobel, Professor of History, University of Nevada—Las Vegas, and President-Elect of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association (AHA/PCB)

# Dissent in America

## Voices That Shaped a Nation

### Concise Edition

RALPH F. YOUNG  
*Temple University*



New York San Francisco Boston  
London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore Madrid  
Mexico City Munich Paris Cape Town Hong Kong Montreal

night, June 27th. The purported reason for the raid was the Stonewall's lack of a liquor license. Who's kidding whom here? Can anybody really believe that an operation as big as the Stonewall could continue for almost three years just a few blocks from the 6th Precinct house without having a liquor license? No! The Police have known about the Stonewall operation all along. What's happened is the presence of new "brass" in 6th Precinct which has vowed to "drive the fags out of the Village."

Many of you have noticed one of the signs which the "management" of the Stonewall has placed outside stating "Legalize Gay bars and lick the problem." Judge Kenneth Keating (a former US Senator) ruled in January 1968 that even close dancing between Homosexuals is legal. Since that date there has been nothing illegal, per se, about a Gay bar. What is illegal about New York City's Gay bars today is the Mafia (or syndicate) stranglehold on them. Legitimate Gay businessmen are afraid to open decent Gay bars with a healthy social atmosphere (as opposed to the hell-hole atmosphere of places typified by the Stonewall) because of fear of pressure from the unholy alliance of the Mafia and elements in the Police Dept. who accept payoffs and protect the Mafia monopoly.

We at the Homophile Youth Movement (HYMN) believe that the only way this monopoly can be broken is through the action of Homosexual men and women themselves. We obviously cannot rely on the various agencies of government who for years have known about this situation but who have refused to do anything about it. Therefore we urge the following:

1. That Gay businessmen step forward and open Gay bars that will be run legally with competitive pricing and a healthy social atmosphere.
2. That Homosexual men and women boycott places like the Stonewall. The only way, it seems, that we can get the criminal elements out of gay bars is simply to make it unprofitable for them.
3. That the Homosexual citizens of New York City, and concerned Heterosexuals, write to mayor Lindsay demanding a thorough investigation and effective action to correct this intolerable situation.

#### FLYER 2

July 24th

Do you think homosexuals are revolting?

You bet your sweet ass we are.

We're going to make a place for ourselves in the revolutionary movement. We challenge the myths that are screwing up this society. MEETING: Thursday, July 24th, 6:30 PM at Alternate U, 69 West 14th Street at Sixth Avenue.

#### FLYER 3

Homosexuals are coming.

Together at last.

To examine how we are oppressed and how we oppress ourselves. To fight for gay control of gay businesses. To publish our own newspaper. To these and other radical ends. . . .

## The American Indian Movement

*In the aftermath of the civil rights movement's call for black power, red power became the rallying cry of American Indians. A new organization, the American Indian Movement (AIM), was founded in 1968. From November 1969 to June 1971, approximately a hundred Indians from several different tribes joined AIM in reclaiming and occupying Alcatraz Island. Wanting to call attention to the plight of Native Americans, they occupied the island in the name of Indians of All Tribes, demanded the deed for the island, and insisted that they be allowed to set up an Indian university, a museum, and a cultural center. After fruitless negotiations between the Indians and the federal government, President Nixon ordered the island retaken. On June 11, 1971, a force of FBI agents and federal marshals forcibly removed them.*

*In 1972, AIM sponsored a march on Washington billed as the Trail of Broken Treaties. AIM members occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters and issued a 20-point proposal for President Richard Nixon to consider. The following year, elders from the Lakota Sioux nation requested AIM's assistance in dealing with BIA and tribal council corruption in South Dakota. This led to AIM's occupation of Wounded Knee (site of the last armed Indian resistance in 1890) and an infamous 71-day standoff between armed Indians and federal marshals. The Indians demanded that the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty guaranteeing the Black Hills to the Lakota be honored. They also wanted an end to the strip mining at the Pine Ridge Reservation. At the end of the siege, however, the federal government made no concessions, and the Indians were removed. (For AIM's "Trail of Broken Treaties" proposal, see the full edition of Dissent in America: The Voices That Shaped a Nation.)*

## A PROCLAMATION: TO THE GREAT WHITE FATHER AND ALL HIS PEOPLE, 1969

We, the Native Americans, reclaim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

SOURCE: Retrieved on 5/10/2004 from <http://cwis.org/fwdp/Americas/alcatraz.txt>.

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for \$24 in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that \$24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years.

Our offer of \$1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre that the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land. We will give to the inhabitants of this land a portion of that land for their own, to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian affairs to hold in perpetuity—for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea.

We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our lifeways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state.

We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian Reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and so unemployment is very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive; and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

What use will we make of this land?

Since the San Francisco Indian Center burned down, there is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in the white man's city. Therefore, we plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions:

1. A Center for Native American Studies will be developed which will educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples. Attached to this center will be travelling universities, managed

by Indians, which will go to the Indian Reservations, learning those necessary and relevant materials now about.

2. An American Indian Spiritual Center, which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. Our cultural arts will be featured and our young people trained in music, dance, and healing rituals.

3. An Indian Center of Ecology, which will train and support our young people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. We will work to de-pollute the air and waters of the Bay Area. We will seek to restore fish and animal life to the area and to revitalize sea-life which has been threatened by the white man's way. We will set up facilities to desalt sea water for human benefit.

4. A Great Indian Training School will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people. This training school will include a center for Indian arts and crafts, and an Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will restore Indian culinary arts. This center will display Indian arts and offer Indian foods to the public, so that all may know of the beauty and spirit of the traditional Indian ways.

Some of the present buildings will be taken over to develop an American Indian Museum which will depict our native food and other cultural contributions we have given to the world. Another part of the museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he took: disease, alcohol, poverty, and cultural decimation (as symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.). Part of the museum will remain a dungeon to symbolize both those Indian captives who were incarcerated for challenging white authority and those who were imprisoned on reservations. The museum will show the noble and tragic events of Indian history, including the broken treaties, the documentary of the Trail of Tears, the Massacre of Wounded Knee, as well as the victory over Yellow-Hair Custer and his army.

In the name of all Indians, therefore, we reclaim this island for our Indian nations, for all these reasons. We feel this claim is just and proper, and that this land should rightfully be granted to us for as long as the rivers run and the sun shall shine.

We hold the rock!