

## Instructions for Performers

*In other words, our image of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption. The same applies to our view of the past, which is the concern of history. The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption. There is a secret agreement between past generations and the present one.*

*To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger.*

-Walter Benjamin, Theses on the Philosophy of History, 1940

You are asked to invoke the past in the present, to perform words once spoken in the here and now. Construct your image of history in whatever way you see fit; this could mean calling forth the speaker or your relationship to the speech.

## **Texts to be performed**

Jean Moreas The Symbolist Manifesto 1886

Jose Clemente Orozco , New World, New Races and New Art, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi , On The Eve Of Historic Dandi March, 1930

V. I. Lenin, How The Working People Can Be Saved From The Oppression Of The Landowners And Capitalists For Ever, 1919

Henry Gerber, Recent Homosexual Literature, 1934

Daniel DeLeon, Corporations and Capitalists, 1909

Angelo Herndon, You Cannot Kill the Working Class, 1933

Mother Jones' Speech at a Public Meeting, 1912

Eldridge Cleaver, Credo for Rioters and Looters, 1969

Redstockings Manifesto, 1969

Pierre Louÿs , The Songs of Bilitis, 1894

Richard Wright, I have seen black hands , 1934

Claudia Jones, An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman! 1949

Emma Goldman, The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation, 1917

The WITCH Manifesto of 1968

Margaret Sanger, The Morality of Birth Control, 1921

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Araxes: a Call to Free the Nature of the Urning from Penal Law, 1870

Aldo Leopold, Sand County Almanac Oxford, 1949.

Lucy Parsons, Our Civilization: Is It Worth Saving? 1885

American Youth Congress, The Declaration of the Rights of American Youth, 1936

**Jean Moreas**  
**The Symbolist Manifesto**  
**1886**



[...]We have already offered the name of symbolism as the only one able of indicating reasonably the actual tendencies of the creative mind in art. [...]

Enemy of education, declamation, wrong feelings, objective description, symbolist poetry tries to dress the Idea in a sensitive form which, however, would not be its sole purpose, but furthermore that, while serving to express the Idea in itself, would remain subjective. [...]

For the precise translation of its synthesis, it is necessary for symbolism to take on an archetypal and complex style; of unpolluted terms, periods which brace themselves alternating with periods of undulating lapses, significant pleonasm, mysterious ellipses, outstanding anacoluthia, any audacious and multiform surplus; finally the good language – instituted and updated–, good and luxuriant and energetic french language [...]

Rhythm: the ancient metric enlivened; a chaos learnedly ordered; the rhyme illucente and beaten as a buckler of gold and bronze, to rhymes of unintelligible fluidity; the alexandrine with numerous and mobile stopping; the job of first certain numbers – seven, nine, eleven, thirteen – bold in the various rhythmic combinations of which they are the price. [...]

**Jose Clemente Orozco**  
**New World, New Races and New Art**  
**1929**



The art of the New World cannot take root in the old traditions of the Old World nor in the aboriginal traditions represented by the remains of our ancient indian peoples. Although the art of all races and of all times as a common value—human, universal—each new cycle must work for itself, must create, must yield its own production, its individual share to the common good.[...]

If new races have appeared upon the lands of the New World, in a new spiritual and physical medium. Any other road is plain cowardice. [...]

The highest, the most logical, the purest and strongest form of painting is the mural. In this form alone, it is one with other arts—with all the others.

It is, too, the most disinterested form, for it cannot be hidden away for the benefit of a certain privileged few.

It is for the people. It is for all.

**Mahatma Gandhi**  
**On The Eve Of Historic Dandi March**  
**November 3, 1930**



[...] let there be not a semblance of breach of peace even after all of us have been arrested. We have resolved to utilize all our resources in the pursuit of an exclusively nonviolent struggle. Let no one commit a wrong in anger. This is my hope and prayer. I wish these words of mine reached every nook and corner of the land. [...] Wherever possible, civil disobedience of salt should be started. These laws can be violated in three ways. It is an offence to manufacture salt wherever there are facilities for doing so. The possession and sale of contraband salt, which includes natural salt or salt earth, is also an offence. The purchasers of such salt will be equally guilty. To carry away the natural salt deposits on the seashore is likewise violation of law. So is the hawking of such salt. In short, you may choose any one or all of these devices to break the salt monopoly.[...]

Much can be done in many other ways besides these. The Liquor and foreign cloth shops can be picketed. [...] Let all who are co-operating with the Government in one way or another, be it by paying taxes, keeping titles, or sending children to official schools, etc. withdraw their co-operation in all or as many ways as possible. [...]



## **V. I. Lenin**

### **How The Working People Can Be Saved From The Oppression Of The Landowners And Capitalists For Ever**

#### **March 1919**

The enemies of the working people, the landowners and capitalists say that the workers and peasants cannot live without them. "If it were not for us," they say, "there would be nobody to maintain order, to give out work, and to compel people to work. If it were not for us everything would collapse, and the state would fall to pieces. We have been driven away, but chaos will bring us back again." But this sort of talk by the landowners and capitalists will not confuse, intimidate, or deceive the workers and peasants. An army needs the strictest discipline; nevertheless the class-conscious workers succeeded in uniting the peasants, succeeded in taking the old tsarist officers into their service, succeeded in building a victorious army.

The Red Army established unprecedentedly firm discipline-not by means of the lash, but based on the intelligence, loyalty and devotion of the workers and peasants themselves.

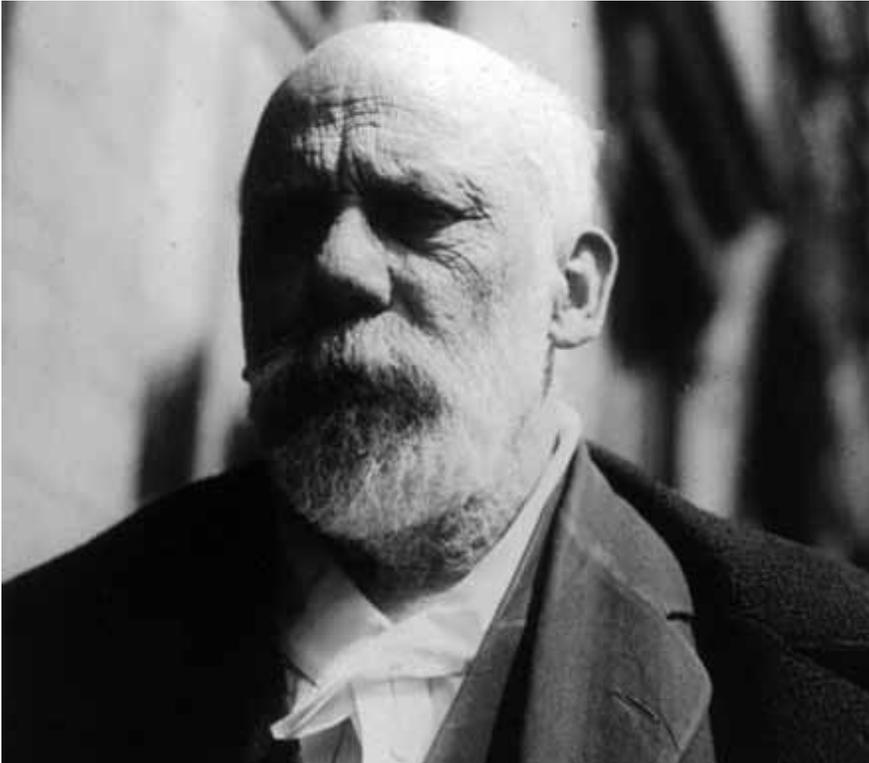
And so, to save the working people from the yoke of the landowners and capitalists for ever, to save them from the restoration of their power, it is necessary to build up a great Red Army of Labour. That army will be invincible if it is cemented by labour discipline. The workers and peasants must and will prove that they can properly distribute labour, establish devoted discipline and ensure loyalty in working for the common good, and can do it themselves, without the landowners and in spite of them, without the capitalists and in spite of them. Labour discipline, enthusiasm for work, readiness for self-sacrifice, close alliance between the peasants and the workers-this is what will save the working people from the oppression of the landowners and capitalists for ever.

**Henry Gerber**  
**Recent Homosexual Literature**  
**1934**



The 100% patriots are vociferously proclaiming that this is a Free Country; however, when asked if Love is free, or if they are for Free Love, they conveniently avoid the issue by retreating with sundry maledictions and such epithets as “Bolshevic, Libertine, Swine.” In my last article, in the initial issue of “Chanticleer”, I pointed out that politicians and priests clamor for bigger and better morons. They are in fact responsible for sex suppression in America. Capitalism, loyally supported by the churches, has established a Public Policy that the Sacred Institution of Monogamy must be enforced; and such a fiat is the death-knell to all sexual freedom. Monogamy is the ideal of this state and all deviations from this ideal are strictly suppressed, including free love in all of its forms, birth control, and homosexuality. For these forms of sexual freedom, if free to practice, would defeat the sacred institution of monogamy. In Russia, where the government is no longer capitalistic and is not bound to religious sex superstitions, sex is free. One may gratify one’s sexual appetite as one may see fit, just as one may choose what to eat for supper. [...]

**Daniel DeLeon**  
**Corporations and Capitalists**  
**1909**



[...] That the corporate body is a “legal fiction” is well-known. That a corporation enjoys, in matters of law, all the advantages that a disembodied spirit would have in evading barbwire fences, is a matter of common observation. A corporation can do as it pleases. If caught, a little juggling of stock holdings, a holding company organized, wheels-within-wheels fashion—and there you are. Your corporation’s as bland and invulnerable as an oyster in its shell. And if worst comes to worst, all that can happen is a fine upon the corporation. The individuals who compose it go scot free, unfinable, unimpeachable, ready to do it all over again.

[...] So it is with the capitalist. Taking his rise—albeit with crime and violence—in the necessity for systematized and economic production, he, at first, filled a useful place as a captain of industry. Correlative with this function came the minor one of keeping down the forces that would have overthrown him. Today, however, the palm of captainship of industry having passed from the capitalist—he having himself handed it over to his skilled managers and superintendents—he retains, in the overwhelming majority of cases, merely his function of coercion, of repressing all society into acquiescence in his plunder of it.

As with the corporations, it is perfectly safe to say that, with nine-tenths of the capitalists, their only reason for living is not their legitimate one of assisting, but their wholly illegitimate one of victimizing and laming the arm of society.

“Corporations” and “capitalists”, both throw light on each other. Both are ripe for the change

**Angelo Herndon**  
**You Cannot Kill the Working Class**  
**1933**



[...]Almost every working-class family, especially in those days, nursed the idea that one of its members, anyone, would get out of the factory, and wear clean clothes all the time and sit at a desk. My family was no exception, They hoped that I would be the one to leave the working-class. They were ready to make almost any sacrifices to send me through high-school and college, They were sure that if a fellow worked hard and had intelligence and grit, he wouldn't have to be a worker all his life. [...]

The state held that my membership in the Communist Party, my possession of Communist literature was enough to send me to the electric chair. They said to the jury: -Stamp this damnable thing out now with a conviction that will automatically carry with it a penalty of electrocution. And the hand-picked lily-white jury responded: "We, the jury find the defendant guilty as charged, but recommend that mercy be shown and fix his sentence at from 18 to 20 years."

I had organized starving workers to demand bread, and I was sentenced to live out my years on the chain-gang for it. But I knew that the movement itself would not stop. I spoke to the court and said: "They can hold this Angelo Herndon and hundreds of others, but it will never stop these demonstrations on the part of Negro and white workers who demand a decent place to live in and proper food for their kids to eat."

I said: "You may do what you will with Angelo Herndon. You may indict him. You may put him in jail. But there will come' thousands of Angelo Herndons. If you really want to do anything about the case, you must go out and indict the social system. But this you will not do, for your role is to defend the system under which the toiling masses are robbed and oppressed. "You may succeed in killing one, two, even a score of working-class organizers. But you cannot kill the working class."

## Mother Jones' Speech at a Public Meeting 1912



This, my friends, marks, in my estimation, the most remarkable move ever made in the State of West Virginia. It is a day that will mark history in the long ages to come. What is it? It is an uprising of the oppressed against the master class. [...]

To His Excellency, William E. Glasscock, Governor of the State of West Virginia: It is respectfully represented unto your Excellency that the owners of the various coal mines doing business along the valley of Cabin Creek, Kanawha County, West Virginia, are maintaining and have at present in their employ a large force of armed guards [...] which said weapons said guards use for the purpose of brow-beating, intimidating and menacing the lives of all the citizens who live in said valley, and whose business calls them into said valley, who are not in accord with the management of the coal companies, which guards are cruel and their conduct toward the citizens is such that it would be impossible to give a detailed account of.[...]

The labor movement was not originated by man. The labor movement, my friends, was a command from God Almighty. He commanded the prophets thousands of years ago to go down and redeem the Israelites that were in bondage, and he organized the men into a union and went to work. And they said, "The masters have made us gather straw, they have been more cruel than they were before. What are we going to do?" The prophet said, "A voice from heaven has come to get you together." They got together and the prophet led them out of the land of bondage and robbery and plunder into the land of freedom. And when the army of the pirates followed them the Dead Sea opened and swallowed them up, and for the first time the workers were free. And so it is. That can well be applied to the State of West Virginia. [...]

This is done, my friends, beneath the flag our fathers fought and bled for, and we don't intend to surrender our liberty. [...]

HERE ON THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL OF WEST VIRGINIA, I SAY THAT IF THE GOVERNOR WON'T MAKE THEM GO THEN WE WILL MAKE THEM GO.

**Eldridge Cleaver**  
**Credo for Rioters and Looters**  
**1969**



[...]Black people have already judged you, America, and have condemned you to death. And we also know that history has selected us, your slaves and chief victims, to be your executioner, the instrument of your destruction.

What a laugh! America the beautiful. Home of the Brave. Friend of the underdog. You once had a beautiful dream -- but even then, while you dreamed that dream, you were foul and corrupt and rotten in your heart, but you were a minor league brigand then and when you compared yourself to the other tyrannies of the world, you looked innocent by contrast to their greater evil. The innocent blood they had shed was a vast and ancient ocean, and yours was a fresh new stream. But now your little stream has become vaster than the sky and your evil dwarfs everything that has gone before. Now you stand naked before the world, before yourself, a predatory, genocidal Dorian Grey, stripped of all egalitarian democratic makeup.

[...] We are not blind fools. America. We are not petty and greedy like you. You have seen to that. You have kept us from becoming like you. We are not even part of you . We are not of you or in you and you are not in us. We stand clear of you. (clean of you?) And we are not unjust, as you are. We know that there are those amongst your people who are innocent, those who have had no part in your decisions, those who were brainwashed and manipulated out of their own humanity, out of their minds? out of their lives. We know who these are. These will help us burn you. These will help us loot you. These will help us kill you, so that humanity might breath a new air and bask in sunlight. That will not warm your grave.

## Redstockings Manifesto 1969



[...] III We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest. All power structures throughout history have been male-dominated and male-oriented. Men have controlled all political, economic and cultural institutions and backed up this control with physical force. [...]

V We regard our personal experience, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely on existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience. [...]

VI We identify with all women. We define our best interest as that of the poorest, most brutally exploited woman. We repudiate all economic, racial, educational or status privileges that divide us from other women. We are determined to recognize and eliminate any prejudices we may hold against other women. [...]

VII We call on all our sisters to unite with us in struggle. We call on all men to give up their male privilege and support women's liberation in the interest of our humanity and their own.

In fighting for our liberation we will always take the side of women against their oppressors. We will not ask what is "revolutionary" or "reformist," only what is good for women.

The time for individual skirmishes has passed. This time we are going all the way.

**Pierre Louÿs**  
**The Songs of Bilitis**  
**1894**



**Bilitis**

One woman drapes herself in snowy wool. Another clothes herself in silk and gold. And still another hangs herself with flowers, green leaves and purple grapes.

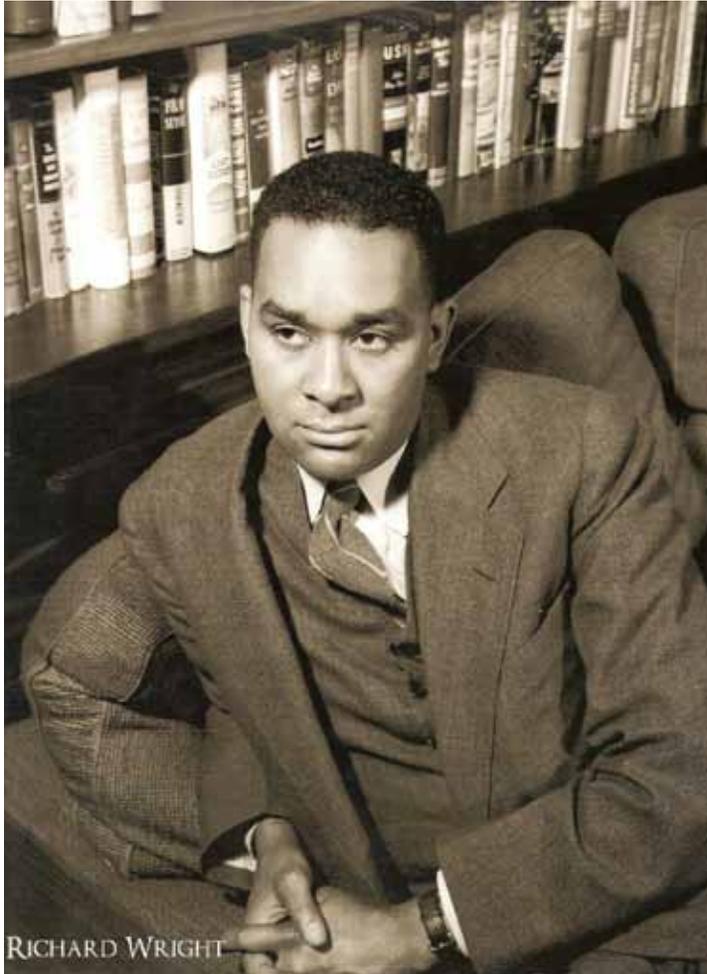
As for myself, I must live forever nude. My lover, come and take me as I am; without a dress or jewels or little boots, behold me! Bilitis herself and nothing more.

My hair is black from its blackness, and my lips are red from their red.

My ringlets float about me free and loose and round as feathers.

Take me as my mother made me in a distant night of love, and if I please you in that fashion, please do not forget to tell me so.

**Richard Wright**  
**I have seen black hands**  
**1934**



III

I am black and I have seen black hands, millions and millions of them--  
Reaching hesitantly out of days of slow death for the goods they had  
made, but the bosses warned that the goods were private and did not  
belong to them.

And the black hands struck desperately out in defence of life and there  
was blood, but the enraged bosses decreed that this too was wrong.  
And the black hands felt the cold steel bars of the prison they had  
made, in despair tested their strength and found that they could neither  
bend nor break them,

And the black hands fought and scratched and held back but a thou-  
sand white hands took them and tied them,

And the black hands lifted palms in mute and futile supplication to the  
sodden faces of mobs wild in the revelries of sadism.

And the black hands strained and clawed and struggled in vain at the  
noose that tightened about the black throat.

And the black hands waved and beat fearfully at the tall flames that  
cooked and charred the black flesh

IV

I am black and I have seen black hands

Raised in fists of revolt, side by side with the white fists of white work-  
ers,

And some day--and it is only this which sustains me—

Some day there shall be millions and millions of them,

On some red day in a burst of fists on a new horizon!

**Claudia Jones**

**An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!  
1949**



[...]

The bourgeoisie is fearful of the militancy of the Negro woman, and for good reason. The capitalists know far better than many progressives seem to know, that once Negro women undertake action the militancy of the whole Negro people and thus of the anti-imperialist coalition, is greatly enhanced.

[...]The responsibility for overcoming these special forms of white chauvinism rests not with the “subjectivity” of Negro women, as it is often put, but squarely on the shoulders of white men and white women. Negro men have a special responsibility particularly in relation to rooting out attitudes of male superiority as regards women in general. There is need to root out all “humanitarian” and patronizing attitudes toward Negro women[...]

[...]For the progressive women’s movement, the Negro woman, who combines in her status the worker, the Negro, and the woman, is the vital link to this heightened political consciousness, To the extent, further, that the cause of the Negro woman worker is promoted, she will be enabled to take her rightful place in the Negro proletarian leadership of the national liberation movement, and by her active participation contribute to the entire American working class whose historic mission is the achievement of a Socialist America--the final and full guarantee of woman’s emancipation. [...]

**Emma Goldman**  
**The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation**  
**1917**



[...] Peace or harmony between the sexes and individuals does not necessarily depend on a superficial equalization of human beings; nor does it call for the elimination of individual traits and peculiarities. The problem that confronts us today, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be one's self and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply with all human beings and still retain one's own characteristic qualities. This seems to me to be the basis upon which the mass and the individual, the true democrat and the true individuality, man and woman, can meet without antagonism and opposition. [...]

[...] The tragedy of the self-supporting or economically free woman does not lie in too many but in too few experiences.

[...] The explanation of such inconsistency on the part of many advanced women is to be found in the fact that they never truly understood the meaning of emancipation. They thought that all that was needed was independence from external tyrannies; the internal tyrants, far more harmful to life and growth--ethical and social conventions--were left to take care of themselves; and they have taken care of themselves. [...]

These internal tyrants, whether they be in the form of public opinion or what will mother say, or brother, father, aunt, or relative of any sort; what will Mrs. Grundy, Mr. Comstock, the employer, the Board of Education say? All these busybodies, moral detectives, jailers of the human spirit, what will they say? Until woman has learned to defy them all, to stand firmly on her own ground and to insist upon her own unrestricted freedom, to listen to the voice of her nature, whether it call for life's greatest treasure, love for a man, or her most glorious privilege, the right to give birth to a child, she cannot call herself emancipated

[...] Pettiness separates; breadth unites. Let us be broad and big. Let us not overlook vital things because of the bulk of trifles confronting us. A true conception of the relation of the sexes will not admit of conqueror and conquered; it knows of but one great thing: to give of one's self boundlessly, in order to find one's self richer, deeper, better. That alone can fill the emptiness, and transform the tragedy of woman's emancipation into joy, limitless joy.

## Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell The WITCH Manifesto of 1968



WITCH is an all-woman Everything. It's theater, revolution, magic, terror, joy, garlic flowers, spells. It's an awareness that witches and gypsies were the original guerrillas and resistance fighters against oppression...Witches were the first Friendly Heads and Dealers, the first birth-control practitioners and abortionists, the first alchemists... WITCH lives and laughs in every woman. She is the free part of each of us, beneath the shy smiles, the acquiescence to absurd male domination...if you are a woman and dare to look within yourself, you are a witch...you are free and beautiful...Whatever is repressive, solely male-oriented, greedy, puritanical, authoritarian-those are your targets... you are pledged to free our brothers from oppression and stereotyped sexual roles as well as ourselves. You are a witch by saying aloud, "I am a Witch," three times, and thinking about that. You are a witch by being female, untamed, angry, joyous, and immortal.

**Margaret Sanger**  
**The Morality of Birth Control**  
**November 18, 1921**



[...]

We know that every advance that woman has made in the last half century has been made with opposition, all of which has been based upon the grounds of immorality. [...]

[...] We stand on the principle that Birth Control should be available to every adult man and woman. We believe that every adult man and woman should be taught the responsibility and the right use of knowledge. We claim that woman should have the right over her own body and to say if she shall or if she shall not be a mother, as she sees fit. We further claim that the first right of a child is to be desired. While the second right is that it should be conceived in love, and the third, that it should have a heritage of sound health.

Upon these principles the Birth Control movement in America stands. When it comes to discussing the methods of Birth Control, that is far more difficult. There are laws in this country which forbid the imparting of practical information to the mothers of the land. We claim that every mother in this country, either sick or well, has the right to the best, the safest, the most scientific information.

[...] We know that the masses of people are growing wiser and are using their own minds to decide their individual conduct. The more people of this kind we have, the less immorality shall exist. For the more responsible people grow, the higher do they and shall they attain real morality.

## **Karl Heinrich Ulrichs**

### **Araxes: a Call to Free the Nature of the Urning from Penal Law**

**1870**



The Urning, too, is a person. He, too, therefore, has inalienable rights. His sexual orientation is a right established by nature. Legislators have no right to veto nature; no right to persecute nature in the course of its work; no right to torture living creatures who are subject to those drives nature gave them.

The Urning is also a citizen. He, too, has civil rights; and according to these rights, the state has certain duties to fulfill as well. The state does not have the right to act on whimsy or for the sheer love of persecution. The state is not authorized, as in the past, to treat Urnings as outside the pale of the law.

[...]The prohibition of the expression of the sex drive, i.e., between consenting adults in private, lies outside the legal sphere. All grounds for legal prosecution are lacking in this case. Legislators are hindered from doing this by human rights and the principle of the constitutional state. The legislator is hindered by the laws of justice, which forbid applying a double standard[..]

Just because Urnings are unfortunate enough to be a small minority, no damage can be done to their inalienable rights and to their civil rights. The law of liberty in the constitutional state also has to consider its minorities.

And no matter what the legislators have done in the past, the law of liberty knows of no limitation. [...]

**Aldo Leopold**  
**Sand County Almanac**  
**1949**



All ethics so far evolved rest upon a single premise: that the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts, His instincts prompt him to compete for his place in that community, but his ethics prompt him also to cooperate (perhaps in order that there may be a place to compete for).

The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land.

This sounds simple: do we not already sing our love for and obligation to the land of the free and the home of the brave? Yes, but just what and whom do we love? Certainly not the soil, which we are sending helter-skelter down river. Certainly not the waters,, which we assume have no function except to turn turbines, float barges, and carry off sewage. Certainly not the plants, of which we exterminate whole communities without batting an eye. Certainly not the animals, of which we have already extirpated many of the largest and most beautiful species. A land ethic of course cannot prevent the alteration, management, and use of these but it does affirm their right to continued existence, and, at least in spots, their continued existence in a natural state.

In short, a land ethic changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it. It implies respect for his fellow-members, and also respect for the community as such

**Lucy Parsons**  
**Our Civilization: Is It Worth Saving?**  
**1885**



Is our civilization of today worth saving? might we be asked by the disinherited of the earth. In one respect this a great civilization. History fails to record any other age like ours. When we wish to travel we fly, as it were, on the wings of space, and with a wantonness that would have sunk the wildest imagination of the gods of the ancients into insignificance. We annihilate time. We stand upon the verge of one continent, and converse with ease and composure with friends in the midst of the next. The awe-inspiring phenomena of nature concern us in this age but little. We have stolen the lightning from the gods and made it an obedient servant to the will of man; have pierced the clouds and read the starry page of time.

[...] Yet it was their labor that erected these evidences of civilization. Then why are they compelled to be barbarians? For it is labor, and labor only, which makes civilization possible. 'Tis labor that toils, and spins, and weaves, and builds, that another, not it, may enjoy. 'Tis the laborers who dive into the unknown caverns of the sea and compel her to yield up her hidden treasures, which they know not even the value thereof. 'Tis labor which goes into the trackless wilderness, and wields the magic wand which science hat placed in its hand. Its hideous, hissing monsters soon succumb, and she blossoms like the rose. [...]

Now, why does this important factor in the arts of progress and refinement continue to hold a secondary position in all the higher and nobler walks of life? Is it not that a few idlers may riot in luxury and ease-said few having dignified themselves "upper classes"?

[...] Oh, working man! Oh, starved, outraged, and robbed laborer, how long will you lend attentive ear to the authors of your misery? When will you become tired of your slavery and show the same by stepping boldly into the arena with those who declare that "Not to be a slave is to dare and DO?" When will you tire of such a civilization and declare in words, the bitterness of which shall not be mistaken, "Away with a civilization that thus degrades me; it is not worth the saving?"

**American Youth Congress**  
**The Declaration of the Rights of American Youth**  
**July 4, 1936**

[...]Today our lives are threatened by war; our liberties threatened by reactionary legislation; and our right to happiness remains illusory in a world of insecurity. [...]

We declare that our generation is rightfully entitled to a useful, creative, and happy life, the guarantees of which are: full educational opportunities, steady employment at adequate wages, security in time of need, civil rights, religious freedom, and peace.

[...]We have a right to liberty! In song and legend America has been exalted as a land of the free, a haven for the oppressed. Yet on every hand we see this freedom limited or destroyed. Progressive forces are persecuted. Minority nationalities are exposed to arbitrary deportation. The Negro people are subjected to constant abuse, discrimination and lynch laws. Workers who strike for a living wage are met with increasing violence. —These we affirm to be the omens of that modern tyranny, fascism. [...]

We have a right to happiness! Our country with its natural resources and mighty industries can more than provide a life of security and comfort for all. But today we are not provided with this security, are not permitted to enjoy its comforts. We want to work, to produce, to build, but millions of us are forced to be idle. We graduate from schools and colleges, equipped for careers and professions, but there are no jobs. [...] We refuse to be the lost generation.

— We urge a system of unemployment and social insurance as an immediate improvement in the condition of unemployed youth and we affirm our right to be employed on all relief projects at equal wages for equal work.

— We who are employed express our dissatisfaction with the prevailing low wages, long hours and the intense speed-up which destroys health and stunts our development. We insist upon our right to higher wages and shorter hours. For the youth on the farms, the right to work means the right to security in the possession of their farms, free from the burden of debts. We stand unalterably opposed to any program which destroys crops and livestock while millions remain unfed and undernourished. [...]

— Our right to work includes the right of proper preparation for work. Education must be available to everyone without discrimination, poor as well as rich, Negroes as well as white, through free scholarships and government aid to needy students. Our educational system should provide for vocational training at adequate wages, under trade union supervision.

— We declare that the workers of hand and brain, the producers of our wealth, the builders of our country are the decisive force with which all true friends of peace, freedom and progress must ally themselves. We recognize that we young people do not constitute a separate social group, but that our problems and aspirations are intimately bound up with those of all the people. We extend our hand in fraternal brotherhood to the youth of other lands who also strive for peace, freedom and progress.

— We look at this country of I ours. We love it dearly; we are its flesh and marrow. We have roamed its roads; we have camped in its mountains and forests; we have smelled its rich earth; we have tended its fields and dug its earthly treasures. We have toiled in it. Because we know it so well, we know that it could be a haven of peace, security and abundance for all.

Therefore, we the young people of America, reaffirm our right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. With confidence we look forward to a better life, a larger liberty and freedom. To those ends we dedicate our lives, our intelligence and our unified strength.