



★ A HISTORY OF US ★

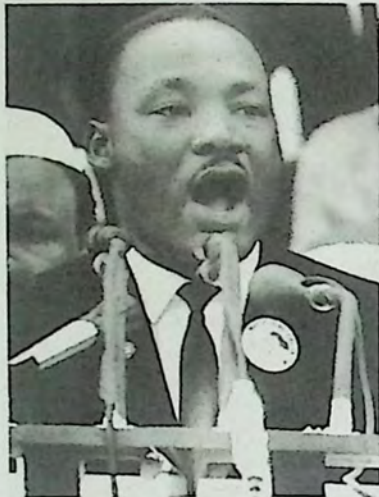
FOURTH EDITION

**ALL THE
PEOPLE**

SINCE 1945

★ ★ JOY HAKIM ★ ★

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

To become the instrument of a great idea is a privilege that history gives only occasionally.

—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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If the United States, like the countries of the Old World, are also to grow vast crops of poor, desperate, dissatisfied, nomadic, miserably-waged populations, such as we see looming upon us of late years . . . then our republican experiment, notwithstanding all its surface-successes, is at heart an unhealthy failure.

—Walt Whitman, *The Tramp and Strike Questions*, 1892



President Barack Obama
at the Oval Office

The American revolution is still going on—not because we ourselves are wise and good and helpful but because it embodies an idea that reaches everybody and will never lose its force.

—Bruce Catton,
20th-century historian

You know—we've had to imagine the war here, and we have imagined that it was being fought by aging men like ourselves. We had forgotten that wars were fought by babies. When I saw those freshly shaved faces, it was a shock. "My God, my God—" I said to myself, "it's the Children's Crusade."

—Kurt Vonnegut,
Slaughterhouse-Five, 1962

I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found... I think that the true discovery of America is before us. I think the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land, is yet to come.

—Thomas Wolfe

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Sit-in at a Woolworth's lunch counter
in Jackson, Mississippi, 1963

PREFACE

About Democracy and Struggles



"What next?" says poor President Truman in 1946, as he faces the problems of a world shattered by war.

For more than a century, western Europe's nations had dominated the globe. Now, in 1945, they were exhausted. Two awful wars had been fought on their territory. Their peoples had suffered horribly. After World War II, it was as if there were a vacuum. We filled the vacuum. We had become the world's most powerful nation.

Our economy had been changed, and strengthened, by the war. We had acted quickly and with imagination. Using something we called "know-how," we had built

World War II began in 1939 when Germany invaded Poland. The United States entered the war after December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. The war came to an end when Japan surrendered in August of 1945.



All of America's citizens threw themselves into winning the war. But when the war was won, many found there was another battle for freedom still to be waged at home. Left: African-American trackwomen on the B & O Railroad, 1943.

Building America:

The Liberty Bell is old, and it has a bad crack. It last rang out in 1846, on George Washington's birthday, and cracked beyond repair. And yet, in our minds, it sounds loud and clear, because it stands for a set of ideas—political ideas—and they are America's gift to the world.

We are a nation built on ideas (instead of on a sameness of birth and background). One of our national ideas is that what you believe is no business of the president or the government. The Founders called that *freedom of conscience*, or *freedom of religion*. Jefferson wrote of "a wall of separation between church and state."

We have another great idea. It is the idea that *we, the people*, can be responsible for ourselves. We can run our own government. We can pick our own leaders. That is called *democracy*.

Democracy had been tried before our constitution was written. More than 2,000 years earlier, a small Greek city-state named Athens tried democracy, and it worked marvelously well. Most Athenians were prosperous and happy; their sculpture, plays, and writings have rarely been surpassed. But Athenian democracy had flaws. Slaves did the hard work, women did not vote, and there was no protection for minorities when the voting majority made a poor decision. (The Athenians made a bad mistake when they voted to sentence the philosopher Socrates to death because he didn't believe in their democratic ideas.)

We improved on the Greek idea of democracy. We worried about protecting individuals and minorities



In 1945, most schools and employers, and even the government, discriminated against women and people of color. Some businesses and public organizations were for white Protestants only. Immigration laws didn't treat people equally. Were those things fair? Have they changed? Are more changes needed? (Those are some of the questions this book raises. You can try to come up with answers.)

See book 5 of *A History of US* to read about Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

tanks, ships, airplanes, and bombs better and faster than anyone thought possible. Women, blacks, and others—who were not always treated according to America's creed of fairness—worked as hard as anyone else. Many fought and died for their nation. Then, when the black soldiers came home, they were often not allowed to vote. Women workers were paid less than men for doing the same job. Was that fair?

Those citizens began to demand equal rights, which was their right as Americans. Anyone who read the Declaration of Independence knew *all men are created equal*. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had changed that to *all men and women are created equal*. Did *all* really mean all? Did it mean

An Idea-Centered Nation

from what is called “the tyranny of the majority.” But we didn’t establish a perfect democracy. Our constitution begins with the words “We the people,” but we didn’t mean *all* the people. Like the Greeks, we allowed slavery, and women couldn’t vote.

Still, ours was the best constitution any nation had ever written. Our Founders—who were thinking men—had read widely; they used the best ideas they could find from history in planning our nation. They studied the republican government of ancient Rome, they studied England’s Magna Carta and its Glorious Revolution, and they studied the Iroquois confederacy. They read the words of writers on government, especially England’s John Locke. They understood that a fair government is a process. It doesn’t happen all at once.

That process began right away, when some of the new citizens of the new nation demanded a bill of rights. So James Madison wrote ten amendments to the Constitution—called the *Bill of Rights*—that guaranteed rights such as freedom of speech and of religion and of the press. That was very unusual in the 18th century (it still is).

It may seem surprising to you that freedom and self-government are unusual. But they are. After our constitution went into effect, in 1789, other nations began looking at America to see if democracy would work. A Frenchman named Alexis de Tocqueville (duh-TOKE-vil) came to this country to see for himself. He said America was a laboratory for democracy. Tocqueville said that what was happening here was “in-

teresting not only to the United States, but to the whole world.”

Mankind was watching and taking notes. Soon some other nations became democratic. But there was something that was spoiling things in the United States; it was like a worm in a good apple. No, it was worse than that; it was clearly evil—even though it was common practice in many places. Jefferson called it a “cruel war against human nature itself.” Yet he and his friends had not done away with it. It was slavery.

Getting rid of slavery was hard. It involved property rights (slaves were property to some people); it hit slave owners in their pocketbooks. Finally, a civil war was fought to end slavery. It would have been better, and wiser, if we could have done it without a war. But slavery was wrong; we needed to get rid of it, and we did.

How about women? The 15th Amendment said that all citizens have the right to vote. Were women citizens? The 15th Amendment didn’t say. The men who were running the country (and some women) didn’t seem to think they were. So women had to protest, picket, and even go to jail until, in 1920, another amendment—the 19th—gave them the right to vote.

By this time, people began to no-

tice that democracies don’t usually go to war with each other, and so we learned that it was important to encourage democracy elsewhere.

But some people didn’t understand. They seemed to think that democracy just meant the absence of all controls. Have you heard anyone say, “This is a free country, isn’t it?” when they want to do something they shouldn’t do? Well, total freedom isn’t what democracy is about. That is *anarchy*, and it leads to disaster. Democracy is responsible government. It has controls established by *we the people*.

Remember, creating a free, fair government is a process, and not an easy one. Improving that government is a process without end. One thing is clear: in a government of the people, the people have to pay attention. If citizens

don’t get involved in their government, they can lose their precious rights. In a democracy, if you want to change things, you have to be part of the process. As Jefferson said, “If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.”

We do a better job of taking part in our government than most people realize. In this book you will see some Americans risk everything, even their lives, to help make our democracy what it was meant to be: a government for *all the people*.



The Liberty Bell’s home is in Philadelphia, where the Constitution was drafted and proclaimed the guiding law of the land.



In 1947, this cartoon suggested, the communist vulture has replaced the stork and threatens to drop Baby Chaos among the European nations crippled by war if Dr. U.S. Congress doesn't step on the gas and come to their rescue.

During the first half of the 20th century we fought two horribly destructive world wars and an economic depression. What we didn't fight was segregation and unfairness at home.

ness—and no one did much about it. That was going to change. It would take a struggle to overcome the demons of bigotry—a struggle that continues today. You will read about it in this book.

You'll read about another struggle, too: America *vs.* the Soviet Union (also known as the U.S.S.R.—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—or Soviet Russia, or, often, just Russia). The Soviet Union was the second most powerful nation in the world. We had been allies and friends during the war. But there was something about the Soviet Union that made us nervous. It was a communist nation with a totalitarian government.

Totalitarianism is a political idea; *communism* is an economic idea. In a totalitarian government, the leaders have total control. They tell people what they can do and say, and punish them if they do otherwise. Totalitarianism is the opposite of free government.

Communism is a method for controlling work and distributing a nation's farm produce, manufactured goods, and services. Under communism, the government owns almost everything—land and business and industry. Citizens work for the government, not for themselves.

Under *capitalism*, citizens do work for themselves. Businesses are mostly owned by individuals or corporations. If you check Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, you will see the responsibilities of Congress in our capitalistic nation.

Totalitarianism and democracy are enemies. Communism and capitalism are rivals. After two world wars, we were fearful of rivals. Soviet Russia wasn't the only communist dictatorship. China and Cuba would soon become two others. Could we all live together on the same planet? Or would there be a World War III? It is with those worries that this book begins. It is 1945, and we are about to begin a war of nerves with the communist nations.

all people of every color and description? Most Americans thought so.

But some people said those words in the Declaration without really listening to them. The U.S. government often did the same thing. Our nation wasn't guaranteeing basic human rights to all its citizens. Habit and selfishness were standing in the way of fair-

1 The Making of a President



Harry Truman aged about 13. He got his first pair of glasses at age six—they cost \$10, a lot of money in 1890.

"Mr. President," a boy asked Harry S. Truman, "were you popular when you were a boy?"

"No," said Truman. "I was never popular. The popular boys were the ones who were good at games and had big, tight fists. I was never like that. Without my glasses I was blind as a bat, and to tell the truth, I was kind of a sissy. If there was any danger of getting into a fight, I always ran."

The boy, and his classmates, applauded. Maybe some of them had run from fights and understood that it takes some bravery to admit it. Maybe they wondered

about the popular boys in Harry Truman's class. He had become president of the United States; what had happened to his schoolmates? And how exactly did he get to be president? And what was it like running the world's most powerful nation? Well, Truman would answer as many of their questions as he could.

Vice President Harry S. Truman became president near the end of World War II, after President Franklin Roosevelt died. It was, as he said, an accidental presidency. He had been a senator—a quiet, hardworking senator—who seemed an ordinary, likable man. Then, to his surprise, Roosevelt asked him to be vice

Mr. Truman goes to Washington (in 1935). "I am hoping to make a reputation as a senator," he wrote his wife, Bess, back in Missouri. "But you'll have to put up with a lot if I do because I won't sell influence."

After he retired, Harry Truman spent a lot of time sharing his experiences with children. He especially liked to tell them stories from American history. "I'm mostly interested in the children. The old folks...they're too set in their ways and too stubborn to learn anything new, but I want the children to know what we've got here in this country and how we got it, and then if they want to go ahead and change it, why, that's up to them."



The wartime Truman Committee investigated companies producing weapons and other supplies. Truman uncovered many abuses and saved the government millions of dollars.

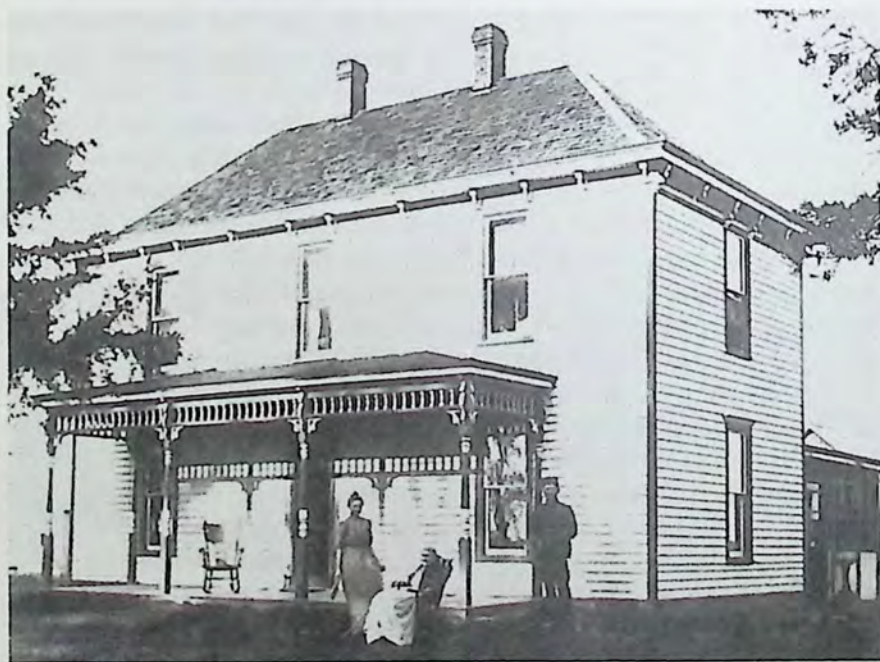
He held to the old guidelines: work hard, do your best, speak the truth, assume no airs, trust in God, have no fear. Yet he was not and had never been a simple, ordinary man. The homely attributes, the Missouri wit, the warmth of his friendship, the genuineness of Harry Truman, however appealing, were outweighed by the larger qualities that made him a figure of world stature, both a great and good man, and a great American president.

—David McCullough, *Truman*

president. He was just getting settled in that job when, suddenly, he was president. He felt, he said, as if a bull had fallen on top of him.

When most Americans looked at President Harry Truman they sighed. He certainly was ordinary: more like a next-door neighbor than a president. He refused to even try to be sophisticated. Why, except for a year in France as an army captain in World War I, he'd hardly been anywhere. He'd been a farmer, a bank clerk, a shopkeeper, and a county administrator—all in Missouri. When he arrived in Washington, at age 50, you could almost see the rough edges. Sometimes he lost his temper and didn't think much about what he was saying. But he was never mean, or dishonest.

In fact, his honesty was legendary. When he wrote letters home to his mother and sister, as he did almost every day, he paid for the stamps himself. The *franking privilege*—which allows senators and presidents to send their mail free—was meant for government business, he said. He never used it for his personal letters. He lived modestly on his salary, and he didn't use his position to earn extra money. When a Republican who was a political rival left his briefcase at the



In 1905, Harry (right) had a good job in a Kansas City bank. Then his father's farm failed, and Harry had to give up the bank to help run the farm that belonged to his grandmother (sitting, with Harry's mother, outside the Young family farmhouse).

White House, some of Truman's Democratic aides wanted to go through it and see what it held. President Truman was horrified. He would not do a sneaky thing like that.

But when he was president, some people made jokes about him and acted as if he were a hayseed, although a few people noticed that he was very good at making decisions. Later, a historian wrote of him, "With more fateful decisions than almost any president in our time, he made the fewest mistakes." A senator said he was usually wrong about all the little things, but right about all the big ones.

Harry Truman was president during clamorous times. An army of men was returning from military to civilian life; they needed jobs and homes. People were moving from farms to cities faster than ever before. Could those cities become good places for everyone living in them? Europe and Japan were devastated. How would they rebuild? People of color were being treated unfairly. Would that continue? How would we change from making tanks and bombs to making dishwashers and automobiles? And what about Russia? The Russian leader, Joseph Stalin, had made promises he wasn't keeping. Truman the president had to answer those and many other questions. He said that knowing history helped him do the job.

Harry Truman could have been a history teacher; he knew a whole lot about the subject. His interest began when he was a boy and his father read a book to him about the ancient Greeks and Romans. He found he loved stories about people, especially real people. So, as soon as he could read himself, he started on biographies. Andrew

Jackson became a special hero of his. Jackson was the kind of man Harry wanted to be: a man of action who represented the common people. A man who was independent, free-thinking, and not at all stuck up.

Truman was born on a farm in Jackson County, Missouri (which was named after Andrew Jackson);

Bess Wallace aged 16. Her mother didn't think Harry was good enough for Bess; the first time he proposed she turned him down.



Harry Truman rides the cultivator over a field of young corn. The Young farm was over 600 acres, one of the biggest in the county, and Harry had to work very hard. He took it well, but he didn't enjoy milking cows. He liked the hogs best, and gave them pet names—one was called Carrle Nation (who was she?).

When he was a boy, Harry Truman read a book by an ancient Greek author named Plutarch. The book is called *Lives*. Plutarch wrote about people in pairs, contrasting Greek and Roman personalities. His book is lively and full of interesting dialogue and stories of historical events. Truman read it again and again throughout his life. You might like it, too.





Grandfather Solomon Young in his seventies, when Harry was a little boy. He was "quite a man, a great big man," Harry remembered, and in the summer took Harry riding all over the countryside in a high-wheeled cart.

most people in Jackson County felt as he did about the seventh president. When Harry was six, the family moved to nearby Independence. There, Harry discovered the public library and started reading all kinds of books. He never stopped.

He was soon forming his own opinions, and he didn't always agree with those around him. Reading gave him information; it allowed him to think for himself. There was one president whom everyone in Truman's family hated. Really hated. They could hardly talk about him without getting angry. But the more Harry Truman read about that president, the more he admired him.

It was the Civil War president. It was Abraham Lincoln. People hated Abraham Lincoln? They certainly did. You see, Harry Truman was a boy at the end of the 19th century, when many men and women could remember the Civil War. They hadn't cooled down. Harry Truman's parents and grandparents remembered the war as if it had just happened.

Truman's grandparents, both sets of them, had come to Independence, Missouri, in the 1840s, during the early pioneer days, when Missouri was a border state—and a slave state. They came from Kentucky by steamboat, newly married, bringing slaves they got as wedding presents. They weren't unusual; most of their neighbors were slave owners, too. They were decent people who worked hard and tried to live a good life. They didn't think slavery was wrong. (Do you think some things we do now will be judged harshly in the future? What things?)

One of Truman's grandfathers, Solomon Young, was a pioneer who led wagon trains and herds of cattle across the Overland Trail—to California and Oregon and Mormon Utah. Independence was called the jumping-off place; it was the last town before the wagon trains started on the trails west. Everything west of Missouri and east of California was known as "the

Harry's father and mother, Martha and John Truman, as newlyweds. They gave Harry the middle initial S when he was born—but it didn't stand for any name.



Great American Desert.” It took some courage to venture out into that desert. Each journey to California and back took Grandfather Young about a year. On one trip he bought most of the land that eventually became the city of Sacramento. It was a family tale—how, if he had kept it, they might have all been rich. But if Solomon Young’s grandson Harry Truman had been rich—well, maybe he wouldn’t have worked hard and become president of the United States.

Now back to the Civil War. The Kansas-Missouri region was one of the hottest and meanest regions before and during that war. It was in Kansas that the abolitionist zealot John Brown got out his hatchet and chopped some people to bits. And he wasn’t the worst of the killers, not at all. There were some terrible things done—on both sides.

One morning in 1861, Truman’s Grandmother Young was on her farm (her husband, Solomon, was away) when a band of Union raiders galloped into the yard, ordered her to cook a big meal for them, killed all her chickens and 400 hogs, set fire to the barns, and then rode off with the freshly butchered meat, 13 mules, 15 horses, and the family silver. While all this was going on, 11-year-old Martha hid under the kitchen table.

Two years later, Martha and the rest of the family were marched to a Yankee fort where they were kept prisoners. Their home—a white-pillared plantation house—was burned to the ground by Union soldiers. Are you surprised that Martha Young hated Yankees and President Lincoln?

Martha was Harry Truman’s mother. She grew up to be a strong woman who played the piano well, had a good education, and said what she thought—which was a trait that she passed on to her son. (He was a good piano player, too.) Once, when she came to visit the White House, the only empty bed was Lincoln’s famous one. Now, most White House guests feel very privileged if they can sleep in the very bed where Abraham Lincoln slept, but not Martha Truman. She said if that was the only bed, why, she’d just sleep on the floor. She was well known for her sense of humor, but this time her son knew she wasn’t kidding. He found another bed for her.



During the war, many well-known actors, singers, and comedians entertained the troops—including Vice President Truman, who played under the keen eye of movie star Lauren Bacall at Washington’s National Press Canteen in 1945.

John Brown was a violent zealot who claimed he was inspired by God to help the slaves. See books 5 and 6 of *A History of US* for details.

A **trait** is a special characteristic, something that distinguishes you from others. Usually it has something to do with your personality—like plain speaking, or lying, or being optimistic.

2 A Major Leaguer

Jim Crow (which is discussed a lot in book 7 of *A History of US*) is a term used for rules and practices that discriminate along color lines.

Blatant means “obvious.”

Negro-league ballplayers weren’t badly paid. Their average was certainly less than that of white players, but for most of them it was still a lot more than they would have gotten in an ordinary job.

Out of 438 known all-star black vs. white games, blacks won 309 and whites won 129.



Even at college, said his wife, Jackie Robinson “walked straight, held his head up, and was proud not just of his color, but his people.”

In 1945, we were a Jim Crow nation. It was nothing to be proud of, but that’s the way it was. In the South, everything was segregated: schools, buses, restaurants, hotels, even phone booths. The rest of the country wasn’t as blatant about it, but there was plenty of separation and prejudice.

In the U.S. armed services, blacks were allowed to die for their country—as long as they did it in segregated regiments.

And when it came to the national pastime—which is what baseball is called—there were the major leagues, the minor leagues, and there were the Negro leagues (for ballplayers of color).

Those who approved of Jim Crow segregation said that things were “separate but equal.” They were separate all right. But they were rarely equal. And they certainly were not on the ballfield.

The major leaguers played in fine ballparks, traveled first class, and slept in decent hotels. The Negro leaguers? Well, they put up with a lot: shoddy conditions, no ballparks of their own (they rented what they could find), travel any way they could make it, and—usually—lower pay (except for the incredible Satchel Paige, who in 1942 managed to make more money than anyone in any league).

One thing the Negro leagues did have in abundance was talent. When black players played all-star games against white teams they

usually won. Just think about it, and you can see how insane the system was. All those good ballplayers and no one letting them play in the majors! There were plenty of whites who understood that; and there were plenty of whites without prejudice.

One of them was the general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers. His name was Branch Rickey. Rickey decided he was going to change baseball. He was going to make it the national pastime for all Americans.

But he knew it wouldn't be easy. Fighting prejudice never is. Rickey was the right man for this job. He had founded baseball's system of farm teams back in the 1920s. That means he came up with the idea of taking over minor-league teams (which had been independently owned, just like the major-league clubs) and using them to develop ballplayers for the major leagues. Branch Rickey was used to scouting good players. He knew how to pick them. He was also a shrewd businessman. Black ballplayers (then) were a pool of inexpensive talent. They played an exciting, hustling kind of baseball. And they would bring a huge new black audience to the majors.

If Rickey was going to change baseball and some of the nation's attitudes by integrating the Brooklyn Dodgers, he knew he would have to find a ballplayer who was not only a great athlete, but, even more important, a great person. When he found Jack Roosevelt Robinson he had just the man he was looking for.

Jackie Robinson was a spectacular athlete. He had earned letters and trophies in four sports at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). He was very smart and did well in school. And he had the strength to fight for his beliefs. As an officer in the army, Robinson refused to move when a bus driver asked him to sit in the back of the bus (where blacks were expected to sit). That got Jackie in trouble, but he wouldn't back down. He faced a court martial (a military court) for disobedience. But the young lieutenant had acted within his rights; the army dropped the charges against him.



In 1943 Bill Veeck (VEK) tried to buy the Philadelphia Phillies and sign up black players. An editorial in the *Sporting News* scolded him for the very idea. As long as Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis was baseball commissioner there wasn't much chance of it. He was a bigot. Soon after he died, in 1944, Branch Rickey began looking for black players. The new commissioner, A. B. "Happy" Chandler, former governor of Kentucky, said, "If a black boy can make it on Okinawa and Guadalcanal, hell, he can make it in baseball."

When some Dodgers said they wouldn't play on the team with a black man, Rickey traded them away.

Branch Rickey signs up Robinson. "Baseball people are generally allergic to new ideas," said Rickey. "It took years to persuade them to put numbers on uniforms.... It is the hardest thing in the world to get big-league baseball to change anything.... But they will...eventually. They are bound to."

Mack Robinson, one of Jackie's older brothers, was a world-class sprinter who finished second to American track star Jesse Owens in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. (Jesse Owens is someone to read more about, in book 9 of *A History of US* and elsewhere. His is quite a story.)

Late, late as it was, the arrival in the majors of Jack Roosevelt Robinson was an extraordinary moment in American history. For the first time, a black American was on America's most privileged version of a level field. He was there as an equal because of his skill, as those whites who preceded him had been and those blacks and whites who succeeded him would be. Merit will win, it was promised by baseball.

—A. Bartlett Giamatti,
Take Time for Paradise

Some people thought him a troublemaker, but Branch Rickey was impressed. Here was a man of courage, he believed.

Rickey asked Robinson to come to New York. He said he wanted to talk about a new Negro team. Then, in his office, Branch Rickey told Jackie the truth: he wanted him to break baseball's color line. Both men knew the first black ballplayer in the major leagues wouldn't have it easy. Rickey told Robinson that if he wanted the job—no matter what happened to him—he had to promise not to fight back. He would have to take abuse and hold his tongue. At all times he would have to be a gentleman.

"Mr. Rickey, do you want a ballplayer who's afraid to fight back?"

"I want a player with guts enough not to fight back," said Rickey.

Robinson had never backed away from a fight. He knew that if someone insulted him it would be very difficult to do what Rickey asked: to "turn the other cheek." But he agreed; he gave his word. He was going to do something bigger than anything he'd done before; it was more important than his feelings. It was for his people and for all people.

The two men talked for three hours. Still, neither of them realized how much courage Jackie Robinson would actually need. He had tough times ahead of him. He was going to be spiked, spat on, sent death threats, hit with pitches, and called awful names. How would you have responded?

Branch Rickey began by sending Jackie Robinson to Brooklyn's leading farm team, the Montreal Royals. The Royals'

Of his four college sports, Robinson liked baseball the least. But when he left the army in 1944, the Negro-league Kansas City Monarchs offered him the job of shortstop, and he took it.



Robinson was the first UCLA student ever to win letters in four different sports. He beat his own brother's national long-jump record and also won tournaments in tennis and golf.

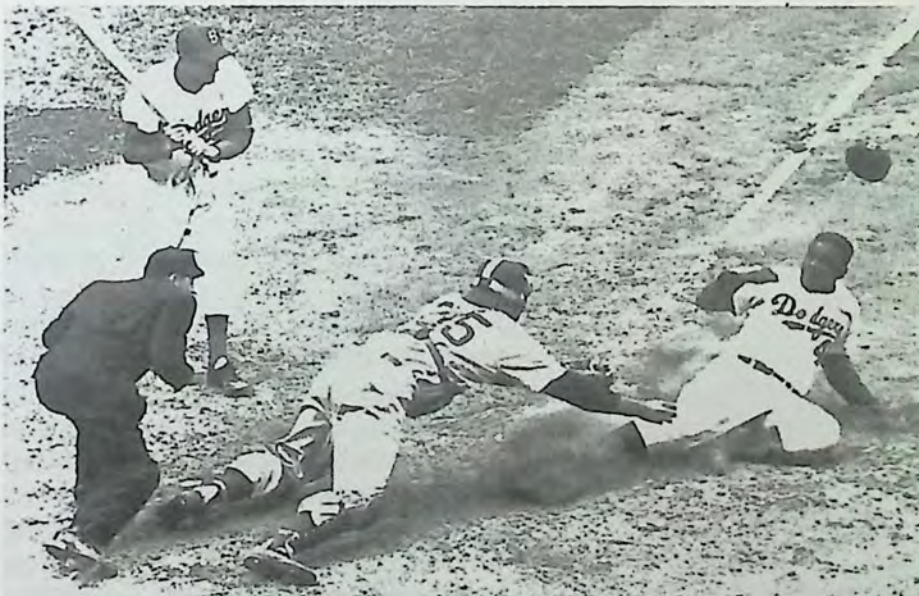


manager, Clay Hopper, had grown up with prejudice. He had never had a black friend. He begged Branch Rickey not to make him coach Jackie Robinson. Rickey knew he was a good coach; he told him to do his job. By the end of the season Hopper had learned a lesson: most prejudice comes from ignorance. He told Robinson, "You're a real ballplayer and a gentleman. It's been wonderful having you on the team."

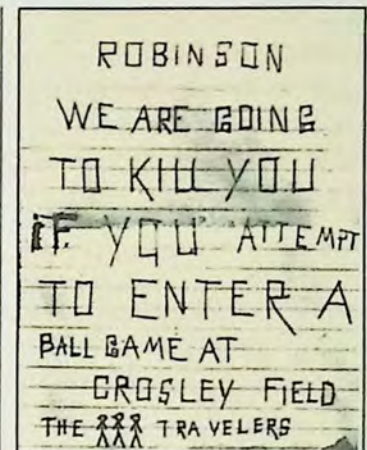
On April 15, 1947, Jackie Robinson, up from Montreal, batted in Brooklyn for the first time as a major leaguer. He was put out four times that day. He didn't do much better the rest of the week. Had Rickey made a mistake?

Then, when the Dodgers went to Philadelphia to play the Phillies, even Rickey was stunned by what happened. The Phillies' manager, Ben Chapman, spewed hate language and encouraged his players to do the same. "At no time in my life have I heard racial venom and dugout abuse to match the abuse that Ben sprayed on Robinson that night," said one of Branch Rickey's aides. "I could scarcely believe my ears," said Robinson.

Jackie Robinson took a deep breath and kept his word. The abuse wasn't all verbal. Runners were sliding and cutting him with



Jackie Robinson steals home. Black baseball was different. "In our baseball," said Buck O'Neil, "you got on base if you walked, you stole second, you'd try to steal, they'd bunt you over to third and you actually scored runs without a hit."



Robinson gritted his teeth and stuck it out through all the abuse. "I'm not concerned with your liking or disliking me," he said. "All I ask is that you respect me as a human being."

I think sports...teach a guy humility. I can see a guy hit the ball out of the ballpark, or a grand slam home run to win a baseball game, and that same guy can come up tomorrow in that situation and miss the ball and lose the ball game. It can bring you up here but don't get too damn cocky because tomorrow it can bring you down there. See? But one thing about it though, you know there always will be a tomorrow.

—Buck O'Neil, first black coach in big-league baseball

I slid into him this one time and really cut him badly....I could see he was bleeding the same color blood as me. I just stood there and felt ashamed of myself, like a real jerk.

—Richie Ashburn,
star outfielder for the
Philadelphia Phillies

their spikes, pitchers were throwing at his head. It was too much for his teammates—even those who hadn't wanted a black player on the club. "You yellow-bellied cowards," yelled a Dodger player. "Why don't you pick on somebody who can answer back?"

"If you guys played as well as you talked, you'd win some games!" hollered another Dodger.

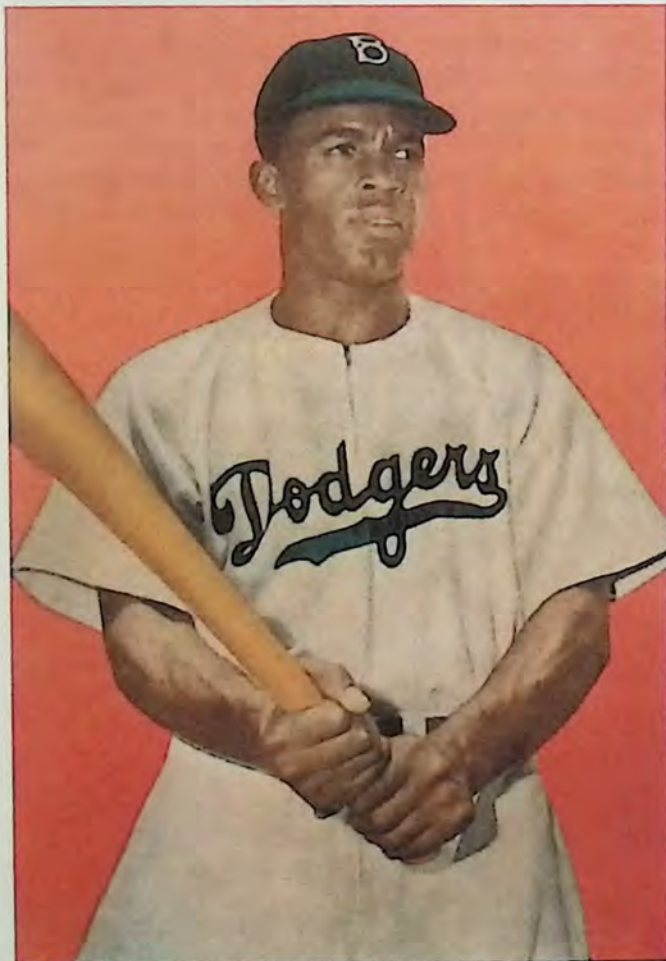
Sometimes actions bring unexpected results. The poor sportsmanship of some other teams brought the Dodgers together. They were behind their new teammate now.

Soon Robinson was swinging—and connecting. And when it came to base running? Hardly anyone has ever done it the way Jackie Robinson did. He gave pitchers the jitters. And when he stole home?

Well, have you ever seen anyone steal home? There isn't much in baseball that is more exciting. Robinson was a fantastic base stealer.

In his rookie season, Jackie Robinson finished first in the league in stolen bases and second in runs scored. He tied for the team lead in home runs. Dodger fans began cheering and cheering. The nation's most important sports paper, the *Sporting News* (which had said that Rickey was unwise to bring a black to the majors), named him rookie of the year. In September, the Brooklyn Dodgers won the National League pennant. And, at the end of the season, Branch Rickey told his star, "Jackie, you're on your own now. You can be yourself." Robinson no longer had to keep quiet, and he didn't.

Jackie Robinson had won the affection and respect of his fellow ballplayers and of the nation. He was the first; he took the punishment, he made it easy for those who followed. Baseball was now the national pastime for all the people.



In his first season Jackie helped set new attendance records at the ballparks. "A life is not important," he said, "except in the impact it has on other lives."

3 A (Very Short) History of Russia



Vladimir Lenin led the second Russian Revolution in 1917. "It is true that liberty is precious," he said. "So precious that it must be rationed." What did he mean?

In order to understand American history in the 20th century, you need to know some Russian history. Does that sound strange? Well, things were happening in Russia that would decide much that happened in the United States. Partly it was because we were obsessed with Russia, which means we couldn't get that country out of our minds. Partly it was because there were real dangers to the world from communist Russia's dictatorship.

After World War II we were determined to be

mightier than the Soviet Union. Because of that, we spent vast sums of money on our military forces. We built huge stockpiles of expensive weapons—more than enough to blow up the world. We persecuted some of our own citizens because of fear of communist ideas. Sometimes we even seemed to lose faith in our way of life because we mistakenly thought Russian communism was more powerful.

Now for that Russian history. In 1917, during World War I, Russia had a revolution. For centuries, Russia had been a feudal society controlled by tsars—who were like emperors. The word *tsar* (ZAR) comes from *caesar*, which was the title of ancient Rome's great leaders.

A *dictator* is a ruler who makes people do what he wants (it doesn't matter what they want).

The official name for Lenin's nation was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the U.S.S.R. Russia was the largest of a group of states, or republics. None were free, independent republics. The union lasted until 1991.

Exile means to banish someone from his or her home or country.

Oust means to throw out.

Stalin's opponents were either killed or sent to a *gulag*. To learn about life in those prisons, read *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a short, unforgettable book.



What the Russian peasant wanted was his own land. The communists said that peasants and workers would now be the owners and masters.

Many of Russia's tsars were selfish tyrants with absolute control over their people. The Russian people wanted something better: they wanted the things that all people want—peace, opportunities, and freedom. Alexander Kerensky led a revolution in 1917. When Vladimir Ilyich Lenin heard that news in Switzerland, where he had been exiled by the tsar, he headed home to Russia. Lenin—who was the head of a radical political party called the Bolsheviks—ousted Kerensky in a second revolution a few months after the first. Kerensky was a moderate. Lenin was not. He formed a communist government. It was an experiment. Communism had never been tried in a whole nation before. Lenin had to use force to make it work. He soon created a vicious, unfree, totalitarian government. When Lenin died, Joseph Stalin took over. He was worse than Lenin, and worse than any of the tsars. He killed millions of his own people. Russians who protested were murdered, or sent to prison camps in Siberia. Most never came home again. Meanwhile, Stalin and his followers were telling the rest of the world that the Soviet Union was turning into a wonderful, perfect society. It was hard for outsiders to find out the truth. There was no free press; the government controlled all the media. Many people believed the experiment was working.

Communism, to those who hadn't tried it, seemed like a fine economic plan. Most of the ideas for modern communism came from a 19th-century thinker named Karl Marx. Marx wanted to make the world better. He looked at capitalism and saw that, without regulation, wealth soon piled up in a few hands and left many people miserable. There was something even more disturbing: money power usually led to political power. So the poor had double troubles. They had no money and no political power. Marx said capitalism was doomed. And, during the worldwide Depression of the 1930s, it seemed as if he was right.

Under Marx's economic system, people are supposed to work hard and give their products to the government, which is then expected to distribute things fairly to everyone as needed. People don't get paid according to how much they work, but rather according to how much they need. Unfortunately, Karl Marx didn't know a lot about human



Kerensky was a tall, handsome lawyer with the gift of the gab. But it didn't save him from exile when Lenin took over the government.



Russia's disastrous military defeats in World War I led to strikes, food riots, street demonstrations, and mutiny of troops in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in February 1917. In March Tsar Nicholas II was forced out of power. For a time, a provisional (temporary) government shared power with a group that represented workers. In July rioting broke out again as the Bolsheviks (the hardline communists) tried to take power. Above: Troops loyal to the government fire machine guns against revolutionaries on the Nevsky Prospekt, Petrograd's main street. The Bolsheviks were defeated, but not crushed. Led by Lenin, they succeeded in seizing power in October 1917. Within weeks, the whole country was in a state of civil war.

nature. Most people need a reason to work hard.

Russia, China, and several other nations tried communism. There was neither economic nor political freedom in any of them. Work and pay were decided by the government. And there was no leaving if you didn't like the system. The communist nations were huge police states.



FRESH AS A DAISY

on a sultry
Arkansas night



thanks to your

Electric Room Air Conditioner!

By the 1950s, America—unlike the Soviet Union—was a wonderland of modern consumer goods. On average, the national standard of living was the highest on earth (although large numbers of Americans lived in poverty, especially in the South and in cities).

Things didn't turn out the way Marx had predicted. In communist countries, productivity was low and government distribution was not fair. In Russia, the government became terribly inefficient and wasteful. Perhaps communism didn't get a good test, as some said, but, mostly, the experts who had hoped for great things from Karl Marx's ideas were disappointed.

There was something else that surprised a lot of experts: capitalism wasn't doomed. If Karl Marx could have risen from his 19th-century grave he would have been astonished to find that in the United States, in the second half of the 20th century, capitalism helped a great many people pursue happiness. Free markets brought cars, washing machines, nice clothes, and TV sets to most Americans. But none of that was clear in 1945. We didn't understand ourselves, and we certainly didn't understand the Soviet Union. Some people thought Russia was the hope of the future. Some were terrified of communism without really knowing why. Others feared that communists were about to take over the United States. It was very confusing.



Many in the U.S. of the early 1950s feared that Stalin, the world's strongman, had the upper hand everywhere. This cartoon is titled *But What Part Shall the Meek Inherit?*

? *What if we'd spent all our military money on things to make our cities, schools, and towns safer and more prosperous? Would Russia have attacked us, as we feared? Would Russia have taken over in western Europe and the Middle East? What do you think? (No one knows the answers to those questions, but it is fun to think about them.) Historians have a big advantage. It is called hindsight. We know how things came out. Some 40 years after World War II, Russian communism collapsed because the system proved unworkable.*

4 A Curtain of Iron



Churchill (above) told President Truman that his speech in Fulton, Missouri, would be about "the necessity for full military collaboration between Great Britain and the U.S. in order to preserve peace in the world."

Britain's great wartime leader, Winston Churchill, had something to say, but no one was listening. So, in 1946, when President Truman asked the former prime minister to speak at tiny Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill didn't hesitate. He said yes.

Churchill wanted to talk about Russian communism. Many people did not know what to think about Stalin and Soviet Russia. During World War II (which ended in 1945), Russia was the ally of Britain and the United States. No people fought harder against the Nazis than the Russians. No nation suffered war

losses as enormous as Russia's. When the war ended, everyone hoped for friendship between the new superpowers: Russia and America. Around the world, many people believed that Russian communism was an acceptable form of government.

Winston Churchill thought differently. Churchill had warned of Adolf Hitler and Nazism long before most Britons or Americans took them seriously. Once again, he wanted to tell the world of a dangerous dictator and an ominous form of government. "A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory," he said at that small Missouri college. The shadow he was talking about was vicious totalitarian rule. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an *iron curtain* has descended across the Continent," Churchill continued.

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. ...I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.

—Winston Churchill

Ominous means "threatening."

A **totalitarian** government has total control over its citizens' lives.

The continent Churchill was referring to was Europe.

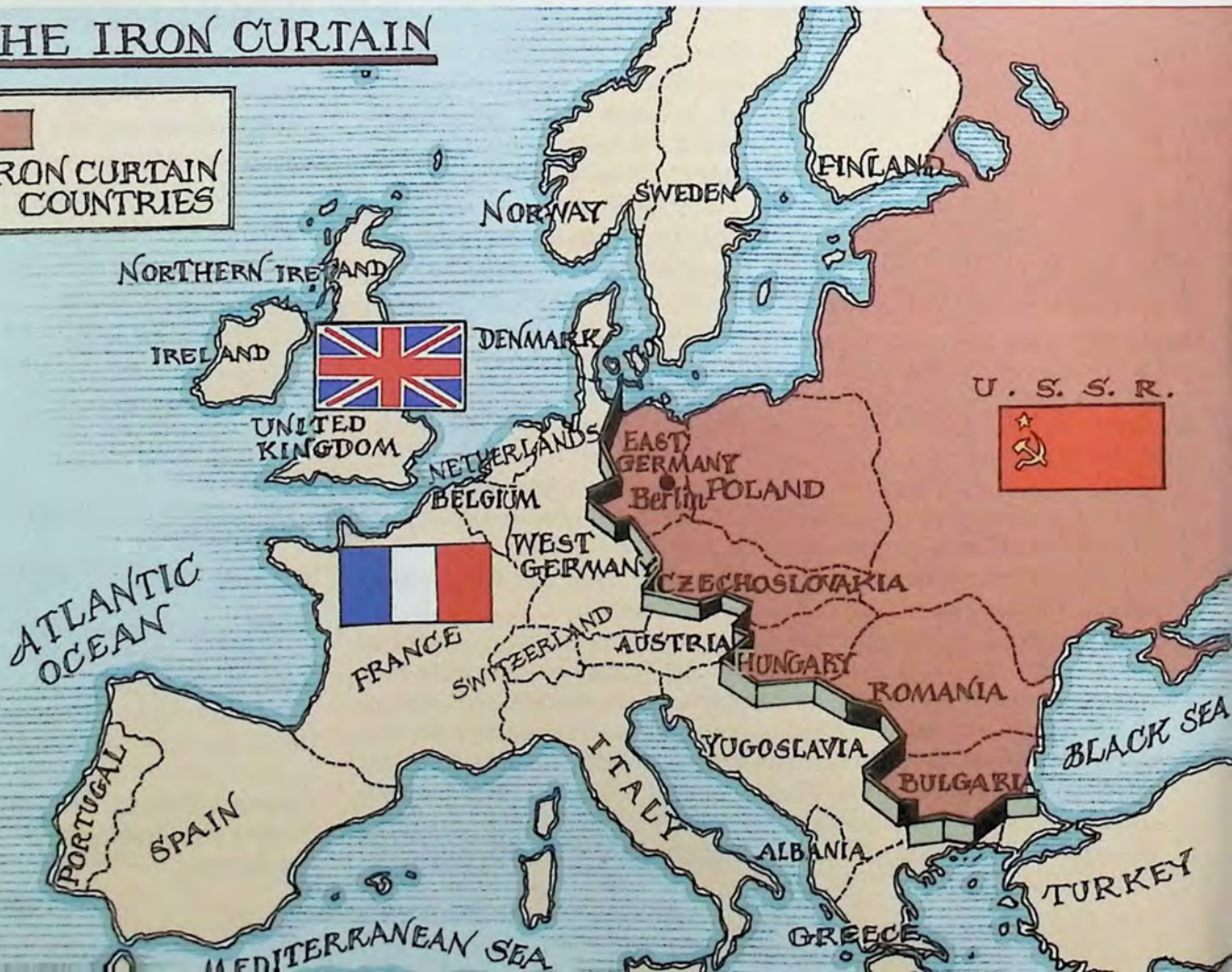
A HISTORY OF US

The curtain of iron was blocking out truth and freedom. Nations behind that curtain were prisoners of Russia.

When World War II ended, the armies of the winning Allied powers—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain—moved through Europe, freeing the nations that had been conquered by Hitler's Nazis. The Allies promised to help the liberated nations. They promised to help them hold open elections and form free governments. After that, the Allied armies were supposed to leave (which was what we did).



THE IRON CURTAIN





For a short time in 1956, Hungary revolted against Soviet rule; these Hungarians burned Stalin's portrait in the streets.

to rebel and become independent. The Hungarians were crushed and their leaders killed. The president of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito (TEE-toe), was as crafty as Stalin himself, and he managed to keep the Soviet Union at arm's length. But even Yugoslavia was not really a free country. It had only one political party, and that was communist.

President Truman decided the United States would come to the aid of any nation endangered by communism. We would not let Soviet Russia expand further. We began by sending \$400 million in emergency aid to Greece and Turkey. That program of assistance was called the Truman Doctrine. It was the beginning of a *cold war* against Russia. The Cold War lasted more than 40 years.

Russia wouldn't go. Soviet armies stayed in control in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and East Germany. There were no free elections there. Elsewhere—in nations like Italy and France—the communist parties were growing strong. Joseph Stalin bragged that the whole world would eventually go over to communism.

But most people didn't stay behind the iron curtain willingly. At every Soviet border, armed guards kept peoples captive. Iron curtains would soon extend over several Asian countries. Some east European countries, like Hungary and Yugoslavia, attempted

[Communism] is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.

—Harry Truman, announcing the Truman Doctrine to Congress



After the war, Germany was split in two. East Germany stayed under Soviet control, and West Germany got a free, democratic government. The old capital of Germany, Berlin, was also divided between east and west (see map inset opposite). In 1961, the Russians built a concrete wall in the middle of Berlin and topped it with barbed wire to keep people from running away to freedom.

5 The Marshall Plan

The idea behind the Truman Doctrine was to keep communism from spreading. That Cold War policy was known as “containment.”



President Truman sends Secretary of State George Marshall off to London to attend the Conference of Ministers, 1947.

The Marshall Plan was named for Secretary of State George C. Marshall, who introduced the idea in a speech at Harvard College. General Marshall was the U.S. Army’s chief of staff during World War II. The Marshall Plan was a team effort, developed by General Marshall and by Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, Minister to Russia George F. Kennan, President Truman, and others in his administration.

Two signs sat on President Truman’s desk. The first sign quoted a man from Truman’s home state of Missouri. It said, ALWAYS DO RIGHT. THIS WILL GRATIFY SOME PEOPLE & ASTONISH THE REST. They were the words of Mark Twain.

The second sign said THE BUCK STOPS HERE.

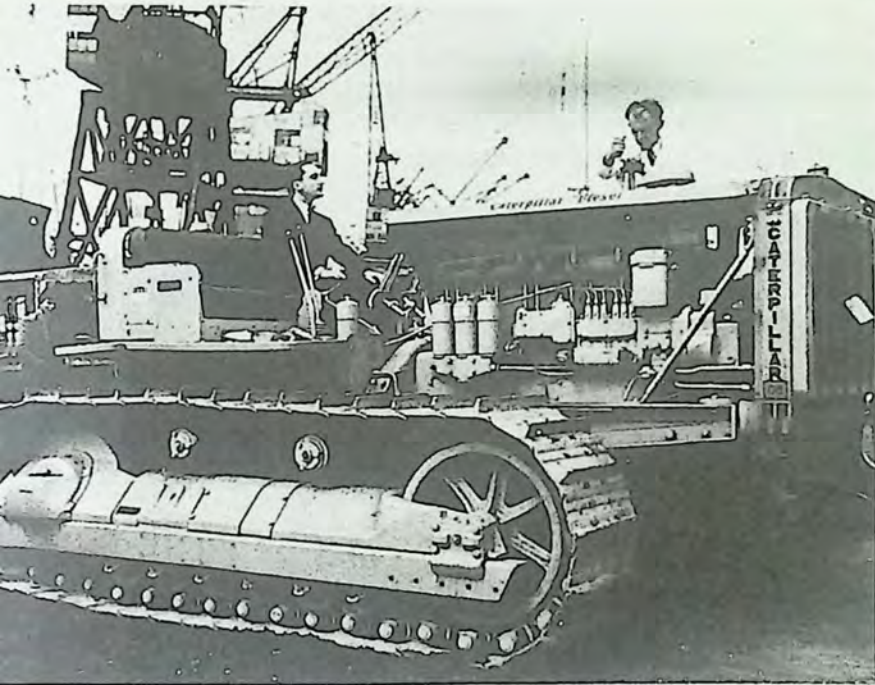
Which means: the president has the final word and can’t blame anyone else for his decisions.

Harry Truman had some big decisions to make. Those decisions would profoundly affect Americans and people around the world. In one of the most important of his decisions, he persuaded the American people to act generously to the defeated nations. What Harry Truman had in mind had never been done before in the history of the world.

Truman knew how defeated people feel after a war. He knew that his Confederate ancestors carried hate in

A Soviet cartoon portrayed an Imperialistic Uncle Sam towed along by the European nations hungry for dollars—they would never get them, said the cartoon.





their hearts all their lives. He knew that Germany's anger after World War I had helped bring about a second world war.

So he supported a plan that would send billions of dollars in aid and assistance to our allies and to our former enemies. It was called the Marshall Plan, but it reflected President Truman's thoughts. After a terrible war, he was asking the winning nation to help everyone recover—including the losers. The president said:

You can't be vindictive after a war. You have to be generous. You have to help people get back on their feet... People were starving, and they were cold because there wasn't enough coal, and tuberculosis was breaking out. There had been food riots in France and Italy... We were in a position to keep people from starving and help them preserve their freedom and build up their countries, and that's what we did.

Marshall Plan aid was offered to all of Europe's nations—including the Soviet Union and those countries under Soviet control. The Soviet nations refused the aid. Sixteen nations accepted with enthusiasm. It was very expensive. It was very unselfish. The plan encouraged Europeans to use American aid and add their own brains and know-how. It worked. Prosperity began returning to the free nations of Europe. It also helped us. Those newly prosperous European nations now had money to buy American goods. And they did.

Marshall Plan aid: (left) a U.S.-made Caterpillar bulldozer arrives to help rebuild France's electric power system; (right) a German construction worker in Berlin. The German poster says: *Berlin Relief Program—with Marshall Plan Aid.*

A person who is **vindictive** wants to have revenge.

Marshall Plan aid was very concrete (that's a pun). U.S. money rebuilt steel mills in Belgium, ceramics factories in France, railroads in Germany, and bridges

It was 1948, the Soviets were blockading Berlin, and fear of a third world war panicked many in Washington. Secretary of State George C. Marshall stayed calm. A young aide asked him, "How in the world can you remain so calm during this appalling crisis?" Marshall, who knew his history, said, "I've seen worse."

? *The Diet is the name of Japan's congress. What is the name of Great Britain's congress?*

Discrimination means choosing for unfair reasons. (The word has other meanings, too. Look it up.)

"We cannot wait another decade or another generation to remedy these ills," said Truman. "We must work, as never before, to cure them now."

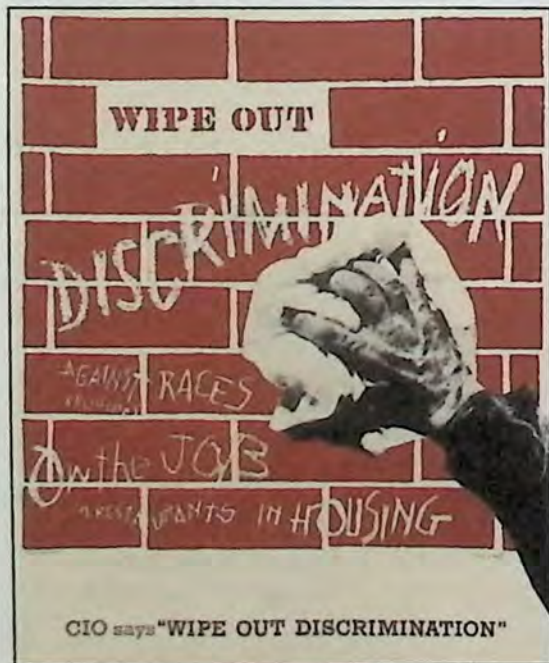
In East Asia, General Douglas MacArthur was sent to defeated Japan as head of an occupation army determined to rid Japan of its war leaders and bring democracy, freedom, and prosperity to that nation. The Japanese wrote a new constitution; it made Japan a democracy. Land was redistributed so that more people could have it. (Before, there had been a few huge landowners and many poor farmers; now there was a better balance. Soon there would be great prosperity.) Women were allowed to vote (39 were elected to the Diet). Secret political societies were prohibited. And religious discrimination was ended. The United States poured aid into Japan—food, clothing, medicines, and other supplies. Ancient temples and museums were restored. We were very generous. No nation had ever done that kind of thing for a defeated foe.

Another Truman plan, called "Point Four," gave aid to developing nations. Developing nations (another name for them is the Third World) are countries that are less wealthy and less modern than the industrial nations—many of those developing nations are in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Did everyone approve of these generous policies? Not at all. Some people in Europe and Asia said they didn't want to take aid from America. They thought we wanted something in return. Some people in Congress yelled about all the money it was costing. "Why should we help others?" they asked. "Why should we help our former enemies?" they screamed.

Their screams were nothing compared to those heard when President Truman decided to do something to help people in the United States. He decided it was time to do something about civil rights for all citizens. He decided to do something about lynchings and segregation. The army, navy, and air force were all segregated. Blacks and whites served in separate units. Blacks got the worst jobs. That wasn't fair. Like other Americans, they were willing to fight for their country. Why should they be treated differently?

In Mississippi, when some black soldiers returned home, they were dumped from army trucks and then beaten. In Georgia, a black man was shot and killed because he had voted. When Truman heard of those outrages he was horrified. The president had been brought up on Confederate ideas, but he was also taught to know right from wrong. Maybe Mark





Twain's words on his desk helped inspire him. He sent proposals to Congress to stop lynchings, to outlaw the poll tax that kept some people (mostly blacks) from voting, and to end segregation in the armed services. He created a commission on civil rights.

Remember the villains of prejudice and hate? People infected with those viruses began to howl. A Florida county commission said the president's program was "obnoxious, repugnant, odious, detestable, loathsome, repulsive, revolting and humiliating." A Mississippi congressman said Truman had "run a political dagger into our backs and now he is trying to drink our blood." Read on, and you'll see what happened next.

In January 1946, the first General Assembly of the United Nations meets in London, England. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes heads the U.S. delegation, which includes Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the former president. In October, the General Assembly accepts a gift of \$8.5 million from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to pay for a U.N. headquarters site. That site is in New York City.

Truman's 1947 speech denouncing racial discrimination and pledging to fight it was the first ever made by a president to the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

A **lynching** is an outside-the-law execution.

? *Obnoxious, repugnant, odious, detestable, loathsome, repulsive, revolting, humiliating? Strong words — what do they mean?*

Israel and an American Peacemaker

Harry Truman recognized the state of Israel 11 minutes after its creation on May 14, 1948. It had been a hard birth. Coming after the horrors of the Holocaust, and after almost 2,000 years of Jewish longing to return to their homeland, and after promises of a Jewish state by the victors of World War I—well, you might think it wouldn't be difficult to achieve. But the Jews weren't the only people who laid claim to that hauntingly beautiful land. The Arabs, who lived there, claimed it, too—and didn't want to share it. The story is complicated. Here is some of it.

About 4,000 years ago, in the time of Abraham and Moses, Israel (or Palestine, as it came to be called) became the home of the Jews. Two thousand years later, in the year 70 C.E., the Romans drove many of the Jews from their country. They settled throughout the Roman Empire, living in a diaspora (die-ASS-por-uh), or exile. But wherever they lived, every Passover, Jews prayed for a return to the holy city of Jerusalem.

Then, at the end of the 19th century, Hungarian-born Theodore Herzl, reacting to fierce European anti-Semitism, founded the *Zionist* movement. Its aim was to re-create a Jewish nation in Israel. Zionist Jews began moving to Palestine. At the same time, a Russian Jew, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, called for a revival of biblical Hebrew, the original language of the Jews. It had become a dead language, used only for prayers. Astonishingly, his idea caught on. By the time of the First World War (1914), 90,000 Jews were living in Palestine and speaking Hebrew. Palestine was

part of the southern region of Syria, under the control of Turkey.

Turkey sided with Germany in that first World War, and lost its empire. The Allies (who won) gave Great Britain the job of ruling Palestine. In 1917, the British Foreign Office issued a proclamation, the Balfour Declaration (written by the Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour), which said: "His Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People." President Woodrow Wilson cabled his support of the Declaration.

Jews set out for their ancient homeland. Those who didn't go put coin boxes in their homes to raise money for the Promised Land. Those who did go often faced dreadful conditions on land that was dry desert or malarial swamp. They drained and irrigated land, planted trees, built the new city of Tel Aviv, and made schools and homes. Some Arabs protested their presence. Some attacked and killed Jews, but persecution was nothing new to them. The Jews toughed it out.

By 1939, more than 30 percent of Palestine's population was Jewish. But that year (just when Hitler was making things awful in Europe), the British, bowing to Arab pressure, limited immigration into Palestine to 1,500 Jews a month. Jews were desperate to escape from Europe. The alternative was the death camps. But they had nowhere to go. The U.S. had immigration quotas that kept most Jews out. So did many other nations. Six million European Jews were murdered.

After World War II, about 250,000 survivors of the camps remained in Europe. Their homes had been taken, their families killed. President Truman urged that 100,000 be allowed to enter Palestine. But the British stuck to their monthly quotas. When boatloads of survivors arrived on their shores, they were turned away. The British announced that they would leave the region on May 15, 1948.

It was then, in 1947, that the United Nations got involved. The U.N. recommended that the land be divided into separate Jewish and Arab states—largely determined by population. It was called "partition." Jerusalem, a city sacred to three religions, would be held under international control.

Both sides wanted to control all of what was a tiny bit of land (about the size of Vermont). But the Jewish Agency agreed to the U.N.'s partition. Arab organizations were all against it.

Jews and Arabs were soon fighting a civil war. At first the Arabs seemed to be winning, but the Jews fought back and stunned everyone with their victories. The day before the British left Palestine, the Jews announced the birth of a new nation. They called it Israel. It was founded on democratic principles. The Arabs kept fighting.

Would anyone recognize Israel? Most Americans were sympathetic to Jewish hopes for a homeland. But the State Department was not. Arabs controlled vast quantities of oil. There were fears of Russian influence. The president was advised not to recognize a Jewish nation.

But an old friend had been to visit Harry Truman. They had both fought in World War I and then gone home to Kansas City to open a haberdashery (a men's clothing store). Eddie Jacobson was someone Truman knew he could trust. He had never asked Truman for a favor, but now he wanted one. He asked the president to meet with Chaim Weizmann, a scientist who was Israel's first president. It was Dr. Weizmann who had persuaded Lord Balfour to issue his famous Declaration. But Truman wasn't going to be pressured by anyone. He wrote later in his autobiography:

I told him that I respected Dr. Weizmann, but if I saw him, it would only result in more wrong interpretations. Eddie waved toward a small replica of an Andrew Jackson statue in my office. "He's been your hero all your life, hasn't he?" he said....I did not know what he was leading up to, but he went on.

"I have never met the man who has been my hero all my life," he continued. "But I have studied his past as you have studied Jackson's. He is the greatest Jew alive...I am talking about Dr. Chaim Weizmann. He is an old man and a very sick man. He has traveled thousands of miles to see you, and now you are putting off seeing him. That isn't like you."

When Eddie left I gave instructions to have Dr. Weizmann come to the White House.

After the United States recognized Israel on May 14, the Soviet Union did, too. But the Jewish cel-

ebrations didn't last long. On May 15, Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Iraq, and Egypt joined together to send armies to crush the young nation. Most of the Arabs in Israel fled, for reasons that would be disputed in years to come. The war created two refugee populations—equal numbers of Arabs from Israel and Jews from Arab lands.

In the months that followed, thousands of Jews and Arabs



Chaim Weizmann



Ralph Bunche

died. Neither side won, but the Jews controlled most major cities, and the Arab forces realized they faced real fighters.

That was when the U.N. got involved again. Count Folke Bernadotte, head of the Swedish Red Cross, was named as a special mediator. Bernadotte made plans to redo the partition arrangement, adding the huge Negev desert region to the Arab state. The Israelis, who had held off Arab armies, felt betrayed. A sniper from a Jewish underground group shot and killed Bernadotte.

Then an American peacemaker stepped onto that very dangerous stage. He was Bernadotte's aide, and he took over as the U.N. mediator. He was a man who had known prejudice himself. As a boy, he had been turned away from

swimming pools. As a teenager, he achieved academic excellence that went unrewarded. He had learned the value of persistence.

This peacemaker had no special interest in the region. But he cared about justice. He was hard-working, and wise, and low-key. His name was Ralph Bunche, and he was the grandson of a slave.

Bunche was the first black to earn a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard. He had been a professor at Howard University in Washington, D.C. He set the boundaries of today's Israeli state. It took incredible determination and patience. At first the Israelis and Arabs wouldn't talk to each other. He vowed, "I'll never adjourn this meeting. I'll stay for 10 years if necessary." Actually it took him only 81 days.

When the final papers were signed, ending the hostilities (on February 24, 1949), Bunche hosted a party. Everyone played billiards together. Then Bunche gave all the participants beautiful pieces of pottery that he had had specially made for them. "What if we hadn't agreed?" asked one. "I'd have smashed the pottery over your heads," said Bunche.

Ralph Bunche was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950. He continued to work for world peace, taking U.N. assignments in Egypt and Africa. "When such men as Dr. Bunche...become 'great heroes' in the eyes of millions of Americans, we will be approaching maturity as a nation," an article in *Progressive* magazine stated, adding, "Until the world's peacemakers become our heroes, too, we will not have achieved that maturity."

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