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## Sept. 11, 2001: The War on Terror

Sept. 11, 2001, marked a turning point in American foreign and domestic policy. A month after the terrorist attacks, Congress passed the **USA PATRIOT Act** (<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/terrorism/homeland/patriotact.html>) without fully debating its deep impact on civil liberties, particularly on those of ethnic and religious minorities.

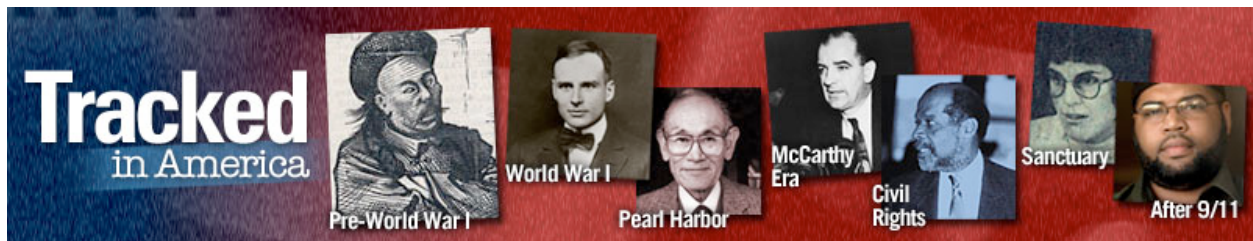
Rallying the nation to fight a “war on terrorism” focused attention on Arab and Muslim immigrants and citizens, as well as others who criticized U.S. foreign policy. Public support for surveillance, intimidation, and targeted prosecution has resulted in a psychological corralling of American Muslims and peace activists.

In a move reminiscent of World War I surveillance, the Department of Justice unveiled a plan for the Terrorist Information and Prevention System (**TIPS**) (<http://web.archive.org/web/20020604015434/www.citizencorps.gov/tips.html>). The government also disclosed the development of the second-generation Computer Assisted Passenger Pre-Screening Program (**CAPPS-II**) (<http://www.wired.com/news/business/0,1367,58191,00.html>). Both of these programs were terminated after protests from a coalition of civil libertarians.

Overt and covert policies, including the **Special Registration** (<http://www.aila.org/issues/issue.aspx?docid=12628>) requirement, the “**No-Fly List**,” ([http://www.epic.org/privacy/airtravel/foia/watchlist\\_foia\\_analysis.html](http://www.epic.org/privacy/airtravel/foia/watchlist_foia_analysis.html)) aggressive deportations, crackdowns at borders, and surveillance of mosques and homes, echo the repressive government measures of the past. Destroyed livelihoods, splintered families, and the loss of a sense of belonging and citizenship are some of the consequences people face as a result of these actions.

The post-9/11 period has seen a dramatic expansion of government surveillance. Law enforcement has received extensive funding for this purpose. With little regulation and poor understanding of constitutional protections, the authorities have overstepped their bounds, especially in monitoring political activity. Many groups and individuals have found out that they have been spied upon; these include peace activists, demonstrators at anti-war rallies, animal-rights groups, student organizations, critics of U.S. policy toward Cuba, and opponents of the World Trade Organization. Federal agencies involved in unlawful surveillance include the **Pentagon** (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/10454316/>) and the National Security Agency (**NSA**) (<http://www.mindfully.org/Reform/2005/Bush-NSA-Spy16dec05.htm>). Some local and state police anti-terrorism task forces have returned to the days of the infamous police “**Red Squads**” ([http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m1132/is\\_n6\\_v43/ai\\_11559671](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1132/is_n6_v43/ai_11559671)), **spying** (<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060508/8homeland.htm>), infiltrating, and intimidating political organizations.

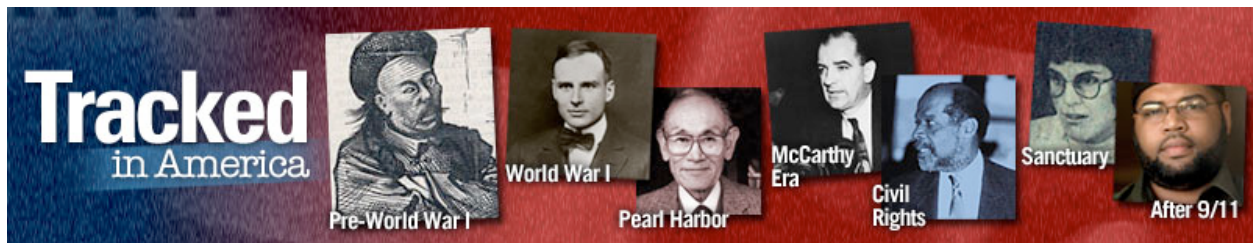
Government agencies and their private contractors have covertly received **private customer data** (<http://www.aclu.org/safefree/resources/18512res20040809.html>) from airlines, telephone carriers, credit card firms, and Internet service providers. Congress has begun investigating potential abuses and threats to civil liberties.



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#### **TIMELINE:**

- 2001: Terrorists crash two airplanes into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon in suburban Washington, D.C., on Sept. 11. One plane, said to be headed to the White House or the Capitol building, is deflected by passengers and crashes in a field in Shanksville, Pa. Nearly 3,000 people die in that day's attacks.
- 2001: The United States invades Afghanistan in response to the Sept. 11 attacks, beginning the war on terrorism. Congress passes the USA PATRIOT Act.
- 2002: The National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (also known as Special Registration or NSEERS) is initiated, requiring males over the age of 16 from 25 designated countries – 24 of which are predominantly Muslim – to register with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which houses the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. While NSEERS has technically been ended, DHS retains the right to recall any individual who registered with NSEERS at any time for further investigation.
- 2003: U.S. and coalition forces invade Iraq in March.
- 2005: The media report that in October 2001, the Bush administration authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to intercept electronic communications without complying with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). The media also report that phone companies have been handing over private customer calling records to the NSA. In December, the existence of a secret Pentagon program called Threat and Local Observation Notice (TALON) is revealed. TALON databases collect information on anti-war protests and rallies, particularly actions targeting military recruitment.
- 2006: The USA PATRIOT Act is renewed.



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## **SANCTUARY**

### **Central America to Terrorism**

In 1982, the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Ariz., began sheltering refugees who had become victims of violent struggles between guerillas and the U.S.-backed governments of Guatemala and El Salvador. The refugees were considered illegal immigrants and deported home, where they faced persecution.

**The Sanctuary Movement** (<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=384>) grew out of the American public's increasing anger over U.S. support for the fighting. After President Reagan relaxed limits on **FBI surveillance** in 1983 (<http://www.epic.org/privacy/fbi>), the U.S. government set up Operation Sojourner to infiltrate the Sanctuary Movement. In January 1985, 16 people were indicted on 71 counts of conspiracy and transporting and harboring fugitives. The Sanctuary workers appealed, and the government eventually agreed to grant temporary protection to refugees already in the United States. The government's interest in conducting surveillance and collecting intelligence data expanded to include groups working on Central American issues.

This ushered in a new concern: terrorism. The **2001 USA PATRIOT Act** ([http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth\\_coverage/terrorism/homeland/patriotact.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/terrorism/homeland/patriotact.html)) was essentially a resubmission of the provisions rejected by Congress when enacting the **Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996** ([http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/statutes/s735\\_104.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/statutes/s735_104.htm)). This Act was passed largely in response to the **1993 World Trade Center bombing** ([http://web.archive.org/web/20011108000000/www.interpol.int/Public/Publications/ICPR/ICPR469\\_3.asp](http://web.archive.org/web/20011108000000/www.interpol.int/Public/Publications/ICPR/ICPR469_3.asp)) and the **1995 terrorist bombing** (<http://www.oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/hist.htm>) in Oklahoma City. The 1998 **embassy bombings** ([http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/embassy\\_bombing/](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/embassy_bombing/)) in Kenya and Tanzania prompted President Clinton to pledge a war on international terrorism.



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**TIMELINE:**

- 1981-2: The American public becomes aware of U.S. support for the military governments in El Salvador and Guatemala through a congressional lawsuit against the Reagan administration for violating the War Powers Resolution.
- 1982: The Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Ariz., begins offering sanctuary to Central American refugees.
- 1983: President Reagan's attorney general, William French Smith, lifts restrictions (imposed by Attorney General Edward Levi in 1976) on the FBI's domestic surveillance activities.
- 1985: Based on information from informants and surveillance, 16 Sanctuary workers are indicted, and several convicted, for "transporting and harboring fugitives."
- 1989: After the Sanctuary defendants appeal, the government negotiates a settlement that allows a limited number of refugees to remain in the United States legally.
- 1996: The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 is passed following the Oklahoma City bombing. Many proposed clauses that were left out are incorporated into the 2001 USA PATRIOT Act.
- 1998: U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania are bombed in simultaneous attacks, killing over 200 people. President Clinton pledges a war on international terrorism.





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## **Civil Rights Movement and Vietnam Unlawful Surveillance, Intimidation, and Harassment**

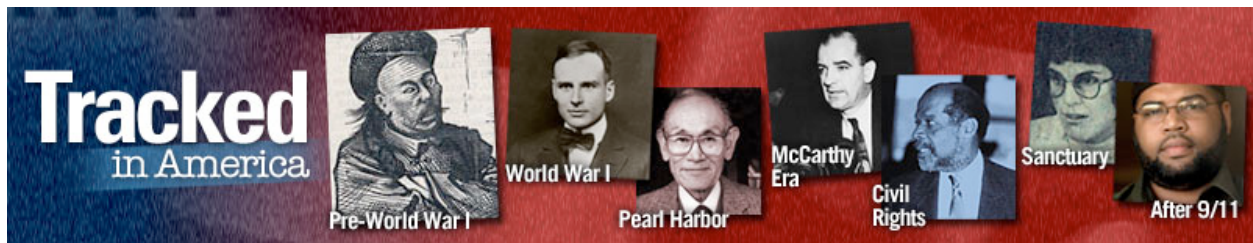
The **civil rights movement** (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/exhibit/aopart9.html>) of the late 1950s and early '60s was, in many ways, a triumph of American justice and democracy. Its accomplishments came despite aggressive attempts by the FBI and other agencies to derail it using surveillance, blatant intimidation, and outright obstruction.

**J. Edgar Hoover** (<http://www.fbi.gov/libref/directors/hover.htm>), director of the FBI for almost 50 years, was given free reign to pursue civil rights activists based on his suspicion that communists were infiltrating civil rights organizations to overthrow the government. Hoover sent informants to church meetings, intercepted mail and phone calls, engineered break-ins, and planted news stories to defame civil rights leaders. COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Programs) was also instituted against the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, white supremacists, black nationalists, and the New Left. Although the civil rights movement ultimately succeeded, many lives were harmed in the process.

Many young people who began their political activism during this time transferred their commitment to social justice to other causes, including **protests against the Vietnam War** (<http://www.bartleby.com/65/an/antiViet.html>) in the late 1960s and '70s. The government's suppression of anti-war protestors and civil rights activists was framed as a fight against the spread of communism, so those who opposed the Vietnam war were often accused of sympathizing with the enemy.

In addition to **surveillance** (<http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/contents.htm>) by the FBI and local authorities, the U.S. Army also began secretly and illegally monitoring protests and anti-war groups. The Army's activities were stopped in 1971, after being exposed by a Senate subcommittee chaired by **Sam Ervin** Jr. (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/watergate/stories/ervinobit.htm>), a conservative Democrat from North Carolina.

Both the Johnson and Nixon administrations developed other secret programs, most notably Operation **CHAOS and Project MINARET** (<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,913671,00.html>). Their main purpose was to link the civil rights movement and anti-war protests to international communism. After 1975, legislation was introduced to curb the unlawful surveillance of American citizens by U.S. intelligence agencies. The sole outcome was the establishment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (**FISA**) **court** ([http://www.eff.org/Censorship/Terrorism\\_militias/fisa\\_faq.html](http://www.eff.org/Censorship/Terrorism_militias/fisa_faq.html)) in 1978, which gave the judiciary the power to oversee claimed "foreign intelligence" activities. However, in subsequent years, the Reagan administration weakened FISA. After 9/11, the Bush administration circumvented it.



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## **TIMELINE:**

- 1955: Emmett Till, a 14-year-old African-American, is murdered in Money, Miss., bringing national attention to the way blacks are treated in the South.
- 1955: Rosa Parks inspires the Montgomery bus boycott, officially beginning the modern civil rights movement. The American Communist Party's advocacy of full equality for African-Americans makes civil rights activists a target of FBI anti-communist investigations.
- 1963: President Kennedy is assassinated and the newly sworn-in president, former Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, affirms that the United States intends to end racial discrimination and continue supporting South Vietnam.
- 1965: A draft card is burned publicly for the first time in the United States, inspiring meetings around the country where large groups of young men burn their draft cards.
- 1969: Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton is killed in a raid by Chicago police. In 1976, as a result of the Church Committee hearings, Americans learn that Hampton's bodyguard was an FBI agent provocateur.
- 1969: Hundreds of thousands of people in the United States and elsewhere take part in the International Moratorium, a mass demonstration against the Vietnam War.
- 1970: The Ohio National Guard opens fire on Kent State University students protesting the Vietnam War, killing four students and wounding nine others. College campuses across the United States erupt in protest, leading to early termination of the school semester.
- 1975-76: The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee) reports to Congress that "domestic intelligence activity has threatened and undermined the constitutional rights of Americans to free speech, association and privacy. It has done so primarily because the constitutional system for checking abuse of power has not been applied."
- 1978: Congress passes the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA).



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## The McCarthy Era Era of Political Conformity and Loyalty

As World War II ended, Americans' fear of Germans and Japanese was transferred onto the **communist** (<http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/mccarthy/schrecker2.htm>) Soviet Union. Though the Soviets had been their allies during the war, Americans began to see them as a threat. The Soviets had a nuclear bomb and were aggressively expanding their influence into Europe and Africa. China was soon taken over by communists.

The American Communist Party, other left-wing organizations, and minority groups - including African-Americans, Native Americans, and various immigrant groups - became targets of suspicion, surveillance, and infiltration. **Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's** trial and execution (<http://www.ccnycunyu.edu/library/Divisions/Government/rosenbergs.html>) for conspiring to steal secrets of the atomic bomb convinced many Americans that communist spies were among them. Propaganda films such as "Red Nightmare" and "**Duck and Cover**" (<http://www.archive.org/details/DuckandC1951>) further fueled this anxiety. The **Truman Doctrine** (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/trudoc.htm>) of 1947 expanded the battle, authorizing financial support for foreign governments fighting communism.

Domestically, the House Un-American Activities Committee (**HUAC**) (<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAhuac.htm>) was charged with uncovering and identifying "anti-American" or "pro-communist" activities. A federal employee **loyalty program** (<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=853>) was instituted in 1947 to preclude the employment of "disloyal Americans." Local governments, public institutions, and private companies, as well as **universities** ([http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives\\_exhibits/loyaltyoath/oaths.html](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives_exhibits/loyaltyoath/oaths.html)) and labor unions, quickly fell in line by instituting their own loyalty programs and dismissing employees suspected of having ties to communism.

The FBI played a crucial part by conducting surveillance, pressuring employers to hire or fire particular individuals, and by feeding information to the media to influence public opinion. J. Edgar Hoover created **COINTELPRO** (<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/cointel.htm>), a program designed to neutralize political dissidents by sowing seeds of dissension within organizations and leaking derogatory information to the media and law enforcement. The FBI also disseminated damaging information on individuals to members of Congress to influence public opinion about the communist threat.

Sen. **Joseph McCarthy's** (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/kbank/profiles/mccarthy/>) anti-communist crusade, dating from 1950 and heightened during his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, rose to legendary ferocity. Although **Congress censured** ([http://www.senate.gov/reference/reference\\_index\\_subjects/Investigations\\_vrd.htm](http://www.senate.gov/reference/reference_index_subjects/Investigations_vrd.htm)) the Wisconsin Republican in 1954, the legacy of fear and suspicion McCarthy helped create lived on through the 1970's, as evidenced by FBI surveillance of the civil rights movement and Vietnam era anti-war demonstrations.



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## TIMELINE

- 1945: The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) is created, succeeding the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, which had existed since 1938.
- 1946: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover authorizes a secret “education campaign” to “influence public opinion” about the “seriousness of the Communist threat and their liberal elements.” The FBI leaks derogatory information to the media and Congress.
- 1947: Hoover covertly assists HUAC’s efforts to publicize communist influence in Hollywood. Truman issues Executive Order 9835, initiating a program to search out any “infiltration of disloyal persons” in the U.S. government.
- 1949: Soviet Union tests an atomic bomb. Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung formally declares China a communist republic.
- 1950: Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.) makes a speech in Wheeling, W.Va., falsely claiming that the State Department employs 205 known communists. Also that year, the Korean War begins.
- 1950: Congress passes the Internal Security Act (the McCarran Act), requiring communists and members of various other political organizations to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board and authorizing the detention of suspected subversives. Truman vetoes the bill, calling it the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press, and assembly since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. Congress overrides the veto by large margins.
- 1951: The California Senate Subcommittee on Un-American Activities accuses University of California officials of aiding subversive campus groups.
- 1953: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted under the Espionage Act, are executed.
- 1954: The Senate issues a condemnation of McCarthy for two counts of conduct unbecoming a U.S. senator.
- 1956: Hoover authorizes COINTELPRO, a program designed to neutralize political dissidents.





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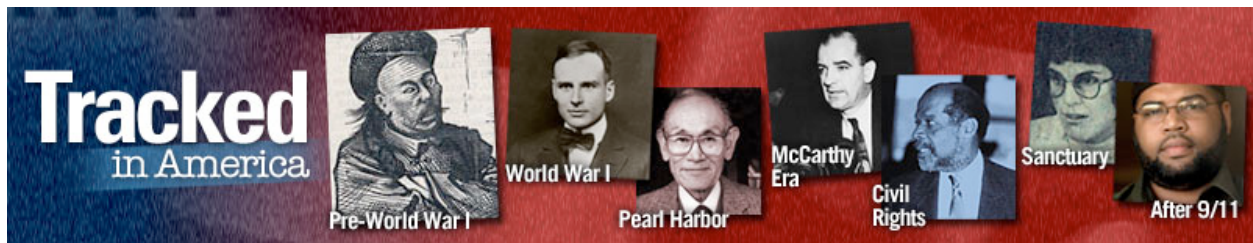
## **Pearl Harbor: The Internment of Japanese-Americans**

During World War II, American enthusiasm for fighting the overseas enemy surged, but so did fear of an “enemy within.” After the December 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor, the United States declared war on Japan and joined the Allied forces in World War II. Rumors of sabotage and espionage by Japanese-Americans ran rampant. These raged despite an **FBI investigation** ([http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/anthropology74/ce3a.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3a.htm)) that showed the fears to be groundless.

In February 1942, President Roosevelt signed **Executive Order 9066** (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5154>), setting into motion the evacuation and **internment** (<http://www.asianamericanmedia.org/jainternment/>) of all Americans of Japanese extraction and Japanese resident aliens on the West Coast. Fueled by lingering anti-German sentiments from World War I and by Germany’s and Italy’s wartime alliance with Japan, the executive order also authorized a smaller internment program for German and **Italian nationals** (<http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/wviaccla.htm>) in this country. Thousands of **Latin American** residents (<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/WW/quwby.html>) of Japanese and German descent were forcibly sent to internment camps in the United States.

Only in the late 1980s, due to the tireless efforts of survivors and their descendents, did Japanese-Americans win token acknowledgement of the wrong done to them. But no amount of **monetary compensation** (<http://www.asianamericanmedia.org/jainternment/postwar/redress.html>) could equal the extent of their losses – of livelihoods and homes – and the psychological scars handed down from one wartime generation to the next.

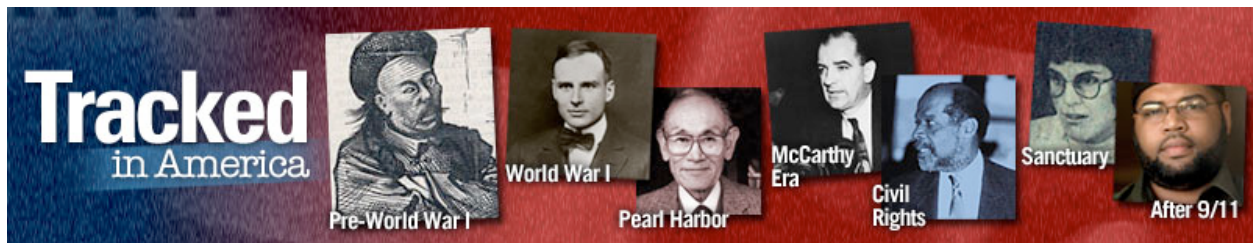
Japanese-Americans were among the first to **recognize the parallels** ([http://www.ncrr-la.org/news/9\\_7\\_02/8.html](http://www.ncrr-la.org/news/9_7_02/8.html)) between targeting Japanese-Americans in 1942 and rounding up American Muslims soon after Sept. 11, 2001.



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**TIMELINE:**

- 1941: Japan bombs the U.S. Navy base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The United States declares war on Japan the next day. Germany and Italy declare war on the United States soon thereafter.
- 1942: President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, which authorizes the internment of 110,000 U.S. residents of Japanese descent and 2,264 more who are sent from Latin America to the United States for internment.
- 1944: Roosevelt allows the Japanese and German internees to return home.
- 1945: Japan surrenders; World War II ends.
- 1952: Congress passes the Immigration and Nationality Act (the McCarran-Walter Act) to deny visas to those with fascist and communist ties. Previous racial restrictions are abolished, but a quota system restricts the number of immigrants from designated countries.
- 1988: Congress passes the Civil Liberties Act, providing compensation to surviving Japanese-American internees, and apologizes on behalf of the nation.
- 2000: Congress passes the Wartime Violation of Italian-American Civil Liberties Act, which acknowledges the persecution of Italian-Americans during World War II.



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## World War I Targeting Anti-War Dissent and German Americans

The outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 focused the simmering anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States on **German immigrants** (<http://www.seditionproject.net>). Germans and other recent immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Balkans became the main targets of suspicion. This fear of “aliens” spilled over to socialists, anarchists, immigrants in general, African-Americans and labor unions.

**President Wilson** ([http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp\\_wilson.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp_wilson.html)) persuaded Congress to **declare war** ([http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp\\_war.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp_war.html)) on Germany, but the American public was wary of the financial and military cost. Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (**CPI**) (<http://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/063.html>) to generate public support for increased federal spending and sending Americans to fight overseas. Some of CPI’s tactics amounted to outright harassment and persecution of dissenters.

Simultaneously, the FBI developed a liaison with the conservative businessmen’s organization, the American Protective League (**APL**) (<http://hnn.us/articles/960.html>), to monitor dissent throughout the United States. Soon after the beginning of World War I, Congress passed the Espionage Act in 1917 and the **Sedition Act in 1918** (<http://www.law.uchicago.edu/news/stone-civilliberties.html>) to stifle dissent and anti-war protests from both citizens and non-citizens. **Eugene V. Debs** (<http://www.eugenevdebs.com/index.html>), a prominent labor organizer and the Socialist Party presidential candidate, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for delivering an anti-war speech in June 1918.

The FBI’s practice of allying with citizen groups that could operate outside official sanction survived the official disbanding of the APL after the war. The tactic resurfaced during World War II, when the FBI allied itself with the American Legion. Between the wars, the FBI continued to investigate so-called subversive elements in the United States. This era, known as the first Red Scare, was highlighted by the **Palmer Raids** (<http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/hist409/red.html>) of 1919-20 and the creation of a special congressional committee (**Dies Committee**) (<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,772232,00.html>) in 1938 to track “subversive” groups. The Dies Committee was reestablished in 1945 as the **House Un-American Activities Committee** (<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAhuac.htm>) which was charged with investigating “foreign infiltration” in the United States.



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#### **TIMELINE:**

- 1914: War breaks out in Europe between Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Germany, Russia, France, Belgium, and Great Britain.
- 1917: United States declares war on Germany on April 6 and enters World War I.
- 1917-8: President Wilson endorses the Espionage and Sedition acts, making it a crime to “utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the United States’ form of government.” More than 4,000 people are arrested.
- 1917: The Committee on Public Information (CPI) is set up to sway Americans toward supporting the U.S. war effort. The CPI is abolished in 1919.
- 1918: Eugene Debs, the Socialist Party presidential candidate, is convicted of violating the Sedition Act.
- 1918: World War I ends with the signing of the November 11 armistice.
- 1938: Congress forms a special House committee to investigate “subversive activities,” focusing on labor unions, federal employees, and youth organizations.
- 1940 Congress passes the Alien Registration Act (or Smith Act), making it illegal to advocate, aid, or teach the desirability of overthrowing government by force.





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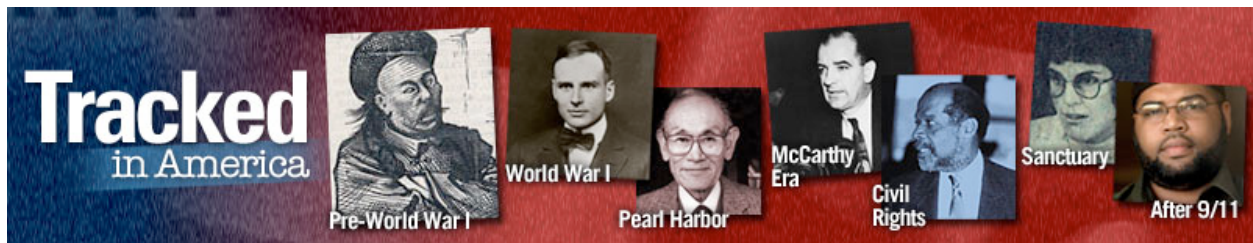
## **Pre-World War I Surveillance of Unions, Radicals, and Immigrants**

The United States is often called a nation of **immigrants**, ([http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761566973/Immigration.html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761566973/Immigration.html)) but limitations on entry and eligibility for citizenship have occurred throughout the nation's history. Until the early 1950s, these limitations were often determined by race, ethnicity, and politics. Legislation established the government's power to deport or detain those already in the United States simply for their political beliefs.

The 1798 **Alien and Sedition Acts** (<http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Alien.html>) authorized the president to detain **aliens** (<http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9355004/alien>) during peacetime and allowed for the wartime arrest, detention, and deportation of dissenters. In the mid-1800s, waves of Chinese immigrants were welcomed as a source of cheap labor. However, as their numbers grew and they began to compete with Americans for jobs and businesses, they became targets of restrictive policies such as the **Chinese Exclusion Act** of 1882 (<http://memory.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/chinese6.html>).

The next wave of newcomers, from **Eastern** (<http://memory.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/polish.html>) and **Southern Europe** (<http://memory.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/italian8.html>), encountered similar prejudices and restrictive policies. The **Haymarket Riot** (<http://www.chipublib.org/004chicago/timeline/haymarket.html>) in Chicago highlighted the tensions between industrialists and the immigrant working class.

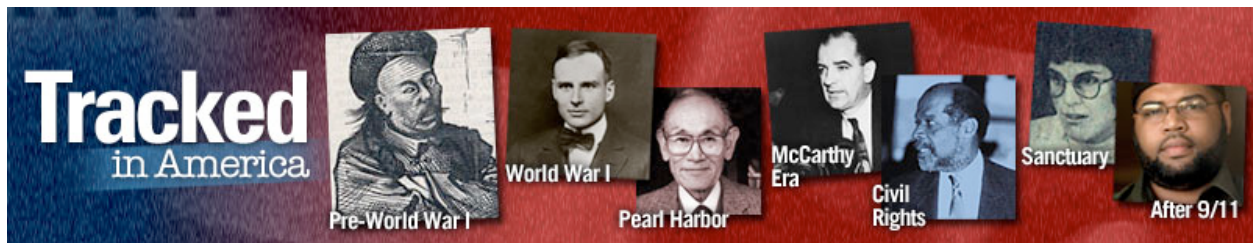
Politicians and interest groups exploited this anti-immigrant prejudice to gain political power. Conservatives began calling for the exclusion and deportation of foreign radicals, citing threats posed by anarchists, revolutionaries, and the Russian communist revolutions of the early 1900s.



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## **TIMELINE:**

- 1798: Under the threat of war with France, Congress passes the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Sedition law expires in 1801.
- 1882: The Chinese Exclusion Act suspends Chinese immigration for 10 years and bars all Chinese already in the United States from obtaining citizenship.
- 1886: A peaceful workers' protest in Chicago's Haymarket turns violent when a bomb explodes, killing eight policemen. Police open fire, killing 11 protesters. Foreign-born anarchists are blamed based on questionable evidence.
- 1892: Before immigrants are allowed to enter the United States, they're subjected to mandatory screening at Ellis Island on the East Coast and Angel Island on the West Coast.
- 1907-08: Gentleman's agreement between Japan and the United States limits Japanese immigration while allowing family members to join Japanese who are already U.S. residents.
- 1913: The Alien Land Law, passed by the State of California, effectively prohibits Asian immigrants from owning land even if they had purchased it before the law took effect.
- 1910: The Dillingham Report, based on bogus social science, documents the "inferiority" of new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and recommends a literacy test to restrict their entry.
- 1917: Congress enacts laws allowing deportation of anarchists and revolutionaries and requiring a literacy test for entry into the United States.



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## HISTORIANS:

**Adam Green** is assistant professor of history and American studies and director of graduate studies at New York University. His interests include urban studies, critical race theory, comparative racial politics, cultural economy and transnational studies. His books include "Time Longer than Rope: Studies in African American Activism, 1850-1950" (co-editor with Charles Payne, 2003) and the forthcoming "Selling the Race: Culture and Community in Black Chicago, 1940-1955."

Website: <http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/program/amerstu/green.htm>

**Gary Y. Okihiro** is director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race and professor of international and public affairs at Columbia University. He has written nine books, including "The Columbia Guide to Asian American History" (2001), "Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II" (1999), "Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II" (1996), and "Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture" (1994). He received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Studies Association and was president of the Association for Asian American Studies.

Website: <http://www.garyokihiro.com/index.html>

**Christopher H. Pyle** is professor of politics at Mount Holyoke College and an activist whose interests include history, law and politics, with an emphasis on civil liberties. He is the author of "The President, Congress, and the Constitution" (with Richard Pious, 1984), "Military Surveillance of Civilian Politics" (1986), and "Extradition, Politics, and Human Rights" (2001). He served on the staff of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, also known as the Church Commission.

Website: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/misc/profile/names/cpyle.shtml>

**Ellen Schrecker** is professor of American history at Yeshiva University and the author of "No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities" (1986), "The Age of McCarthyism: A Short History with Documents" (1994) and "Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America" (1998), as well as many popular and scholarly articles about the McCarthy period.

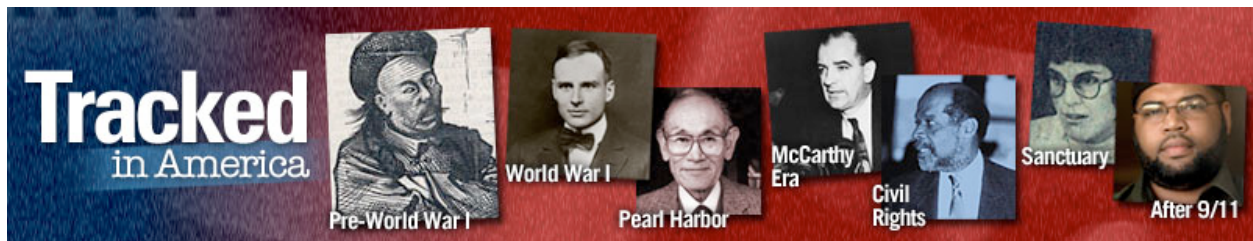
Website: <http://www.umich.edu/~aff/Schrecker.html>

**Geoffrey R. Stone** is the Harry Kalven, Jr. Distinguished Service Professor of Law at the University of Chicago Law School. He is the author of "Eternally Vigilant: Free Speech in the Modern Era" (2001) and "Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism" (2004), as well as many other books.

Website: <http://www.law.uchicago.edu/faculty/stone-g>

**Athan Theoharis** is professor of history at Marquette University and specializes in federal surveillance policy, especially the history of the FBI after 1932. He has written extensively on civil liberties, federal surveillance policy, and authority and secrecy in government. He is the author of several books, including "Chasing Spies" (2002) and "The FBI and American Democracy: A Brief Critical History" (2004).

Website: <http://www.marquette.edu/history/faculty/theoharis.shtml>



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## INTERVIEWEES:

### POST 9/11 Time Period

#### **Roxanne Attie** **The Day I Died!**

**Roxanne Attie** married Ricardo Attie in 1998 in New Jersey, where he and his son Elias had fled from their native Lebanon. In 2002, while complying with the government's Special Registration program, Ricardo and Elias Attie were arrested. After remaining jailed for a year without being charged, they voluntarily returned to Lebanon. In 2006, they were granted U.S. residency and the family was reunited. Four years of separation and uncertainty, however has permanently damaged Roxanne Attie's health and destroyed the family's faith in the U.S. government.

#### DISCOVER

Information on the impact of special registration

<http://www.aclunc.org/aclunews/news0402/specialreg.html>

#### **Leslie Salgado** **Surviving Political Surveillance**

**Leslie Salgado** immigrated to the United States from Latin America as a teenager and became involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement while in college. After graduation, she traveled to Ecuador and the former Soviet Bloc countries in Eastern Europe, only to discover that her peaceful visits had marked her as a potential terrorist. Twenty-five years later, her criticism of U.S. policy toward Cuba brought new attention – an intimidating visit from FBI agents in 2005.

#### DISCOVER

The School of Americas and FBI surveillance of protests

<http://www.soaw.org/new/article.php?id=100>

#### **Ruth Obel-Jorgensen** **Veganism = Terrorism**

**Ruth Obel-Jorgensen** was about to graduate from California State University-Fresno when she became embroiled in a battle between students and administrators at the institution. An event she organized, involving an expert on veganism, attracted undercover officers from the university police department and the local sheriff's office. That sparked a student campaign to end surveillance of their activities and ensure free speech on campus.

#### DISCOVER:

[http://www.aclunc.org/surveillance\\_report/SurveillanceReportStatement\\_Jorgenson.pdf](http://www.aclunc.org/surveillance_report/SurveillanceReportStatement_Jorgenson.pdf)





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**Eric Shaw**  
**A Gulf War Veteran for Peace**

**Eric Shaw** grew up believing in the American principles of freedom and civil liberties for all and joined the U. S. Marines to foster those ideals at home and abroad. After he returned to civilian life years later, he lost respect for the U.S. government during the buildup to the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq. When he organized anti-war demonstrations, Shaw found the surveillance intimidating. He was stunned when riot police shot at him and other peaceful protesters in Oakland, Calif. but Shaw refuses to be silenced.

DISCOVER

Oakland Port Police Firing News Report <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0407-07.htm>

**Samina Sundas**  
**Targeting American Muslims**

**Samina Sundas** helped her fellow Muslims and Pakistani-Americans integrate into mainstream American society, and her role intensified after 9/11. When the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS, also known as the Special Registration program) was instituted in September 2002, Muslims all over the United States contacted her confused and worried about how it would affect them. She couldn't get clear answers from federal immigration officials despite several meetings. After that, she set up an ad hoc hotline that has since become part of an organization called American Muslim Voice.

DISCOVER

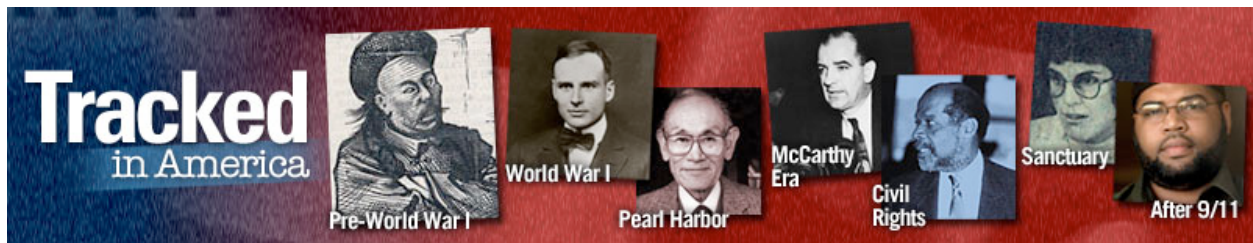
<http://www.aila.org/issues/issue.aspx?docid=12628>

**Peter Ackerman**  
**The Undercover Policeman**

**Peter Ackerman**, a Quaker, has been peacefully protesting since the Vietnam War. He accepted government surveillance as a necessary evil. Not anymore. After observing the Bush administration's post-9/11 surveillance program, Ackerman is convinced that his constitutional rights are in jeopardy.

DISCOVER

Quaker's Peace Testimony [http://www.quakerinfo.com/quak\\_pce.shtml](http://www.quakerinfo.com/quak_pce.shtml)



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## **George Main** **Shadowed by the Pentagon**

**George Main**, president of the Sacramento Chapter of Veterans for Peace, served in the military as a Russian linguist in the 1970s. He saw how government surveillance could stray outside legal bounds. In 2004, his name showed up on a federal surveillance database in connection with a protest at a military recruitment center. Now he feels the Bush administration is violating every right and privilege he fought for during his military service.

DISCOVER:  
Information Paper on the Department of Defense's TALON  
<http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/TALON.pdf>

## **Bridget Colvin** **Peace Center on International Terrorism Watch?**

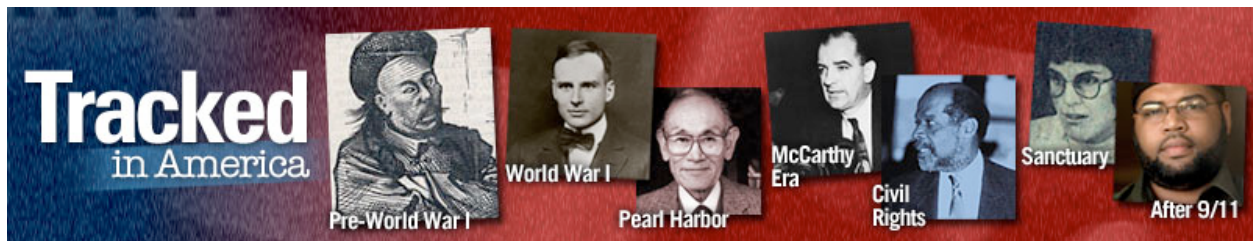
**Bridget Colvin** first exercised her free-speech rights by doing anti-war and counter-recruiting work with the Pittsburgh Organizing Group. That was also her first experience as a target of government surveillance. At an anti-war protest organized by the Thomas Merton Center, Colvin noticed authorities conducting brazen surveillance. She didn't find out the full extent of it until the Merton Center obtained its dossier from the FBI through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request.

DISCOVER  
FBI - Joint Terrorism Task Force Spying  
<http://www.aclu.org/safefree/spyfiles/24011res20060131.html>  
The Thomas Merton Center <http://www.thomasmertoncenter.org/>

## **Edith Bell** **I Am Not Afraid of the FBI**

**Edith Bell** was born in Hamburg, Germany, and fled with her parents to the Netherlands at age 13 to escape the Nazi regime. As a Holocaust survivor, she has seen how seemingly benign government policies can become tools of horrific repression. A lifelong peace activist, Bell helped start a chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in West Virginia. After 9/11, she felt she had to speak against the rise of civil-rights violations. She refuses to be intimidated by FBI surveillance and continues to make the case that the United States must live up to its ideals.

DISCOVER  
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom <http://www.wilpf.org/>



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**George Christian**  
**Gagged by a National Security Letter**

**As the executive director of Library Connection, Inc., John Doe (aka George Christian)** works to make information accessible and champions the open discussion of issues and ideas, believing those to be constitutionally protected freedoms. His beliefs are being tested. Recently he received a national security letter (NSL) seeking sensitive information about a library patron. He's challenging the constitutionality of the NSL, which includes a gag order preventing him from telling anyone about the letter or his legal battle.

DISCOVER

National Security Letter (NSL) and the Patriot Act

<http://www.aclu.org/safefree/nationalsecurityletters/index.html>

Scope of the NSL

[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/fedagencies/july-dec05/act\\_11-7.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/fedagencies/july-dec05/act_11-7.html)

**Konstanty Hordynski**  
**Targeting a Student's Right to Free Speech**

**Konstanty Hordynski's** parents immigrated to the United States from communist Poland. Their stories of life in a repressive regime inspired him to help organize Students Against War (SAW) at the University of California-Santa Cruz. He believes that a basic element of national security is having thinking, conscientious and engaged citizens. Hordynski was taken aback by what he found through a Freedom of Information Act request: the FBI had monitored Internet newsgroup messages about a 2005 SAW protest against military recruitment. He questions how the federal government could ignore the values of freedom, dissent and public debate on which this country was founded.

DISCOVER

Pentagon Surveillance of Students against War

<http://www.aclu.org/safefree/spying/24416prs20060307.html>



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## SANCTUARY

### **Reverend John Fife** **A Call for Sanctuary**

**Reverend John Fife** is one of many Americans outraged at U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America during the 1980s. The government welcomed refugees from Eastern Europe but rejected as illegal aliens those fleeing the death squads of El Salvador and Guatemala. Fife, the pastor of an Arizona Presbyterian church, put his sermons into practice: He and his congregation joined a network of churches and people who provided safe haven to Latin American refugees. Though he knew the U.S. government wanted to end the practice, Fife didn't expect government agents to go so far as to infiltrate his church to gather evidence on Americans working on the cause.

#### DISCOVER

Central America and U.S. Asylum Policy

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=384>

### **Peggy Hutchison** **Spies in the Church**

**Peggy Hutchison** knew she was taking a risk by working with the Sanctuary Movement in Arizona. When she was convicted of harboring illegal immigrants, she knew what she was going through was insignificant compared to the persecution and torture endured by refugees fleeing death squads in Guatemala and El Salvador. Her respect for the U. S. government was forever tarnished when she learned government agents had infiltrated her congregation and church to spy and tape their meetings.

#### DISCOVER

CNN's coverage of Superpower rivalry in Central America

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/18/>





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## CIVIL RIGHTS AND VIETNAM

### Eleanor Holmes Norton Mississippi Surveillance

**U.S. Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.)** was in college when the Montgomery bus boycott propelled the civil rights movement onto the national stage. Having grown up in segregated Washington, D.C., Norton wanted to further the cause of racial equality. She organized sit-ins in Ohio and Maryland and traveled to Mississippi with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The intensity of violence and repression Norton saw in the South inspired her lifelong commitment to social activism, culminating in her 1990 election as a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives.

#### DISCOVER

Fannie Lou Hamer <http://www.ibiblio.org/sncc/hamer.html>

James Farmer Jr. <http://www.umw.edu/cas/jfscholars/who/default.php>

Medger Evers <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1294360>

Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton <http://www.norton.house.gov/>

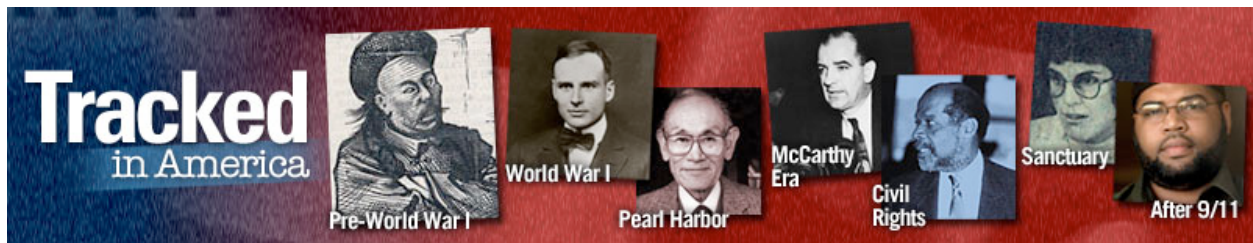
### Abdeen Jabara Targeting Palestinian Activists

**Abdeen Jabara** has been publicizing the Palestinian-Arab side of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since the 1960s, when he was a young attorney in Detroit. In the early 1970s, he discovered that he'd been the target of an intensive FBI investigation under President Nixon's secretive Operation Boulder. This anti-terrorism program was created after the militant Palestinian group Black September killed 11 Israeli athletes during the 1972 Munich Olympics. Jabara won a lawsuit that accused the U.S. government of violating his civil liberties by tapping his telephone, intercepting his mail, and monitoring his writings and speeches.

#### DISCOVER

Middle East Conflict <http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/arabis.html>

NSA <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB23/04-01.htm>



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## **Gren Whitman** **They Were Not Going to Stop Me!**

**Gren Whitman** was brought up in small-town New England. When he was sent to the segregated South for military training in the early 1960s, he was shocked by how African Americans were treated outside the military base. He participated in civil rights actions during the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 and protested the Vietnam War in the 1970s. Whitman assumed he was under surveillance but he was shocked by the extent of it when he received his FBI files through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request years later. The government had begun watching him as early as 1965, after he returned his draft card to protest U.S. policies in the Dominican Republic.

### **DISCOVER**

Gren Whitman's account of the 1964 Mississippi Summer <http://prorev.com/MISS64.htm>

Catonsville Nine <http://c9.mdch.org/>

Vietnam War Opposition

[http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia\\_761552642\\_4/Vietnam\\_War.html#s34](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761552642_4/Vietnam_War.html#s34)

FOIA <http://www.usdoj.gov/04foia/>

## **Jack O'Dell** **Attacking the Civil Rights Movement**

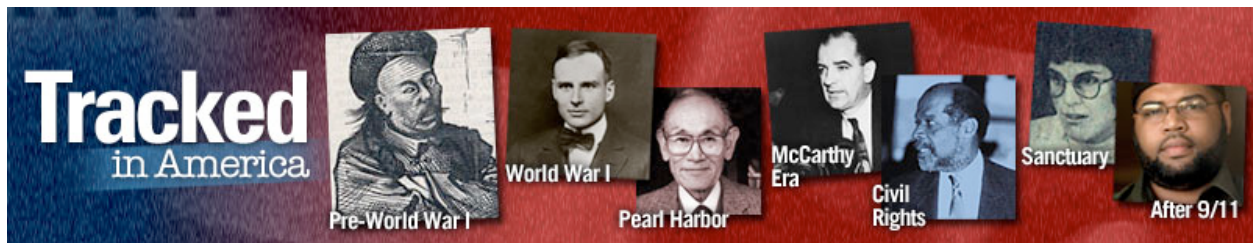
**Jack O'Dell** is one of the most important yet unsung heroes of the American social change movement. In a 50-year career, he organized labor unions, wrote the first anti-Vietnam War editorial in a black periodical, and played critical roles in numerous civil rights campaigns. He held a leadership position in Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Determined to sabotage the civil rights movement, former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover used O'Dell's Communist Party membership to force him to step down.

### **DISCOVER**

The King Center <http://www.thekingcenter.org/>

SCLC [http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/about\\_king/encyclopedia/enc\\_SCLC.htm](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/about_king/encyclopedia/enc_SCLC.htm)

Senator Eastland <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=E000018>



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## **Julian Bond**

### **Their Goal Was to Crush Dissent**

**Julian Bond** is a Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the American University in Washington, D.C., and professor of history at the University of Virginia. He first became immersed in the civil rights movement as a college student in the early 1960s in Atlanta. He led student sit-ins and helped form the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Since then, he's had a long public service career, including serving as a Georgia lawmaker and chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Bond knows he's been under government scrutiny but that has never deterred him from pursuing social justice.

#### **DISCOVER**

NAACP History <http://www.naACP.org/about/history/>

SNCC [http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/about\\_king/encyclopedia/enc\\_SNCC.htm](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/about_king/encyclopedia/enc_SNCC.htm)



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## McCARTHY ERA

### Charles Muscatine Stifling Academic Freedom

**Charles Muscatine** was a newly appointed professor in 1949 when he encouraged his students at the University of California-Berkeley to stand up for their beliefs. In the early days of the Cold War, Berkeley and many other institutions fell in line with the government and required university employees to sign loyalty oaths. Muscatine and 30 other professors who refused were fired. It took him a year to find another university job, at an institution of lesser academic repute. In 1954, the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the non-signers and rescinded the loyalty oath, but Muscatine's career was already damaged.

#### DISCOVER

Cold War [http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic\\_id=1409](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic_id=1409)

Loyalty Oath <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=853>

University of California Loyalty Oath

[http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives\\_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/index.html](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/index.html)

Red Scare at University of California <http://www.sfgate.com/campus/>

### Vincent Hallinan The Fighting Hallinans

**Conn Hallinan**, a retired journalist and anthropologist, is the fifth child of renowned San Francisco attorney Vincent Hallinan and activist and author Vivian Hallinan. Vincent Hallinan's battles with the government were legendary. A staunch supporter of labor and the left, he represented numerous controversial political figures, including union organizer Harry Bridges. Vincent Hallinan ran for president in 1952 as a Progressive Party candidate. The U.S. government harassed and intimidated Vincent and Vivian Hallinan throughout their careers. Vincent Hallinan was jailed twice and disbarred. Conn was shunned by his peers and branded a "commie." Though proud of his father, Conn and his siblings suffered because of their parents' fight for justice and civil liberties. He talks about his father and his family's experience during the McCarthy era.

#### DISCOVER

Vincent & Vivian Hallinan <http://www.uissf.org/journal/vincenthallinan.html>

Progressive Party <http://ap.grolier.com/article?assetid=0236650-0&templatename=/arti...>

Harry Bridges <http://www.ilwu19.com/history/biography.htm>





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## **Eric Hallengren Rooting Out the Communists!**

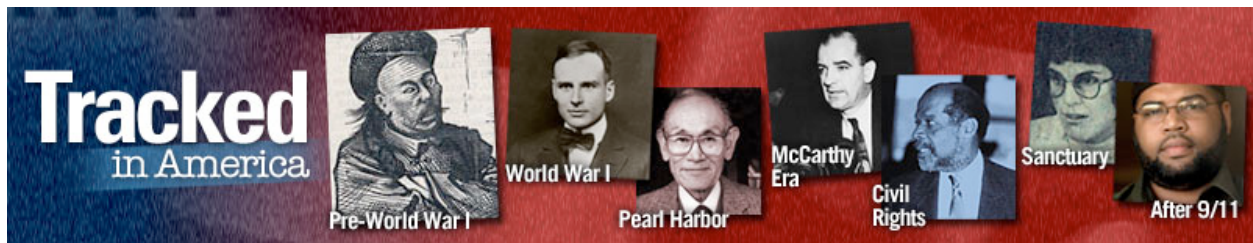
**Eric Hallengren** was a child during the Red Scare of the 1950s. He remembers his father's depression at having his reputation destroyed. Hallengren's father and mother, Fred and Kirsten Hallengren, joined the Communist Party because the members shared their belief in workers' rights and racial equality. After an FBI informant infiltrated party meetings, Fred Hallengren was called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearing in Baltimore. Fred Hallengren was fired from his airline mechanic's job after FBI agents told his employers that he "couldn't be trusted to work on airplanes that would carry U.S. citizens." The family suffered for a long period before Fred Hallengren was reinstated.

### **DISCOVER**

Communist Party [http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50/usc\\_sec\\_50\\_00000841----000-.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50/usc_sec_50_00000841----000-.html)

HUAC <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAhuac.htm>

Red Scare <http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/dl/McCarthy/Mccarthydocuments.html>



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## PEARL HARBOR

### Arturo Shibayama Hostage in America

**Arturo Shibayama** and his family were living in Lima, Peru, until 1944. Shibayama was 11 years old when he became one of the thousands of Latin Americans of Japanese origin who were removed from their homes and placed in internment camps in the United States. Shibayama's grandparents were eventually sent to Japan – a country they hadn't visited – in exchange for American prisoners of war. Though Shibayama and his parents were released in 1946, Peru barred them from returning. Decades passed before the United States agreed to grant them citizenship. Though Japanese-Americans received reparations for being interned during World War II, Shibayama is one of thousands of Japanese Latin Americans awaiting an apology or acknowledgement of wrongdoing from the U.S. government.

#### DISCOVER

WWII Internment camps

<http://www.nps.gov/manz/ccdoj.htm>

### FRED KOREMATSU I Am an American!

**Fred Korematsu** was an American citizen and the son of Japanese immigrants who lived in the San Francisco Bay Area. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt ordered Japanese-Americans from the West Coast to be put in internment camps. Korematsu refused to evacuate but was arrested, convicted, and sent to the Topaz Internment Camp in Utah. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union's Ernest Besig, Korematsu unsuccessfully sued the U.S. government for violating his constitutional rights. Years later, law professor Peter Irons discovered new evidence and Korematsu re-opened the case. Thirty-nine years after Korematsu's first arrest, a federal judge reversed Korematsu's conviction. In 1998, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Korematsu's civil liberties case bears renewed relevance today.

#### DISCOVER

Korematsu's Landmark Lawsuit

<http://www.landmarkcases.org/korematsu/background3.html>

Ernest Besig, Former Executive Director of the ACLU –Northern California

<http://www.aclunc.org/aclunews/news199/besig.html>

Peter Irons

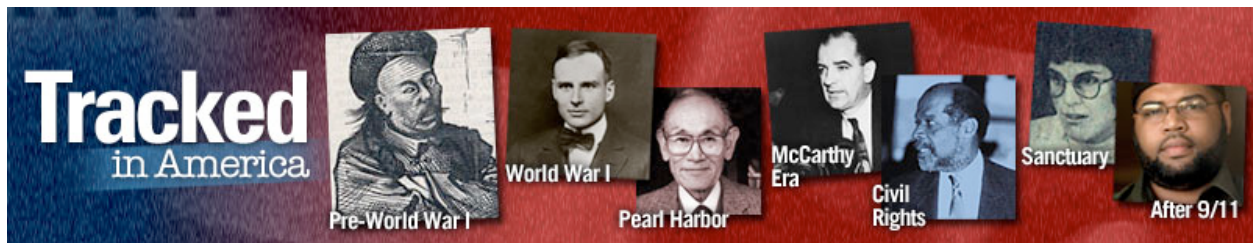
<http://polisci.ucsd.edu/faculty/irons.htm>

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Northern California

<http://www.aclunc.org/>

Pearl Harbor: Day of Infamy

<http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq66-1.htm>



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## WORLD WAR I

### Max Werkenthin

#### Targeting German Immigrants

**Max Werkenthin** was one of a number of Americans who were detained in the United States during World War I because of their German heritage. The exact number of detainees is disputed. History books gloss over their stories. It was long after Max Werkenthin's death that his family found out about that part of his life. In the mid-1970s, a researcher stumbled across a news article about Werkenthin's arrest and tracked down his family. Digging through a long-forgotten collection of papers in her basement, Werkenthin's widow found a diary that he'd kept during his internment. An actor narrates selected entries from that diary.

#### DISCOVER

History of Conscription in the United States

<http://www.teachervision.fen.com/u-s-civil-war/biography-person/5669.html>

Loyalty of German Americans [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/nfor:@field(DOCD+@range(90000011+90000012)

[bin/query/r?ammem/nfor:@field\(DOCD+@range\(90000011+90000012](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/nfor:@field(DOCD+@range(90000011+90000012)

German Immigration in America <http://memory.loc.gov/learn/features/immig/german8.html>

### Will Bergfeld

#### Anti-War is Not Unpatriotic

**Will Bergfeld** was proud of his German heritage and his American citizenship, but when World War I broke out his loyalties and political activities suddenly became suspect. All that Janice Windle, Bergfeld's granddaughter, knew was that he'd been a hard-working rural mail carrier and union organizer in Texas. While working on a book about her family, she was shocked to discover the extent of the wartime persecution her grandfather and other German-Americans had undergone. Windle was more surprised to learn that her mother remembered seeing Will Bergfeld's arrest. Windle also found transcripts of her grandfather's federal court case for protesting conscription.

#### DISCOVER

Janice Windle's book about her family, *Will's War*

[http://www.southernscribe.com/reviews/historical\\_fiction/wills\\_war.htm](http://www.southernscribe.com/reviews/historical_fiction/wills_war.htm)