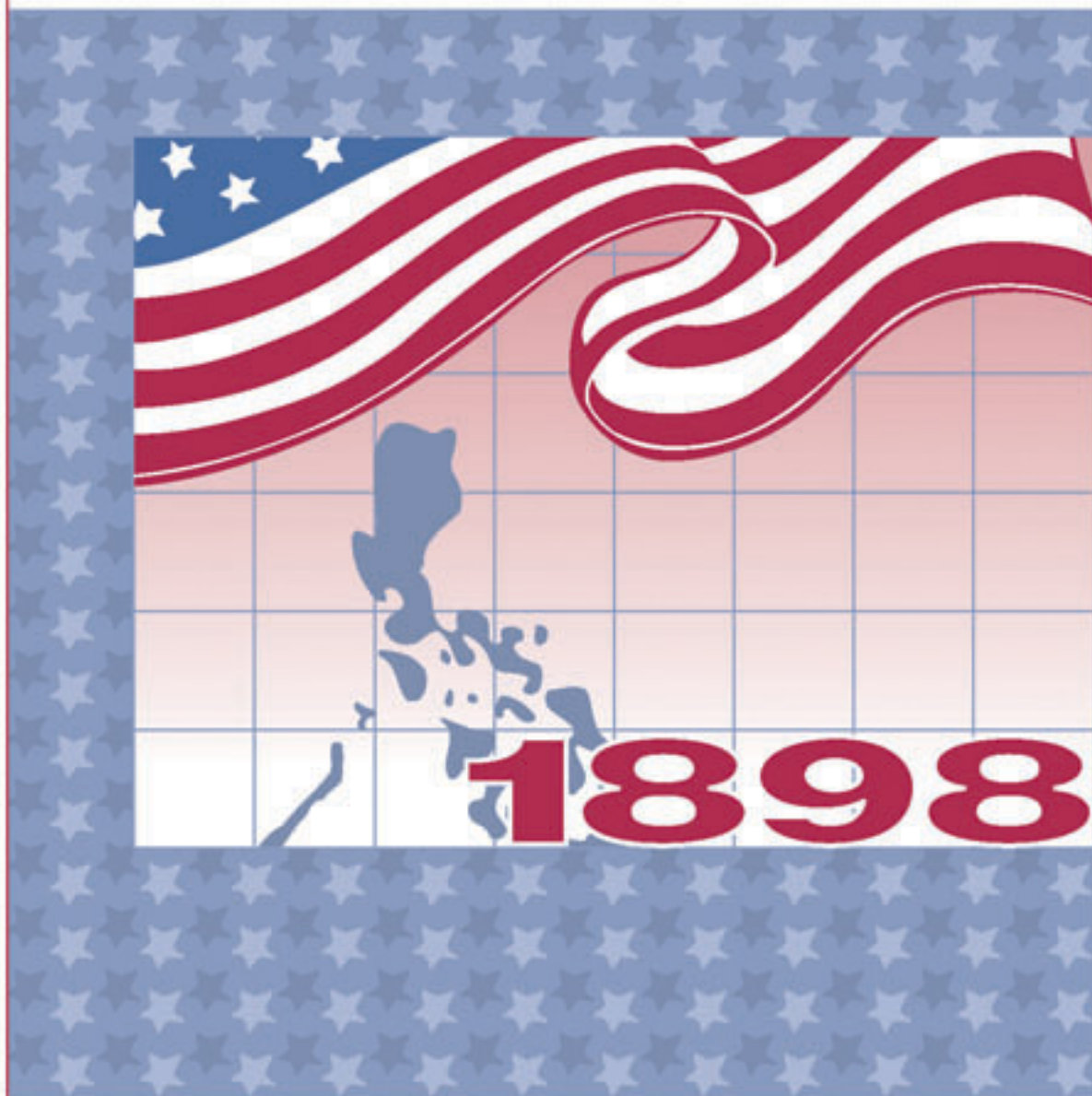


THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ANNEXATION DEBATE



A Re-creation of the Nation's Dilemma, Debating Whether
or Not to End Its Isolationist Era



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**A re-creation of the nation's dilemma,
debating whether or not to end its isolationist era**

THOMAS R. BROCK, now deceased, wrote THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ANNEXATION DEBATE. Tom graduated from Lakeland College in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and earned his M.A. in Contemporary American Studies from Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. For Interact Tom also wrote three other debate re-creations as well as individual learning projects—TELEVISION and AUTOMOBILE. He taught social studies at Baraboo High School, Baraboo, Wisconsin, where he coached varsity football and track and field.

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What foreign policy issues of today parallel foreign policy issues of 1898?

This re-creation of an 1898 debate over the annexation of the Philippine Islands will permit your students to experience vicariously an important moment in American history. The issues that were in conflict—imperialism, a nation’s selfish or humanitarian motives, and American status as a world power—loom as large today as they did nearly 100 years ago. Specifically, your students will experience the following:

Knowledge

1. Late 19th-century assumptions and beliefs about America’s status as a world power
2. The many foreign policy questions debated across America during the 1890s: *What is our country’s duty and destiny? Does might make right? Will expansionism mean prosperity? Are there legal and moral limits to imperialism? Does military necessity require American expansion into the Far East?*

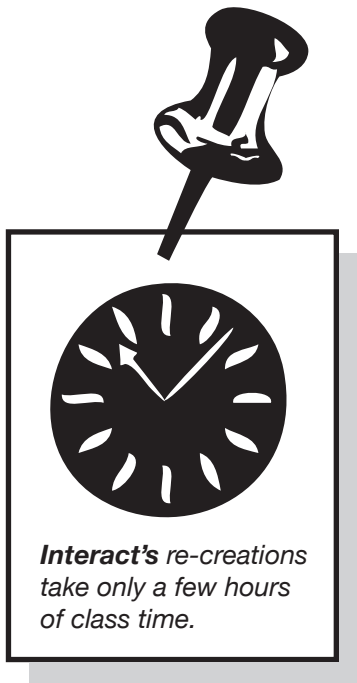
Attitudes

1. Understanding that sincere, learned persons can disagree significantly on foreign policy issues because of differing personal value perspectives
2. Appreciating the importance of our country developing foreign policy positions today just as America did during the 1890s

Skills

1. Intertwining role identity information with an argument spoken or with a question asked or answered
2. Assuming an identity, standing up, and speaking before a whole class
3. Listening carefully enough to be able to take specific detail notes under generalized headings

OVERVIEW



Four class periods—or days—are needed for this re-creation.

Day 1

After an interest catcher that makes students aware that they do have assumptions about America's role as an imperialist nation, students read the Student Guide's Background Essay on the issue of whether or not to annex the Philippine Islands. Then they are grouped into three factions: 1) eight imperialist speakers; 2) eight anti-imperialist speakers; 3) uncommitted individuals who will ask questions of the debaters. The three groups get separate handouts, which individuals study in order to contribute to the next day's debate.

Days 2-3

The room is changed into a special debate arrangement. Eight pairs of speakers debate the annexation question at an imaginary meeting in Kansas City in 1898: eight debaters speak for annexing the Philippine Islands; eight speak against; the remaining uncommitted persons ask specific questions of specific speakers. Regular votes are taken as the paired debaters present formal arguments and answer specific questions. Eventually one side is declared the winner.

Day 4

Either in study pairs or activity groups students debrief what happened during the previous days' debate. They emphasize late 19th-century thoughts and beliefs about the goals and desires of the United States, the impact of imperialism, and its advantages and disadvantages. They then discuss imperialism in current affairs and what our country's position should be. As a result, students not only understand the historical context of imperialism, they also assess the United States' place among the world community of nations today.

SETUP DIRECTIONS



Certain roles are so important that only you should determine who plays them.



Note: You will not need to duplicate the bulleted items the first time you use this re-creation, for *Interact* has given you different colored handouts for those students playing roles. All other necessary items are in the *Student Guide*.

1. **Assigning roles** Decide in advance how you wish to divide your students into the three groups. Since no student has a larger responsibility than making a two-minute speech and a one-minute answer to a question, you may wish to have students pull numbered slips to determine who is to be in which group if your group is roughly homogeneous in ability. However, if not, you may wish to assign students to roles to assure that all three groups have a fair number of “vocal” persons; that is, individuals either capable of or desirous of speaking on their feet. *Note:* After duplicating a **ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: PHILIPPINE ANNEXATION DEBATE** sheet, fill in its spaces with students’ names so that you will always know the debate’s sequence. (You may also want to give each student a copy.)

2. **Handouts** See note at left the first time you use this re-creation. For subsequent classes, duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide.

- **IMPERIALISTS PRO ARGUMENTS** (eight: one page per speaker)
- **ANTI-IMPERIALISTS CON ARGUMENTS** (eight: one page per speaker)
- **UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS** (eight, cut pages in half vertically, one per questioner)

Optional:

* **ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: PHILIPPINES ANNEXATION DEBATE** (one copy for your use)

3. **Poster materials** If you wish to encourage your students to make posters with slogans on them to hang in your classroom walls during the debate, obtain some plain cardboard, butcher paper, appropriate paint, and felt pens.

4. **Follow-up reading** Since some of your students will be stimulated by the quality of the debate, encourage them to check books out of the library on the Age of Imperialism. See Bibliography on page 4.



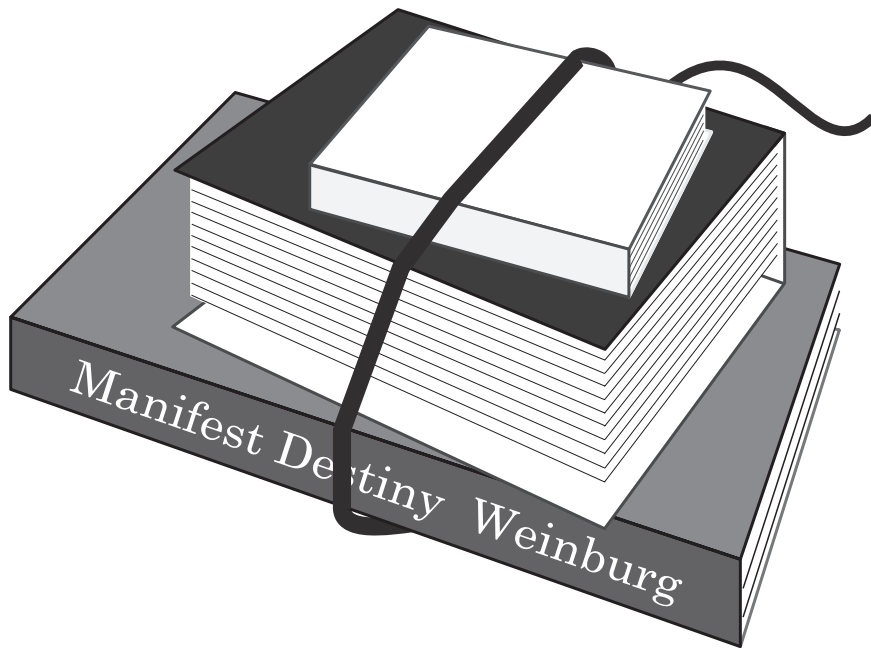
God wants us to
“take up the white
man's burden...”

An example of a poster your imperialist speakers might create for the debate

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- Weinburg, Albert, *Manifest Destiny*, Baltimore, 1935.
- Weinburg, Albert, "Populism, Imperialism, and Reform," *The Annals of America: 1885-1904*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, 1961.
- Weinburg, Albert, *The U.S. Overseas*, Time-Life, Inc., New York, 1969.

Consider asking your friendly school librarian to set up an **Age of Imperialism** reserve shelf in the school library for student use. On this shelf have him/her place books on this list which you can encourage students to read before or after the debate.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 1



Also assign your students to read the chapter in their textbook covering America's imperialist adventures in the 1890s and early 20th century. Have students pay particular attention to the maps and illustrations.

Before Day 1

(Could be one or more days in advance of Day 1)

1. Consider showing any film or filmstrip that will introduce either late 19th-century social/political roles or contemporary conflicts regarding imperialist/expansionist policies.
2. Point out how the audio-visual you have shown relates to the upcoming re-creation of the Philippine Islands Annexation Debate.
3. Encourage your students to read in the books you and your librarian have gathered on a reserve shelf labeled Age of Imperialism.

Day 1

(Some of the following teaching directions are rather brief since the instructional sequence is written out in considerable detail under Procedure in the Student Guide.)

1. If you have shown no film or filmstrip and want to awaken students to what is going to happen, consider using one of the following two optional motivators:

Option 1: Have your students take a pre-debate attitudes survey. Without any prior instructions, announce to your students that they are going to take a short survey in order to find out some of their attitudes about the United States and its policies/relationships to other countries. Request that they take the survey alone and turn it over upon completion. (Either duplicate all or some of the following 12 items or merely read them aloud.) Have your students write down an **SA, A, NO, D, or SD** for Strongly Agree, Agree, No Opinion, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.

- a. The victorious country in a war should get the spoils of war (i.e., the defeated country's resources).
- b. Manifest Destiny (the belief that a country is destined by God to expand its territory) is a just cause for expansionism.
- c. Democratic ideals should be passed on to people who have never been exposed to them.
- d. What is best for the economic prosperity of my nation should always come before any other consideration.
- e. A nation with a high standard of living has a moral obligation to aid any country/territory with an extremely low standard of living (i.e., one with a high death or illiteracy rate, low food supply, high infant mortality rate).

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 2



You might also like to consider readministering the above test after the re-creation to see if the experience has changed any students' attitudes.

- f. If placing military bases in a foreign country means security for my country, such a practice is acceptable.
- g. My past experience and my knowledge have taught me that imperialism has a negative meaning.
- h. If another country friendly with my country is in danger of being overthrown, my country has a duty to come to its assistance.
- i. A truer symbol of a country's greatness is not its acquisition of new territory, but its relinquishing of formerly held territory.
- j. I would like to see my country pursue a policy of isolationism.
- k. Imperialism is a necessary and natural outgrowth of an industrialized, capitalist society.
- l. I am proud of the United States' record of assistance to other countries over the past 85 years.

You may decide to hold a short discussion after the survey is completed. Encourage students to share their thinking with one another. Another possibility would be to have your students write their names on their surveys and turn them in. Later you could redistribute them, as part of the debriefing that follows the debate.

Option 2. Have your students take a word association test. Before you hand out the list to your students (or show the list that's written on the chalkboard), explain that a word association test only works well if persons react as quickly as possible to the word or phrase that they see. Also, point out that they may "draw a blank" on several of the choices—but not to dwell on these.

- Imperialism
- Peace Corps
- Third-world people
- Missionary work
- Multinational corporation
- American presence in Vietnam
- Economic aid to underdeveloped countries
- Colonization
- Manifest destiny
- Monroe Doctrine
- NATO, SEATO, and ANZUS
- Spanish-American War
- Military aid to allies
- White supremacy over inferior races

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 3

- Open Door Policy
- Might makes right
- U.S. relinquishes Panama Canal
- Yankee go home
- U.S. supports shah of Iran
- U.S. annexes Philippine Islands

After allowing no more than three minutes to complete the exercise, either collect unsigned papers and redistribute them throughout the class, or have students keep their own papers. Explain that these terms, in a direct or indirect manner, relate to concepts, attitudes, policies, and the history of American imperialism/expansionism. Ask students to contribute responses from their own or their classmate's paper. Discuss the associations in such a fashion as to probe any prior knowledge your students may possess about imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular. Of course, you will get diverse responses, many of which will not relate to the re-creation. However, a key purpose is to weigh generally negative responses with those that were positive. As a conclusion, you might introduce the Philippine Islands Annexation Debate with words such as these: "In 1898 many Americans held similar discussions about the positive and negative effects of acquiring the Philippine Islands...."

2. Hand out the Student Guide and have students read the introductory and Purpose paragraphs.
3. Generally explain what's going to happen during the next three days.
4. Have students read on in the Student Guide through The 8 Argument Pairs.
5. Now turn to the Procedure section in the Student Guide and cover numbers 1-7 under Day 1.
6. Of course, you have the option of giving the students an extra day to prepare. Day 2 in such a case might consist of the following:
 - a. In separate classroom areas students get together and make posters packed with 1898 imperialism and anti-imperialist slogans.
 - b. In separate conference rooms students in the same groups could try out their speeches on one another.
 - c. Students could read articles or book chapters on the Age of Imperialism.

The amount of time your students need to prepare for this re-creation will depend upon their age, ability, and experience.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 4

- d. Using part of the chalkboard or a bulletin board, you could illustrate or tack up a map of the Philippine Islands and their surrounding area. In this way you could draw attention to the impact of what the United States stood to gain or lose in 1898.

Days 2-3

1. Follow numbers 1-7 under Days 2-3 in the Student Guide's Procedure section.
2. Before the debate begins, you might like to deliver a brief lecture in which you give some additional information about the Philippine Islands Annexation decision.
 - a. When first appraised of the situation in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War, President William McKinley, who made the fateful decision to authorize annexation, was so unfamiliar with them that he was forced to look up the islands in a high school textbook.
 - b. During the uprising of Filipino guerrillas against American forces in the Philippines, anti-annexationists accused the American press of censoring news from the islands. The accusations did hold much truth, since most major news publications supported U.S. acquisition of the Philippines.
 - c. In the settlement at Paris, the price America paid to Spain for the Philippines was a mere \$20 million dollars.
 - d. By 1901 the Filipino rebels finally surrendered when their leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, was captured—but not until both sides had lost hundreds of lives.



If you are using this re-creation with more than one class, you might like to vary such follow-up activities so that different classes work on different activities and then present their conclusions to other classes via videotape.



Day 4

1. See numbers 1-2 under the Student Guide's Procedure section.
2. When you organize your study pairs or activity groups for debriefing, be sure you mix imperialists and anti-imperialists together. Don't have any study pair or activity group be only one foreign policy position.
3. Have each member of a study pair or an activity group write down his/her reactions during the two debriefing activities.
4. Using an option below or one of your own, pull together study pairs' or activity groups' thinking by having a general discussion. Here are two alternatives:

Option 1: Select one representative from each activity group to sit on a "hot seat" along with other activity groups' representatives. Conduct a general discussion of the two debriefing activities.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 5

Option 2: If you have been using study pairs, group the study pairs into four activity groups. Using the debriefing statements in the Student Guide, give each of the first three activity groups one of these statements in Activity 1: c, d, e. Give your fourth activity group the responsibility of fulfilling the Activity 2 responsibilities. Tell the groups that they have five to 10 minutes to prepare a brief report to the class on the groups' thinking. Finally, have each activity group make a brief report to the class.

Follow-up activities

1. If you wish to come up with a grade for your students' participation in this re-creation, consider having the students individually evaluate themselves as follows:

Preparation Any reading done prior to the re-creation and/or any slogans/posters made

Dress Any particular attention to dress and hairstyle

Speaking Summary of role played, ideas presented, and examples of staying "in character"

You may also wish to evaluate the students' writing: their notes on The 8 Argument Pairs and their written answers developed during debriefing.

2. If your students seem really interested in the ramifications of the issues that surfaced during the Philippine Islands Annexation Debate re-creation, consider other teaching units dealing with similar issues. For example, at **Interact** we are proud of THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM CALLEY, our re-creation in which Calley is tried for his part in the My Lai Massacre.

My Lai
William Calley

ROLE ASSIGNMENTS: PHILIPPINES ANNEXATION DEBATE (teacher use)

Speakers		Questioners
Pro 1		
Con 1		
Pro 2		
Con 2		
Pro 3		
Con 3		
Pro 4		
Con 4		
Pro 5		
Con 5		
Pro 6		
Con 6		
Pro 7		
Con 7		
Pro 8		
Con 8		

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 1

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 1 (You will speak first on the first argument pair.) You are the powerful and distinguished senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge. Having been informed of the Kansas City debate, you could not resist the opportunity to appear, especially since one of your arch-opponents on the annexation issue, Carl Schurz, will be in attendance. You have very strong views on foreign affairs, which is your true political passion. You favor a strong navy, aggressive nationalism, and the acquisition of new American territories. At the age of 48, you “cut a handsome figure” with your tall stature, your carefully tended beard and mustache, and your gentle facial features. But this does not give away your fervent ambition to acquire the Philippine Islands in the name of the United States.

Argument After the United States restores order and peace in the Philippines, we shall establish a democratic government there. As a result, the Filipinos will be able to manage their own affairs.

- a. Every person on earth should know the fruits of democracy.
- b. Our task will not be easy since the Filipinos have known only despotism.
- c. After hostilities have ended, we will return the land to the people, land which was stolen from them in the past.
- d. We will establish a comprehensive system of free education.
- e. We will guarantee the free exercise of religion.
- f. Our goal is eventual self-rule for these islands. This is a principle we have applied in all of our past territorial acquisitions. We will not forget the key idea in our Declaration of Independence: people should choose the government that controls some of their lives.
- g. Our task will require time, patience, honesty, and ability, but in time the Philippine Islands will likely be ready for statehood.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 2

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Pro 2 (You will speak first on the second argument pair.) You are the Reverend Josiah Strong, one of the most influential Protestant missionary leaders in the United States. You believe strongly in the “social gospel”; that is, you are convinced Christians prepare themselves for the hereafter by first making life more bearable for others living in this world. Central to your theme is the idea that the Anglo-Saxon race, “the race of unequalled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it,” must “civilize and Christianize” the less civilized lands of the earth. You are an emotionally demonstrative speaker, and though many at the debate may have convictions as strong as yours, few can match the passion and volume of your delivery.

Argument: God is speaking to America. He is telling us to bring these people the light of Christianity.

- a. The hand of God in history has always been plain, and it is very clear at this moment: we Christians have a duty to send missionaries to these islands in order to lead the Filipinos to God.
- b. The Protestant church is a powerful and influential ally. This church's clergy is most anxious to send out thousands of missionaries.
- c. The Filipinos are a heathen people, but sincere, dedicated missionaries will touch their hearts and lead them to accept the blessings of God and Christ.
- d. So far providence has been indulgent with us Americans, but we will be sinful if we do not accept the responsibility He has asked us to assume.
- e. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing. How can we shrink from this responsibility without hanging our heads in shame?

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 3

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 3 (You will speak first on the third argument pair.) You are Albert J. Beveridge, a famous senator from Indiana, and one of the most articulate spokesmen for American commercial growth through expansion. Your position is quite simple: Since you believe Americans are the “chosen people” of the earth, our commercial, political, and moral virtues should be exported to other countries and territories. In a famous campaign speech you once delivered, you expressed these ideals quite well: “Shall we conduct the mightiest commerce in history with the best money known to man, or shall we use the pauper money of Mexico?” (You were referring to America's traditional policy of trading primarily with hemispheric countries.) As you face reelection to the Senate in November, it is no coincidence that a trip to Kansas City will afford you national exposure and a news item for fellow Hoosiers to identify with.

Argument: Acquiring the Philippines—making these fertile islands a part of our growing American civilization—why it's a once-in-a-lifetime economic opportunity! Are we cowards who hesitate when a door is there only waiting for us to open it? Are we so feeble we lack the strength?

- a. Our industry requires more imports; we need the raw materials these islands have.
- b. The Philippines are more than 100,000 square miles of the richest and most fertile land. Think of developing and importing the following:
 1. Forests are untouched, with a variety of hard woods such as poplar and pine;
 2. Every tropical product known to man, including all citrus plants and palm products, can be grown there;
 3. The Philippines are the hemp capital of the world;
 4. There is gold throughout the islands; and
 5. Luzon has valuable deposits of copper.
- c. Currently the United States is a debtor nation, importing more than we export.
- d. Economic experts predict that within 10 years the United States could export \$25 million dollars in commodities to the Philippines. This would mean wage increases for laborer and farmer alike.
- e. The shipping, manufacturing, railroad, banking, and sales industries are only a few that would benefit by annexation.
- f. Unemployed Americans, many still reeling from the 1893 depression, could finally hope to work again.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 4

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 4 (You will speak first on the fourth argument pair.) Your name is Conrad Wilkins; you are a close personal friend of Secretary of State John Milton Hay. Because Secretary Hay is deeply involved in “drafting notes” to major powers such as England and Germany regarding an open door policy in China, he sent you a telegraph in which he asked you to represent his views in the Kansas City debate. A fellow Republican, you feel like your party colleagues: you prefer to be called an *expansionist* rather than an *imperialist*. The only specific instruction you received from John Hay was to impress upon those people assembled the strategic importance of the Philippine Islands in their relationship to the “vast and untapped” resources of China.

Argument: Once we make the Philippines a part of American territory, the “door” to the entire Far East will be wide open to our vibrant, growing nation.

- a. A trade route from Hong Kong to Manila to Honolulu to San Francisco would become a reality.
- b. The richest prize of any trading nation is China. This nation with its countless millions is a land of limitless commercial opportunities.
- c. Chinese trade has been becoming more and more crucial to the American economy. In the last decade this trade has increased 256 percent.
- d. If the United States is to continue to grow economically, we must awaken to our opportunities when they present themselves. Increased trade with the Orient is of paramount importance to American capitalism.
- e. If you look back through the commercial history of the world, you find that the people who controlled the trade of the Orient have been the people who held the purse strings of nations.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 5

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 5 (You will speak first on the fifth argument pair.) You are Alfred Thayer Mahan. At age 58 you are experiencing the pinnacle of your popularity as the world's foremost authority on naval strategy and naval power. Although your awkward build seems to deny your naval officer background, you have spent many years at sea and in the classroom developing your theories of geopolitical history. In your most influential book, *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, you declare that command of the seas is the chief element of power and prosperity of nations. This text has had such an impact that German naval officers are now required to read it. The motives of most annexationists had previously been economic self-interest until your argument favoring a program of strong national defense and military superiority gained importance. You are firmly convinced that your nation must annex the Philippines to firm up its Far Eastern chain of defense.

Argument: Annexing the Philippines will further demonstrate to the world that America has become a first-rate military power that intends to live up to its world-wide responsibilities.

- a. Our army's rapid victory in Cuba and our navy's stupendous victory at Manila Bay proved America's new military power.
- b. In order to achieve world-power status, Americans must continue to demonstrate attitudes of self-assertion and aggressiveness, qualities that God has given to the citizens of only a few superior nations.
- c. All the great masterful races of history have been fighting races.
- d. No nation will respect America unless we continue to demonstrate our new military might. We must have a strong army and a strong navy, and we must use them whenever necessary.
- e. We must protect our Pacific and Far Eastern interests.
- f. Countries such as England and Germany are watching us carefully.
- g. To have the power but then to shrink from using it is cowardly, and Americans have never been a cowardly people.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 6

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 6 (You will speak first on the sixth argument pair.) You are Robert Michelson,• attache to Theodore Roosevelt, the assistant secretary of the navy. Roosevelt has given you express instructions to alert the assembly in Kansas City to the necessity of seizing this moment to annex the Philippine Islands. Mr. Roosevelt fears that the United States will continue to grow, even if the nation doesn't increase its military defense. In such a case, he has said, America would "become an easy prey for any people which still retain those most valuable of all qualities, the soldierly virtues." Mr. Roosevelt points to Germany, France, Japan, and even our ally England, all as nations with Far Eastern ambitions. He has ordered you to relay his convictions that America must assert herself in the Far East. You also realize that Teddy Roosevelt would gladly go to war to assure America's footing in the Far East. This you will also attempt to impress upon the gathering in Kansas City.

Argument: This moment in history demands that we Americans be both realistic and opportunistic. For if we do not act now to annex the Philippines—lands that are rightfully ours—some other world power assuredly will. And the result? American power in the Far East will fade.

- a. Germany and Japan have already expressed strong interest in the Philippines. They would love to have us call our navy home so they could take over.
- b. China will close up fast, as will Korea, Burma, Indochina, and Siam. If our potent American power leaves the Far East, other nations will close China's ports to us. And then Korea's...and then Burma's...and then Indochina's...and then Siam's. For the Germans, French, Dutch, Russians, British, and Japanese are scrambling for colonies all over the world. Why should we be left out?
- c. We must join our new military power with English seapower in claiming the Far East in the name of Anglo-Saxon virtue.
- d. Don't listen to the womanish arguments of the weak-willed anti-imperialists.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 7

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Pro 7 (You will speak first on the seventh argument pair.) You are Commodore George Dewey, who made yourself a national war hero because of your most successful naval victory at Manila Harbor earlier this year. At age 61, you are just now reaping the rewards of a 40-year career in the United States Navy. (Congress will soon highlight your career by giving you the rank of admiral for your distinguished naval accomplishments.) You have never been known as a man who placed much stock in providence; however, after you so easily crushed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, you were inspired to exclaim that “the hand of God was in it,” and that the victory was a token of divine reassurance. This reassurance underlines for you America's right to assert herself in the Philippines.

Argument: It is now America's duty and destiny to look beyond our shores to new lands. American “destiny” no longer stops on our west coast.

- a. In the 1840s, American backbone was strengthened by belief in “Manifest Destiny.” The result? We spread across this glorious continent from sea to shining sea, filling Texas, the Southwest, and the fertile fields, valleys, and mountains of Oregon and California.
- b. Now our continent is filling up. The frontier experience is over. We need outlets for our surplus population.
- c. The virility of our national character must not fade. The spirit of American rugged individualism and the adventurous nature of Americans both require new challenges.
- d. We cannot continue to wallow in the stagnation of our internal affairs. We must not overly concern ourselves with the problems of economic recession, labor strikes, and foreign immigration.
- e. This moment represents a crossroads in American history. Are we going to limp timidly into a dismal future, or are we going to cast away our fears and seize the opportunity to expand?
- f. Never forget that a large majority of the American public supports the imperialist position that our destiny is to expand into the world.

IMPERIALIST PRO ARGUMENTS - 8

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a con speaker will follow you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Pro 8 (You will speak first on the eighth argument pair.) You are Samuel S. McClure, publisher of *McClure's Magazine* and noted for introducing to American readers such new writers as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Mark Twain. While the debate over the Philippines rages, your periodical has published a poem by a British poet, Rudyard Kipling, entitled "The White Man's Burden." Perhaps it is the title more than the content that has captured the fancy of many Americans. The poem is very popular. You are attending the debate today to read excerpts from Kipling's poem and to present such deep-rooted, nationalistic feelings as racial superiority and American self-assertion as justification for desiring the Philippines.

Argument: We must take up "the white man's burden."

- a. Whether we like it or not, we have a responsibility to lead inferior races. We must help our little "brown brothers."
- b. Without our leadership the Filipinos will perish from the face of the earth. For if we don't lead them, the less civilized Germans and Japanese will conquer them. Do you want this legacy on your conscience?
- c. To turn our backs on those who are less civilized when they need us would be dastardly and inhumane.
- d. Our brown brethren will appreciate our gift of civilization. Hear now the message of Rudyard Kipling:

Take up the white man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;

To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 1

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
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3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Con 1 (You will speak second on the first argument pair.) You are Carl Schurz, one of the notable debaters present today. Your brilliant careers as a soldier, statesman, diplomat, and author have caused you to be known throughout America. You have spoken out for many liberal causes. During the years moving toward the Civil War, you condemned slavery. Following that war you favored lenient treatment for the defeated South. As secretary of the interior from 1877-1881, you led the reform movement for the American Indians. Having viewed first hand the ill-treatment Americans have given defeated populations in the past, you now have no confidence in the imperialists' promises to bring justice, education, and equality to the people of the Philippine Islands.

Argument: Americans should not interfere with the growth and development of the Philippine Islands people.

- a. The claim that assimilation of the Filipino people will be similar to past United States acquisitions and experiences is false:
 1. All former acquisitions of territory were on this continent. Here we were familiar with the land, climate, populations, and potentials of those acquisitions.
 2. All former acquisitions were situated in climates that were temperate and thus tolerable to white men, in areas where democracy had flourished for centuries.
 3. Thus far during the Philippine war with our country, America has killed more than 8,000 of their number. Is this the mode of "civilization" the McKinley administration had in mind?
- b. The distance between the islands and the North American continent—plus the differences in language and culture—both are so great that the Filipinos simply cannot become a state of the United States. The Philippine Islands are even too far removed from us in distance and culture to become a territorial possession.
- c. Annexation of these islands without the consent of the Filipinos themselves goes against every principle in the Declaration of Independence, and, therefore, every principle that our country stands for: freedom, self-determination, sovereignty.
- d. Has anyone ever considered asking the Filipinos if they want American civilization crammed down their throats? What right do we have to "civilize" another nation by conquering its citizens with weapons?
- e. We are told that through American efforts the Filipinos will eventually control their own affairs. But I don't trust you imperialists just as I wouldn't have trusted slaveholders if I'd lived 60 years ago. I believe you are trying to create a subservient nation of second-class citizens just as slaveholders did prior to the Civil War.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 2

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
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3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 2 (You will speak second on the second argument pair.) You are Father Roberto Sanchez•, a Spaniard and a Catholic priest who was attached to the Spanish occupational force in the Philippines until 1896. While working closely with the Filipino people, you have found them to be a warm, hard-working, gentle people, many of whom you considered more “civilized” than your own native countrymen. You have become particularly upset with America's Protestant clergy because of their pompous claims that the Filipinos are “heathens” and that only Protestant missionary work has received God's sanction to Christianize them.

Argument: What kind of God do you believe in? The Christian God I believe in does not sanction the brutal and inhumane work of zealous, mislead imperialists who want to force a religious viewpoint on people by pointing rifles in their faces.

- a. You call the Filipinos “heathens,” yet they are predominately Roman Catholics. Aren't Catholics Christians?
- b. You imperialists are trying to disguise naked, self-serving, greedy imperialism behind acts of “Christian” humanitarianism.
- c. Christian teachings praise the meek and condemn the mighty, a lesson you Americans should not forget.
- d. How successful have Christian missions really been? Look at Africa. How many African nations have really accepted Christianity since the big push to send missionaries began in the late 1860s? And never forget the experience of the Crusades. Think of all the thousands who died trying to win converts with the sword.
- e. I say shame upon those blasphemers who use the church to advance the cause of annexation—all in the holy name of Almighty God.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 3

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 3 (You will speak second on the third argument pair.) You are Robert Schwarz•, a close associate of Samuel Gompers, one of the pioneers of trade and labor unionism in the United States and Canada. Like Gompers, you are a member of the Anti-Imperialist League, and you have come to Kansas City on the express orders of Mr. Gompers. Your primary concern is the security of the American laborer, whom you believe would be in grave danger should the Philippines be annexed. You have two concerns: 1) if Filipino immigrants flood the American job market, native American unemployment will rise; and 2) if American industry imports cheap manufactured goods into the American market, wages will be drastically affected. While a disciple of Samuel Gompers for 20 years, you have witnessed the bloody struggle to bring American laborers higher wages, better hours, and a measure of respect. You don't want to see this hard work undermined by greedy industrialists who would welcome Filipinos and their business with open arms.

Argument: Because of their greed the imperialists have forsaken the American economic system in favor of the Philippine Islands, which they call a "coveted economic prize." In doing so they have dissolved their pact with American labor, renounced their faith in the American economy while promoting false hope in the economic potential of an island chain we know nothing about.

- a. Foreign investments will not bring profits to all Americans, but only to a handful of millionaires who will make new trusts.
- b. Immigration of Filipino laborers will cost Americans their jobs.
- c. The voice of the American business community is skeptical toward annexation. Heed their skepticism. Be responsive to the popular will.
- d. We have been misled. Brutal economic expansionism is *not* absolutely necessary for American capitalism to succeed. Annexation is the self-serving strategy developed by men like Rockefeller and J.P. Morgan. These men need imperialism, not for the American economy, but as a source of investment for their millions in surplus capital. Wouldn't that capital be better served if it were put back into the domestic economy?
- e. Must the United States own the countries we wish to trade with? Such ownership can lead first of all to native dissatisfaction and eventually to wars of rebellion.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 4

Directions:

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3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 4 (You will speak second on the fourth argument pair.) You are Edward Dangerfield•, editor of the periodical *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. As an expert on finance, you have been cautioning your readers (mostly investors and business owners) not to fall into the "Spanish trap." Believing that Spain's commercial ambitions also included opening trade in the Orient, you have pointed out in several editorials that their possession of the Philippine Islands did not prove advantageous. Instead, Spanish bases in the Philippines were so far removed from Spain that they were always vulnerable to attack. To prove your point you have only to mention what happened when Commodore Dewey easily crushed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Your purpose at this debate is to warn those present that the United States need not learn a similar lesson. Obviously, the Far East is too far away from the North American continent for the United States to control the area effectively.

Argument: Proclaiming that the acquisition of the Philippines will "open a door" to the Far East is dangerous.

- a. Imperialists demonstrate a basic lack of faith and trust in our American economy. This economy is beginning to grow again, and it will continue to grow without our nation owning thousands of islands thousands of miles away.
- b. If we let the imperialists seduce us into a fascination with the Far East, we will be turning our backs on our European friends.
- c. Chinese imports, though they have been growing, measured only two percent of American foreign trade in the last decade.
- d. The Orient is too far removed to be of any real economic value to the United States.
- e. We do not know enough about the peoples, culture, societal structure, climate, or governments of the Far Eastern or Philippine regions to act intelligently there. You imperialists would have us stumble forward blindly, hoping we will make economic gains while we are stumbling. I ask you imperialists: Have any of you here tonight ever been to the Orient?
- f. If we take over these islands, they will become our "Achilles' heel." They are too far away for us to defend. Look at what happened to Spain there!

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 5

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
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3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 5 (You will speak second on the fifth argument pair.) Your name is Morrison I. Swift. You are so upset by the imperialists' outcry for America to increase her military power that you are writing a book entitled *Imperialism and the Threat to Liberty*. Contained in your book is a section you call "Business Enterprise and Generals." In this chapter you depict the American military establishment as having undergone a transformation from "mere mortals" to a group of men seeking glory, deification, and inflated respect through military conquest. Here is a short excerpt from this chapter: "But times have changed and he (military personnel) thinks that if he throws a little more business enterprise into his trade he may win the privilege to expand and swagger and become a tinselled deity. Will he stint his arguments to convince his darling countrymen how good for them will be the owning of islands and the invading of Asia? He looks forward to the time when he will not have to beg and argue with those countrymen...."

Argument: What really increases a nation's trade? What really improves a nation's relationships with other nations? Is it guns and ships? *No!* The nation with the best merchants has the best trade and the best international relations.

- a. In the past our nation has never increased the size of its military forces after we have acquired new territory.
- b. If we annex the Philippines we will be blatantly violating the Monroe Doctrine and straying from our fundamental American principles of desiring only regional influence and isolationism.
- c. Don't overlook the great, undetermined cost in developing the imperialists' grandiose military scheme.
- d. Although our government says we fought a defensive war with Spain, we are now behaving like war-mongers! Someone is beating the war drum to get us to march unnecessarily into the jungles of the Philippines where thousands of American boys will die.
- e. If we annex the Philippines without the consent of the Filipinos, the world from this day onward will always be suspicious of American intentions throughout the world.
- f. Don't forget the fate of other greedy empires. Remember what happened to Rome after she overextended herself.
- g. I seriously believe that there is a handful of militarists in Washington right now that are manipulating the wishy-washy thoughts of President McKinley to take a strong pro-military stance. We must never forget that the Constitution provides for *civilian* control of the military.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 6

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
2. To give realism to your performance, strive to wear 19th-century appearing clothing. **Girls:** floor-length dresses or skirts; collared, button-down white blouses; and pinned-up hair. **Boys:** slacks, formal shoes, coats, and bow ties would be appropriate attire. (See old photographs in order to get a feeling for that period's manner of dressing.)
3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 6 (You will speak second on the sixth argument pair.) You are Senator George Hoar, a Republican from Massachusetts. At age 72 you remain a vigorous and venerable member of the U.S. Senate. Fellow Congressmen look to you for advice concerning the Philippine annexation issue. Your stated position is based to a large extent on constitutional arguments. In your forthcoming book, *The Lust For Empire*, you write that it is unconstitutional for the United States to acquire new territory against the expressed will of the Filipino inhabitants. You are also deeply concerned that your government is tempting tradition and fate by creating rivalries with our allies England and France for Far Eastern markets and territories—markets and territories that we don't really need! You are concerned that, as England's Lord Salisbury predicts, the future of Asiatic affairs will be "one of wars and rumors of wars...."

Argument: When imperialists express fears of losing our present influence in the Far East, they are acting paranoid. Actually, their fears are groundless.

- a. American status and good relations in the Far East have never been stronger. This situation gives credit to the hard-working civilian diplomats and consuls, not the war-mongering militarists.
- b. U.S. consuls in China report that American trade is increasing. Business has never been better.
- c. British and German trade is actually declining in some areas.
- d. Our government is guilty of planting seeds of anxiety in the public mind at a time when there is no real need for anxiety. The American press should be ashamed, for all in the name of "a story" they have irresponsibly cast doubt upon American status in the world. I realize this next statement could cost me a slander suit, but I believe that the press is also censoring events in the Far East to slant toward the imperialist position.
- e. Have faith in Yankee merchants and Yankee ingenuity. We won't lose our Far Eastern markets.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 7

Directions:

1. You have been chosen to assume the identity of the 19th-century anti-imperialist described below. Forcefully present this person's arguments.
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3. Each of you will have two minutes to present your argument. Amplify the brief arguments outlined below by bringing in examples from your real or imaginary identity's life. (A black bullet • indicates that your identity is imaginary.)
4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
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Con 7 (You will speak second on the seventh argument pair.) You are Gerald Woltzen•, a close personal friend of William Jennings Bryan. As the undisputed leader of the Democratic Party and its unsuccessful nominee for the presidency in 1896, your friend Bryan is too important a national figure to be caught in the web of a politically explosive debate that could hurt his presidential hopes in 1900. Therefore, he has asked you to speak in his behalf against annexation in the name of "Manifest Destiny." (You do not know it at this time, but Mr. Bryan is presently working behind closed doors to persuade Democrats in the Senate to favor annexation! Although your friend is an avowed anti-imperialist, his most important crusade centers around the free coinage of silver. He hopes to trade his support for annexation to certain Republicans if they will support his free silver platform. Such is the world of politics!) Nevertheless, Bryan has often taken issue with the concept of manifest destiny when used to justify American expansion beyond her natural borders. He feels, as you do, that such an emotional appeal to Americans is nothing more than a rationalization for cold and calculating imperialist politicians to use in their greedy pursuit of power. As Mr. Bryan once said in a speech, "Avarice paints destiny with a dollar mark before it; militarism equips it with a sword."

Argument: The words "duty and destiny" are emotional, vague words. They only have real meaning when they are clearly defined as recommending a specific course of action for Americans to follow.

- a. "Manifest Destiny" had a strong influence in the settlement of our continent. However, our experiences with Manifest Destiny in Texas and California in the 1840s are not at all like the experiences we will have if we re-interpret destiny to mean that we are to cross a wide ocean and try to subjugate persons on countless islands thousands of miles from our westernmost shores.
- b. We Americans must not let ourselves panic under the emotional onslaught of the imperialists. They cry out that our continent is filling up and overcrowded and we must expand. But just look around you. Are we really overcrowded?
- c. If "duty and destiny" require a major change in the way America has thus far developed, I want no part of it. If the imperialist position becomes the policy of our nation, I will hang my head in profound shame.
- d. Before he left the office of the presidency, our nation's first president, George Washington, said that our nation should avoid foreign entanglements at all costs. We must remember his wise advice.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CON ARGUMENTS - 8

Directions:

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4. After you and your opponent have spoken (a pro speaker will precede you, speaking against your position), uncommitted citizens of the Kansas City vicinity will ask both of you questions. You will each have one minute to answer any such question—from the perspective of your identity's 19th-century life.
5. **Strong recommendation:** Do not give your speech from this handout. Instead, reshape this information into a new outline on either 3" x 5" note cards or half sheets of paper. This new outline should include information from your life. *Above all—be creative!*

Con 8 (You will speak second on the eighth argument pair.) You are Samuel Clemens. To the majority of native Missourians present, you are their beloved Mark Twain. A staunch member of the Anti-Imperialist League, as are many of your literary colleagues, you are here today to discuss the anti-civilizing aspects of imperialism. To say you are shocked by American action to militarily suppress the Filipino people would be an understatement. Your published accusations against American activity there have included charges of treachery, lies, deceit, and greed against the imperialists—a far cry from the gentle, folksy themes in your books. You intend to conclude the anti-imperialist side of the debate by preaching *shame* on your country's abrupt change of direction.

Argument: The imperialists confuse the “white man’s burden” with the burdens and responsibilities of all mankind toward one another.

- a. Americans seem to have the egotistical notion that because they have been able to successfully govern themselves for about 130 years they have the right to govern any other people on earth.
- b. The “burden” of all freedom-loving Americans is this: to avoid conquering the Philippines and, instead, to insure that we protect the Filipinos from any nation trying to deny them the chance to determine their own future.
- c. Racism in the name of humanitarianism is hypocrisy. Why it is as shameful as pre-Civil War slaveholders who said that the slaves were their little children who had to be told what to do.
- d. The United States was never motivated by humanitarian concerns with regard to the Filipino people. First came a war. Then an annexation plan, followed by a squalid fight with the Filipinos themselves. And now while this is going on, the imperialists stop and think for a minute: Maybe we had better come up with a real “tear-jerking” reason for getting into the Philippines. Therefore, we all are hearing ideas such as the “white man’s burden,” “duty,” “destiny,” “humanitarianism.” *Why all of this is contrived hog wash!*
- e. We are forgetting Christ’s teachings: “Do unto others as we would have them do unto you.”

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 1

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Pro 1 (You will question speaker Pro 1.) You are a student of American history, with a concentration in Western expansionism from the 1840s through the 1870s. You are greatly disturbed by Senator Lodge's belief that the Filipino people will graciously accept American domination. All your reading into earlier American conquests and the present rebellious conditions in the Philippines leads you to believe Mr. Lodge is naive or gravely misinformed.

Question for Pro 1 At this juncture in American history, Filipino nationals are resisting every American effort to occupy the Philippine Islands. This fact, I have learned, is not well-known to the American people because the pro-expansionist press is censoring the news. Let us assume that annexation of the islands becomes a reality. How do the American clergy, educators, businessmen, and especially military personnel intend to convert these hostile peoples into accepting our form of government? Did the Apache accept our form of government? Did the Blackfeet? Did the Cherokee? What magic spell will cause the Filipinos to accept democracy?

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Con 1 (You will question speaker Con 1.) You are a middle-level federal government employee residing in Kansas City. Conservative by nature, you believe that Mr. Schurz is over-inflating the danger of American presence in the Philippines. You are not overly troubled by the fact that past American efforts to expand have cost some money and some lives. You feel that such costs are balanced by the ultimate benefits that come to the expanding nation and the natives that are helped.

Question for Con 1 I have heard no expansionist comment here today that sways my belief from the notion that American intentions in the Philippines are of the most noble variety. American intentions seem to me to be humanitarian; the Filipinos will be helped. For any American to doubt this country's good faith is tantamount to treason in my book. I ask you this, Mr. Schurz: What is behind your fear of our government's intention to civilize a backward people? Do you consider us no better than the Spanish?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 2

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Pro 2 (You will question speaker Pro 2.) You are a world traveler, philanthropist, and lecturer on the places you have visited. In 1894 you spent six months living with the Filipino people and observing their lifestyle. Shock comes over you when you read words such as “heathen, uncivilized, barbaric, and ignorant” to describe these gentle people.

Question for Pro 2 Reverend Strong, I respect your ministry and have in the past embraced many of your just and humane reform crusades. However, I honestly believe you have chosen the wrong course of action in your advocacy of Christian missionary work in the Philippine Islands. I have worshipped with these people. I have witnessed their taking confession for transgressions against our God. I have watched them lovingly and dutifully raising their families. These are surely not the peoples you have in mind. Knowing my observations to be true, Reverend Strong, I ask you: Is there another, deeper motivation for the Protestant clergy to be in the Philippines?

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Con 2 (You will question speaker Con 2.) You are a Protestant minister from Lawrence, Kansas. In most discussions involving your religious point of view, you do not compromise. You are incensed by the accusations Father Sanchez made concerning the “good” works of the Protestant church. Your question will clearly reveal your conviction that because Father Sanchez is a Catholic and a foreigner, you do not consider his point of view as a valid one.

Question for Con 2 The essence of Jesus' teachings was that we must spread the Gospel. Ever since the time of Martin Luther, the Catholic church has proven to be the chief adversary of the Protestant movement. For centuries, true Christians have possessed the willingness and sacrifice but seldom have had the ability to spread the word of Almighty God to the inferior races. Now we American Protestants have a grand opportunity. How can you, in good conscience, reject the inexorable spiritual force that is moving to Christianize the Filipino heathens?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 3

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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Q-Pro 3 (You will question speaker Pro 3.) You are a Louisiana sugar beet grower. Through donations by fellow growers in your region, you were able to afford this trip to Kansas City. The sugar beet industry is an infant industry in the United States; it has barely made an impact on the American market, but it is growing. You know that American importers are anxious to bring sugar beets and other produce into this country from the Philippines at a far cheaper rate than you can possibly compete with. You know that if the Philippines become an American possession, tariff and customs rates will not exist. Thus, you will question Senator Beveridge emotionally—right from your pocketbook!

Question for Pro 3 I have traveled a rough road to be here today. I have spent my neighbors' dollars to make the trip. These were dollars we could not really spare. I honestly don't think you realize the impact cheap foreign goods will have on domestic markets such as my sugar beets, or for that matter on the lumber and hemp industries. I believe that you imperialists have lost faith in America. Your justification that annexation will be good for business sounds hollow to me. Business and commerce in this country are recovering well from the 1893 depression, and all forecasts say our economy will soon reach new economic heights. I ask you this, senator: Isn't your real argument for commercial expansion based not on need but solely on the greedy economic interests you represent? What will happen when the U.S. labor force, the hardest working laborers in the world, is gradually replaced by Filipino immigrants, people willing to take one-half pay because it is twice the money they need to live on?

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Con 3 (You will question speaker Con 3.) You are a successful contractor from Kansas City with the ability to compete advantageously with other contractors for construction jobs. Thus, you have a practical education in the American capitalist system. Your question for Mr. Schwarz focuses on American capitalism, our tradition of rugged individualism, and the need to broaden our economic horizons.

Question for Con 3 I have never heard so much mealy-mouth whimpering in my life. In my business I have to bid carefully to get a job for my men and me. I succeed because I guarantee my customers the best work at the lowest cost to them. If that means that Philippine lumber is one cent cheaper a board foot than what I get in Minnesota, I'll buy it! I believe that America is the great nation it is today because of competition and ingenuity. Some men survive; some fall by the wayside, but in the long run, ruthless competition makes us all stronger. To bring new markets into this country is not a sign that we lack faith in our economy. Seeking new markets makes capitalism work! I want to know just one thing: How did our country get to where it is today without men and women who were willing to expand, diversify, and gamble on their future?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 4

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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Q-Pro 4 (You will question speaker Pro 4.) You are a former American consul to China. For nearly five years you observed many nations' businesses and shipping companies as they opened trade in China. Along the same lines, you have personally helped your own country's economic interests by encouraging American businesses to expand into China. Essentially, you favor America's current course of action because it is not antagonizing other trading nations presently in China. However, with the new imperialist fervor growing in the United States today, two personal fears are bothering you: 1) further American expansion and boasts of expansion into China could lead to an imperialistic war with a country such as Japan or Russia; and 2) anti-imperialist unrest is growing among elements of the Chinese people, who are prepared to die in order to remove foreigners from their country. Your question for Mr. Conrad Wilkins centers upon these two fears.

Question for Pro 4 Mr. Wilkins, you are indeed a marvelous spokesman for your position. But I must temper your enthusiasm and optimism with certain facts that I know to be true. As a member of our country's foreign service, I have been forced to learn that a good ambassador considers and even respects the motives of other countries. I have also followed the recent carving up of China into spheres of influence with great alarm. What deeply troubles me is the absence of real concern for the native Chinese. Though there is peace now, I predict a very explosive situation in the future as competition for Chinese and other Asian markets intensifies. Knowing these facts to be the truth, Mr. Wilkins, can you guarantee that the United States will not bring about a war of imperialism when representatives such as you freely boast of China's proximity to the Philippine Islands? Aren't you antagonizing European as well as Oriental populations with your rash statements?

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Q-Con 4 (You will question speaker Con 4.) A professor of economics at St. Louis University, you are an avowed Social Darwinist. That is, you believe Charles Darwin's biological ideas can be applied to society. Specifically, you believe that Darwin's "survival of the fittest" theory also applies to human society. Therefore, you take issue with Mr. Dangerfield's positions that Chinese trade would not be profitable and that we do not know enough about the Far East to venture forth "blindly." Weaklings such as Dangerfield really irritate you.

Question for Con 4 I have heard enough about danger for our country and the need for caution in foreign affairs. In case those assembled here haven't noticed yet, the United States is a "big boy" now, a nation fully capable of taking care of itself. You say that we don't know enough about the people of China and that China is too far away. What did Christopher Columbus or the Pilgrims know of America before they left familiar shores? You accuse our government of "stumbling blindly" forward with no plans or economic charts to go by. What did the American pioneers know when they left this very city seeking fortunes in the west? How do you expect a capitalist system to survive unless it seeks new markets and is willing to meet the challenge of other trading nations?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 5

Cut apart on the broken lines.

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Pro 5 (You will question speaker Pro 5.) You are a mother who has had the misfortune of losing both a husband and a son while they served their country in the military. Your husband died fighting Indians with Custer at the Little Big Horn; your son died just months ago on San Juan Hill in Cuba. Consequently, you now find it extremely difficult to hear your government's representatives glorify war and military power. As a deeply religious woman, you felt your indignation begin boiling a few moments ago when you heard Mr. Mahan associate God with the need for national self-assertion and militarism. You can scarcely control your deep red anger as you stand to question Alfred Thayer Mahan.

Question for Pro 5 I am a simple woman, but even my ears can hear war drums when they are clearly played. The people of this country love peace. They love their land and want their children to grow up in that land safe and sound. All of a sudden this Spanish War broke out and my 19-year-old son volunteers to serve his country. He's dead now and nothing can ever bring him back. Next I hear how Americans have to be more self-assertive and warlike, that we must defend ourselves against the evils of foreign intruders. But Spain is defeated now. I see no enemies standing against our country today! When I was still in school we heard about a man named Julius Caesar and how he went too far in fighting wars and taking land. His greed and false pride eventually spelled doom for the greatest empire of his day. What is to stop our country from repeating the same harsh lesson? Shouldn't we pray to God whenever our nation is at peace to protect us from our generals and our admirals?

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Con 5 (You will question speaker Con 5.) You are a retired sailor who loved your 30 years in the U.S. Navy. But while you were in the Navy, you never had the opportunity to fight in an American military action. So you felt left out. But you were thrilled by Admiral Dewey's victory in Manila Bay. How you wish you had been there! And now you are thrilled by America's chance to assert itself militarily. The anti-imperialists irritate you. You consider them "un-American cowards."

Question for Con 5 Once again we're hearing you weak-kneed anti-imperialists whimpering about what-ifism. I would think by now you folks would be scared of your own shadows the way you carry on. I served in the U.S. Navy for 30 years, from 1867 through 1897. I got a chance to meet and know many British seaman in that time. I want to tell you there's not a prouder bunch of men in the world than those Britishers. They always felt that the ships sailing under the Union Jack were the best. Now it's time for our military men to feel the same way. In fact, all Americans need to hold their heads high and be proud of something outside their own "backyards." My questions for you, Mr. Swift, are short and sweet: Do you believe in national pride? And if you do, how else are we going to build national pride if we don't go out and act like a world power?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 6

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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Q-Pro 6 (You will question speaker Pro 6.) You are a businessman from Independence, Missouri. You are more neutral than anything else concerning the annexation issue. But, as your state motto exclaims, "I'm from Missouri and I have to be shown." Your purpose in questioning is to gain some clarification as to why, as the imperialists state, the Philippines must be annexed right away—with no delay.

Question for Pro 6 Throughout my life people who knew me have always said I am very practical. And they're right. I can readily understand the happiness you feel when you gain something and the dissatisfaction when you lose something. And now I keep reading and hearing that we have to take over the Philippines right now. Everyone's talking "Empire." Countries that I didn't think meant a "lick" to the U.S. have suddenly been called "prized possessions." Countries I had always considered close friends are now being looked at in suspicious terms. Why? Because we are planning to annex the Philippines. But please tell me in practical terms: Exactly what is our country going to lose if some other country possesses the Philippine Islands?

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Q-Con 6 (You will question speaker Con 6.) A former campaign chairman for President McKinley, you are convinced there has never been a president with more vision in foreign affairs than William McKinley. You take offense with anyone who would shrink from the president's policy of expansionism in the Far East.

Question for Con 6 These are exciting times in our nation's history. Under William McKinley's leadership Americans now have goals to live for again. Thirty years or more have passed since we had new lands to conquer or new challenges to master. And yet among us are those who seem to have forgotten this sacred heritage. They have abandoned this ideal. These people have become introverted. All they do is look inward. They cannot see that the next frontier lies across the Pacific Ocean. They are not only forsaking their own nation's destiny, they are also too ignorant to grasp the opportunity in the Far East. Do you expect the United States to continue following the same course of action it has for more than a century, while watching the rest of the world pass us by? Do you know that England, Germany, Japan, and Russia regard Far Eastern territories as crucial to their futures? If one or all of these nations become a dominant force in the Far East, what then will happen to your "business has never been better" statements?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 7

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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Q-Pro 7 (You will question speaker Pro 7.) You are a first-year law student at the University of Missouri. At this stage in your life you know more about legal matters than about your nation's foreign policy. You sense that words and phrases such as "duty" and "Manifest Destiny" are powerful, emotional appeals to everyday Americans. But you are shrewd enough to sense that perhaps such emotional appeals are concealing something else. You look forward to questioning Commodore Dewey.

Question for Pro 7 Commodore Dewey, you freely use the persuasive words "duty and destiny" to motivate your audience to embrace annexation of the Philippines. I must admit that such terms inspire even the least patriotic American. But I need more than such phrases to convince me that annexation is justified. For example, what legal—that is, constitutional—authority does the United States have to occupy a foreign territory? Is Manifest Destiny a higher law than our own Constitution? Does our Congress possess the power and authority to determine the sovereignty of 12 million people?

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Q-Con 7 (You will question speaker Con 7.) You are a teacher in a rural, one-room school house. Like most teachers of your day, your lessons in your country's history and government accent America's positive qualities and events. You want to question Mr. Woltzen because you reacted negatively to his interpretation of Manifest Destiny and the courageous Americans who fought to expand American territory.

Question for Con 7 I represent no political interest here today. I have no special feeling about the Philippine situation, but I do have feelings about young Americans. I want them to have dreams for their nation's future. I believe that certain people here today, specifically you Mr. Woltzen, are being unfair to my students. I sense that you're ruining their dream. Isn't it just possible that our destiny *does* lie beyond our western shoreline? The Virginia colonists of the 1650s did not know what to expect or what existed to the west of the Appalachian Mountains. As a result, they *dreamed*. Is it fair to deny a new generation of Americans the opportunity to share in the heritage of their pioneer ancestors? Hasn't our destiny always been right there on our western horizon? Don't you want my students to have dreams, too?

UNCOMMITTED QUESTIONS - 8

Cut apart on the broken lines.

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Q-Pro 8 (You will question speaker Pro 8.) You are a newspaper editor and reformer who has observed first-hand the plight of American Negroes. You spend considerable time helping unemployed persons find jobs in Jefferson City, Missouri; you have dealt primarily with Negroes. Every day you hear stories of how limited job opportunities are for these people and that the Ku Klux Klan has even threatened to “lynch” any black man who secures a job in certain sections of the city. In an era of Jim Crow laws, social segregation, and violence against blacks throughout American society, you have to wonder what “burden” the imperialists are referring to.

Question for Pro 8 Mr. McClure, when you quote Rudyard Kipling's racist poetry, you are really blocking racial progress in the world. Do you realize this? And have white Americans behaved so well in the three decades since the Civil War? Why we whites have lynched an average of about one Black American a day since 1865! So can we whites carry the banner of “white man's burden” throughout the world? Wouldn't it be better, as the old expression goes, for our charity to begin at home?

Directions: You who have been chosen to ask the question below should first reveal your 1898 identity briefly sketched below. Then you should ask your question. You will have a maximum of one minute to speak and ask your question. **Note well:** *You don't have to use the exact words given here, although you should present the core of your identity and the question's substance. Please—practice at home what you will say at school so that you do not have to take this printout with you when you rise to speak.* Use your imagination. Dress for your part and strive to look and act as if you are living in 1898.

Q-Con 8 (You will question speaker Con 8.) You are a native of southern Missouri. In your experiences, you have met and worked with many American Negroes. In all cases you found them to be inferior to yourself and fellow whites, but you don't really dislike them. In fact, you always try to help them. Thus, you believe wholeheartedly in the concept of “the white man's burden.” You sincerely feel that one of the problems with being white is that God gave white persons a heavy responsibility: they must help all the inferior races—every time duty calls.

Question for Con 8 Where would this world be without white leadership? Is anyone here prepared to deny that the greatest and only civilizations of history have been *white* civilizations? No one asked the white man to lead his racial inferiors, to train them, to feed them, to educate them. We just did it. Just like the farmer who gets up at 4:30 a.m. to do his chores, the white man knows that unless he does his chores—helping his inferiors—nobody else will. Mr. Twain, I'd like to ask you this: Who else will take care of the Filipino people if our great humanitarian white race forsakes them?

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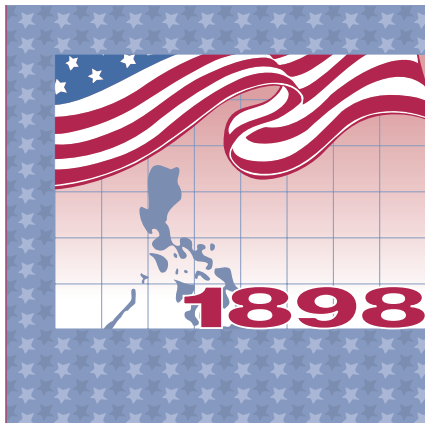
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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ANNEXATION DEBATE

A re-creation of the nation's dilemma,
debating whether or not to end its isolationist era

A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people ...
The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right ...

—Platform of the Anti-Imperialist League in 1899

The quotation above summed up the beliefs and attitudes of a large group of American citizens who organized themselves in order to voice vehement opposition to the direction their country's foreign policy was heading as the nineteenth century was ending. These anti-imperialists had witnessed the events of 1898 with shock and disbelief. They felt the United States had fought an undisguised war of imperialism with Spain. As a result of this Spanish-American War, the U.S. acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Hawaiian Islands. But before most Americans could digest the whirlwind of events they were reading about in their newspapers, President William McKinley announced America's intention to acquire the Philippine Islands. The president's decree infuriated the anti-imperialists. They knew they could no longer ignore the course of action the McKinley administration was taking. The stakes were larger, however, than the Philippine Islands alone. The larger issue was whether or not America should break away from her traditional policy of isolationism and boldly seek to establish herself as an empire nation. To the anti-imperialist, expansion meant America would forsake her fundamental values; but to the imperialist, expansion meant America would finally become a true world power. A national debate was inevitable.

PURPOSE

You are about to re-create a debate sponsored by the Anti-imperialist League of America that will focus on this topic: *Should the United States annex the Philippine Islands?* Although the time and place of your debate are fictitious, your debate will use the facts, attitudes, and ideas that actual Americans used in 1898 as they debated the Philippines issue in homes, bars, political clubs, churches, and the national Congress. By role-playing an 1898 American man or woman at this debate, you will understand how society viewed our nation's position as a potential world power at the end of the nineteenth century. You will also appreciate that the principles presented by the persons in this debate are under careful scrutiny today by all the world's national leaders, for imperialism is not a dead issue.

BACKGROUND ESSAY

On April 24, 1898, President William McKinley requested that the United States Congress declare war on Spain. A moral and deeply religious man, McKinley's heart was not in his request that he believed circumstances had forced him to make. He had hoped to avert war by appealing to the Spanish government to ease its tyrannical control over the island of Cuba. However, events, some real, some conjured up by a war-baiting press, made the 25th president's decision unavoidable. As with most major political decisions, the impacts would not be felt for years.



Questions for you to consider:

*How many
years had it
been since
the United
States had
been engaged
in a real war?*

*What does
it take to get
democratic
citizens willing
to fight a
foreign war?*

No one could clearly foresee that this declaration of war would ignite a series of events that would conclude with the creation of a vast American overseas empire.

Cuban insurrection In 1895 native Cubans rebelled against Spanish rule there. The American press seized this occasion to attack Spain for her imperialist policy. Each day Americans could read emotional appeals in newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune* or the *New York World*. Americans were told to be aware of the Spanish menace in Cuba and to encourage our government to take action. Although arguments concerning our nation's role in the Cuban affair were periodic topics of conversation in barber shops and parlors across the country, most Americans were not inspired enough by foreign affairs of any kind to want our nation to become directly involved.

Sinking of the *Maine* But then on February 15, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* blew up while visiting Havana Harbor. More than 200 people, most of whom were American sailors, were killed. Although an unbelievable tragedy to Americans, it still presented a golden opportunity for the "yellow press" to unleash a torrid attack on Spain and to encourage a war of vindication. Headlines screaming "The whole country thrills with war fever" and "The *Maine* was destroyed by treachery" typified the spirit, but not the investigatory capabilities, of the American press.

The war itself To the American public-at-large, the causes of the Spanish-American War were just, for the war had been presented to them as an action to liberate the Cuban people, who were suffering under barbaric Spanish rule. However, to those Americans who fervently desired expansionism the goals were even greater; they saw a chance to spread United States dominion to the four corners of the earth.

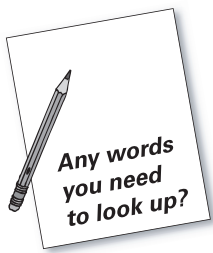
Once war was officially declared, the events of 1898 moved with tremendous velocity. Americans marveled at their military successes—particularly by their navy—in both the Caribbean and Pacific Ocean areas. By August 1898, Spain agreed to an end to hostilities. According to the Paris Peace Conferences which followed the war, Spain relinquished all her Western Hemispheric territories to the United States, thus ending nearly 500 years of prominence there. The United States now possessed Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Guam. As for Cuba, the American government established a virtual protectorate (colony) there, sending military and government officials to survey the situation.

Be sure you
examine a
world map
so that
you know
exactly
where the
Philippine
Islands
are—and
how far
away they
seemed to
Americans
in 1898.

The Philippine Islands Of most immediate concern at the Paris Conference was the status of the Philippines, yet another Spanish possession. Far removed from American thought as well as her "sphere of influence," these islands were a great, glittering treasure for the American imperialists assembled in Paris. Americans first really noticed the Philippines after Commodore George Dewey won a decisive naval victory there in Manila Bay in May 1898. When the Spanish reluctantly ceded control to the United States, the question of what to do with the Philippines rested squarely on President McKinley's shoulders. Beset by doubts about the correct decision to make, the president resolved the question in a manner he would later describe this way:

I walked the floor of the White House night after night...and prayed almighty God for light and guidance...and one night late it came to me...First, that we could not give them (Philippine Islands) back to Spain, for that would be cowardly and dishonorable; second, that we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient, for that would be bad business and discreditable; third, that we could not leave them to themselves, for they were unfit for self-government...and fourth, that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, to educate the Filipinos, to uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace to do the very best we could by them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died.

With these words McKinley had concisely outlined the major arguments favoring American imperialism of the time.



The anti-imperialists Contrary to the enthusiasm and pride many Americans felt during the rush for empire, a group of solid, respected citizens rose up to oppose United States expansionism. Conservative and “radical” thinkers—anti-imperialists, all—were determined not to stand idly by as the McKinley administration greedily carved up the Philippine Islands. But regardless of this strong opposition, McKinley took the first step toward securing the islands by signing the Paris Peace Treaty authorizing annexation. Because the American peace delegation sent to Paris was “stacked” with pro-annexationists, little could be done to block the Senate’s final decision until the issue was brought home. But groups led by the Anti-imperialist League got themselves organized; they were ready to meet the challenge.

The debates Many debates over the annexation of the Philippine Islands raged across America throughout the late summer and fall of 1898. Persons on both sides knew that Senate ratification would have far-reaching, long-term impacts on America’s foreign and domestic policies. Our image in the eyes of the world, hitherto symbolized as isolationist and ranging only as far as North and South America, would be subject to dramatic revision should the Senate pass the Paris Peace Treaty. While the debates were taking place, Americans did not know how the Senate vote would turn out (the Senate ratified the treaty 57-27 on February 2, 1899). Consequently, imperialists and anti-imperialists brought tremendous energy and passion to the debates.

To give you a feeling for this energy and passion, we are including excerpts from two speeches on the annexation of the Philippine Islands, one by an imperialist, one by an anti-imperialist. These speeches were selected because they typify many of the important arguments presented by both sides prior to the 1899 Senate vote. Read each one carefully. Make a real effort to understand and feel each opposing viewpoint. If you do so, you will undoubtedly learn more about this crucial era in American history.

Senator Lodge was one of the most esteemed members of the Senate at the turn of the 20th century.



PRO-ANNEXATION

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

I believe we are in the Philippines as righteously as we are there rightly and legally. I believe that to abandon the islands, or to leave them now, would be a wrong to humanity, a dereliction of duty, a base betrayal of the Filipinos who have supported us...and in the highest degree contrary to sound morals. As to expediency, the arguments in favor of retention of the Philippines seem to me so overwhelming that I should regard their loss as a calamity to our trade and commerce and to all our business interests so great that no men can measure it....

Our opponents put forward as their chief objection that we have robbed these people of their liberty, and have taken them and hold them in defiance of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence in regard to the consent of the governed. As to liberty, they have never had it, and have none now, except when we give it to them protected by the flag and the armies of the United States

The second objection, as to the consent of the governed, requires more careful examination... Jefferson took Louisiana without the consent of the governed...We received a great cession of territory from Mexico...There were many Mexicans living within the ceded territory. We never asked their consent...If the arguments which have been offered...be just, then our whole past record of expansion is a crime...Does anyone really believe it?...I am not ashamed of that long record of American expansion. I am proud of it....

The taking of the Philippines does not violate the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but will spread them among a people who have never known liberty, and who in a few years will be as unwilling to leave the shelter of the American flag as those of any other territory we ever brought beneath its folds.

... the segment from Senator Lodge’s speech is concluded on page 4 ...

The next argument...is that we are denying self-government to the Filipinos. Our reply is that to give independent self-government at once...to a people who have no just conception of it and no fitness for it, is to dower them with a curse instead of a blessing...We have no right to give those islands up to anarchy, tyrannies, and piracy....

The Filipinos are not now fit for self-government...The form of government natural to the Asiatic has always been a despotism....You cannot change race tendencies in a moment....

Mark Twain was one of America's most famous authors and social critics at the turn of the 20th century.



ANTI-ANNEXATION

Mark Twain, author

On the 1st of May, Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet. This left the Archipelago in the hands of its proper and rightful owners, the Filipino nation. Their army numbered 30,000 men, and they were competent to wipe out or starve out the little Spanish garrison; then the people could set up a government of their own devising. Our traditions required that Dewey should now set up his warning sign and go away. But the master of the game happened to think of another plan—the European plan. This was to send out an army—ostensibly to help the native patriots put the finishing touches upon their long and plucky struggle for independence, but really to take their own land away from them and keep it ... in the interest of progress and civilization

We entered into a military alliance with the trusting Filipinos, and they hemmed in Manila on the land side, and by their valuable help, the place, with its garrison of 8,000 or 10,000 Spaniards, was captured—a thing that we could not have accomplished unaided at that time. We got their help by ingenuity. We knew they were fighting for their independence, and we allowed them to go on thinking so—until Manila was ours and we could get along without them.

Then we showed our hand. Of course they were surprised—that was natural; surprised and disappointed; disappointed and grieved. To them it looked un-American; uncharacteristic; foreign to our established traditions. And this was natural, too; for we were only playing the American Game in public. In private it was the European. It was neatly done, very neatly, and it bewildered them. They could not understand it; for we had been so friendly—so affectionate, even—with those simple-minded patriots! We, ourselves, had brought back out of exile their leader, their hero, their hope, their Washington—Aguinaldo. We brought him back and restored him to his people....

We had lent them guns and ammunition; advised with them; exchanged pleasant courtesies with them, placed our sick and wounded in their kindly care; fought shoulder to shoulder with them against the “common enemy” (our own phrase); praised their courage, praised their gallantry, praised their mercifulness, praised their fine and honorable conduct; borrowed their trenches, borrowed strong positions which they had previously captured from the Spaniards We lied to them, fooled them, used them until we needed them no longer. We kept the positions which we had beguiled them of; and finally, we moved a force forward and overlapped patriot ground

What we wanted in the interest of progress and civilization was the Archipelago, unencumbered by patriots struggling for independence We have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back We have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty. We have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world

Here is where your debate will take place.



Your debate's scenario The Philippine Islands Annexation Debate will take place in a large meeting hall in Kansas City, Missouri. The American Anti-imperialist League, the sponsors of the debate, have invited both sides to this public forum to air their views and debate the issues regarding the Philippines. The time is late October 1898, just a few months away from the Senate's final vote on the Paris Peace Treaty.

YOUR NOTE-TAKING RESPONSIBILITY

To facilitate your re-creation of the Philippine Islands Annexation Debate, the author has organized the dispute surrounding the annexation conflict into 8 argument pairs. As the debate proceeds, one speaker will present an argument for annexation, a second speaker will present an argument against annexation, and then each speaker will answer a question asked by an imaginary midwestern citizen. Thus, four persons will speak on each pair of arguments, and 32 persons will speak during the whole re-creation.



Question to consider:

Are the issues inherent in these eight arguments dead, or are they still alive?

As a student, you have a responsibility to copy down one or more examples each speaker uses to support the pro or con argument. So that you are prepared for such note-taking prior to the debate beginning, do the following:

1. Take out four sheets of 8-1/2" x 11" paper. (*You will take notes on both sides of your four sheets of paper.*)
2. On each of the four sheet's eight sides write a pair of arguments. (All the paired arguments are on page 6.)
3. Use the empty space under each argument to write down examples as the speaker gives his/her speech or answers a question.

Here is an example of how you will fill out all eight sides prior to the debate's beginning:

Philippines Annexation Debate: 1898

Argument 1 (Pro and Con)

Pro 1: After the U.S. restores order and peace in the Philippines, we shall establish a democratic government there, allowing the Filipinos to manage their own affairs.

Con 1: Americans should not interfere with the growth and development of the people living on the Philippine Islands.

Include the argument number.

In the empty space you will later write specific details spoken by the two speakers and questioners.

THE 8 ARGUMENT PAIRS

1

Pro 1: After the United States restores order and peace in the Philippines, we shall establish a democratic government there, allowing the Filipinos to manage their own affairs.

Con 1: Americans should not interfere with the growth and development of the people living on the Philippine Islands.

2

Pro 2: God is speaking to America. He is telling us to bring these people the light of Christianity.

Con 2: What kind of a God do you believe in? The Christian God I believe in does not sanction the brutal and inhumane work of zealous, mislead imperialists who want to force a religious viewpoint on people by pointing rifles in their faces.

3

Pro 3: Acquiring the Philippines—making these fertile islands a part of our growing American civilization—is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity!

Con 3: After a century of neglecting these islands, suddenly you greedy imperialists view the Philippines as a coveted economic prize that the United States must seize.

4

Pro 4: Once we make the Philippines a part of American territory, the door to the entire Far East will be wide open to our vibrant, growing nation.

Con 4: Proclaiming that the acquisition of the Philippines will “open a door” to the Far East is dangerous and is misleading the American people.

5

Pro 5: Annexing the Philippines will further demonstrate to the world that America has become a first-rate military power that intends to live up to its world-wide responsibilities.

Con 5: What really increases a nation’s trade and really improves a nation’s relationships with other nations is not guns and battleships but is international relations brought about by the nation’s best merchants.

6

Pro 6: This crucial moment in history demands that we Americans act now to annex the Philippines—lands that are rightly ours—or some other world power assuredly will and American power in the Far East will wither away.

Con 6: When imperialists express fears of losing our present influence in the Far East, they are acting in a paranoid manner; actually their fears are groundless.

7

Pro 7: It is now American “duty and destiny” to look beyond our shores to new lands, for American “destiny” no longer stops on our west coast; our “duty” extends across both major oceans.

Con 7: The words “duty and destiny” are vague, emotional words, having real meaning only when they are clearly defined as recommending a specific course of action for Americans to follow.

8

Pro 8: Americans must cast aside their self-centeredness and then take up the “white man’s burden.”

Con 8: The imperialists confuse the “white man’s burden” with the burdens and responsibilities of all mankind toward one another.



PROCEDURE

Day 1

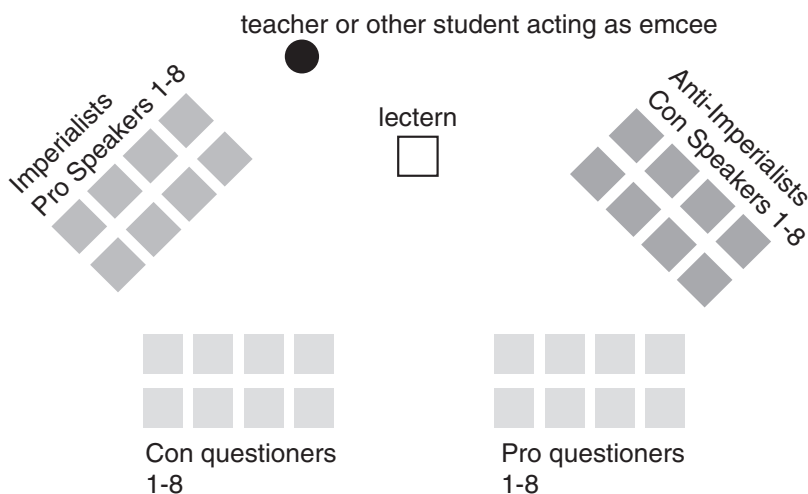
1. After reading the earlier sections of this Student Guide, you will be divided into three groups: 1) eight persons who will present the pro arguments on The 8 Argument Pairs (see page 6); 2) eight persons who will present the con arguments on The 8 Argument Pairs; 3) the remaining students, who will ask questions of the 16 speakers.
2. Separated into three areas of the classroom, members of each group will receive different handouts. Then by teacher assignment or by pulling numbered slips, each member will be assigned a numbered role to play. For example, one student must be identity Pro-1; one person must be identity Con-1; one uncommitted questioner will be Q-Pro-1, etc.
3. Members of the imperialists and anti-imperialist groups should discuss how to intensify the re-creation's realism by dressing for their parts. Suggestions for clothing and hairstyles are included in their respective handouts. Your teacher may bring some pictures into the classroom to give you visual examples.
4. Your teacher will stop by your group and give you suggestions on how to blend your identity information into any speech you give or question you ask/answer.
5. Your teacher will next have you read The 8 Argument Pairs and Your Note-Taking Re-sponsibility section of this Student Guide. Make sure you realize that you are to prepare both sides of the four sheets of paper *before* the re-creation begins.
6. As homework you should do three things: a) prepare both sides of the four sheets of paper for tomorrow's note-taking; b) study your role information and practice the two-minute speech you're going to give or the one-minute question you're going to ask (practice it two or three times—no more or you'll sound like a broken record); c) ask your parents to help you make your clothing and hairstyle appropriate to 1898.
7. Special suggestions to both imperialist and anti-imperialist groups: Meet together with your respective group outside class either at school or in someone's home. Use large sheets of butcher paper or cardboard to make posters or political cartoons containing slogans or popular expressions appropriate to the issue of annexation in 1898.

Please take considerable notes, writing down what is said and your reactions to what is said during this mini-unit. You will then gain a great deal from this historical re-creation.

Research shows us that when persons write as they are learning, they retain considerable knowledge—and for a long time period.

Days 2-3

1. Seat yourselves this way for the re-creation:



2. Your teacher will make a few comments about the American "rush for empire" prior to the debate.
3. Your teacher now introduces speakers Pro-1 and Con-1, who then give their speeches. (The teacher will use some system to alert you if you are exceeding your allotted two minutes for your speech.)
4. Next is the question period on the first argument pair. The first uncommitted questioner, identity Q-Pro-1, rises, introduces himself/herself, and asks a one-minute question of speaker Pro-1, who answers in no more than one minute. The remaining questioner, Q-Con-1, asks his/her one-minute question of speaker Con-1, who answers in one minute.

5. Once debate has concluded on the first arguments pair, the teacher will ask you to examine the notes you have written down from the speakers' speeches and responses to questions. Then decide which speaker did the better job of debating and place a large check mark by either the pro or con argument to signify that you feel this person won this portion of the debate. Your teacher will tally students' votes after The 8 Arguments Pairs have been debated.
6. The procedures in numbers 3-4-5 will be followed for the other seven arguments pairs.
7. Once the debate is concluded, your teacher tallies by hand voting which debater was more effective in each argument pair. If five or more debaters from one side "win," their side "wins" the debate.

Day 4

1. **Debriefing Activity 1:** In an activity group of four to six members discuss the following five items. Appoint a recorder to take notes.
 - a. List the four strongest arguments used by American imperialists in 1898 to justify the taking of territories such as the Philippine Islands. Place a large **S** or **H** by each argument (**S** = selfish motivation; **H** = humanitarian motivation).
 - b. List the four strongest arguments used by American anti-imperialists in 1898 in opposition to the taking of the Philippine Islands. Place a large **M** or **P** by each argument (**M** = moral motivation; **P** = practical motivation).
 - c. The platform of the Anti-Imperialists League denied the obligation of an American citizen to support his country in an unjust war. Is this treason? (Find how *treason* is defined in the U.S. Constitution.) Does a citizen owe support to the government in time of war even if he/she thinks the war is unjust? Be prepared to defend your position.
 - d. Does the emergence of the multi-national corporation today—for example, Exxon Oil—suggest that imperialism is becoming a multi-national enterprise?
 - e. Is imperialism simply rich nations dominating poor nations? If so, is there any way that poor nations can escape such domination and still get the help they need in order to develop their economies?
2. **Debriefing Activity 2:** In an activity group follow these directions: In recent years other nations have accused the United States of using a "disguised" form of imperialism around the world. Select from the list of countries below one nation where the United States has a definite interest. See if your group members can then answer either of these questions.
 - a. To what degree does/did the United States act as an imperialist nation in this country?
 - b. Which is/was America's primary motivation for being "in" each of these countries?

Reason

- moral responsibility?
- profit?
- pressure from public opinion?
- prestige?
- national security?
- other reason?

Countries

- Viet Nam
- Iran
- Iraq
- Israel
- Dominican Republic
- South Korea
- Laos
- Thailand
- Cuba

Special note: If your group is unable to answer these questions, possibly your teacher will assign your group—as a follow-up activity—to research America's relationship to one of these countries during the 20th century.



Adopt the scholar's attitude during your debriefing. How?

*Question one another by asking persons to define words as difficult to define as **treason...***