

FROM THE PLANTATION AND RESERVATION TO SEGREGATION AND STERILIZATION:

Ethnic Minorities and the Heavy-Hand of Paternalism.

*“At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries,
the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate,
and replace, the savage races throughout the world.
At the same time the anthropomorphous apes . . .
will no doubt be exterminated.
The break between man and his nearest allies will then be wider,
for it will intervene between man in a more civilised state,
as we may hope, even than the Caucasian,
and some ape as low as a baboon,
instead of as now between the negro or Australian and the gorilla.”*
- Charles Darwin - *The Descent of Man* (1871),
VI, Chap. VI, Pgs. 200-201

Historical context is everything. An incomplete or politicized telling of history ultimately helps tie the noose we hang ourselves by. This maxim is especially true when recounting the plight of ethnic minorities in the United States, where the past serves as legal precedent. We need to understand the ideologies and dogma that molded the fate of the ethnic minorities in the United States and abroad. We need to comprehend the political relationships that transformed the daily lives of the Native Americans, Hispanics, and African Americans. That some of this history may be uncomfortable or politically inconvenient is no reason to evade the fact that ethnic minorities were repeatedly submerged under the heavy-hand of a paternalistic government, especially since that government refuses to heed the lessons of the past.

We start this conversation with the connection between slavery and the paternalistic impulses of government. Slavery is typically understood as nothing beyond the ownership of the products of the life and destiny of the slave. However, those that clamored for the preservation of slavery prior to the American Civil War had much more to say on the subject, and their intentions are of historical relevance. While much

has been written about the brutality of the plantation, a significant portion of history has unintentionally been lost to the effort to describe the atrocities of slavery. Equally insidious and dastardly was the paternalism at work. Recall that slavery was not ideologically sustainable without first reducing the slave to the status of an underdeveloped people; to the status of a “primitive races”. Those that advocated for the institution claimed that the slave population was in need of the guiding hand of the so-called “superior races”. This was, after all, the gist of the “White Man’s Burden”, the now infamous poem by Rudyard Kipling.

Of specific importance to this conversation is George Fitzhugh, the most ardent of pro-slavery ideologues leading up to the American Civil War. Fitzhugh was one of President Lincoln’s ideological foes, and rebuttals to Fitzhugh’s writings appeared often in Lincoln’s speeches. Yet, the paternalism with which Fitzhugh justifies the institution of slavery has been largely forgotten by history. Here is one of Fitzhugh’s many claims to his “right” and “duty” to be an overseer and protector of his alleged “inferiors”:

“It is the duty of society to protect the weak”;
but protection cannot be efficient without the
power of control. - (Pg. 187, George Fitzhugh,
“Cannibals All!” - Pg. 736, “Race of Masters)

Fitzhugh believed that the slave benefited from the benevolent protection of the slave owner. He believed in a society orchestrated by a select few, and was quick to compare the slave plantation to the socialist commune: “Government may do too much for the people, or it may do too little,” Fitzhugh thought; “We have committed the latter error”:

Few realized he wrote “how much of truth,
justice and good sense, there is in the notions of
the Communists, as to the community of
property”. Socialism was after all, only “the new
fashionable name for slavery.” - (George
Fitzhugh, “Cannibals All!”, Intro. by C. Vann
Woodward, 1959)

In the chapter titled “The World is too Little Governed,” Fitzhugh explains, like the many collectivists after him, that the masses have the

natural “right” to be cared for:

We agree with Mr. Jefferson that all men have a natural and inalienable rights. --- We conclude that about nineteen out of every twenty individuals have ‘a natural and inalienable right’ to be taken care of and protected, to have guardians, trustees, husbands, or masters; in other words, they have a natural and inalienable right to be slaves. The one in twenty are as clearly born or educated or some way fitted for command and liberty. - (Pg. 69, “Cannibals All!” - Pg. 735, “From a ‘Race of Masters’”)

History has largely forgotten George Fitzhugh. This is likely because it would otherwise place current political positions firmly in the corner with some of the most horrific episodes in American history. Omitting the likes of Fitzhugh prevents posterity from making the ideological parallels with the remaining history of subjugation that came under the excuse of benevolence. The same can be said of the eugenics movement. One simply cannot understand the plight of ethnic minorities without first gaining a firm grasp on the ideological foundations of eugenics. The paternalism of the welfare state and eugenics are inescapably linked, though seldom recognized as two sides of the same ideological coin.

So what is eugenics? Even those well-versed in the history of institutionalized racism still misunderstand the ideology behind the science, or the science behind the ideology. So what is this scientific and political movement that for 100 years aspired to breed humans like horses or to eliminate hereditary lines altogether? The plight of ethnic minorities in the United States and abroad largely hinges on the history of eugenics and scientific racism. A quick primer is in order.

Eugenics is quite literally, as defined by its principal proponents, an attempt at “directing evolution” by controlling any aspect of humanity that affects human heredity. Popular culture has rightfully associated eugenics with ethnic cleansing and dystopian aspirations. However, historians must also recall that eugenical rhetoric was delivered couched in concern for the lives of the “feeble-minded” as well as a good amount of hand-wringing about the health of the gene pool

and society in general. Eugenics is also where “scientific racism” became legitimized as a part of popularly accepted science. At one point, it was accepted by the scientific community as Francis Galton’s eugenics had emerged from Darwin’s Theory of Evolution.

Most academics bitterly reject the notion that Charles Darwin had anything to do with the eugenic movement that lead up to The Holocaust. This is a subject that must be broached with trepidation. The rhetoric and vitriol that surrounds this issue reaches theatrical extremes. However, this is a conversation that must preface any discussion of the eugenics and racism confronted herein. Anything less is to contribute to the incomplete telling of history that leaves posterity disarmed of the lessons of the past. More to the point, it deprives future generations of the knowledge that much of the “othering” that lead to the most painful episodes of ethnic relations had scientific and paternalistic justifications. This is dangerous, as the impulse to use science as a weapon is in no way, shape, or form relegated to the distant history of totalitarian regimes.

So we return to the question of Darwinism and eugenics. The question is not if Charles Darwin would have approved of the tactics of Nazism. By all accounts, Charles Darwin was a compassionate man incapable of the violence practiced by Hitler’s henchmen. To get to the heart of the matter one must ask two questions that touch the core of both what Darwin postulates in his second book, “The Descent of Man,” and what Francis Galton and his followers believed to be at the center of the eugenic creed:

- 1.) Did Charles Darwin believe that his Theory indicated that some of the “races of man” were lower down the evolutionary ladder? Or, in the alternative, did Charles Darwin believe that there was a hierarchy of the “races of man” with some of these so-called “races” more evolved than others?
- 2.) Did Charles Darwin believe that the interbreeding between a higher evolved and a lower evolved race resulted in a step backward evolutionary speaking?

The answer to both of these questions is unquestionably, yes. There is no version of

Darwin's work where he presents the human race as monolithic in evolutionary value. In fact, he says quite the opposite since difference in evolutionary worth is the aspect which is being "selected" in "natural selection":

There is, however, no doubt that the various races, when carefully compared and measured, differ much from each other,—as in the texture of the hair, the relative proportions of all parts of the body, the capacity of the lungs, the form and capacity of the skull, and even in the convolutions of the brain. But, it would be an endless task to specify the numerous points of structural difference. The races differ also in constitution, in acclimatisation, and in liability to certain diseases. Their mental characteristics are likewise very distinct; chiefly as it would appear in their emotional, but partly in their intellectual, faculties. Every one who has had the opportunity of comparison, must have been struck with the contrast between the taciturn, even morose, aborigines of S. America and the light-hearted, talkative negroes. (Pgs. 216–217, "The Descent of Man," First edition, 1871)

This is precisely how the term "racism" evolved from the term "racialist." The etymology of the word "racism" evidences that it is derived from the term "racialist," or in other words, someone that views the world from the prism of racial hierarchies. This is also how evolutionary hierarchies were translated into social hierarchies, which in turn, were used to justify legislation that marginalized or subjugated ethnic minorities.

More to the point of this paper, those that adopted Darwin's "racialist" point-of-view inevitably adopted his racial hierarchies along with the view of "primitive civilizations" as the product of a people further down the evolutionary ladder. Those deemed "closer to ape than man" would inevitably be regarded as inferior "breeding stock" and as a danger to the gene pool of allegedly higher evolved "races," or in the alternative, as "child races" in need of the benevolent hand of the "superior races". It is this very type of othering that evolved "racism" into a biological and later into a legislative ideology.

As such, racism exploded as a social phenomenon in the heyday of Darwinism. It coincided, or arguably was the catalyst to the near genocide of native people subjected to white rule. Even the crowned champion of evolutionary science, Stephen Jay Gould concedes this point:

Biological arguments for racism may have been common before 1859, but they increased by orders of magnitude following the acceptance of evolutionary theory. The litany is familiar: cold, dispassionate, objective, **modern science shows us that races can be ranked on a scale of superiority.** If this offends Christian morality or a sentimental belief in human unity, so be it: science must be free to proclaim unpleasant truths. (Pg. 127, "Ontogeny and Phylogeny", emphasis mine)

Evidence of the era's fascination with the scientific analysis of racial differences can also be seen in the popular culture of the era. This era was also the heyday of "freak shows" and "human zoos." Freak shows were quite often marketed as displays of evolution gone wrong, or more precisely, examples of biological "degeneration."

Freakish features or deformities were quite often marketed as "atavisms", or reversions back to a more primitive state. Many marketed their exhibits with allusions to poor breeding yielding abominable results. "Human Zoos" were not isolated phenomena, but integral and parallel in the Darwinian roots of eugenics. "Human Zoos" purported to display the lesser evolved "savages" in contrast to allegedly higher evolved

descendants of European civilizations. Human zoos, sometimes called "negro villages" or "Indian villages", were very popular in the 19th and 20th Centuries. These ethnographic zoos were intended as educational shows, often the part of actual zoos, museums, and most prominently, World Fairs. Human zoos could be found in Paris, Hamburg, Antwerp, Barcelona, London, Milan, New York, and Warsaw with crowds of 200,000 to 300,000 visitors attending each exhibition.



More poignantly, prominent anthropologists and eugenicists from the United States have a history of using humans for anthropological exhibits. In 1906, Madison Grant, acting as head of the New York Zoological Society, had Congolese pygmy Ota Benga put on display at the Bronx Zoo alongside simians. At the behest of Grant, the zoo director William Hornaday placed Ota Benga in a cage with the chimpanzees, then with an orangutan named Dohong. Curiously enough, they labeled Benga as “The Missing Link.”

Historically speaking, the most notorious example of humans exhibited in this fashion was that of Saartjie Baartman of the Namaqua, often referred to as the ‘Hottentot Venus’. Baartman was brought to Liverpool, England in 1810 by Alexander Dunlop, an exporter of museum specimens from the African Cape. Baartman went on display in the Piccadilly neighborhood in London. Later, Baartman was exhibited in Paris by the animal trainer S. Réaux.

However, not all of Baartman’s life was spent as entertainment. In the spring of 1815 Baartman spent three days at the Jardin des Plantes under the observation of the professors of the *Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle*. She posed in the nude for images that appeared in the first volume of Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire’s and Frédéric Cuvier’s now iconic *Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères*. It is important to note that this was the effort of a scientific elite, and not necessarily the exploits of circus exhibitors. According to Stephen Jay Gould, Cuvier was “widely hailed in France as the Aristotle of his age, and a founder of geology.” The images of Baartman are prominently displayed in the opening pages of the book and are the only portraits of a human in this extensively illustrated tome. The remainder of the book depicts a vast variety of mammals, including numerous species of apes and monkeys. Baartman’s poses are disturbingly similarly to the other mammalian specimens in the volume.

Cuvier performed an autopsy when Baartman died. Cuvier’s autopsy report reveals his belief that she represented an inferior human form. Cuvier included his distinctly eugenic observations of a living Baartman in his report. He opines on her supposedly rapid and unexpected movements as being similar to those of a monkey. Cuvier justifies his categorization by pointing to the features of her head. According to Cuvier, her ears were small and weakly formed, and like an orangutan, she frequently jutted her lip outwards. Cuvier claimed that Baartman’s skull resembled a monkey’s more than any other he had examined. Cuvier’s decision to categorize her as a *Boschimanne*, rather than *Hottentote*, further suggests that he thought Baartman was as close as possible to an ape. Author Sadiya Qureshi of Christ’s College in Cambridge tells the story of Saartjie (“little Sara” in Dutch) in her article “Displaying Sara Baartman, the ‘Hottentot Venus.’” Qureshi summarizes the phenomenon:

Throughout the history of colonial occupation at the Cape, many representations of indigenous peoples have been used to facilitate their subjugation. Wildness and savagery characterized depictions of the Khoikhoi during the seventeenth century, quickly establishing them as the ‘link’ between ape and human in nature’s great hierarchy. -- Flora and people were all commodities to be collected. The agricultural relevance of botanical knowledge fuelled nationalist interest in plants, whilst animals caged in menageries provided the public with entertainment and evidence of imperial success.

All of this culminated with the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933. The 1933 World’s Fair sought to emphasize this evolutionary hierarchy by juxtaposing displays of “primitive” peoples alongside ones that demonstrated the purported superiority of the white Anglo-Saxons. Thus, for example, the fair organizers erected a quaint “Indian Village” in the looming shadow of the



General Motors Tower, a modernist temple dedicated to the ascendant American auto industry. The real Native Americans who inhabited the ersatz tepees of the “Indian Village” served as reminders of an earlier way of life; a way of life that had been rendered obsolete by the steam engine, the automobile, and other advances produced by “white” American civilization. Now vanquished and domesticated on reservations, Native Americans were seen largely as harmless or even ennobled, more deserving of pity than of fear.

More to the point, it is more than a mere coincidence that the heyday of Darwinism and eugenics coincided with the near annihilation of the Native American population in the United States. Once proud cultures were submerged to the status of dependent and fragile specimens. Ironically, the very same U.S. Army that freed the slaves, was at this time being used to subjugate the lingering “nations” of Native Americans. The slaves were freed while the remaining tribes of Native Americans were herded into reservations.

In fact, the fall of the American Indian occurred just when the African American was gaining essential freedoms for the first time. Indians were not even considered American citizens at the time of Reconstruction. The 14th Amendment that gave blacks their citizenship specifically excluded Native Americans. In the years immediately following the war, blacks, due to a strong Republican influence in the federal and state governments, were far better off economically, politically, and socially than their Native American counterparts. While the Indians lost their land because of the ever-moving drive westward, blacks gained suffrage and equality under the law. Many escaped slaves or emancipated blacks went to the newly-opened lands of the West to live lives as cowboys and farmhands.

Post-bellum America was also the setting for the final defeat of the Indians at the hands of expansionist American policy. With the threat of disunion posed by the Confederacy removed, the United States was once again able to continue its inexorable march to the Pacific Ocean. Standing in the way of total American domination were

several thousand Indians living in the Great Plains. More precisely, the discovery of gold hastened the drive westward and refocused the ire of the federal government on the Native American population.

The name of General Custer has become synonymous with white rule of the Native American population. Incidentally, Custer was a Civil War hero. Most historians have focused on the military aspects of Custer’s Last Stand, and forgotten the political discourse that preceded it. Beyond the topics of military strategy are the entangled histories of the emancipated blacks, the Native Americans, and heavy handed eugenic and paternalistic policies of the U.S. government. These entangled histories share in common the consequences of arrogance and elitism, as these histories are fueled by the pity the governing elite used to justify their policies. By ‘pity’ it is understood an implied distance due to self-importance, which was best defined by Martin Luther King, Jr.:

True altruism is more than the capacity to pity; it is the capacity to empathize. Pity is feeling sorry for someone; empathy is feeling sorry with someone.

In 1874, the government dispatched the Custer Expedition to examine the Black Hills. Reports of gold in the area prompted the expedition. The Lakota tribe naturally became alarmed. Before Custer’s column had returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln, news of the discovery of gold was telegraphed nationally, and the discovery was confirmed the following year by the Newton-Jenney Geological Expedition. Prospectors began to flood the region. In May 1875, Sioux delegations traveled to Washington, D.C. in an eleventh-hour attempt to persuade President Ulysses S. Grant to honor existing treaties and stem the flow of miners into their territories. The U.S. Government’s solution was to pay the tribes \$25,000 for the land and have them relocate to reservations. These Congressional proposals would become known as Appropriation Acts. The tribal delegates refused to sign a new treaty under the terms of the Appropriation Acts. However, the

growing number of miners and settlers encroaching in the Dakota Territory grew rapidly and the situation became untenable.

In late 1875, Sioux and Cheyenne defiantly left their reservations, outraged over the continued intrusions of whites into their sacred lands in the Black Hills. The Union army was used to literally hunt down, capture, and segregate the men, women, and children of Native American descent in order to corral them into reservations against their will. The Battle of Little Big Horn, otherwise known as “Custer’s Last Stand,” was a direct result of the various Indian Appropriation Acts passed by Congress.

Keep in mind that these reservations were allegedly both “protected” and “enclosed” by the U.S. government. According to the federal government at that time, reservations were to be created in order to “protect” the Native Americans from the growing encroachment of whites moving westward. Needless to say, neither the Sioux nor the Cheyenne were defenseless. These were some of the greatest warriors to walk the earth. Any honest retrospect recognizes that the tribes like the Sioux or the Cheyenne only needed protection from the U.S. Government itself, and not from small groups of white settlers. Yet, as the pattern proves itself, the ideology behind the legislation claimed a duty to protect the allegedly lesser evolved culture.

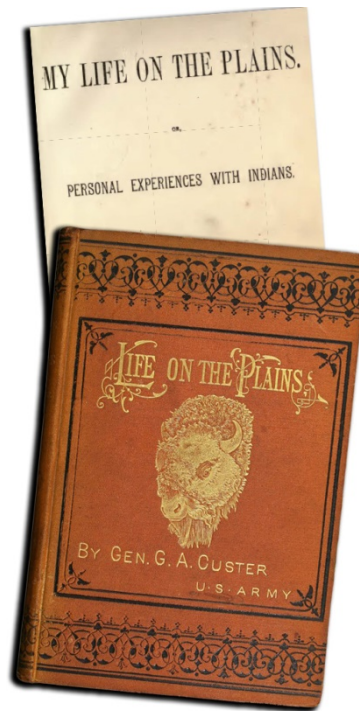
The various “appropriation acts” passed during the era are replete with arrogance and an air of superiority. Most insidious was the 1871 Indian Appropriations Act, which intentionally ended the practice of treating Native American tribes as sovereign nations. It decreed that all Native Americans be treated as “wards” of the federal government. It is of note that “wards of the state” is a status otherwise reserved for orphans or the disabled, and a description appropriate to a fearsome warrior only if you believe them to be lesser in some fashion.

The 1871 Act contradicted and violated centuries of treaties signed between 1607 to 1776, which dealt with the Native Americans as “independent nations”. At least 175 treaties had been signed with the British and colonial governments. After the American Revolution, the United States Federal government replaced the British and colonial governments and between 1778 to 1868 at least 371 treaties were ratified between the Federal government which treated the Native American tribes as “independent nations” and specifically stipulated that the new American government would not interject itself to govern over individual Native Americans.

The 1871 Act was specifically intended to dismantle the tribal structure of the Native American. Under the Act, the U.S. government embarked on a policy of corralling the Native American population into “rancherias,” where food and care from the federal government could be distributed to the individual Native Americans in exchange for staying out of the way of expansion and within the boundaries of the reservations.

Forgotten or omitted are Custer’s view of all these pieces of legislation. Custer held a strong opinion on the constitutionality and morality of how the U.S. government treated the Native Americans. Custer leveraged the fame he amassed as a Civil War general and published a book several years prior to his historic death. The book was titled “My Life on the Plains: Personal Experiences With Indians.” Custer’s opined that Congress was influenced by corrupt motives when making decisions about its policy towards the Native Americans. More importantly, it was an early, but enlightening indictment of the corruption that ensues when massive government infrastructures engage in the business of being “masters” to so-called “wards of the state”:

The army as a unit, and from motives of peace and justice, favors giving this control to the Secretary of War. Opposed to this view is a



large, powerful, and at times unscrupulous party, many of whose strongest adherents are dependent upon the fraudulent practices and profits of which the Indian is the victim for the acquirement of dishonest wealth practices and profits which only exist so long as the Indian Bureau is under the supervision of the Interior Department. (Pg. 113, "My Life on the Plains")

Custer makes it plain that the armed forces had the best information and the forward position that enabled them to deal honestly and fairly with the Native Americans living in the "territories" yet to be States, but that it was political interests that held sway:

Under the Constitution of the United States there are but two houses of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, and most people residing within the jurisdiction of its laws suppose this to be the extent of the legislative body ; but to those acquainted with the internal working of that important branch of the Government, there is still a third house of Congress, better known as the lobby. (Pgs. 113-114, "My Life on the Plains")

History has not been kind to Custer. It has painted him as a brash and arrogant S.O.B.. This may be so. However, it is important to this discussion to point out just how ironic it is that the one man typically viewed as epitomizing the U.S. government's injustice toward Native Americans certainly thought this population was being victimized by the heavy hand of the U.S. government:

Why this determined opposition to any interference with the management of the Indians? I remember making this inquiry years ago, and the answer then, which is equally applicable now, was: "There is too much money in the Indian question to allow it to pass into other hands." (Pg. 114, "My Life on the Plains")

Custer outright accuses the Union, and namely Congress, of enacting a policy under the hypocritical excuse of caring for the Native Americans, but which was in actuality intended to personally enrich those in charge of distributing the goods intended to care for the "wards". That this had been the Union he had fought and put his life on the line for should not go unnoticed by history:

It seems almost incredible that a policy which is claimed and represented to be based on sympathy for the red man and a desire to secure to him his rights, is shaped in reality and manipulated behind the scenes with the distinct and sole object of reaping a rich harvest by plundering both the Government and the Indians. (Pg. 114, "My Life on the Plains")

Custer documents in his book that the Native Americans sarcastically referred to the U.S. government as the "Great Father" for allegedly caring for them as "wards of the state," but leaves no doubt what motivations are precisely behind the "Great Father's" supposed "benevolence":

To do away with the vast army of agents, traders, and civilian employees which is a necessary appendage of the civilian policy, would be to deprive many members of Congress of a vast deal of patronage which they now enjoy. There are few, if any, more comfortable or desirable places of disposing of a friend who has rendered valuable political service or electioneering aid, than to secure for him the appointment of Indian agent. The salary of an agent is comparatively small. Men without means, however, eagerly accept the position; and in a few years, at furthest, they almost invariably retire in wealth. Who ever heard of a retired Indian agent or trader in limited circumstances? Plow do they realize fortunes upon so small a salary? In the disposition of the annuities provided for the Indians by the Government, the agent is usually the distributing medium. Between himself and the Indian there is no system of accountability, no vouchers given or received, no books kept, in fact no record except the statement which the agent chooses to forward to his superintendent. (Pg. 114, "My Life On The Plains")

The history of the African American and Native American become further entangled when one realizes that the concept of "segregation" was a by-product of the march Westward. U.S. Government policy towards Native Americans was significantly influenced by the January 1874 case of Ward vs. Flood. The California Supreme Court in Ward vs. Flood upheld that colored children need not be accepted for attendance at a white school in order to meet the "equality under the law" prescribed by the Civil War amendments. Ward vs. Flood dealt with an April 4, 1870 California law which contained the

following provisions:

Section 56. – The education of children of African descent, and Indian children, shall be provided for in separate schools. Upon the written application of at least ten such children to any Board of Trustees, or Board of Education, a separate school shall be established for the education of such children; and the education of a less number may be provided for by the Trustees, in separate schools, or in any other manner. (emphasis mine)

The California Supreme Court upheld in Ward v. Flood. This decision would later form the legal precedent for the “separate-but-equal” doctrine which that U.S. Supreme Court adopted in the infamous 1896 case of Plessy v. Ferguson. Plessy v. Ferguson would not be overruled until the Supreme Court’s Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954.

As a result of the legislative maneuvers of the 1870’s, the government set up the Carlisle Indian School in 1879. This first off-reservation military-style boarding school for Indians was established in Pennsylvania. The school employees created a model curriculum, disciplinary regime, and educational strategy designed to “kill the Indian and save the child.” This was yet another move to divorce the individual from the “tribe” or “nation,” meanwhile keeping the population under the thumb of the federal government under the pretense of taking care of them as “wards of the state.” This was followed by the 1891 Indian Education Act. This Congressional Act authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs “to make and enforce by proper means” rules and regulations to ensure that Indian children attended schools designed and administered by non-Indians.

The goal to “kill the Indian and save the child” was more than a suggestion. The heavy hand of government was employed then, much in the way it would be employed later on when enforcing the eugenic policies of War On Poverty. In 1893 the Indian Education Act was expanded by making school attendance for Indian children compulsory and empowered authorities to withhold rations and government annuities to

parents who did not send their children to school.

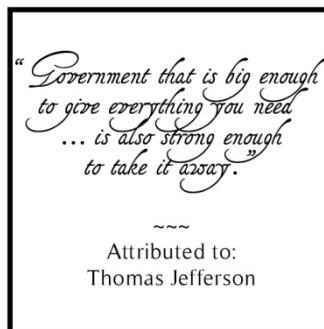
It must be emphasized that projects like the Carlisle Indian School simply don’t happen if the governing elite respect the parent-child relationship, and the cultural and religious choices which the parent passes on to the child. Those governing elite which created the Carlisle Indian School embarked upon a campaign of cultural annihilation by explicitly destroying any cultural identity in the Native American children under their jurisdiction.

The intent to eradicate the Native American culture is also evidenced by subsequent acts of the federal government. In 1880 the U.S. Congress decreed “Civilization Regulations” which created a series of offenses that could only be committed by Native Americans practicing their cultural norms. The practices of tribal medicine men and

the leaving the reservation without permission were outlawed. The Courts of Indian Offenses were established in 1883 as a direct result. The Secretary of the Interior established these courts to uphold the 1880 Civilization Regulations. Their mandate was to eliminate “heathenish practices” among the

Native Americans. They forbade the practice of all public and private religious activities by Native Americans on their reservations, including ceremonial dances, like the Sun Dance, and the practices of “so-called medicine men.”

Two major court decisions make the federal government’s heavy-handed paternalism clear. The 1886 decision of the United States v. Kagama in the U.S. Supreme Court came about when the two Native Americans on the Hoopa Valley Reservation in northern California killed another Native American on the reservation. In prior years when the U.S. Government respected the boundaries of these “nations”, the above offenses would have been crimes for the “independent nation” or the “tribe” to contend with. Furthermore, if the law had been enforced as it was with white citizens, these crimes would have been the jurisdiction of the State unless the crimes reached across State lines. The federal



government had no business intruding. However, the Native Americans were prosecuted and found guilty by the federal government upholding the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which made a list of crimes committed inside of the “reservations” the jurisdiction of the federal government. The Native Americans rightfully argued that Congress did not have constitutional authority to pass the Major Crimes Act. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, upheld the full and absolute power of the Congress to pass the Major Crimes Act and of the power of the federal government, not the States or tribal governments. The U.S. Supreme Court’s opinion reeks of paternalism. It is a prime example of Jefferson’s maxim at work; a government that “provides for everything” can and will “take everything away” when its “wards” display any sort of individualistic impulses:

These Indian tribes are the wards of the nation. They are communities dependent on the United States - dependent largely for their daily food; dependent for their political rights. They owe no allegiance to the states, and receive from them no protection. Because of the local ill feeling, the people of the states where they are found are often their deadliest enemies. From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the federal government with them, and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the duty of protection, and with it the power. (emphasis mine)

The second case was the 1913 U.S. v. Sandoval. The Court upheld the application of a federal liquor-control law to the New Mexico Pueblos, even though Pueblo lands had never been designated by the federal government as reservation land, and thus did not have the legislative mandate to preside over tribal issues as it did for Native Americans in actual “reservations.” Again, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that an unbroken line of federal legislative, executive, and judicial actions had...

...attributed to the United States as a superior and civilized nation the power and duty of exercising a fostering care and protection over all dependent Indian communities within its borders... (emphasis mine)

These are the words of the highest court in

the United States of America applying the logic of racial superiority and evolutionary hierarchy in the wake of the Civil War, which supposedly had been fought to vindicate a Declaration of Independence that proclaimed “all men” to be “created equal”. More precisely, this was the logic of the biologists and anthropologists of the era. Note that the Court is not shy about using terms such as “superior,” “dependent,” or “civilized” to establish the relationship between the federal government and the Native American population.

History has proven that legitimatization of scientific or ethnographic theories by the U.S. Supreme Court, more often than not, has far reaching consequences. For decades scholars interested in the history of segregation have frequently drawn comparisons between United States and South Africa. This is not a new phenomenon. In the late nineteenth and early 20th Century, some of the most respected political theoreticians looked to connections between the American South and South Africa. Early in the 20th Century, for example, after traveling in the American South, the infamous South African segregationist, Maurice Evans felt encouraged to voice the similarities he saw. William Beinart and Saul DuBow, authors of the 1995 book, “Segregation and Apartheid in 20-Century South Africa” cite Maurice Evans’s “Black and White in South East Africa: A Study in Sociology” as the “first thoroughgoing and broadly disseminated theory of segregation.” According to Beinart and DuBow, Evans was strongly influenced by the American South, which he had closely studied and written about in his “Black and White in the Southern States.” Evans was known for his three principles for governing of the native races:

- The white man must govern.
- The Parliament elected by the white man must realize that while it is their duty to decide upon the line of policy to be adopted, they must delegate a large measure of power to those especially qualified, and must refrain from undue interference.
- The main line of policy must be the separation of the races as far as possible, our aim being to prevent race deterioration, to preserve race integrity, and to give both opportunity to build up and develop their

race life.

(Pg. 151, "Segregation and Apartheid")

Beinart and DuBow rightfully observe that Evans's principles are a display of the "paternalism and trusteeship" attributes of the ideology which segregation was an integral part of. Segregation is subordination. Explicit in the logic of "reservations" and "segregation" is the view that one race is subordinate and lesser than the other. More importantly, it decries a governmental relationship where a specific group is deemed as the overseer and the population as "wards".

These views coincided with the scientific view that mixing the races was a cause of "degeneration," where the "superior" race can recede backwards in the racial hierarchy by mixing with races that are, as evolutionary scientists like Stephen Jay Gould characterize it, closer to apes than to the white man. It is important for the purposes of this paper to also mention that Evans believed in segregation as an option better to the alternative of allowing whites to completely displace the conquered race, or to allow it to racially mix and thus "degenerate." Therefore, explicit in all anti-miscegenation and segregation laws is fear in what the scientists of the era termed "atavisms," which was the result of "degeneration", or in other words, the march of evolution turned backwards. This was a very large part of the reasoning behind separation and segregation of the races.

Again, this is where an understanding of the history of eugenics becomes key. The work of John P. Jackson and Nadine M. Weidman, authors of the 2005 book "Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction" is of use here. They documented Richard L. Dugdale's 1874 study, "The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity," as well as Arthur Estabrook's revisit of Dugdale's pivotal work, "The Jukes in 1915." Jackson and Weidman also touched on Henry H. Goddard, author of the infamous 1912 study, "Kalikak Family: a Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness". Goddard worked to begin a program of segregation of adults and children who's alleged bad inheritance supposedly needed

to be kept out of the wider gene pool. In fact, all of these eugenic studies called for "eugenic segregation" and/or "sterilization." Jackson and Weidman also quote the Ivy League eugenic elitist, Madison Grant:

Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of the two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian... and the cross between any of the three European races and Jew is a Jew. (Pg. 112, "Race, Racism, and Science")

The solution which Madison Grant proposed in order to prevent this "atavistic" reversion to the "lower type" was to "eliminate the worst by segregation or sterilization." This ideological trend is evidenced in the logic and language of segregation for eugenic goals. It reappears in the work of all prominent eugenicists, as quotes from later generations of like eugenicists such as Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood demonstrate:

Apply a stern and rigid policy of sterilization and segregation to that grade of population whose progeny is already tainted or whose inheritance is such that objectionable traits may be transmitted to offspring. (Pg. 106, Margaret Sanger, "A Plan For Peace," Birth Control Review, April 1932)

Darwin's son, Leonard, like Margaret Sanger and the rest of the eugenics movement, frame the question of segregation as a safety and health measure. It is not that these eugenicists were unversed in the civil rights aspect of the issue. Both Margaret Sanger and Leonard Darwin recognized the civil rights argument against segregation, but then fall on the side of sacrificing civil rights for the alleged health concerns of the overall society. Thus, individual autonomy falls prey to misguided notions of paternalism:

Moreover, any interference with liberty must remain open to the objection that it creates a precedent which might be unwisely followed in other directions. But segregation cannot be at once condemned on these grounds; for all reforms do both good and harm, and all must be judged by the way in which the balance turns. We may, however, conclude that on account of these objections segregation is in fact only

likely to be enforced when it is demanded in order to safeguard the public, or when the racial defects of those confined are very glaring. (Pg. 172, Leonard Darwin, "The Need For Eugenic Reform", emphasis mine)

We can employ Martin Luther King, Jr.'s views as a moral compass to ascertain exactly where Leonard Darwin's sentiments fall. Leonard and his father Charles came from a family of radical abolitionists, and Leonard's view on slavery was adopted verbatim from what his father wrote on the subject:

We consider slavery immoral because of its demoralizing effect on the slave-owner. (Pg. 258, "The Need For Eugenic Reform")

Clearly, Leonard Darwin's morality falls on the side of "pity" and short of the Martin Luther King, Jr. measuring stick. Any notion that reasons that slavery is harmful is because of its effects on the slave-owner is clearly a supremacist point-of-view. Leonard Darwin may have displayed "pity" for those unfortunate victims of the eugenic segregation policies, but it certainly cannot be claimed that Leonard Darwin felt empathy for those that they would sequester into segregated encampments. They certainly did not see them as equals, deserving of equal rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Returning to the topic of government intervention, all of these legislative maneuvers; the segregation of African Americans, the segregation of Native Americans into reservations, and the eugenic segregation and sterilizations were couched in the language of "pity" and concern for the safety and well-being of the "inferior" and "dependent" types. Those looking to history for lessons for the future may look to the entangled and shared history of these movements.

Historians often refer to the resulting "wars" between the Native American tribes and the Union as "forced relocations." This is a misnomer, to put it lightly, as we know that the orders given to U.S. Army officers like Custer explicitly called for the natives to be forced back into reservations and to insure that they stay segregated. "Forced relocation" may have been a necessary part of the

overall history, but the underlying intent was forced "segregation." In retrospect, it is fair to state that the Great Sioux War was no war by the conventional sense. The U.S. Army was utilized to capture, subdue, and corral men, women, and children into permanent encampments we now call "reservations." The only thing that kept these military campaigns from being outright hunting escapades was the fact that some select tribes, namely the Sioux and the Cheyenne, were too skilled at war to be categorized as easy prey. Once proud warriors were reduced to "wards of the state," dependent on the federal government for their daily subsistence, and subservient in every way, shape, or form to their white counterparts. The Antiquities Act of 1906 illustrates this point. Passed by Progressive-minded Theodore Roosevelt, this Act deemed Native American artifacts, including the remains of their buried ancestors, the property of the U.S. Government.

The U.S. government's policy towards Native Americans stood until 1917, when it started softening its stance as a tangential of World War I, when the United States extended the same right of citizenship to those "native" to the land. Note that this is the same right it had recognized for the transplanted descendants of Africa half-a-century earlier. When the U.S. entered the World War I, about 17,000 Native Americans served in the armed forces. Some Native Americans, however, specifically resisted the draft because they were not citizens and did not have the right to vote on the matter, or because they felt it would be an infringement of their tribal sovereignty. In 1919, Native American veterans of the war were granted citizenship. However, it is not until 1924 with the Indian Citizenship Act when this citizenship came with voting rights.

All of this history is made relevant by the frightfully similar occurrences in the 20th and 21st Centuries. The consequences of paternalism have not ceased to be dire since the Native American population was deemed as "domestic dependent nations" and as "wards of the state" by the Supreme Court in 1831. Sally J. Torpy of the California Department of Parks and Recreation's Indian Museum wrote a piece entitled "Native

American Women and Coerced Sterilization: On the Trail of Tears in the 1970s.” It was published by the American Indian Culture and Research Journal. In it she recounts how Native Americans as “wards of the state” became the victims of eugenic-minded doctors and social planners:

Thousands of poor women and women of color, including Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chicanos, were sterilized in the 1970s, often without full knowledge of the surgical procedure performed on them or its physical and psychological ramifications. Native American women represented a unique class of victims among the larger population that faced sterilization and abuses of reproductive rights. These women were especially accessible victims due to several unique cultural and societal realities setting them apart from other minorities. Tribal dependence on the federal government through the Indian Health Service (HIS), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) robbed them of their children and jeopardized their future as sovereign nations. Native women’s struggle to obtain control over reproductive rights has provided them with a sense of empowerment consistent with larger Native American efforts to be free of institutional control. (Pg. 1, S.J. Torpy, “Native American Women and Coerced Sterilization: On the Trail of Tears in the 1970s”, *Am. Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 24:2, 2000, 1-22)

Torpy recounts the plight of the Native American women that had the courage to speak up. She laments the fact that there are many more victims to the “paternalistic and racist beliefs” of government institutions. We simply do not know about them because, in a repeat of history, many of these women were coerced with threats of losing their children or having their welfare benefits taken away. In many cases, namely that of Norma Jean Serena, the Armstrong County Child Welfare Service acted on its threats and took her children away. (Pg. 2) A jury would later determine that she was subjected to a tubal ligation and her children placed in foster homes under false pretenses.

The victims of eugenical sterilization in the early 20th and 21st Centuries were told they were undergoing an appendectomy only to find out years later that they had been sterilized without

their consent or knowledge. In the case of welfare women, the consent forms were also obtained after the operations had already been carried out or while under sedation in the tense moments just prior to a caesarean birth. Torpy traces the impetus behind the dubious practices to the advent of the welfare state. She is quoted here at length as her documentation is quite revealing:

Other significant influences in the late 1960s, such as government concern over the growing population, prompted President Richard M. Nixon’s appointment of John D. Rockefeller III as chairman of the new Commission on Population and the American Future. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s previous War on Poverty reflected fear that world resources would not be able to provide for the future population. Political and social pressures to limit family size and push sterilization helped lead to the new Office of Economic Opportunity, an organization that sought federal funds to provide not only education and training to the poor, but also a less well-known service: contraception. The Family Planning Act of 1970 passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote of 298 to thirty-two. Statistics reflect the combined impact that this new legislation and medical practices had on minority women. During the 1970s, HEW funded 90 percent of the annual sterilization costs for poor people. Sterilization for women increased 350 percent between 1970 and 1975 and approximately one million American women were sterilized each year. Physicians and social workers found themselves in a potent situation in which they could use, but in reality abuse, their authority in dealing with poor and minority families and their reproductive rights. The conflicting needs and rights between women of different economic background and color coinciding with new fertility laws, medical advancement, and tenacious eugenic lore, culminated in disaster for many women. (Pg. 3, S.J. Torpy, “Native American Women and Coerced Sterilization”, *Am. Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 24:2, 2000, 1-22)

Torpy documents that the growing outrage inspired the creation of several groups, namely the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse and the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse. She documents the various lawsuits that inevitably resulted. Most importantly, she documents how close the measures came to eradicating an already miniscule

Native American population. Ironically enough, the social planners focused their fears of “overpopulation” on a culture whose numbers were already decimated. Of the 800,000 Native Americans living during the 1970s, the sterilization measures brought the number of women of a reproductive age below 100,000. A General Accounting Office did a study involving Albuquerque, Phoenix, Oklahoma City, and Aberdeen, South Dakota. They found that between 1973 and 1976 HIS facilities sterilized 3,406 Native American women. (Pg. 7) Torpy points out that these 3,406 women were the equivalent of 452,000 of the general American population being sterilized under dubious or false circumstances.

Torpy also makes it a point to emphasize that these acts had repeated themselves because the paternalistic attitudes towards ethnic minorities that were seen as “over-breeders” or, more important to the purposes of this paper, as a “dependents”:

Physicians were convinced that welfare patients were unreliable and not intelligent enough to properly use other methods of birth control such as contraceptive devices or pills. Physicians played God, deciding for the poor or minority member what they felt would provide a higher standard of living by limiting the size of families. Many physicians, government administrators, and health corporation planners felt that sterilization provided an inexpensive and permanent method of controlling population, reducing poverty, and insuring who could reproduce. (Pg. 12, S.J. Torpy, “Native American Women and Coerced Sterilization: On the Trail of Tears in the 1970s”, Am. Indian Culture and Research Journal, 24:2, 2000, 1-22)

Infuriatingly enough, this history has repeated itself over and over again in the decades after The Holocaust. We were supposed to have learned the lessons of history after WWII and Hitler’s eugenic megalomania. To the contrary, there is a discernible pattern of eugenic activism by the medical profession after The Holocaust. Anne-Emmanuelle Birn, ScD, MA and Natalia Molina, Ph.D., MA wrote the editorial entitled “In the Name of Public Health” for the July 2006 American Journal of Public Health. The editorial

documents the modern age of California eugenics where doctors exercised their eugenic beliefs by sterilizing ethnic minorities. They expose how the eugenics movement became part of the “cost saving” measures of the welfare state:

Although many accounts portray eugenics as a unitary movement informed by conservative ideas and supported by political counterparts, it was above all a technocratic development that could be and was appropriated and refashioned by utopians, social progressives, nativists, and Nazis. ---- In linking eugenics to right-wing political agendas, some scholars have inaccurately pointed to the end of World War II and the discrediting of “Nazi science” at the Nuremberg Trials as the demise of eugenics. Yet, as Stern shows for California, eugenics did not disappear then; support for eugenic sterilization merged with growing concerns about over-population and family planning. Birth control, at bottom a technocratic measure, was also appropriated differentially by various actors. Seized upon as a means of freedom for elite and middle-class women, birth control has had more conflicted meanings and consequences for poor and working-class women around the world. (Pg. 1096, “In the Name of Public Health”, Am. Journal of Public Health, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 7)

Dr. Birn’s and Dr. Molina’s editorial was a review of Alexandra Minna Stern’s paper entitled “Sterilized in the Name of Public Health: Race, Immigration, and Reproductive Control in Modern California.” Stern also confirms the fact that the reemergence of eugenics occurred in 1964 when federal agencies began their family planning measures as part of the Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty. (Pg. 1128) Stern recounts how the Progressive politics of the era became the impetus behind the measures:

A series of overlapping factors created the milieu for widespread sterilization abuse in the United States from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. This period saw the confluence of the gains of mainstream feminism with regard to reproductive rights, an unprecedented federal commitment to family planning and community health, and the popularity of the platform of zero population growth, which was endorsed by immigration restrictionists and environmentalists and put into practice on the operating table by some zealous physicians. (Pg. 1132, Stern, “Sterilized in the Name of

Public Health: Race, Immigration, and Reproductive Control in Modern California”, Am. Journal of Public Health, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 7)

Stern retraces the transition from the eugenics of the 1930s to the eugenics emerging from the activist environmentalist, reproductive rights, and zero population growth crowd, again, the strongholds of the welfare state:

[A]n emphasis on parenting skills and welfare dependency began to supplant hereditary fitness and putative innate mental capacity as the determinants of an individual's social and biological drain on society. By this time, many eugenicists had conceded that earlier attempts to stamp out hereditary traits defined as recessive or latent, including alcoholism, immorality, and the catchall “feeble-mindedness,” had been proven futile by the Hardy-Weinberg equilibrium principle. --- Accompanying this realignment was a heightened interest in the manipulation and management of human heredity through population control, which postwar eugenicists and their allies pursued through groups such as the Population Council, Population Reference Bureau, and Planned Parenthood. On the basis of a revamped rationale of bad parenthood and population burden, sterilizations increased in the 1950s and 1960s in southern states such as North Carolina and Virginia. Concurrently, sterilization often regained a punitive edge and, preponderantly aimed at African American and poor women, began to be wielded by state courts and legislatures as a punishment for bearing illegitimate children or as extortion to ensure ongoing receipt of family assistance. By the 1960s, the protracted history of state sterilization programs in the United States, and the consolidation of a rationale for reproductive surgery that was linked to fears of overpopulation, welfare dependency, and illegitimacy, set the state for a new era of sterilization abuse. (Pg. 1132, A.M. Stern, “Sterilized in the Name of Public Health: Race, Immigration, and Reproductive Control in Modern California”, Am. Journal of Public Health, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 7)

Stern makes it a point to emphasize how the goals and values of Progressive-minded activists drastically contrasted those of ethnic minorities that viewed childbearing in more traditional ways:

While many minority and working-class women also clamored for greater reproductive

control, they often found themselves combating the reverse equation, namely, that they were destructive overbreeders whose procreative tendencies needed to be managed. Given that the family planning model was underpinned by the principle of population control and the idea of 2 to 3 children per couple, a substantial influx of resources into birth control services and the absence of standardized consent protocols made the environment ripe for coercion. (Pg. 1133, A.M. Stern, “Sterilized in the Name of Public Health: Race, Immigration, and Reproductive Control in Modern California”, Am. Journal of Public Health, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 7)

Stern documents cases such as Madrigal v. Quilligan and Relf v. Weinberger where obstetrics departments in family planning clinics and delivery rooms were “meeting quotas.” Young residents took advantage of a sector of the female population in order to gain surgical experience. Karen Benker worked at one of these hospitals and appeared as a witness in Madrigal v. Quilligan. Her testimony echoes so many of the cases documented in this paper:

She recalled conversations in which Dr. Edward James Quilligan, the lead defendant and head of Obstetrics and Gynecology at County General since 1969, stated, “poor minority women in L.A. County were having too many babies; that it was a strain on society; and that it was good that they be sterilized.” She also testified that he boasted about a federal grant for over \$2 billion dollars he intended to use to show, in his words, “how low we can cut the birth rate of the Negro and Mexican populations in Los Angeles County.” (Pg. 1135, Stern, “Sterilized in the Name of Public Health”, Am. Journal of Public Health, July 2005, Vol. 95, No. 7)

It would be a mistake to dismiss these examples as mismanagement of otherwise well-intended government agencies as this pattern always includes the heavy hand of government acting on a sense of paternalism. These eugenic endeavors are always the product of the individual being subsumed under the prerogative of the collective, and by extension, individual rights trampled in the name of the social good. Case in point, the ideological father of Progressivism, the economist John Maynard Keynes, was a devoted eugenicist before and after The Holocaust had

exposed eugenics for its brutality. Keynes understood that the Achilles heel of a centrally-planned economy was an out of control population or a disbalance between the productive and dependent sectors. The 'plans' for the centrally-planned society are too easily upturned if the population itself is not also meticulously planned. "Total" control is a necessity of the "Total State," after all.

A series of more recent events evidences that this is hardly a phenomenon confined to the 20th Century. This became amply clear the summer of 2013 when it was revealed that 148 female inmates at the Valley State Prison in California were sterilized against their will. The Center for Investigative Reporting found that these 148 sterilizations were conducted between the years of 2006 and 2010, mostly without the consent or knowledge of the women. In a repeat of history, the women were heavily sedated and strapped to an operating table in preparation for a C-section when consent was allegedly obtained. The excuse given by OG-GYN that conducted these operations, Dr. James Heinrich, reveals the eugenic nature of his sterilization campaign. A July 10th, 2013 letter from California State Senator Ted W. Lieu to Dr. Sharon Levine of the California Medical Board cites the doctor's reasoning. Dr. Heinrich, an apt name for one practicing eugenics, claimed the reason for the sterilizations was a measure to "save in welfare paying for these unwanted children – as they procreated more."

Patrick McGreevy and Phil Willon wrote an article about the incident in the July 13th, 2013 Los Angeles Times. They give an account of how consent was obtained by fraudulent means:

Kelli Thomas of Los Angeles was an inmate in Chowchilla when she went into surgery for a biopsy and to have two cysts removed. She gave the doctor permission to remove her ovaries if cancer was found, she said, but she told him she hoped it wouldn't be necessary. Thomas said she told the doctor she wanted to have children when she left prison, where she served a sentence for voluntary manslaughter of a domestic partner she said was abusive. Her medical records show that no cancer was found but her ovaries were removed, according to Cynthia Chandler, co-founder of Justice Now

and a law professor at Golden Gate University, who reviewed the records. (July 13th, 2013, "California Prisons Sterilized 148 Women", Los Angeles Times)

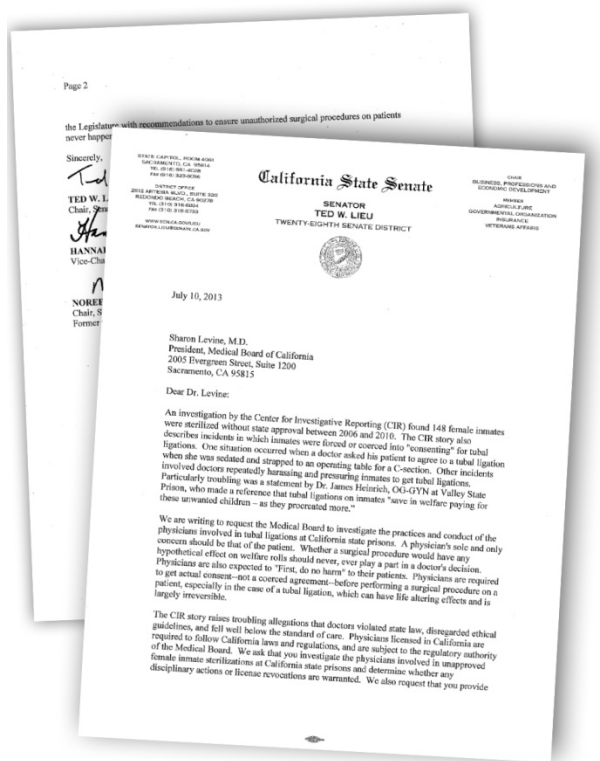
Here were the most educated representatives of the State of California, its doctors, concluding that the undesirable would only produce equally unwanted children. These doctors utilized their position of power to violate the bodily integrity of these women at the moment when they were the most vulnerable, and both literally and figuratively cut off their hereditary strain.

Stern aptly pointed out that it was those ideologically committed toward planning for a more environmentally sound society, or for a welfare state, that focused on "zero population growth". This is a trend that has not changed. Unsurprisingly, Jonathan Gruber, one of the mastermind's behind the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) has written favorably of the eugenic aspects of abortion. His aptly titled 2007 paper, "Abortion and Selection," throws around terminology that would make the eugenicists of yesteryear proud. (Pgs. 124-136, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Feb. 2009) Gruber's paper attempts to find a correlation between the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, "positive selection," and the "quality" of the population. The 2014 news feed evidence Gruber's paternalistic thinking, as he became infamous for claiming that the "stupidity" of the American voter was a necessity in passing the Affordable Care Act.

In conclusion; Utopian dreams abound in the political sphere. These schemes are political machinations where the state is given both the "right" and "duty" to "protect" those it deems as "dependents". George Fitzhugh, the pro-slavery ideologue this paper commenced with must be smirking in his grave.

Increasingly, the numbers that fall under the demarcations of that protectorate, that government reservation, have been broadened far beyond those with real debilitating needs. The results are predictable: The "welfare state" has earned a derogatory reputation as the "government plantation", and for good reason. We

should take heed that eugenics has always been the safety valve of the “welfare state”. Utopian dreams are too easily upended by an out of control and unproductive population. History has long proven this to be precarious for those dependent and allegedly in need of government assistance.



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The purpose of this merging of content was to reconcile the research of both works. Both of these books were released as A.R.C. (Advanced Reader's Copy) as paperbacks.

“Individual rights are the means of subordinating society to moral law.” - Ayn Rand
