



# PROTEST AND PETITION

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## An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

## A Word About Protest and Petition

The Declaration of Independence and First Amendment. Boston Tea Party and Tea Party movement. Resurrection City and Occupy K Street. Through solitary pleas, marches, sit-ins and protests at home and in D.C., Americans have demonstrated they have the right to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Their causes have encompassed all sides of the social, economic and political spectrum — taxes, suffrage, civil rights, wars, more government and less government involvement. Since their rights to voice opposition and to seek change have limits, the parties involved have sought a balance between practicing guaranteed rights and protecting the public safety, security and order.

At the one-year anniversary of the Arab Spring, protests, armed revolts, government uncertainties and first elections are taking place across North Africa and the Middle East. This tumultuous change was activated by one man's act of self-immolation.

Activities in this guide cross disciplines to study protests at home and around the world. Resources include vocabulary development, study questions, and two lessons written by a Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project fellow. *Post* reprints provide news, commentary, editorial cartoons, maps and informational graphics.

Two e-Replica suggested activities in this guide focus on researching global protests and evaluating Occupy D.C. coverage. A reminder to Post INSIDE program teachers: If you plan to use articles in this guide in the e-Replica format more than three months after their publication date, remember to bookmark them.



### COVER CREDITS

Clockwise, left to right, Linda Davidson, Marvin Joseph, Sudarsan Raghavan — The Washington Post; Alexander Zemlianichenko — Associated Press; Jahi Chikwendui — The Washington Post; Collage Illustration by Carol Porter for The Washington Post

**Lesson:** Students who know their rights will help ensure that those rights are not ignored. The right to protest is based in the First Amendment rights to assemble to voice objections and to petition government to provide relief to grievances.

**Level:** Middle to High

**Subjects:** Civics, Social Studies, Government, History

**Related Activity:** Art, English, Geography, Journalism, Technology

### NIE Online Guide

**Editor** — Carol Lange

**Art Editor** — Carol Porter

**Contributing to this guide:** Jason M. Whittle wrote two lessons: “Some Assembly Required” and “The Continuing Importance of the Right to Petition.” Jason will graduate in May 2012 from American University Washington College of Law. During the 2010-2011 school year, he co-taught a course called Youth Justice in America at Capital City Public Charter School in Washington, D.C.

In the fall of 1999, Professor Jamin Raskin of American University Washington College of Law launched the Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project named in honor of the late United States Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan, Jr. This project, founded with the enthusiastic support of Mrs. Cissy Marshall and the late Mrs. Mary Brennan, was designed to mobilize talented second- and third-year law students to teach courses on constitutional law and juvenile justice in public high schools in the District of Columbia and Maryland.

**Available Online** All Washington Post NIE guides may be downloaded at [www.washpost.com/nie](http://www.washpost.com/nie).

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## An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

**Protest and Petition**

*The fundamental rights to dissent, protest and petition the government for a redress of grievances are covered in the following suggested activities, lessons and reprinted articles, commentary, columns and editorial cartoons.*

**Develop Vocabulary**

*English, Government, History*

The sidebar on this page, “In the Know,” is a list of terms to be found in *The Post* articles and commentary reprinted in this guide. These terms may be given to students for vocabulary study separately or in conjunction with articles such as “The Arab Winter.”

**Add a Root**

*Art, Civics, English, Government, History, Reading*

Many words that distinguish types of government are based on the Greek word *ocracy* or *cracy*, meaning “power,” “rule” and “government.” Teachers might begin this activity by giving students the Feb. 1, 2011, editorial cartoon by Clay Bennett, editorial cartoonist of the *Chattanooga Times Free Press*. “Egypt” was reprinted in 2010 in *The Washington Post*’s Saturday Drawing Board weekly collection.

If students are unfamiliar with the role of editorial cartoonists, teachers may need to explain that they provide visual commentary on current issues. Discussion questions accompany Bennett’s cartoon. Additional questions might include:

- What is the main image in the cartoon? With what country are pyramids associated?
- What do you know about the ancient culture and history that form the foundation of Egypt’s “ocracy”?

Give students “Word Study.” This activity sheet defines the Greek terms *ocracy* and *cracy*. It then features

words for the types of government; each of which has the two Greek terms as the suffix. In the middle column, students should identify the root of the term and its meaning. In the right column, students should define the word. Answers for the questions are to be found at the end of these suggested activities.

**Draw a Root**

*Art, Journalism*

After students have discussed Bennett’s editorial cartoon and studied the etymologies of “democracy,” “theocracy” and “autocracy,” they may be asked to select a term from the “In the Know” sidebar list or one from their reading. Find the etymology of the word. Draw a cartoon that explains the word’s meaning or plays on its etymology.

**Go Inside Coverage**

*Journalism, Mass Media, News Literacy*

INSIDER articles go behind the scenes at *The Post* to give a sense of how things are done or how we got the story and photographs. This month’s INSIDER features Patrick B. Pexton’s “The Post’s coverage of Occupy D.C.” Pexton is the ombudsman, the liaison between readers and *The Post*.

Pexton is responding to inquiries about the type and amount of coverage being given to protests in D.C., in particular, Occupy D.C. Discuss the examples he gives and the point of view he takes.

**In the Know**

Activist

Assembly

Civil Disobedience

Democracy

Demonstration

Dictator

Dissenter

Dissident

Insurgency

Junta

Monarch

Pluralism

Protest

Public opinion

Regime

Roil

Turmoil

Tyranny

Uproar

Warlord

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Teachers may wish to use articles reprinted in this guide to accompany the column — “Issa challenges Occupy D.C.’s claim to McPherson Square” and “Park Service says it will begin enforcing ‘no-camping’ law for Occupy D.C. protestors at McPherson Square” — and Courtland Milloy’s column, “Occupy D.C. has a plan: To stay in the public’s face.” Analyze the articles for fairness and diversity of coverage.

**Evaluate Coverage**

*Civics, Government, Journalism, Reading*

Readers have written to *The Post’s* ombudsman about coverage of Occupy D.C. and other protests and demonstrations in D.C. Read “*The Post’s* coverage of Occupy D.C.” for those points of view. Conduct an e-Replica search to evaluate the depth of coverage given to Occupy D.C. and other demonstrations held in D.C.

Divide the class into three groups, each with a different week to do a three-week search of the most recent past issues of *The Post*. Within each group, students could be assigned to search for “Occupy D.C.,” “protests” and “demonstrations” in each section of the newspaper. What other search terms might students use?

Be sure to include news, features, columnists, editorials and editorial cartoons. For example, Metro columnist Robert McCartney has written often on the topic. See what results a search by his name will provide.

Students should evaluate the search. This would include:

- How many news articles, features, commentary, editorials and editorial cartoons were found?
- How many words or column inches have been given to this topic? In which sections?
- Are different points of view included? For example, are city officials, police officers, protesters, nearby businesses, citizens and visitors quoted? Who provide the legal perspective?

**Comment on Toles**

*Art, History, Government, Journalism*

*Washington Post* editorial cartoonist Tom Toles has produced many visual commentaries on events, leaders and relations with governments in the Middle East and North Africa. Four of them are reproduced in this guide. Give students “Tom Toles: On the Revolution in the Middle East.”

Toles uses iconic figures, symbolism and allusions to literature and historic events and figures. Discuss those that students “read” in each commentary.

As an editorial cartoonist, Toles is expressing his opinion. To what events is he referring? What is his point of view of the current event?

Students might be asked to analyze one of Toles’ editorial cartoons. They may also be asked to draw their own editorial cartoon about what is happening currently in one of these countries.

**Study the Right of Assembly**

*Civics, Government, History, Journalism, Media Arts*

“Some Assembly Required” is a multi-part activity to introduce students to the First Amendment “right of the people peaceably to assemble.” This activity is one

**Arab Spring Resources**

[www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/world/middle-east-protests/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/world/middle-east-protests/)

**Middle East and North Africa in turmoil**

*The Washington Post* map, country chart and 2011 ascending timeline for each country

[www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline)

**The Path of Protest**

*The Guardian’s* interactive timeline for 17 countries, from Algeria to Yemen. Move the marker from Dec. 12, 2010, to Dec. 17, 2011, for short summaries and links to articles.

<http://blogs.aljazeera.net/liveblog/arab-spring>

**Arab Spring Live Blog**

*Al Jazeera* publishes eyewitness reports, photographs and videos

[www.thenation.com/article/158991/arab-spring](http://www.thenation.com/article/158991/arab-spring)

**The Arab Spring**

Rashid Khalidi’s analysis in the March 21, 2011, *The Nation*

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of our YOU and YOUR RIGHTS lessons prepared by Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project fellows. Jason Whittle, a third-year law student, wrote this lesson.

“Some Assembly Required” begins with background on the right of assembly and current application. This file is followed with two case studies: “Dirk De Jong’s Story,” the basis for the Supreme Court case of *De Jonge v. State of Oregon*, and “Even People With Unattractive Views May Meet,” the *National Socialist Party of America v. Village of Skokie* case.

“Our Rights Have Limits” provides the three conditions under which the right of assembly may be limited. Students will apply the concepts from all files to answer questions about a situation and in “The Freedom of Assembly and the Occupy Movement” case study.

Although students have the conceptual information they need to answer the questions in “The Freedom of Assembly and the Occupy Movement” from the background and historic case study materials, teachers may wish to give students reprinted articles about Occupy D.C. to read. They provide current attitudes about how these rights apply.

### Study the Right to Petition

*Civics, Government, History*

“The First Amendment simply says that people have a right to complain and to request that the government fix some problem or right some wrong,” writes third-year law student Jason Whittle. “Citizens have freedom, therefore, to make complaints to their elected officials,

and to seek assistance from them, without fear of punishment.”

In “The Continuing Importance of the Right to Petition,” Whittle begins the lesson with the historic background of the right to petition, one of the primary reasons for the American Revolution. He provides two case studies: Representative John Quincy Adams in 1834 and recent petitions in Wisconsin.

### Identify Historic Protests

*Civics, Government, History*

“Protests and Protestors” presents 18 significant protests that have taken place in the United States and around the world, beginning with the Boston Tea Party. In addition, 14 individuals who are associated with protests are listed.

This activity asks students to conduct research. They will discover that students, workers, and mature thinkers used protest as a means to call attention to issues and conditions. Some were successful, others were not.

### Review the Arab Spring

*Government, History, Journalism*

Many of the vocabulary words found in “In the Know” sidebar are found in the article “The Arab Winter.” Before giving the analysis to students, teachers may wish to review the terms as well as “ouster,” “power,” “disdain,” “ethnically homogenous,” “parliament” and “cult of personality.”

Review the map of North Africa and the Middle East. Locate the following countries: Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen.

Explain to students the difference between a news article and an analysis. The Outlook

## Assembly and Protest

[www.freedomforum.org/packages/first/curricula/educationforfreedom/BriefHistory.htm](http://www.freedomforum.org/packages/first/curricula/educationforfreedom/BriefHistory.htm)

### A Brief History of the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment

This concise history has links to other websites for more depth. Also available at the Education for Freedom site: Lesson 7, “Will You Sign This Petition?” that focuses on the right of citizens to seek redress, and Lesson 12, “A Letter Read ‘Round the World” that addresses assembly.

[www.firstamendmentcenter.org](http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org)

### First Amendment Center

Select the tab at the top for the freedom you want to explore; overview, FAQs, articles and commentary.

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data/constitution/amendment01/21.html>

### Rights of Assembly and Petition

FindLaw annotations give historic and legal backgrounds on these two rights

[www.guardian.co.uk/culture/gallery/2010/nov/14/ten-best-protests](http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/gallery/2010/nov/14/ten-best-protests)

### The 10 best protests

Ed Vulliamy, *The Observer*’s foreign correspondent, chooses history’s most significant demonstrations

[www.hrea.org/index.php?doc\\_id=406](http://www.hrea.org/index.php?doc_id=406)

### Freedom of Assembly and Association

Introduction to concept in international human rights arena, resources.

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section provides Sunday readers commentary from many experts. Read and discuss “Arab Winter.” The title reflects the author’s attitude. What is it?

Divide the class into groups: Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen. Among the project’s assignments, teachers could include:

- Prepare a country profile: location, population, sources of income, brief history.
- Summarize the information that Daniel Byman presents about the assigned country.
- Read a minimum of five articles about the current political, economic and social conditions. Compare and contrast the views presented in them to Byman’s.
- Analyze the relation and interaction of the assigned country with other countries in the region.
- Form a group prediction about the future of the country.

Depending on your classes, teachers can determine the different forms of presentation that will be required.

### **Read About Libyans’ After Gadaffi**

*English, Government, Journalism*

Post reporters provide follow-up articles to major stories. “For Libyans, democracy from scratch” is such an article. It answers readers’ questions about what is happening in Libya a year after the rebellion.

When teachers give students the article to read, please note the information provided in the headline and subheads. The dateline clearly states that Alice Fordham is reporting from Tripoli in Libya. Locate it on a map.

Give students “Challenges of Creating a Government,” a

worksheet to complete after reading the article.

### **Use the Internet**

*Government, Technology*

Social media played a prominent role in the Arab Spring protests. Discuss the use of blogs, e-mails and tweets. What are the benefits and downside of each?

Teachers might challenge students to use their understanding of the election process, political parties, ballots and verification of winning candidates to create an informative website.

### **Find Medvedev on Facebook**

*Government, Technology*

The Washington Post Young Journalists Development Program has a Facebook page. So do many Post reporters. Even the Russian president has a Facebook page.

“Medvedev derided for Facebook post announcing probe of election fraud” provides the political and social conditions in Russia in mid-December 2011. Read and discuss the article by Kathy Lally. Questions might include:

- Why would President Dmitry Medvedev have a Facebook page?
- Are students surprised that individuals commented on Medvedev’s postings? Lally wrote they “revealed astonishing candor and courage.” Why “courage”? Give examples of their candor from the article.
- What did Russians protest in December? Who primarily protested?
- What did the head of the Central Election Commission say he would do? In what ways do both of his approaches reflect the same old way of reacting to any opposition?

## **On the Drawing Board**

[www.washingtonpost.com/editorial-opinion/drawing-board/2011/02/03/ABZe8TJ\\_gallery.html#photo=1](http://www.washingtonpost.com/editorial-opinion/drawing-board/2011/02/03/ABZe8TJ_gallery.html#photo=1)

### **Drawing Board**

Editorial cartoonists around the country react to the protests in Egypt. Each Saturday the Drawing Board appears on the op-ed pages.

[www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/toles](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/toles)

### **Tom Toles**

Six days a week, *The Washington Post’s* editorial cartoonist Tom Toles provides visual commentary to inspire dialogue and give a different perspective. Note the alter ego who appears in the lower right corner. Look also at his thematic collections and caption-writing contests.

[www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/tom-toles/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/tom-toles/)

### **Tom Toles Blog**

Go beyond his visual commentary to know what Tom Toles is thinking. Blog includes a rough draft of a daily cartoon he decided not to develop. Good training for young artists to see these concepts in early form.

[www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/telnaes](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/telnaes)

### **Ann Telnaes**

Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist Ann Telnaes has turned to animated commentary. View her work on Arab Spring, elections and current events.

[www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/ann-telnaes--from-sketch-to-animation/2011/03/10/ABXocHQ\\_video.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/ann-telnaes--from-sketch-to-animation/2011/03/10/ABXocHQ_video.html)

### **Ann Telnaes: From Sketch to Animation**

Video showing the process used by Ann Telnaes

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**Search for Global Protests***Geography, Government, History, Reading*

This e-Replica activity focuses on protests that took place in January 2012. All 15 of the countries listed had protests and demonstrations taking place. Give students "Global Protests."

By identifying the countries on the world map, students get geography practice.

Teachers may pair students to search for information to answer the questions.

Teachers may wish to set up an e-mail alert using the MY MONITOR feature to get updates on "protests" or a particular country. Select MY MONITOR and click on "Add New Monitor." On this screen, insert the search term and frequency of notification. Teachers are allowed a total of ten monitor alerts at one time.

**ANSWERS. Word Study**

1. The Pope
2. Boy or child
3. Male head of a family or tribal line, person regarded as the father or founder, scriptural father. Likewise, a matriarch is the female ruler.
4. An anarchist is an individual who rebels against authority, rejects the need for a system of government.
5. Government by money or wealth; silver was an item of great value.
6. *Andro-* meaning male
7. *Aristos-* meaning best; through cultural influence "best" came to be the nobility
8. Government by civil servants; bureau means office
9. *Meritum-* Latin meaning to

**Read It In the Comics***Art, English, Government*

Just as editorial cartoonists and comic strip writers comment on current events and principles in their work, comic-book writers and artists incorporate these concepts and actions in their works. And readers are influenced.

Protestors are seen wearing masks in the likeness of Guy Fawkes, created by comic-book writer Alan Moore and artist David Lloyd in *V For Vendetta*. In *Dark Night Rises*, release date summer 2012, Batman occupies Wall Street. Superman, in "The Incident," Action Comics #900, incenses the president's national security advisor for being in Tehran giving non-violent support to protestors.

Do students who read comic books know of examples of protests appearing in that medium? Discuss the reason for the demonstrations and their results. ■

- deserve
10. Political system in which a mob is the source of control.
11. Undivided rule by a single person who has absolute power; the Greek word for monarch was *monarkhos* or one + to rule. There is also the word "monocracy" which is a synonym of autocrat, one ruler or rule by a single person.
12. *Oligos-* meaning few
13. *Ploutos-* meaning wealth
14. Government by military rule or despotism; *stratos* was Greek for army
15. Government by a body of foreigners; *xenos* meant stranger and later foreigner

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**Read About It**

Garcia-Williams, Rita  
*One Crazy Summer*  
Amistad, HarperCollins (2010)  
Grades 5-10

Frost, Helen  
*Crossing Stones*  
Farrar, Straus and Giroux (2009)  
Grades 7-12

Havel, Vaclav  
*The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*  
M.E. Sharpe, Inc. (1985)  
Grades 10-12

King, Jr., Martin Luther  
*Strength to Love*  
Harper & Row (1963)  
Grades 8-12

Krull, Kathleen and Anna Divito, illus.  
*A Kids' Guide to America's Bill of Rights: Curfews, Censorship, and the 100-Pound Giant*  
HarperCollins (1999)  
Grades 3-8

Russell, Margaret M., ed.  
*The First Amendment: Freedom of Assembly and Petition: Its Constitutional History and the Contemporary Debate*  
Prometheus Books (2010)  
Grades 10-12

Sobel, Syl  
*The Bill of Rights: Protecting Our Freedom Then and Now*  
Barron's Educational Series (2008)  
Grades 3-8



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**ANSWERS.** *Challenges of Creating a Government*

1. a. Libyan rebel commander Muhammad Zintani and prime minister Mahmoud Jibril;  
 b. The void between the fall of autocratic leader Gaddafi and elections is full of uncertainty;  
 c. This paragraph lists the missing basic items for holding elections and avoidance of chaos;  
 d. The quotation from UN envoy Martin supports what the reporter and Libyans have indicated. The role of the U.N. in planning for the elections is confirmed.
2. a. Lawyer Bugaighis: protestor, female activist who observed Tunisia's elections, aware that males dominate current culture. She is realistic about Libyans' lack of experience with elections, freedom and democracy.  
 b. Ian Martin, U.N. envoy, presents an experienced outsider's perspective. He represents those who will work to set up honest elections and establish a new, stable government.
- c. Housam Najjair, Libyan-Irish citizen, one of the armed rebels, fought for freedom from Gaddafi rather than for democracy. He will form a political party with goals to improve employment, medical conditions; he knows he has much to learn about how to balance politics with the culture and religious norms.
- d. Fawzia Tajjoura, teacher, will use media and social media to learn about elections.
- e. Basheer Zaid, a fruit stall owner, who is realistic about the old ways of tribe against tribe; it will take time to understand how to get an elected government.
3. Answers will vary.
4. Answers will vary. Is there a recipe for a perfect democratic government?

**ARAB SPRING COUNTRIES**



An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

**>INSIDER<****Ombudsman** | *Patrick B. Pexton*

# Occupy D.C.: A protest that deserves The Post's attention

Readers frequently write to me saying that *The Post* inadequately covers the many demonstrations in the nation's capital.

Whether it was the anti-pipeline protest in November, in which demonstrators linked arms to ring the White House, or the annual anti-abortion March for Life rally last January, which attracts a quarter-million people and almost no coverage, readers and the participants themselves say this most basic function of democracy — petitioning the

government for a redress of grievances — is something *The Post* should cover more thoroughly as the capital's leading newspaper.

If people from around the country are upset enough about an issue to organize, travel, acquire a permit, arrange speakers and then rally, I generally think that's news, whether they've done it annually for 30 years or it's a one-time deal. Left or Right, pro-life, abortion rights, Tea Party, Million Man March or Resurrection City, *The Post* should be there.

So now we come to Occupy Wall Street, and more parochially, Occupy D.C. at McPherson Square, which has no permit, and its cousin encampment a few blocks away in Freedom Plaza, which does have a permit.

Since OWS began in New York in September and came to the District on Oct. 1, I've received letters about *The Post's* coverage. Those from the right say the coverage has been too fawning,

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LINDA DAVIDSON — THE WASHINGTON POST

Protesters listen to speeches at the “Occupy” protest and march in front of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. The long-planned rally and occupation of Freedom Plaza, called “October 2011,” protested “corporate greed,” defense spending, banks and rising income inequality.

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RICKY CARIOTI — THE WASHINGTON POST

**Occupy D.C. protesters drape the statue of Gen. McPherson with a tarp to create the Tent of Dreams as the Park Service's no-overnight-camping deadline arrived.**

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too extensive and too little focused on the fact that, at least at McPherson Square, it is an illegal, rat-infested, messy, eyesore of an encampment. Those from the left say that the coverage has been sparse, hit-or-miss, negative, too much about officialdom and the police's point of view, and not enough about the issues the campers raise.

Covering the occupiers does present challenges. This is not a typical protest that gathers, rallies and ends. It is open-ended.

It is purposefully leaderless. There isn't a spokesman. It has an agenda — broadly speaking, economic justice for the 99 percent — but it does not have a point-by-point legislative plan and only sporadically organizes into conventional protest actions such as a march, a rally or a lobbying day on Capitol Hill. Daily events to cover are few.

It is small and even tiny — probably less than 150 people — but people around the country, and the world, share the protesters' concerns and follow the movement closely, judging by the ombudsman's mailbag.

The protesters' point is to occupy, to be there, to be seen and to be an irritant, a disruption that reminds people that, in the protesters' view, the political and economic institutions in this country are skewed toward the rich and powerful. The protesters see themselves as winning simply by occupying.

When the protesters came here in October, *Post* coverage was initially a bit haphazard and uncoordinated. PostLocal's Katie Rogers pitched a tent and spent a night with protesters. BlogPost blogger Elizabeth Flock walked with OWS demonstrators all the way from New York to the District. The Style section did an urban architecture commentary on the encampments.

Finally, in December, when *Post* wealth, class and income reporter Annie Gowen was put on the beat and two editors were assigned to oversee it, the coverage improved.

Now we're getting regular updates and stories in the paper and online about the rat problem, a baby left alone in a tent all afternoon, sex in the tents and the court proceedings, which may decide how long the occupiers can stay. *The Post* and other media outlets have put in Freedom of Information Act requests to determine whether the White House has influenced the U.S. Park Police to go easy on the protesters.

Jane Elizabeth, *The Post's* deputy local editor for digital, is one of the two editors overseeing coverage. What she hears from readers is that "I don't understand. What are they doing? Why?"

*The Post* is "attempting to answer those questions," Elizabeth said. "This is an atypical protest, one that goes beyond politics and becomes personal and local. How does the movement impact D.C. policy, the budget, local business, tourism, health-and-safety issues? How will the protesters handle the cold winter? Will the protest disrupt my commute? We've worked hard to answer those questions, large and small, and provide context and relevance for our readers." The protesters are living less than a hundred yards from *The Post's* building, and they, like this publication, are protected by the First Amendment. "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Occupiers might be there awhile. And *The Post* should be too.

— January 13, 2012

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## An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

## The evolving community of Occupy D.C.

Protesters at McPherson Square are retooling their habitat to avoid eviction by the National Park Service, which prohibits camping in the park.

The **Tent of Dreams** is a "circling of the wagons," crammed with tents housing the most vulnerable members of the community — the homeless. Most middle-class protesters now eat and sleep elsewhere.

The only part of the statue that protrudes from the Tent of Dreams is **General McPherson's** torso and his horse's ears.



Some protesters were incognito Monday. "I don't want to lose my job or be blacklisted," said this young woman.

**Anarchist Alliance**  
information tent

**Library**

**University tent** for meetings and teach-ins

**Comfort tent** (blankets)

Protesters are not allowed to store or prepare food in the park, so the **kitchen** has been cleared out.

### Tents into signs

Protesters are forbidden to store personal belongings or sleeping materials in the park, so many tents are now open and empty and serve as protest signs.

"My tent is not allowed to be a house anymore," said one occupier. "So, I'm painting it."

**Occupy D.C.**  
information tent

**Hand wash**

**OccuTea House**

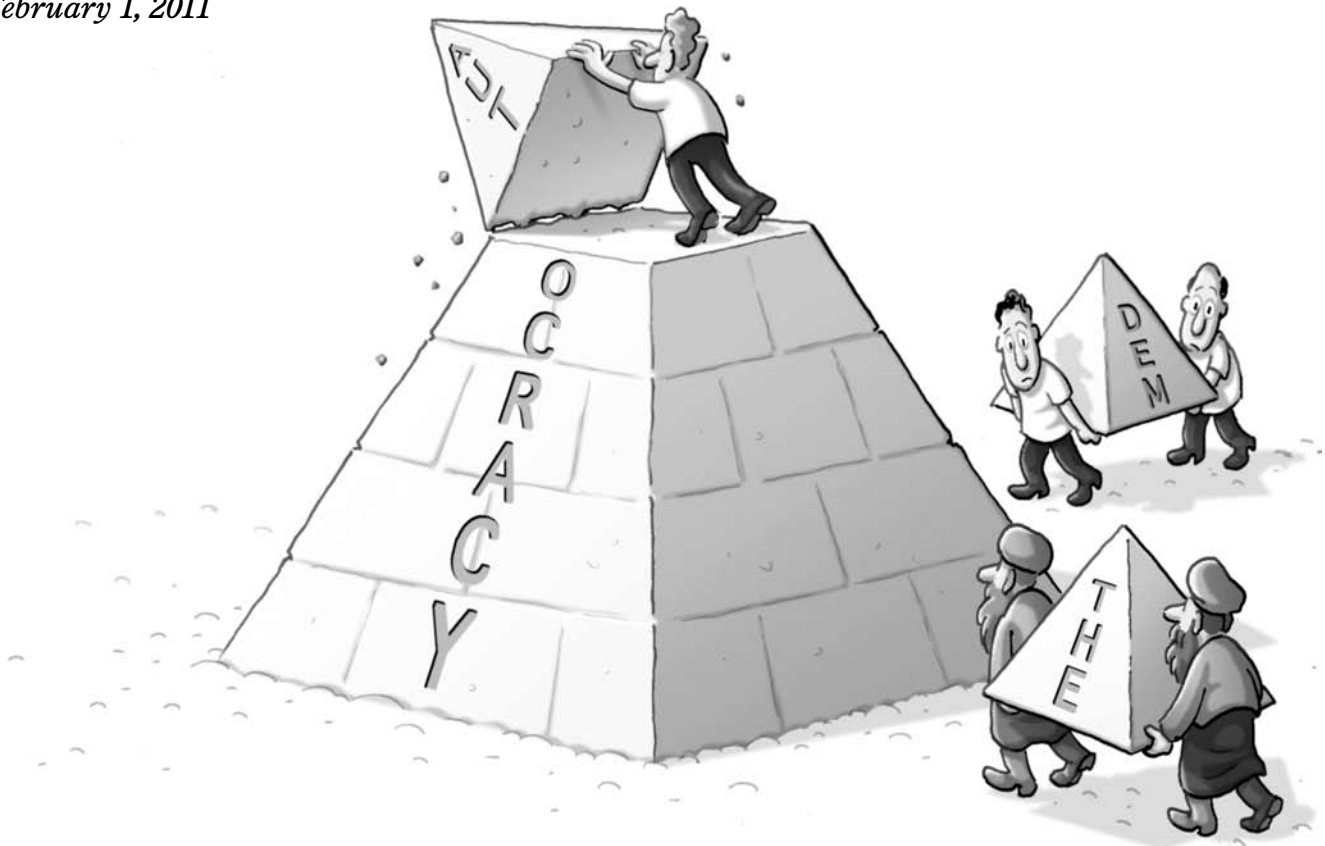
**Medical tent**

PATTERSON CLARK — THE WASHINGTON POST

An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

# EGYPT

February 1, 2011



CLAY BENNETT FOR THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES FREE PRESS

An editorial cartoon by Clay Bennett, editorial cartoonist of the *Chattanooga Times Free Press*. This cartoon was reprinted in February 2010 in *The Washington Post's* Saturday Drawing Board weekly collection.

## Questions for Discussion

1. What is the figure toppling from the pyramid? What does this act represent?
2. What does "autocracy" mean?
3. How are the image and word pertinent to current events happening in Egypt in early 2011?
4. What does the dress of the pairs of men carrying pyramidions, or capstones, indicate?
5. What kind of government will Egypt build? How do the pyramidions "DEM" and "THE" represent the choices?

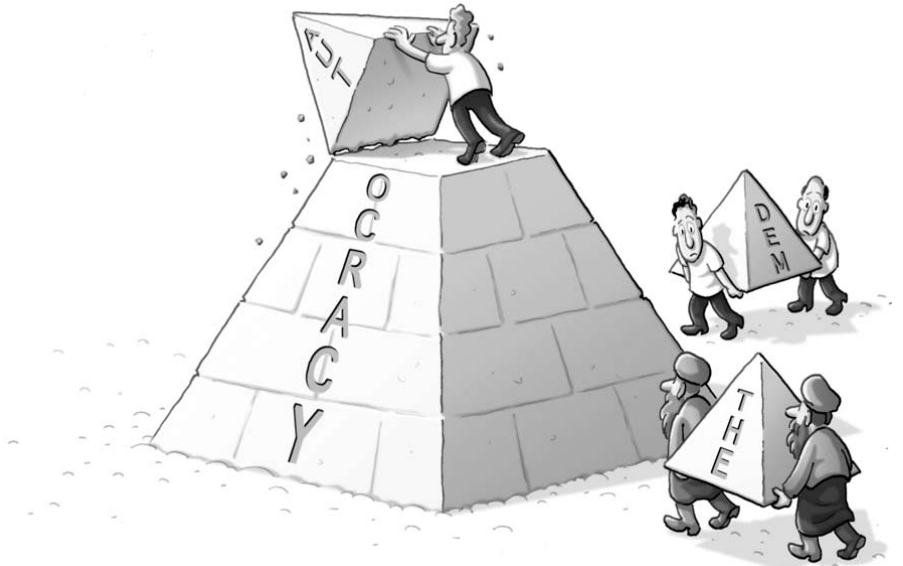


## WordStudy

# The Power of Ocracy

The form of government under which one lives influences everyday life. The type of leadership can determine whether citizens thrive or merely survive. Likewise, the relationship of citizens, business, economy, and leaders are impacted by the form of governing by a particular sort of people or according to a particular principle.

Many words that distinguish types of government are based on the Greek words *ocracy* and *cracy*, meaning “power,” “rule” and “government.”



CLAY BENNETT FOR THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES FREE PRESS

The Greek root *demo-* means people. When combined with the suffix *-cracy*, the word “democracy” is formed — government by the people. When the Greek root, *theo-*, meaning God, is combined with *-cracy*, theocracy, government by religious law or divine rulers is formed. Closely related to *cracy* are the Greek suffix *-archy*, meaning “rulership” and *archos*, meaning ruler. For example, “autarchy” and “autocracy” both mean government by an absolute ruler or despot.

Test your knowledge of words formed from a root word and the suffixes *-ocracy* and *-archy*.

1. Vatican City is an example of a paparchy. Who is the head of this government?
2. In *Lord of the Flies* the form of government created by the boys might be described as a paedarchy. What does this root mean?
3. Who is a patriarch? Who is a matriarch?
4. “Anarchy,” *anarchia* in Latin, is composed in Greek of *an-* + *archos* (ruler), having no ruler. What is an anarchist?
5. A less known term for a type of government is “argentocracy.” If the root word, *argent*, means silver, what might be the power behind this form of government?

## An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

6-15. Countries may have many forms of government. If you know that a decade is ten years, then you know that a “decadarch” is a commander of ten and a “decarchy” is a ruling body of ten.

When you think of a mob, you think of chaos or no respect for other’s rights. “Mob” was first used in the 1680s to describe the “disorderly part of the population,” In the mid-1700s, “mobocracy” appeared in print to relate mob rule, those without respect for law or rights had taken control.

*Use your knowledge of the meaning of roots to identify and define the root or to determine the type of government of the following ten words.*

<b>WORD</b> (Root + suffix)	<b>ROOT</b>	<b>MEANING</b>
6. androcracy		government by men
7. aristocracy		government by the nobility
8. bureaucracy	bureau	
9. meritocracy		government by people with the most ability
10. mobocracy	mob	
11. monarchy	mono	
12. oligarchy		government by a few persons or families
13. plutocracy		government in which the wealthy rule
14. stratocracy	strat	
15. xenocracy	xeno	

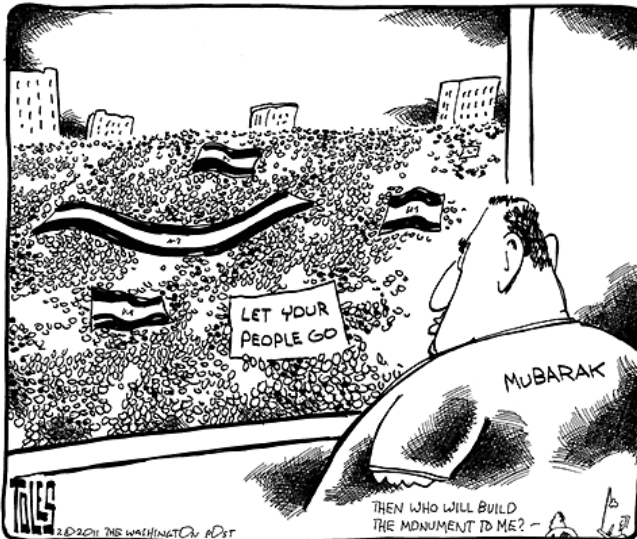
## An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

## Tom Toles | *On the Revolution in the Middle East*

The Washington Post editorial cartoonist Tom Toles comments on local, national and international events. Many of his visual commentary in 2011 focused on the protests in the Middle East — the protestors, their impact and reaction to them.

Read each of the cartoons, noting the dates they were published. On what event is Toles giving a perspective in each cartoon? Explain the allusions and symbols in each image. What is Toles' point of view?

February 10, 2011



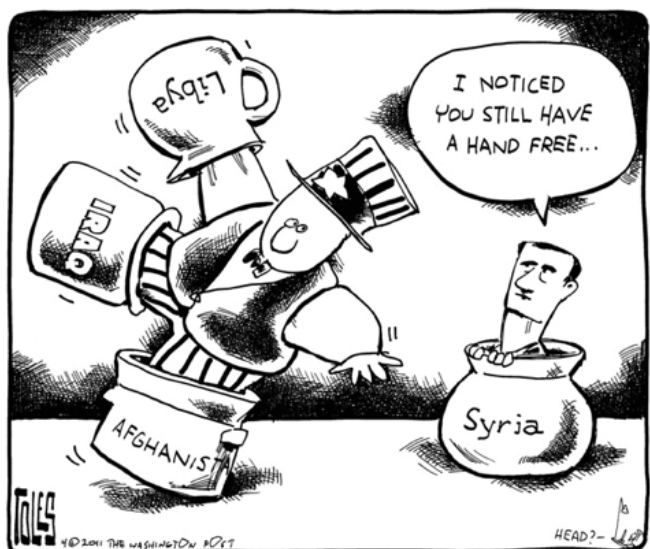
February 20, 2011



March 15, 2011



April 27, 2011



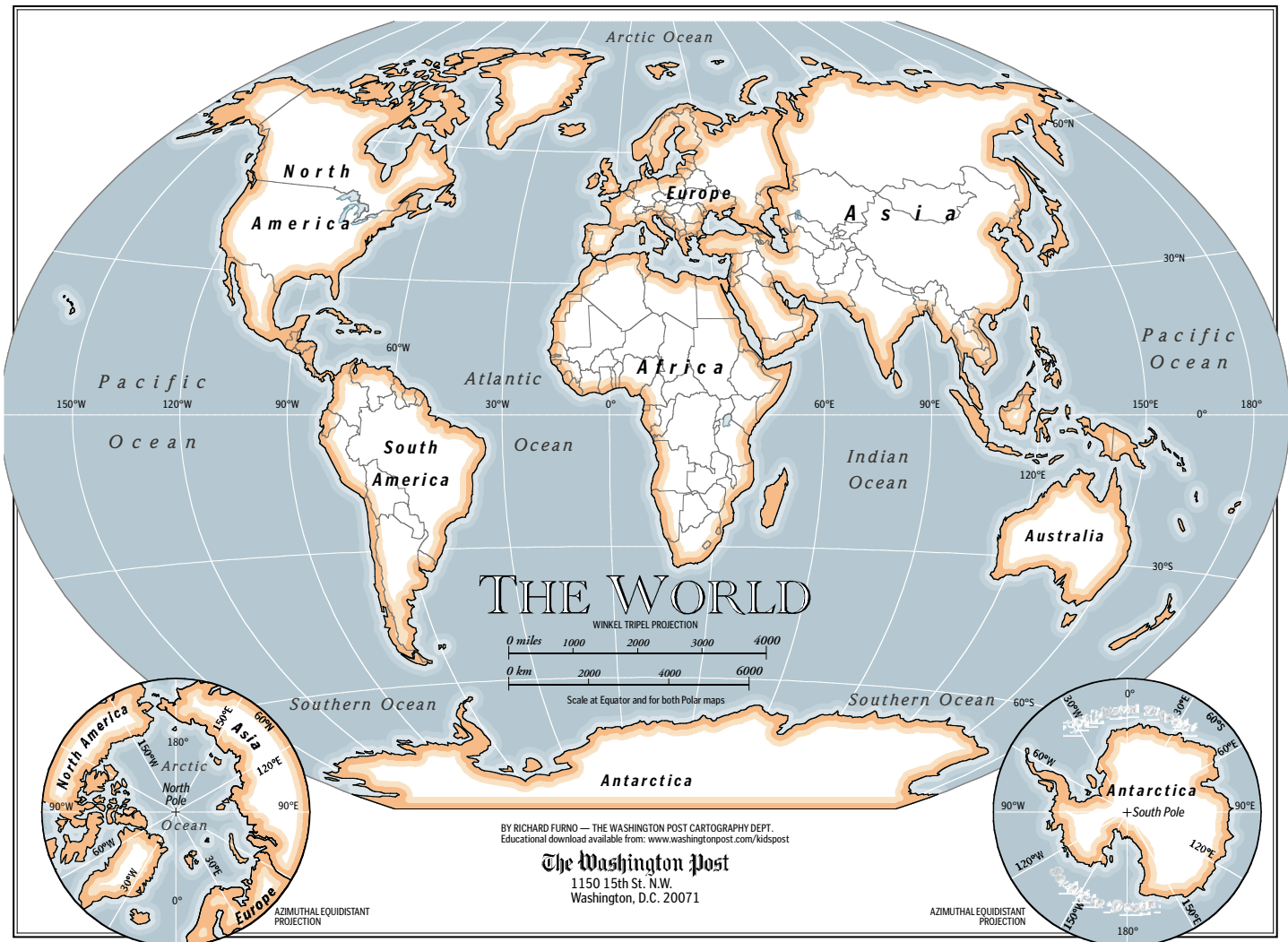






## Search | Global Protests

In January 2012 as the one-year anniversary of the Arab Spring was observed, rallies, protests and demonstrations were taking place around the globe. In this activity, we are focusing on those that took place outside of the United States.



Find the following locations on the world map.

- |           |           |             |             |            |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| 1. Cyprus | 4. Iraq   | 7. Nigeria  | 10. Romania | 13. Tibet  |
| 2. Egypt  | 5. Libya  | 8. Pakistan | 11. Russia  | 14. Turkey |
| 3. India  | 6. Mexico | 9. Peru     | 12. Syria   | 15. Yemen  |

Search The Washington Post for coverage of the protests and demonstrations that took place outside of the United States. Find the following information in articles, photographs and captions.

1. Select one of the above countries.
2. Read to find out where in the country demonstrations were taking place.
3. Approximately how many people were involved?
4. Why were the protests taking place? Summarize the reason(s) for the protests.
5. What action, if any, was taken against the demonstrators?

# Protests and Protestors

## Protests

Below is a list of significant protests. Read more about the people who were involved, the conditions, the reason(s) for protesting, and the form that the protest took. What were the response of the government, the result of the actions and the impact on others?

- 1773 The Boston Tea Party
- 1830 Three Glorious Days, France
- 1893 Coxey's Army
- 1898 Boxer Rebellion, China
- 1921 Kronstadt commune, Russia
- 1932 Bonus Army
- 1960 F.W. Woolworth Company sit-in and following sit-ins
- 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
- 1965 Vietnam protests, marches in D.C.
- 1969 Burntollet Bridge, Northern Ireland
- 1976 Soweto school strike, South Africa
- 1980 Gdansk shipyard strike, Poland
- 1989 Tiananmen Square, China
- 1989 Velvet Revolution/Gentle Revolution, Czechoslovakia
- 2004 Orange Revolution, Ukraine
- 2010 Arab Spring protests, beginning in Dec. 2010, North Africa and Middle East
- 2011 Chilean Winter
- 2011 Occupy Movement

## Protestors

How did each of these individuals get involved with protests? What conditions or issues did they confront?



ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., addresses thousands of civil rights supporters assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial. He gave his "I Have a Dream" speech during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963.**

Susan B. Anthony  
Mohamed Bouazizi  
Jacob S. Coxey  
Emily Wilding Davison  
W.E.B. Dubois  
Mahatma Ghandi  
Alexandros Grigoropoulos and Athens Polytechnic students  
Václav Havel  
George Hewes  
Giorgio Jackson  
Martin Luther and John Calvin  
Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Carrie Nation  
Lech Walesa

# Challenges of Creating a Government

Protests that had begun in December 2010 after an unemployed graduate student set fire to himself had spread across North Africa. A month later, neighboring Libya's leader Moammar Gaddafi said on TV that he was "pained by the fall of the Tunisian government." Little did he know what the clash of autocracy and peoples' protests could do.

In November 2011, Alice Fordham reported from Tripoli. Sixty-nine-year-old Moammar Gaddafi, for the first time in 42 years, no longer ruled Libya. The autocrat and his regime had failed to stop rebel fighters. Through the individuals quoted in "For Libyans, democracy from scratch," Fordham's readers are made aware of the individuals involved and challenges encountered in designing a government.

*Answer the following questions after reading "For Libyans, democracy from scratch."*

1. After Libyans had removed Moammar Gaddafi from leadership, they face the reality of forming a new government. The first paragraphs of the article compose an anecdotal lede. They give a human face to the main idea of the article.
  - a. Who is introduced?
  - b. What conditions do they represent?
  - c. The fifth paragraph is the nut graph — the direct statement of the "news" or main idea of the article. Summarize the idea in one sentence.
  - d. In what way does the sixth paragraph support the main idea?
2. Several people are interviewed and quoted in the article. State the job or affiliation of each of the following people and summarize the concept that each presents.
  - a. Salwa Bugaighis
  - b. Ian Martin
  - c. Housam Najjair
  - d. Fawzia Tajjoura
  - e. Basheer Zaid
3. Maryann Maguire states, "People don't know what elections are, what a political party is and how they form, how do you cast a ballot." Select "elections," "political party" or "ballot." Pretend you are talking to a young Libyan and explain what the term means.
4. One does not use a box cake mix when cooking from scratch. All the ingredients are gathered, measured, folded and mixed, then baked to create a homemade dessert. What are the ingredients to be assembled in making democracy from scratch?

## YOU AND YOUR RIGHTS

# Some Assembly Required

When you buy a bicycle or a piece of furniture at a store like Ikea, you're used to seeing the instruction that there may be "Some Assembly Required." You know what that label means: When you get the box home, you'll have to put your new TV stand or bookcase together. The package you get may have all the pieces you need, but it's up to you to make them all work. That same instruction might have been stamped on a manual containing the instructions for operation of the United States, if such a manual existed.

There is, in fact, an instruction manual of sorts, created when our country was founded – the U.S. Constitution, that contains directions for making our nation function. And although it doesn't explicitly say "Some Assembly Required," that direction is implied. Since day one, we have continuously been striving to put the pieces together into the best product possible.

Now, the word "assembly" has two meanings: One meaning, the definition toy and furniture manufacturers intend, is the act of putting pieces together into a finished product. A second definition, and the one most important for this article, is a group of people gathered together for a common purpose. As you think about this concept during the rest of your lesson, consider how these different meanings interact with one another.

In addition to the more familiar rights such as freedom of speech and of the press, the First Amendment to our national constitution declares that the government "shall make no law ... abridging ... the right of the people peaceably to assemble." It may seem obvious to you and me that groups of people should be able to gather together. When our country was founded, however, the writers of the First Amendment had a real fear, based on treatment by the British ruling class, that without protection, the American



SCOTT ROTHSTEIN

**The original Constitution of the United States is on display in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom in the National Archives.**

government might one day forbid people from forming groups if it didn't like what they had to say or what they stood for.

Today, the freedom of assembly protects religious groups who want to gather together, labor workers who wish to form trade unions, protestors, and student groups. Think of the people gathered on the National Mall to hear Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech, the fans at your school's football game, the images from political rallies, and the collection of tents and people "occupying" cities

across the country. Think also of the many images from the past year of protest groups in Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, where the freedom to assemble has not been protected as it is here.

Citizens in a nation where government is based on popular consent need a way to express their views. The right to gather peacefully gives meaning to the other protected rights in the First Amendment. If people were not allowed to gather, what would be the use of free speech? Government cannot interfere with religious teaching but what if it could abolish the freedom to join together — you could practice your religion alone but not communally. What if factory workers facing intolerable conditions could not unite in a strike? Do you think one person, or even a few people, striking, would have any impact if they had no way jointly to express the reasons for their strike?

Our government structure is built on the principle of people joining their friends, neighbors, and co-workers to express ideas. We expect our elected representatives to join one another, to debate and discuss their individual opinions, informed by the desires of their constituents, and together to make the laws and regulations that give order to our society. Similarly, the freedom of assembly protects the right, and responsibility, of private citizens to join one another to discuss the problems of the day. ■



## Petition: Two Case Studies

### Dirk De Jonge's Story

In 1934, in Portland, Oregon, a man named Dirk De Jonge was arrested after organizing a meeting of the Portland Communist Party in order to protest against police mistreatment of dockworkers who had gone on strike. Mr. De Jonge promoted the formation of a labor union and sold pamphlets about communism.

Even though the meeting had been peaceful, Mr. De Jonge was convicted by an Oregon court and was sentenced to seven years in prison for advocating a revolution. Three years later, though, his case reached the United States Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., and the Justices, in *De Jonge v. State of Oregon*, reversed the conviction. This meant they were required to set Mr. De Jonge free. The Supreme Court explained that the right of assembly is fundamental in our society and "peaceable assembly for lawful discussion cannot

#### 'THE VERY FOUNDATION'

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES EVANS HUGHES deserves the nation's gratitude for his opinions upholding the American rights of free expression and free assembly. It is good to find the U. S. Supreme Court's other members concurring unanimously in the most recent of those notable decisions—that reversing the conviction of Dirk De Jonge under the Oregon Criminal Syndicalism Law.

De Jonge, a Communist, spoke at an order public meeting called by the Communist

**Pittsburgh Post-Gazette article at the time of the Supreme Court decision, January 6, 1937**

lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government." What the Court was saying is that when government is concerned about political revolution and the disruption of our civic institutions, it's more important than ever for that government to safeguard the rights guaranteed by the Constitution: The people cannot not protect their rights by giving those rights away. ■

### Even People With Unattractive Views May Meet

The protections of the First Amendment extend, of course, to groups expressing unsavory opinions as well as to those with popular views. Tolerance for even distasteful opinions is a hallmark of the American tradition.

In 1978, a man named Frank Collin tested the patience of his community — and this idea. Mr. Collin was a neo-Nazi in the Chicago area. He and his group were anti-Semitic and anti-black, and worshipped Adolf Hitler. In the suburb of Skokie, Ill., where many survivors of the Holocaust had settled after World War II, the neo-Nazis announced plans to hold a rally in front of Village Hall.

The Skokie government responded by creating three new rules:

1. Groups wishing to hold assemblies would have to get permits and insurance for property damage;
2. No group would be allowed to hand out materials that would incite racial or religious hatred; and
3. There could be no assemblies by political groups where the members wore military-like uniforms.

The American Civil Liberties Union (the ACLU) hated what the group stood for, but also believed that all Americans had a right to gather and to express their opinions. The ACLU, therefore, helped Mr. Collin and his group in court.

The first courts to hear the case agreed with Skokie village officials and held that the neo-Nazis could not march without obeying the government limitations. On appeal though, this was overturned and a federal district judge declared that, "it was better to allow those who preach racial hate to expend their venom in rhetoric than to be panicked into embarking on a dangerous course of permitting the government to decide what its citizens must say and hear." The government could not limit the freedom of assembly without showing a real likelihood that violence would ensue.

Mr. Collin had won in court and was permitted to hold a hate-filled rally on the steps on Village Hall. In the end though, the freedom of assembly proved to be both the neo-Nazis' champion and its undoing — the event in Skokie attracted about 200 Nazis but they were far outnumbered by very vocal opponents who drowned out the Nazi speeches. ■



Frank Collin

ACLU.PROCON.ORG

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## Our Rights Have Limits

Like all of our rights, the freedom of assembly is not absolute. It is limited in order to protect the rights of others and to ensure the safety of everyone in society. The major difficulty encountered with the right to assemble is in identifying where the government must stand back and where it must step in.

Limits may be imposed on the right when three conditions are met:

1. **Compelling Interest:** In legal jargon, we say that the government needs to have a “compelling reason” to interfere. This means that the government must have a very real and important reason for limiting the right – public safety, sanitation, and protection of property, are often cited as “compelling” interests.
2. **Content Neutrality:** The government interference must be “content neutral”: the government cannot choose which assemblies to allow based on the kinds of people that will be there, their beliefs, or the message they might put forward. It would be unconstitutional to allow Republicans to assemble but to ban Democrats.
3. **Least Restrictive Means:** Whatever limitation the government imposes must be the “least restrictive means” available. This means it must be the smallest interference possible to achieve its interests. If a group wishes to hold a rally at a public building, for example, and the police are concerned that too many people might show up and that the size of the crowd will create a fire hazard, the government may impose a limit on the number of people admitted to the building, but it cannot ban the whole event. This limitation protects public safety without interfering with the message the group hopes to promote.

## What does the Right to Assemble Mean for Today’s Citizens?

In a society like ours, where government is “of the people, by the people, and for the people,” the ability of citizens to assemble is very important. To make our democracy work, we need to be free to gather with our neighbors, our co-workers and other individuals to express our views without fear. It is only through this free exchange of ideas that American society can continue to grow, change, and improve.

In short, to make our country all that it can be, some assembly is required.

## Your Turn

Can you think of ways the government might legitimately regulate the freedom of assembly? Answer the questions about the following situation.

A basketball arena can safely hold 30,000 people but, at a meeting of the National Rifle Association, local police allow only 20,000 people to attend?

1. What condition does this appear to violate?
2. What if you later find out that due to the technical needs of this rally, the likelihood of hard-soled shoes, and the tenderness of the basketball court’s floor, whenever non-sporting events are held in the arena, only 20,000 people are admitted? Does this change your thinking?

*This lesson is written by Jason M. Whittle. Jason will graduate in May 2012 from American University Washington College of Law. During the 2010-2011 school year, he co-taught a course called Youth Justice in America at Capital City Public Charter School in Washington, D.C. Before coming to law school, Jason worked as a set designer, stage manager, and technical director in various theaters in Madison, Wisconsin, and in the art departments of films shot in the U.S. and in the U.K. Jason graduated from the University of Wisconsin - Madison in 2005, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theater and Drama.*

*In the fall of 1999, Professor Jamin Raskin of American University Washington College of Law launched the Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project named in honor of the late United States Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan, Jr. For more information, visit the project website ([www.wcl.american.edu/marshallbrennan/](http://www.wcl.american.edu/marshallbrennan/)).*

**YOU AND YOUR RIGHTS**

# The Freedom of Assembly and the Occupy Movement



BILL O'LEARY — THE WASHINGTON POST

**Protestors swarm the Supreme Court on January 17, 2012. Earlier, dozens went into House buildings, waving banners and chanting, "We are the 99 percent!"**

You may have heard about the Occupy movement, a protest group focused mainly on ending social, political, and economic inequality. The first Occupy protest, called Occupy Wall Street, started in New York City in September 2011. Since that time, similar protest groups have arisen in cities across the United States and around the world.

One of the tactics of the Occupy movement has been for large groups of people to assemble and to stay put for long periods of time in public and quasi-public (a legal term meaning a privately owned space that is generally accessible to anyone) spaces.

In D.C., protest groups have been occupying McPherson Square near the White House and Freedom Plaza in downtown Washington, which are both public parks, since around October. McPherson Square is under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. These protestors have erected tents and have resisted requests to leave. The protestors believe the freedom of assembly gives them a right to stay put and to occupy these public spaces.

1. What do you think?

2. Using the considerations discussed in "Our Rights Have Limits" section, how might the protest activities of the Occupy D.C. movement be protected by the freedom of assembly?

3. From a different perspective, how might Occupy D.C.'s protest activities NOT fall under the protection of the right to peaceful assembly?

NOTE to students: In this question and the ones that follow, we provide some ideas to consider before answering the question. What compelling interests might the government have? Do you think it's very important for the government to keep its parks sanitary so that rats and other rodents don't move in? Can city workers provide sanitation services without making the protestors leave? What if the protestors promise to keep everything clean?

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4. What if an Occupy protestor were to have a medical emergency?

CONSIDER: How will EMTs locate the right tent on Freedom Plaza? If the protestors were to organize their tent city into streets and label each tent, would that satisfy your concern? Is there a compelling interest in having proper addresses in case emergency medical personnel need to reach a person?

5. If government required the protestors to have a plan for handling basic needs, and they provide one, should they be permitted to stay?

CONSIDER: Without running water, how are these people bathing? Where are they going to the bathroom? What if occupants rent a portable toilet? Does the government have a compelling interest in ensuring that the smell doesn't offend neighbors?

6. If children are present in the tent city, does the government have a right to remove them and their parents or guardians?

**CONSIDER:** Is there a compelling interest in making sure those children are properly taken care of? Aren't there plenty of homeless children that the government doesn't seem to care about? Are there other ways of ensuring child safety?

As you can see from all these questions, the constitutionality of Occupy D.C.'s occupancy of the downtown parks is a very complex issue.

*This lesson is written by Jason M. Whittle. Jason will graduate in May 2012 from American University Washington College of Law. During the 2010-2011 school year, he co-taught a course called Youth Justice in America at Capital City Public Charter School in Washington, D.C. Before coming to law school, Jason worked as a set designer, stage manager, and technical director in various theaters in Madison, Wisconsin, and in the art departments of films shot in the U.S. and in the U.K. Jason graduated from the University of Wisconsin - Madison in 2005, with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theater and Drama.*

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## YOU AND YOUR RIGHTS

# The Continuing Importance of the Right to Petition

The right to petition is often overlooked, forgotten, and ignored. The language of the First Amendment is rather clear and unambiguous when it comes to this particular right and its protections are uncontroversial when compared to the freedoms of speech, press, and religion. But the right to petition was not always as bland as it seems now.



MARVIN JOSEPH — THE WASHINGTON POST

**Brendan Hearn attempts to coax drivers near the intersection of 15th and K streets to honk their horns in favor of Occupy K Street protesters gathered in McPherson Square.**

The First Amendment provides that, “Congress shall make no law ... abridging ... the right of the people ... to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” It may help us to understand the right, if we define its parts: a “petition” is a request; “redress” means to correct or to remedy; and a “grievance” is a complaint. Put into more modern language, the First Amendment simply says that people have a right to complain and to request that the government fix some problem or right some wrong. Citizens have freedom, therefore, to make complaints to their elected officials, and to seek assistance from them, without fear of punishment.

To modern readers, this right may seem so unnecessary that it is surprising anyone took the time to write it down – of course we can complain! The fact that the right to petition is so uncontroversial now is a testament to how ingrained it has become in our society. For the Founding Fathers, though, the right to petition was something not to be taken for granted.

At the core of our democracy is the principle that the power of the government comes only from the permission of the governed. Without the ability to tell the government what we think, citizens would have very little ability to affect the course that government takes. This was, in fact, one of the primary reasons for the American Revolution – the king in England wasn’t listening to the concerns of the colonists here in America.

In the Declaration of Independence, after presenting a list of wrongs committed by the British king, the Founders laid out the frustration that eventually became our First Amendment right to petition. “We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.” The king’s refusal to pay attention to the complaints of the Americans ended up costing him the colonies.

When the Framers wrote the Bill of Rights, they tried to make sure that the government they were forming would never make the same mistakes the king had made. They sought to create a political process that would be responsive to the “grievances” of the people. ■

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## The Right to Petition Is Tested

Only 45 years after the adoption of the First Amendment, the fears of the Founding Fathers were realized when the young government started ignoring the petitions of its citizens.

In 1830, John Quincy Adams became the only president in American history to be elected to Congress after leaving the White House. He was the son of our second president, John Adams, had been ambassador to the Netherlands, a U.S. senator from Massachusetts, minister to Russia, and secretary of state, before being elected president. Despite his impressive resumé, it was in the House of Representatives that he left his most lasting legacy.

In 1834, anti-slavery organizers began a campaign to submit petitions to Congress seeking an end to slavery and the slave trade in Washington, D.C. John Quincy Adams presented each petition on the floor of the House of Representatives. Some days he would present only a few petitions but on others he would present many.

Representative Adams was really starting to annoy his southern colleagues with all his anti-slavery talk and, in 1836, pro-slavery congressmen succeeded in passing a resolution that all petitions relating to slavery would not be considered, they would be set aside with no discussion. This resolution was known as the “gag rule.”

For the next eight years, the gag rule prevented anti-slavery activists from exercising their right to petition. Adams became the angry spokesperson for trying to undo the gag rule that, he argued, violated the constitutional rights of all Americans. The pro-slavery members of the House were so angry at Adams’s continued efforts to introduce anti-slavery petitions, that one representative from Alabama yelled at the former president, “I promise to cut your throat from ear to ear.”



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.GOV

**When he was a member of the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams, top, fought for the right of all to petition. The ivory cane, above, was a gift for his efforts to end the gag rule. It is now in the Smithsonian collection.**

Adams became the anti-slavery leader in the House of Representatives and all of the petitions were sent to his office. In 1838-39, more than two million signatures were sent from around the country, demanding an end to slavery in D.C. That number is especially impressive when you consider that the total population of the United States (including enslaved African Americans)

was only about 17 million. Despite the gag rule, Representative Adams introduced each and every petition, in an effort both to protect the First Amendment right to petition and finally to put an end to slavery.

On one occasion, Adams rose and asked the Speaker of the House if the rules would allow for him to introduce a petition signed by a group of slaves. Slaves were not considered citizens at that time and the southern congressmen were so outraged that they stood up to argue. Adams then mentioned that the petition was actually in favor of slavery.

The southerners realized they had been out-witted into considering the petition and had violated the gag rule themselves. The pro-slavery congressmen were enraged and moved to censure Adams, who used the opportunity to argue that the right to petition is a fundamental human right, given by God, and that government had no power to deny the right.

In 1844, after eight years, Adams succeeded in having the gag rule lifted and the right to petition was restored. He added the date to his cane inscribed with the words, “Right of Petition Triumphant.”

He was nearly 80 years old by that time and had succeeded in protecting one of the foundations of our freedoms. His work to protect the right to petition also helped to bring about the civil war, the Emancipation Proclamation, and an eventual end to slavery in our country.

Today, visitors to the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. can see the spot in National Statuary Hall where John Quincy Adams’s desk once sat. It was also on that spot, in 1848, in the middle of a debate, that he fell to the floor after suffering a stroke. The former president died two days later in an office adjoining the Hall. After his long life of serving his country, it was his protection of the right to petition that had perhaps made him most proud. ■



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## The Right to Petition Is Still Exercised

The right of petition, today, works in harmony with the other First Amendment freedoms to protect the ability of people to protest and to make their opinions heard. Consider the recent example of protest and petition in Wisconsin. How do the freedoms of speech, assembly, and petition work together to keep our democracy responsive to the will of the people?

On January 17, 2012, political activists in Wisconsin delivered a literal truckload of signatures to the doors of the Government Accountability Office in Madison. Over one million people had signed petitions seeking a recall election to replace the governor of that state. This was the most recent development in a protest campaign started in February 2011 when Republican legislators and the governor revealed plans to limit the ability of labor unions to organize. At that time, dramatic scenes began to unfold in and around the impressive marble and granite capitol building. Democratic senators, who had been in the political minority, fled the state in order to stop a vote from happening. They appeared later on the nightly news, from hotels and homes in Illinois.

Senate Republicans dispatched state police to the homes of the missing legislators and threatened to arrest them and bring them to the Senate chamber if they were found in Wisconsin.

In the meantime, crowds began to gather on the massive square surrounding the capitol building. Over the course of the next few weeks, the crowd swelled to 40-50,000 people. Drummers banged, teachers sang, people gave speeches. Local firemen and policemen organized parades to show their support for the protestors. Celebrities showed up, national news cameras appeared. Inside the building, protestors taped signs to marble columns, they hoisted flags and unrolled sleeping bags. The building shook with the sound of thousands



MATT McCLAIN — THE WASHINGTON POST

**Protesters filled the Wisconsin State Capitol in Madison on February 25, 2011, due to a budget debate that centers around raising health care premiums for government workers and eliminating union collective bargaining for them.**

of voices. Some people handcuffed themselves to railings so they could not be moved. Professors at the local university joined with their students and took over an office at the Capitol in order to better organize. High school students from all the local schools collectively, and calmly, walked out of school and marched through the streets and to the doors of the Capitol.

Facebook went nuts. People from around Wisconsin, around the country, and from around the world began calling restaurants in Madison, ordering food to

be delivered to the protestors camped out in the capitol building.

After a few weeks, the senators came back, the drummers went home, the students went back to class, and the pizza stopped being delivered. The fervor and excitement remained though, and almost a year later, as a result of those protests, organizers were able to deliver all those petitions. As a result, a recall election will likely take place by June 2012, and the citizens of Wisconsin will decide whether to remove their governor from his office after only one year. ■



*In the fall of 1999, Professor Jamin Raskin of American University Washington College of Law launched the Marshall-Brennan Constitutional Literacy Project named in honor of the late United States Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan, Jr. This project, founded with the enthusiastic support of Mrs. Cissy Marshall and the late Mrs. Mary Brennan, was designed to mobilize talented second- and third-year law students to teach courses on constitutional law and juvenile justice in public high schools in the District of Columbia and Maryland.*

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# Issa challenges Occupy D.C.'s claim to McPherson Square

By TIM CRAIG

Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally Published December 14, 2011

Amid rising tension between Occupy D.C. protesters and some congressional leaders, a House committee is investigating why the National Park Service has allowed demonstrators to remain camped in McPherson Square.

The probe by the House Oversight

and Government Reform Committee represents a new turn in the debate locally and nationally about whether Occupy Wall Street protesters should be allowed to stake claim to public property as part of their demonstrations against what they say are economic and political inequalities.

Rep. Darrell Issa (R-Calif.), the chairman of the committee, sparked the investigation with a letter to Interior Secretary Ken Salazar this week, accusing Occupy D.C. of damaging McPherson Square after \$400,000 in taxpayer funds were spent in recent years to improve

it. He also questioned whether the Park Service has disregarded its own rules by making exceptions for the 10-week-old protest.

Citing a federal law that appears to prohibit camping in the square, Issa demanded that Salazar turn over by Jan. 3 "all communication" among Park Service officials, the White House and Occupy D.C. protesters. Issa also wants a "written explanation" on why the Park Service allowed demonstrators to "camp in McPherson Square" and a

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JAH CHIKWENDU — THE WASHINGTON POST

**Larry D. Foster, aka "L.A.," is a homeless man who has become active in helping protestors occupying McPherson Square in the first weeks of the Occupy D.C. movement.**



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complete accounting of all arrests related to Occupy D.C.

"While the protesters' continued occupation of the park appears to violate the law, the NPS has not taken any action to enforce the relevant statute," Issa wrote. "This situation raises questions about why those decisions were made, who participated in making them, and whether political judgments played a role in not enforcing the law."

Interior officials did not directly address Issa's letter and gave no indication Tuesday that they would shift their stance toward the protesters.

The letter, which comes as three Occupy protesters enter the second week of their hunger strike for D.C. voting rights, represents the first direct congressional intervention in the protest on K Street.

But in a city where skepticism of congressional Republicans runs deep, the letter could help galvanize a movement that is struggling to come up with a plan for sustaining itself through the winter.

On Tuesday, the gaunt and weary protesters on the hunger strike held a day-long sit-in outside the Capitol Hill office House Speaker John A. Boehner (R-Ohio). "They are stepping all over us, and we can't let that continue," said Rooj Alwazir, 23, a McPherson Square dweller who accompanied the hunger strikers to the Hill.

A separate protest group, Stop the Machine, has a Park Service permit to keep tents in Freedom Plaza, but the demonstrators in McPherson Square, affiliated with the Occupy

Wall Street movement, do not have a permit to remain in the park overnight. While police across the country have cleared out Occupy encampments in their cities — there was an early Tuesday morning raid on a park near Baltimore's Inner Harbor — Park Service officials largely have adopted a policy of nonconfrontation with the McPherson Square protesters.

Backed by D.C. leaders sympathetic with the protesters' goals, federal officials have stressed that they have been trying to uphold the citizens' right to picket the government. Although more than 100 tents crowd McPherson Square, the federal officials have said there is precedent for allowing temporary structures on Park Service land as a part of a protest.

Adam Fetcher, Salazar's press secretary, said the agency is working with D.C. leaders to "ensure that demonstrations associated with the Occupy movement are conducted safely and in compliance with the law."

"The National Park Service and the U.S. Park Police are firmly committed to upholding Americans' First Amendment rights while also enforcing our nation's laws, guarding public safety and protecting the resources with which we are entrusted," he wrote.

In his letter to Salazar, Issa accused the Park Service of allowing protesters to kill newly planted grass and damage upgrades to the park that had been funded with a \$400,000 grant from President Obama's 2009 stimulus bill.

"We can all agree that once the federal government had invested the funds, no government agency should have allowed

it to be damaged or destroyed when it legally could have been prevented," Issa said.

Issa's letter comes as some local business leaders are growing weary of the demonstrators. Over the past two weeks, more than 100 Occupy D.C. demonstrators have been arrested for blocking traffic and for other acts of civil disobedience. The protests are aimed at a host of concerns, including perceived corporate and lobbyist influence on government.

Several high-ranking D.C. officials said the Park Service should try to avoid a high-profile clash with the protesters.

"We don't want the same thing to happen here as has happened in other cities," said Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.). "We support their underlying message. We just want them to be careful about the rights of others while they get their message out."

On Tuesday, the leaders of D.C. Vote, an advocacy group, accompanied the hunger strikers to Capitol Hill to press for voting rights and local control over the D.C. budget. Adrian Parsons, Kelly Mears and Sam Jewler sat in wheelchairs in front of Boehner's office for more than four hours in an effort to speak with him.

The speaker declined because he was focused on "getting Americans back to work," his spokeswoman said. The protesters questioned why Congress is worried "about grass seed in a park" but not "D.C. democracy." ■

*Staff writer Annie Gowen contributed to this report.*

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COURTLAND MILLOY

# Occupy D.C. has a plan: To stay in the public's face

Located on what is internationally known as the boulevard of the Washington lobbyist, the Occupy D.C. campsite on K Street sticks out like a sore thumb. And, as the protesters would like to think, a dirt-stained middle finger to those who'd dare try to make them leave.

"We're the tent people's lobby," a young protester at the McPherson Square site said recently. "We represent people who live in tents that you don't see."

He was seated at a table inside the information tent, which provides maps of the city and fliers about upcoming events — such as the Occupy Congress protest that was held Tuesday.

Asked what a tent lobby does, he replied: "We keep the tents in your face."

When D.C. Mayor Vincent C. Gray (D) recently asked the National Park Service to remove the protesters, citing health hazards caused by a rat infestation, the group released a statement warning that taking action would be "more dangerous than the problems it would purportedly solve."

In your face.

The young protesters had vowed not to go quietly from the park — just as they would not be going without fuss into the nightmarish future that was being forced upon them.

Global warming deniers, people callous to the consequences of poverty. Wars waged based on lies, millions of innocents killed. Deficits as far as the eye can see, due in large part to tax schemes favoring the rich.

Long after those responsible were dead and gone, chickens would be coming home to roost.

And to think that most of them had been born into a nation of prosperity, with low unemployment and a budget surplus, a nation relatively at peace. Now, barely into their 20s, the world had been turned upside down.

Because of greed.

"We are trying to create a community where love is valued



JAH CHIKWENDU — THE WASHINGTON POST

**With the Occupy D.C. movement now in McPherson Square, the homeless who regularly hang out at the park are generally feeling they inhabit a new village that includes more life support.**

more than money," one of the demonstrators said. "We're not sure how, but we're trying."

Mostly through serendipity and bursts of spontaneity, a community of sorts had emerged. Over the weekend, 70 or so protesters looked after the camp, which included a Comfort Station tent that distributed winter clothes, an Occu-Tea tent that dispensed water and teas, and a Radical Space tent for teach-ins about economics, politics and training in conflict resolution.

One evening not long ago, after a teach-in on

homelessness, someone got an idea to erect a two story barnlike structure in the park. They built it within hours. It was an impressive piece of work, too, sturdy enough to pass a safety inspection in some places. Although the Park Service took it down, the point had been made.

"If we can build a house that fast, why are homeless people living in tents in the woods?" the Occupier at the information tent asked.

As has been pointed out often, the movement has no leaders or spokesmen. Everyone is free to do his or her own thing, although that thing turns out to be pretty much the same.

"We're heading to the Federal Reserve," a protester announced. He explained that the Fed had assured the nation that there was no housing bubble and many who knew better were too timid to sound the alarm.

"When the bubble burst, the rich got richer, and the poor got poorer," the protester said.

Somebody had to get in the Fed's face about that.

"Some of us are heading up to Martha's Table and volunteer to serve the homeless," another protester said. "If any food is left over, we'll bring it back to the park."

What about the rat infestation?

"Georgetown has bigger rats, and nobody is trying to move residents out of there," she said. ■



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# Park Service says it will begin enforcing 'no-camping' law for Occupy D.C. protesters at McPherson Square

BY ANNIE GOWEN

*Washington Post Staff Writer*

• Originally Published January 25, 2012

The director of the National Park Service said Tuesday that U.S. Park Police will “very soon” begin enforcing a no-camping law at McPherson Square but that the Occupy D.C. movement has a prevailing First Amendment right to continue its vigil there.

“We are about to enforce the camping regulations, but we are not evicting the Occupiers under any circumstances, unless there is an emergency,” National Park Service Director Jonathan B. Jarvis said Tuesday at a subcommittee hearing of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee, which oversees the District.

A spokesman for the Park Service later clarified that, while the Park Police will encourage the protesters to sleep elsewhere, those who ignored such entreaties risked being arrested or cited.

During a series of sometimes sharp exchanges, committee members quizzed Jarvis about the Park Service’s handling of the situation at McPherson Square, where protesters in solidarity with the Occupy Wall Street movement have been camping without a permit since Oct. 1.

The protesters have come under fire in recent days

for health and safety concerns after the District’s health director said the rat population was “exploding” in the area and an infant was found abandoned in a tent.

Republicans on the subcommittee often seemed exasperated as they pressed the Park Service for its legal reasoning allowing the protesters to stay in violation of its own no-camping regulations. The Park Service has said decades of case law supports protesters’ right to operate a 24-hour vigil on parkland; Republicans cited a Supreme Court opinion that says protesters can stay — but not sleep — in public parks.

Rep. Trey Gowdy (R-S.C.), the subcommittee’s chairman, said the Park Service has created a precedent for others to freely camp on federal land despite rules prohibiting it.

“I find it curious tourists can’t pitch a tent in McPherson Square for fun, but if they’re pitching a camp in protest of fun

then the National Park Service would welcome them,” Gowdy said.

About 30 members of Occupy D.C. were in the hearing room. They did not interrupt the proceedings, although they said afterward that they strongly objected to not being allowed to testify about their own activities.

Sara Shaw, one of the protesters, said that they were disappointed to hear that the Park Service would begin enforcing the law against illegal camping and that the group hoped to work with the agency to find another solution.

“We’re not going to go easily,” Shaw said. “We’re here fighting for our First Amendment rights and for what we believe in. And occupying that space is one of our tactics.”

Jarvis said the Park Service would give the protesters one more official warning before beginning enforcement in the coming days. So far the Park Police have made more than 80 arrests at the site on McPherson Square and another encampment on Freedom Plaza for various offenses, including theft and assault.

Paul Quander, the District’s deputy mayor for public safety and justice, said after the hearing that the city would still prefer to have the square at least temporarily cleared so cleaning and rat abatement could be done. The city estimates that it has spent \$1.6 million policing and maintaining the protest sites. ■



MATT MCCLAIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Rows of tents of Occupy D.C. protesters line a sidewalk in McPherson Square blocks from the White House.**

*Staff writer Tim Craig contributed to this report.*

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# The Arab Winter

Middle East expert Daniel Byman explains why the Arab Spring's optimism gave way to chaos and repression — and what Washington can do about it

One year after a Tunisian fruit vendor set himself on fire in an act of defiance that would ignite protests and unseat long-standing dictatorships, a harsh chill is settling over the Arab world. The peaceful demonstrations in Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen that were supposed to bring democracy have instead given way to bloodshed and chaos, with the forces of tyranny trying to turn back the clock.

It is too soon to say that the Arab Spring is gone, never to resurface. But the Arab Winter has clearly arrived.

Tunisia, where it all began, recently carried out free elections. But that country — small, ethnically and religiously homogenous, and prosperous — was always a more likely candidate for a successful transition to democracy. Elsewhere in the Middle East, Saudi troops helped orchestrate a crackdown on demonstrators in Bahrain, regime forces gun down protesters in Syria, and Yemen crumbles into civil war, with al-Qaeda running rampant in the countryside. In Libya, we see warlords, Islamists, tribal leaders and would-be democrats vying for power in the post-Gaddafi world. And in Egypt, where the fall of President Hosni Mubarak in February gave us the defining images of the Arab Spring, the military is trying to keep its hands on power.

So what went wrong — and what will an Arab Winter mean for the Middle East, the United States and the rest of the world?

The reason the Middle East has long seemed like infertile soil for democracy



MAHMUD HAMS/AGENCE FRANCE PRESS VIA GETTY IMAGES

**EGYPT: Soldiers stand guard as voters line up at a Cairo polling station in late November. Egypt is conducting its first parliamentary elections since the revolution of last winter, but protests against the military's efforts to remain in power have led to violence.**

is not because Arab peoples do not want to vote or otherwise be free — poll after poll confirms the opposite — but rather because entrenched dictators had long imprisoned or killed dissenters, bought off opponents, undermined civil society, and divided or intimidated their people. And when dictators fall, their means of preserving power do not always fall with them.

In Egypt, the military ushered Mubarak out of office, but stayed in as a supposed caretaker and is reluctant to relinquish power. Now the security

forces have again shot people in Tahrir Square. In Yemen and Libya, tribes and other power centers often opposed the old order, but they saw one another as rivals, too. Throughout the region, the police and the judiciary are broken after years of dictatorship, but there is nothing to take their place.

Moreover, the demonstrations that led to the ouster of rulers such as Mubarak and Tunisia's Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali hardly offered a clear governing

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

**LIBYA:** Saif al-Islam Gaddafi, seated, son of the former dictator, is surrounded by his captors in November 2011. With Moammar Gaddafi's regime gone, Libya's various factions are now competing for power.

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alternative. Although they embodied a genuine outpouring of popular rage, the protests were largely leaderless and loosely organized, often via social media; there was no African National Congress or Corazon Aquino to take the reins. You cannot govern by flash mob.

And the opposition voices that were organized were not necessarily the most democratic. With the Arab Spring, Islamist forces rose to prominence. In Tunisia, a moderate Islamist party won victory in the October elections, gaining 89 of 217 seats in parliament, dwarfing the 29 seats of its nearest — secular — competitor. In Morocco, where the king has opened the political system somewhat, the Islamist party likewise won a plurality of the vote in the November elections.

Disciplined by years underground, Islamist groups have popular support

because of the social services they provide and the repression they suffered. They were allowed to have a role in society but with limited political participation. Now that groups such as Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood are poised to do well in free parliamentary elections, they are unlikely to accept those old bargains with the military junta in Egypt or other old-regime forces elsewhere.

Brotherhood leaders have learned to mouth a commitment to pluralism and tolerance, but it is unclear that they would act on it when in power. More hard-line Islamists are openly skeptical of democracy, seeing it as a means of gaining power and not as a model for governing. Egyptian salafists, who espouse a more puritanical version of Islam, have also entered the political system and are performing unexpectedly well in the elections; their demands for Islamicizing society are extreme and may push the Brotherhood to pursue a more radical agenda when in power.

These domestic forces often deter democracy in subtle ways, but some other reactionary forces are more brazen. In March, Saudi troops drove across the causeway to neighboring Bahrain, backing a brutal crackdown against Shiite protesters. At home and abroad, the Saudis have spent tens of billions to buy off dissent. Riyadh has pushed fellow monarchs in the Arabian Peninsula and in Jordan to stop any revolutionary movements, and the Saudis are offering a haven for dictators down on their luck, such as Tunisia's Ben Ali.

The Saudi royals not only worry about their own power diminishing, but fear that change elsewhere would be an opening for their arch-rival Iran and for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. As Middle East expert Bruce Riedel puts it, the Saudis have proclaimed a 21st-century version of the Soviet-era Brezhnev doctrine: "No revolution will be tolerated in a bordering kingdom."

A faltering Arab Spring doesn't mean we will return to a world of dictators and secret police. Not only are Mubarak, Ben Ali and Moammar Gaddafi gone, but so are the cults of personality they nurtured. Bashar al-Assad may cling to power in Syria, but he will be isolated abroad and hollow at home. Even regimes that have experienced limited unrest — Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Algeria — are entering a new era.

Where old regimes survive, they will be weak; where new ones come in, they will be weaker, because old institutions can be destroyed more quickly than new ones can be built. Both new and old leaders must play to public opinion, and this may lead to rash, incoherent foreign policies, as politicians make campaign promises that are not in their countries' interests to fulfill.

Israel, of course, is the easiest card to play. A Pew Research Center poll taken after Mubarak's fall found that Egyptians

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avored annulling the 32-year-old peace treaty with Israel by 54 percent to 36 percent, and — no surprise — many mainstream leaders have criticized it. Indeed, Israel can serve as a perfect diversion to struggling governments. In May, as unrest swept across Syria, the regime encouraged Palestinians to march across the Syrian border into the Golan Heights, leading to four deaths when an Israeli border patrol shot Palestinians as they broke through a frontier fence.

Even if violence involving Israel does not escalate, a renewed push for peace seems unlikely. “The ugly facts,” wrote former Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens, “are that the two peace treaties that Israel concluded so far — the one with Egypt and the other with Jordan — were both signed with dictators: Anwar Sadat and King Hussein.” It is hard to imagine new leaders, who need to play to anti-Israel public opinion, sitting down with their Israeli counterparts to advance peace.

Anti-Americanism is also likely to rise in the Arab Winter — and it matters much more now that governments will seek to be in tune with public sentiment. After Mubarak’s fall, for

example, only one in five Egyptians had a favorable view of the United States (just slightly higher than under Mubarak), and even in Mideast nations that are allied with Washington, majorities identify the United States and Israel among the top two threats to their security.

One of the ironies of U.S. support for democratic change is that the autocrats have traditionally been more pro-American than the democrats. Now, forces of the old regimes feel that Washington abandoned them at their most vulnerable time, and Jordan and Saudi Arabia are livid that the United States abruptly dumped Mubarak and question the U.S. commitment to their security.

The United States may end up with the worst of both worlds: scorned by the forces of democracy because of its ties to dictators, but disdained by dictators — whose cooperation is vital to U.S. economic and security interests — for reaching out to democrats.

The most dangerous outcome of the Arab Winter, however, is the spread of chaos and violence. In Syria, where thousands

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SUHAIB SALEM — REUTERS

**EGYPT: Protesters in Cairo demand that the army hand over power to civilians. Many say they have grown cynical about the promise of elections.**



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5have already died, the body count may grow exponentially as sectarian killings spread and peaceful protesters take up arms. In Yemen, the resignation of Ali Abdullah Saleh has not ended the turmoil throughout the country. And Libya, lacking strong institutions and divided by tribal and political factions, may never get its new government off the ground.

If unrest spreads, families will leave their homes, burdening neighboring states and incubating fighters for future conflicts. Perhaps 1 million Libyans sought refuge in nearby countries while civil war raged there this year. Tens of thousands of Syrians have fled, and more will leave if the violence there escalates — as it shows every sign of doing. In Turkey, Syrian refugees could become a source of recruits for a future opposition army that would fight the regime in Damascus.

These conflicts could widen if neighbors intervene, whether because they fear more instability or because they want to consolidate their influence across borders. Saudi Arabia has long meddled in Yemen, for example, and the collapse of that regime may lead the Saudis to move directly against al-Qaeda forces and other perceived threats there. Meanwhile, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Jordan and Israel all have strong interests in Syria and may arm factions or otherwise get involved simply to offset their rivals. Neighboring Lebanon's history of civil war and foreign intervention offers a depressing precedent for how a local conflict can drag in neighbors.

Distrusted and broke, the United States can do little to make the Arab Winter better, but it can do a lot to make it worse. The value and possibility of economic aid, for instance, are questionable. Regimes such as Mubarak's used American aid to prop themselves up and resist democracy. While supporting new democratic parties is a better use of dollars, it is hard to imagine a budget-conscious Congress approving serious aid for new governments that will inevitably include anti-American Islamist groups with a questionable commitment to democracy. Nor would the region's true democrats necessarily welcome U.S. support, with its stench of foreign interference.

Washington has the most influence with the region's militaries, but supporting them presents a dilemma. Militaries were

supposed to be the “orderly” part of an orderly transition to democracy in the Middle East, but as Egypt's experience makes clear, most officers want to keep their perks and power, and U.S. support can help them do that. Outside Egypt, militaries are politicized by tribe (Yemen), sect (Syria) and loyalty to the old order (everywhere), making them part of the problem, not the solution.

The Arab Spring began without U.S. help, and the people of the region will be the ones to determine its future. Washington should recognize that change is coming and support it, especially in key power centers such as Egypt. But inevitably it will play catch-up, managing crises where it can or must to keep instability from spreading. This could involve helping refugees, using diplomacy to try to prevent neighbors from intervening and escalating a conflict, and continuing to aggressively pursue al-Qaeda affiliates so they do not threaten Arab nations or the United States.

Just a few months ago, President Obama optimistically declared that, across the Arab world, “those rights that we take for granted are being claimed with joy by those who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist.”

We can hope that Tunisia will lead the region not only in loosening that grip, but in creating real democracy through free elections. However, we must also recognize that the Arab Spring may not bring freedom to much, or even most, of the Arab world. Even as the United States prepares to work with the region's new democracies, it also must prepare for the chaos, stagnation and misrule that will mark the Arab Winter. ■

— December 4, 2011

*Daniel Byman is a professor in the security studies program at Georgetown University and research director at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy. He is a co-author of The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East and the author of A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism. He may be reached at [dlb32@georgetown.edu](mailto:dlb32@georgetown.edu).*

## Fear and freedom    The Arab Spring has produced mixed results, from peaceful elections to violent crackdowns.    By Daniel Byman

COUNTRY	FALLEN DICTATOR	ISLAMIST INFLUENCE	MILITARY CRACKDOWN	CIVIL WAR	FREE ELECTIONS
<b>Tunisia</b>	On Jan. 14, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali resigned and fled to Saudi Arabia.	The moderate Islamist party Ennahda won a plurality in October elections.	More than 200 people died in Ben Ali's failed attempt to crack down on protests.		In October, many parties participated in elections deemed free and fair.
<b>Egypt</b>	Hosni Mubarak resigned on Feb. 11 following massive protests.	Early results suggest the Muslim Brotherhood is the likely winner of ongoing parliamentary elections, with more extreme salafists also doing well.	Almost 1,000 people died when demonstrators clashed with Mubarak's security services; fewer arrests and deaths have occurred in subsequent months as Egypt's military regime clashes with pro-democracy demonstrators.		Free elections for Egypt's lower house of parliament began in November and will finish in January.
<b>Libya</b>	Dictator Moammar Gaddafi was killed on Oct. 20.	Islamists are organized and played an important military role in the anti-Gaddafi struggle.		Perhaps 25,000 people died in a brutal civil war, but NATO support for anti-Gaddafi forces tipped the balance.	
<b>Syria</b>	Bashar al-Assad still clings to power.	Islamists are a key part of the opposition, but their strength relative to other groups is unclear.	More than 3,000 people have died in the ongoing regime crackdown.	A civil conflict appears to be starting, with the once-peaceful opposition fighting back and sectarian violence underway.	
<b>Yemen</b>	Last month, Ali Abdullah Saleh agreed to surrender power on Dec. 23.	Islamists are an important component of the opposition, and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula is based in Yemen.	Figures are unclear, but possibly 2,000 people have died.	Yemen already experienced three major rebellions before the Arab Spring; new demonstrations and violence have further weakened the government and created a power struggle that could escalate into a wider civil war or a failed state.	
<b>Bahrain</b>	King Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa and his family remain in power.	Shiite Muslim groups led the protests, but their focus was on freedom and community rights, not religious issues.	There have been several dozen deaths and widespread arrests.		

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# For Libyans, democracy from scratch

## NO ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE

### High hopes persist despite challenges

BY ALICE FORDHAM  
*Washington Post Staff Writer*

• Originally Published November 14, 2011

TRIPOLI, LIBYA — In an improvised office daubed with revolutionary slogans, part of an appropriated complex in Tripoli that once housed Moammar Gaddafi's cronies, rebel commander Muhammad Zintani contemplated his future.

"I am thinking of forming a political party," he said, still in his uniform and sporting a bushy beard grown on the battlefield. "Democracy and social justice is what it would stand for," he added, insisting that he would give fair trials to loyalists of the regime that he fought to topple.

But outside, the youthful fighters he commands rip up Gaddafi's green flag and fire rounds of heavy artillery, reminders that Libya's new politicians are emerging from a chaotic and volatile situation.

The country's interim leaders have called for parliamentary elections to be held by late June. Mahmoud Jibril, the prime minister when that timetable was set, has more recently said the process should be sped up to avoid a power



ISMAIL ZITOUNI — REUTERS

**Fighters in the Libyan revolution held a demonstration outside the prime minister's office demanding that their wages be paid.**

vacuum. But others fear that even a June vote would not allow enough time to prepare for an election in a place that has not seen one in more than four decades.

There are no voter lists, no electoral districts, no rules about who can run for office. And in a country where all political activity was brutally suppressed, few people understand the concept of a political party.

"Libya is coming from nowhere in terms of useful electoral experience," said Ian Martin, the United Nations envoy here. U.N. teams will play a major role in planning the elections.

#### A big education project

Organizations such as the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, the U.S. Agency

for International Development and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems are helping nascent political and community groups and educating voters.

But the ruling Transitional National Council has yet to designate Libyan officials to organize the vote, nor has it decided whether those close to the former regime will be allowed to stand for election.

In neighboring Tunisia, last month's elections were declared free and fair by international observers, with voters celebrating as they cast their ballots. But the logistical challenges in Libya — which lacks any election infrastructure — are far greater.

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“The baseline for elections here is different from neighboring countries,” said Maryann Maguire, a British governance adviser who has been working with the transitional council in the east of the country. “People don’t know what elections are, what a political party is and how they form, how do you cast a ballot.”

Many observers are cautiously optimistic about the prospect of a fair vote. The ruling council has called for transparency — a sharp contrast with

to cast their votes were inspiring, she said, but in Libya, which was more cut off from the world, she fears that it will be years before a structured political system emerges.

“We don’t know anything about freedom and democracy. It is a big challenge,” she said, adding that a Tunisian requirement that electoral lists include 50 percent women would be unacceptable to many Libyans. At a women’s conference in Tripoli on Sunday, however, the transitional justice

democracy was not on his mind as he fought his way to Tripoli from the western mountains.

“We were simply fighting for freedom,” he said. “Did we go into cities thinking about the vote? No, the job at hand was just to liberate ourselves from Gaddafi.”

But Najjair is setting up a political party, motivated by frustration at the lack of jobs, money and hospital treatment for those who fought to overthrow the regime. Libyans, he said, are eager to learn about politics and elections, but deeply rooted cultural and religious norms will inevitably inform their choices.

“You’re not going to win a vote here seeking a secular state, absolutely, definitely,” he said. His party, he said, will adopt “moderate, democratic, Islamic values.”

In Tripoli, many people have high hopes for elections, though most acknowledge that Libya has a lot to learn.

“We are glad to vote,” said Basheer Zaid, who owns a fruit stall in a bustling market. “We will slowly understand what an election is. For years, we were ignorant. Like gangsters, there were tribes against each other.”

“I am going to educate myself to find out what an election is, using the television and Internet,” said Fawzia Tajjoura, a 43-year-old teacher at a nearby sheep market. But Siraj Muftah, a 24-year-old student standing nearby, interrupted a chorus of people expressing hope for a democratic future.

“Things are not yet clear,” he said. “This is a new revolution, and you cannot tell where things will go. An election itself is not good. We have to see if what happens after the voting is good.” ■

*“I am going to educate myself to find out what an election is, using the television and Internet.”*

**Fawzia Tajjoura**, a 43-year-old teacher

Egypt, where the army, which took control after the fall of Hosni Mubarak in February, said in July that foreign observers would not be allowed during elections this month.

#### Implementing a fair vote

In a hotel lobby in Tripoli, rushing between meetings with activists, academics and political officials, Salwa Bugaighis, a lawyer who was part of the initial uprising in the eastern city of Benghazi, said she is overwhelmed by the work necessary to implement a fair vote.

“It’s very important for us to reach democracy — it’s the goal of the revolution,” she said. “But in eight months, I don’t know if we can make it.”

Bugaighis recently returned from Tunisia, where she and other female activists observed the election. It was the first time any of them had seen a ballot box or party slogan. The lines of people waiting for hours in the heat

minister, Mohammed al-Alagi, called for a parliamentary quota of more than 25 percent women.

Bugaighis is contemplating running for office herself but said she fears that the first elected government, which will write the country’s new constitution and laws, will consist largely of men from the country’s 50 or so tribes, who hold substantial sway in society.

“I wish it were not the case,” she said. “But you can’t change [Libyans’] mentality immediately. It will take some time.”

In the short term, candidates are likely to emerge from among those who were — secretly, under Gaddafi — linked with the Muslim Brotherhood and the immensely popular leaders of the rebel army, who often command largely regional loyalties. Many of the tens of thousands of rebel fighters say they want to vote for someone who shared their experiences.

Housam Najjair, a Libyan-Irish citizen who joined the armed rebels, said

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# Medvedev derided for Facebook post announcing probe of election fraud

BY KATHY LALLY

*Washington Post Staff Writer*

MOSCOW — President Dmitry Medvedev used his Facebook page Sunday to disclose that he had ordered an investigation into reports of election fraud, a statement his audience greeted with derision.

The posting quickly went viral, and it drew more than 8,000 mostly offended and even offensive comments in a little over six hours, revealing the depth of the disillusionment with Medvedev, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and their government. Tens of thousands of Russians spoke up in demonstrations across the country Saturday, protesting the Dec. 4 parliamentary elections, and they apparently had no intention of returning to their former silence.

“Shame!” was a frequent comment, along with “You’re pathetic.”

The commenters’ posts Sunday revealed astonishing candor and courage. It’s one thing to stand in a Moscow crowd of up to 40,000, according to estimates, and call for new elections. It’s another matter to advertise your anger and disgust on the president’s Facebook page, where it doesn’t take a KGB agent to make a quick identification.

In posting on Facebook, Medvedev was attempting to respond to Russians who organized Saturday’s protest online, who are angry because they suspect the election was rigged in favor of the ruling United Russia Party.

“I agree neither with the slogans, nor the statements voiced at the protests,” Medvedev wrote. “Nevertheless, I have



ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO — ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Nationalists rally at Bolotnaya Square, on an island in the Moscow River adjacent to the Kremlin.**

ordered checks into all the reports from polling stations, regarding the compliance with the election laws.”

One reason for the skepticism that greeted his remarks: Medvedev is the head of United Russia and was the top candidate on its party list in the election. He nominates the chief prosecutor and judges, who might not be eager to pursue those working on behalf of the ruling party.

Medvedev, famous for tweeting and carrying an iPad, routinely orders investigations into all sorts of matters: the beating a year ago of the journalist Oleg Kashin, the death of lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, the forest fires that burned out of control in 2010, a blaze at a retirement home in 2009. Nothing has

come of those.

When he blandly announced Sept. 24 that he would relinquish the presidency after one term so that Putin could run in March and take it back, he finally lost his credibility among Russians who had been counting on him as a progressive counterpoint to Putin.

“I haven’t noticed anything good coming from your presidency,” one commenter wrote Sunday. “And on my meager doctor’s salary it has become even worse. Leave now, and don’t wait for the Tahrir Spring. It is going to happen, I promise you.”

Frustration was also evident at Medvedev’s talk of an investigation

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ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO — ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Several hundred nationalists rallied in Moscow to demand a greater say for ethnic Russians in the country's politics.**

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when protesters were demanding new elections. "Have you lost your mind? How many do you need? 100,000 at the Kremlin?"

On Thursday, Vladimir Churov, head of the Central Election Commission and a longtime Putin ally, said he asked prosecutors to look into the videos posted on the Internet that showed purported violations. He promised that infractions would be pursued but suggested that many may have been faked, filmed in someone's apartment. "Those who created, commissioned or sponsored them will be held to account," he said.

That reminded one commenter of Putin's accusations that same day against Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, saying that she criticized the

election before the vote was counted and signaled the protests to begin. Earlier, Putin attacked Golos, Russia's only independent monitor, because it receives European and U.S. grants.

The commenter said the United States had probably arranged for the huge demonstrations to be filmed in someone's apartment.

A sentiment heard from many at Saturday's protest in Moscow was echoed in a comment on Facebook: "I don't know anyone among my colleagues, neighbors, acquaintances and friends who voted for United Russia. We all have a sense of the real total."

One comment in particular reflected the tone of the protest, which was dominated by the middle class and the well educated.

"Obviously, he doesn't agree with Gauss," one commenter wrote, referring

to pioneering mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauss, who lived 200 years ago. Disenchanted Russians argue that United Russia's reported election results are so improbable as to violate Gauss's groundbreaking work on statistics.

At Saturday's rally, Artyom Zhilin, a 36-year-old psychotherapist, and his wife, Alla, a 27-year-old craft-maker, were holding a large sign that depicted Gauss with goat horns coming out of his head. The message: Putin's supporters like to insult the opposition by calling them goats, and because Gauss's work doesn't square with the vote tallies, he must also be against Putin — and thus a goat.

"We really hate stupidity," Zhilin said.

■

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## Academic Content Standards

*This lesson addresses academic content standards of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.*

### Maryland

**Geography:** Use geographic tools to locate places and describe the human and physical characteristics in the contemporary world

- a. Use maps to compare geographic locations of places and regions (Standard 3.0, Grade 7)

**Government:** The student will demonstrate an understanding of the historical development and current status of principles, institutions and processes of political systems (Goal 1, Political Systems)

- The student will analyze historic documents to determine the basic principles of United States government and apply them to real-world situations Goal 1, Indicator 1.1.1)

**Government:** The student will evaluate how the United States government has maintained a balance between protecting rights and maintaining order (Goal 1, Political Systems, Expectation 1.2)

**Government:** The student will compare and evaluate the effectiveness of the United States system of government and various other political systems (Goal 2, Peoples of The Nation and World, Indicator 2.2)

The Maryland Voluntary State Curriculum Content Standards can be found online at <http://mdk12.org/assessments/vsc/index.html>.

### Virginia

**History and Social Studies:** The student will demonstrate knowledge of civil liberties and civil rights by

- a) examining the Bill of Rights, with emphasis on First Amendment freedoms ;
- d) exploring the balance between individual liberties and the public interest;
- e) explaining every citizen's right to be treated equally under the law (Virginia and United States Government, 11)

**Civics and Economics:** The student will demonstrate knowledge of citizenship and the rights, duties and responsibilities of citizens by

- b) describing the First Amendment freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition, and the rights guaranteed by due process and equal protection of the laws;
- d) examining the responsibilities of citizenship, including registering and voting, communicating with government officials, participating in political campaigns, keeping informed about current issues, and respecting differing opinions in a diverse society (CE.3)

**Fine Arts, Visual Arts:** The students will investigate and discuss the use of social, cultural, and historic context as they contribute to meaning in a work of art. (Judgment and Criticism, 8.17)

#### **Fine Arts, Visual Communication and**

**Production:** The student will select among a range of subject matter, symbols, meaningful images, and media to communicate personal expression. (AIV.6)

Standards of Learning currently in effect for Virginia Public Schools can be found online at [www.doe.virginia.gov/testing/sol/standards\\_docs/index.shtml](http://www.doe.virginia.gov/testing/sol/standards_docs/index.shtml)

### Washington, D.C.

**English:** Determine meanings, pronunciations, contextually appropriate synonyms and antonyms, replacement words and phrases, etymologies, and correct spellings of words using dictionaries, thesauri, histories of language, and books of quotations (Strand Language Development, Vocabulary and Concept Development, 9.LD-V.9)

**US Government:** Students evaluate and take and defend positions on the scope and limits of rights and obligations as democratic citizens, the relationships among them, and how they are secured

- a. Discuss the meaning and importance of each of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights and how each is secured (e.g., freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, petition) (12.8)

**World History and Geography II, The Industrial Revolution to the Modern Age:** Students analyze major developments in Africa since World War II.

11. Describe the challenges in the region, including its geopolitical, cultural, military, and economic significance and the international relationships in which it is involved (Era VIII, Grade 10)

Learning Standards for DCPS are found online at <http://dcps.dc.gov/DCPS/In+the+Classroom/What+Students+Are+Learning>