

American Foreign Policy

A Juggling Act



U.S History ACP
Academic Year
Social Studies Dept.
Wellesley High School

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Wellesley High School
Social Studies Department

Theme IV: The Juggling Act - American Foreign Policy

Unit Abstract

This unit examines the motives and methods of United States involvement in foreign affairs. The three threads of U.S. involvement are unilateralism (lone wolf), ideological expansionism and practical interests. At times, the U.S. determines its foreign policy by refraining from involvement in foreign affairs or choosing to involve itself without alliances and focusing only on its own agenda. The government must also consider practical benefits that the United States could obtain from its involvement. Both of these motives are guided by dominant American ideologies like liberty, freedom and democracy and the desire to spread such ideals to people outside the United States which was expressed in the 20th century as Manifest Destiny. These decisions have resulted in the United States becoming a superpower while expanding its own borders and imperializing others.

Essential Questions:

1. Why at times has the United States pursued a multilateral foreign policy and at other times elected to proceed unilaterally?
2. Have United States foreign policy decisions furthered American ideologies and national interests?
3. Assess the costs and benefits of American foreign policy on the rest of the world.

Unit Questions:

1. Evaluate the thread that has been most influential in determining U.S. foreign policy. Why?
2. To what extent has the U.S. been an imperial power (versus expansion)?
3. What has most influenced the growth of the United States from a colony to a superpower?
4. How has the role of the United States in the world changed?
5. To what extent has ideology and/or practical interest motivated United States foreign policy?
6. What is the cost to the United States of its increased presence in the world?
7. Did United States foreign policy decisions further our national interests or were they detrimental?
8. How has the United States used its authority to dictate foreign policy the world?
9. Who and or which people benefits from U.S. involvement in other countries?
10. How has American foreign policy been an interplay between isolationism/unilateralism, ideology and practical interests at the cost of American ideals?
11. Characterize and explain the relationship between foreign policy and domestic policy.

Vocabulary:

1. **Isolationism:** The policy or doctrine of isolating one's-country from the affairs of other nations.
2. **Unilateralism:** The doctrine or agenda that supports a one-sided agenda where a nation acts independently of others.
3. **Multilateralism:** Is multiple countries working in concert on a given issue.
4. **Manifest Destiny:** This ideology includes three basic themes: the special virtues of the american people and their institutions, america's mission to redeem and remake the world in the image of america and a divine destiny under god's direction to accomplish this task.
5. **Practical Interests:** Direct benefits, usually economic, for United States citizens.
6. **Imperialism:** occurs when a strong nation takes over a weaker nation or region and dominates its economic, political, or cultural life.

Foreign Policy in the U.S Constitution

Context

The American Constitution is drafted in 1787 following the American Revolution and the failure of the Articles of Confederation. At this time, what are the foreign policy concerns/issues facing the United States? Using your pocket Constitution, answer the following questions:

What are the war powers given to Congress in Article I, Section 8?

What are the war powers given to the President in Article II, Section 2?

In the Second Amendment - what vision of foreign policy is being described?

In the Third Amendment - what fear is being shown regarding the military?

"Farwell Address"

George Washington

1796

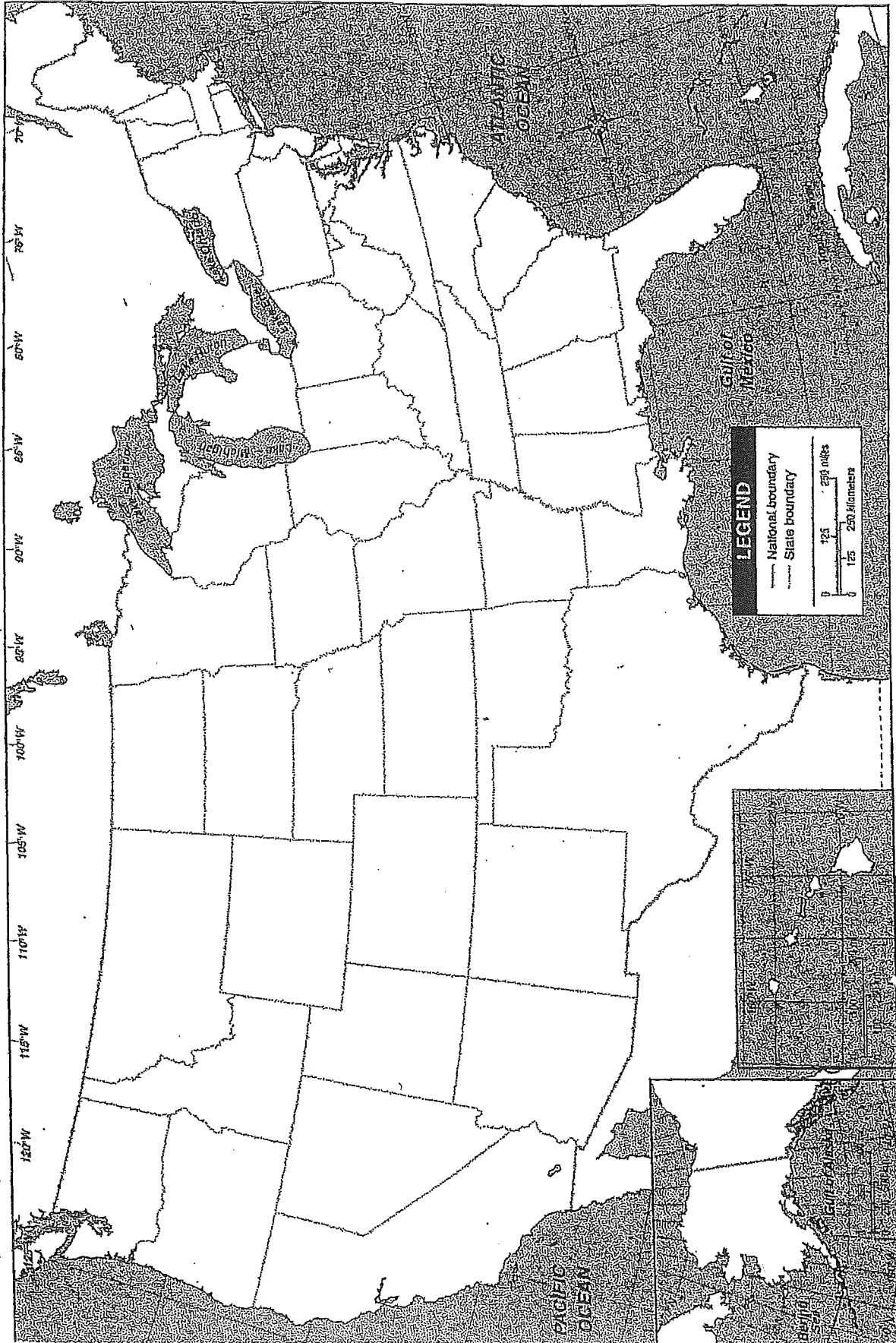
The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none; or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to

United States



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asks to be placed upon the same footing with the most favored nations, after Spain.

It knows not what there is to be *recognized* in the colonies, as *Independent*; France regarding all government there as a mockery.

It labors to show the necessity of assembling a Congress to which England should be a party, (which she declines) to bring about the benevolent end of reclaiming these remote regions from their past errors, and making up the dispute between them and the parent state on terms satisfactory to both, as the policy worthy of both.

The apprehensions of Britain . . . seem to be fully allayed, at least for the present; and it is certain that she does not now anticipate any speedy interruption of the peace of Europe from this cause. The language which France now holds to Britain is obviously at variance with that which her manifestos breathed when her troops entered Spain in the spring.

7. Annual Message from President James Monroe to the United States Congress, December 2, 1823.¹

At the proposal, of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Brit-

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (Gales & Seaton, Washington, 1858), V, 245-250.

ain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. [Paragraph 7, message of December 2, 1823.]

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been, so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of

the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between these new governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is

a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate preserve of those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course. [Paragraphs 48 and 49, message of December 2, 1823.]

8. European comments on the Monroe Doctrine — *The Newspapers.*

1. A comment by the Paris newspaper *Etoile*, Paris, January 4, 1824.⁸

What is this power which haughtily avows maxims so contrary to the right of sovereignty and to the independence of every

⁸ Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1927), 162-163.

What are O'Sullivan's reasons for WHY the U.S is destined for greatness?

John L. O'Sullivan on Manifest Destiny, 1839

Excerpted from "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review*, Volume 6, Issue 23, pp. 426-430. The complete article can be found in *The Making of America Series* at Cornell University

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul -- the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government. . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of

other lands, that "the gates of hell" -- the powers of aristocracy and monarchy -- "shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High -- the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere -- its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood -- of "peace and good will amongst men."...

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission -- to the entire development of the principle of our organization -- freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be *the great nation of futurity*?

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The Mexican War—Was It in the National Interest?

Part A.

Use the following documents as a resource in completing the chart that follows on the arguments for and against American expansion to the Pacific, even at the expense of war with Mexico, in the 1840s.

Document A

But I am in danger of running into unnecessary details, which my debility will not enable me to close. The question is full of interest, also, as it affects our domestic relations and as it may bear upon those of Mexico to us. I will not undertake to follow it out to its consequences in those respects, though I must say that, in all aspects, the annexation of Texas to the United States promises to enlarge the circle of free institutions, and is essential to the United States, particularly as lessening the probabilities of future collision with foreign powers, and giving them greater efficiency in spreading the blessings of peace.

Andrew Jackson in a letter to Cong. Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee,
February 12, 1843

Document B

John L. O'Sullivan, the influential Democratic editor who gave the movement its name, wrote in 1845 that the American claim to new territory

... is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative self government entrusted to us. It is a right such as that of the tree to the space of air and earth suitable for the full expansion of its principle and destiny of growth.

Richard N. Current et al., *A Survey of American History*, Vol. 1,
6th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 375.

Document C

"We love to indulge in thoughts of the future extent and power of this Republic—because with its increase is the increase of human happiness and liberty. . . . What has miserable, inefficient Mexico—with her superstition, her burlesque upon freedom, her actual tyranny by the few over the many—what has she to do with the great mission of peopling the New World with a noble race? Be it ours, to achieve that mission! Be it ours to roll down all of the upstart leaven of old despotism, that comes our way!"

Walt Whitman, Editorial, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 7, 1846

Document D

For American expansion to the Pacific was always a precise and calculated movement. It was ever limited in its objectives. American diplomatic and military policy that secured the acquisition of both Oregon and California was in the possession of men who never defined their expansionist purposes in terms of a democratic ideal. The vistas of all from Jackson to Polk were maritime and they were always anchored to specific waterways along the Pacific Coast. Land was necessary to them merely as a right of way to ocean ports—a barrier to be spanned by improved avenues of commerce. Any interpretation of westward extension beyond Texas is meaningless unless defined in terms of commerce and harbors.

Norman A. Graebner, "The Land-Hunger Thesis Challenged,"
in *The Mexican War: Was It Manifest Destiny?* ed. by Ramon Eduardo Ruiz
(New York: Holt, Reinhardt and Winston, 1963), 48.

Document E

However superior the Anglo-American race may be to that of Mexico, this gives the Americans no right to infringe upon the rights of the inferior race. The people of the United States may rightfully, and will, if they use the proper means, exercise a most beneficial moral influence over the Mexicans and other less enlightened nations of America. Beyond this they have no right to go.

Albert Gallatin, "The Mission of the United States," in *Selected Readings in Great Issues in American History 1620-1968* from *Annals of America* (Chicago, Illinois: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1969), D-25.

Document F

"Then—Resolve,—That we wunt hev an inch o' slave territory;
Thet Presidunt Polk's holl perceedins air very tory;
Thet the war is a damned war, an' them thet enlist in it
Should hev a cravat with a drefle tight twist in it;
Thet the war is a war fer the spreadin' o' slavery;"

James Russell Lowell, *The Biglow Papers*, 1846

Document G

Less than a year before he became President, Lincoln wrote that "the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President" (June 1, 1860).

Abraham Lincoln quoted in *The American Pageant* by Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath Company, 1983), 268.

Document H

Long-memoried Mexicans have never forgotten that their northern enemy tore away about half of their country. The argument that they were lucky not to lose all of it, and that they had been paid something for their land, did not lessen their bitterness. The war also marked an ugly turning point in the relations between the United States and Latin America as a whole. Hitherto, Uncle Sam had been regarded with some complacency, even friendliness. Henceforth, he was increasingly feared as the "Colossus of the North." Suspicious neighbors to the south condemned him as a greedy and untrustworthy bully, who might next despoil them of their soil.

Bailey and Kennedy, *American Pageant*, 272.

Document I

Within the United States, indecision about how much territory the country should demand also impeded rapid settlement. At the beginning of the war, ambitions of most Americans were relatively modest: California and New Mexico. But with each new, dazzling victory, the national appetite grew until "All Mexico" became a powerful slogan and movement.

The reluctance of most Americans to take on the responsibility of governing an alien, non-English-speaking people with different institutions and traditions, ultimately decided the All Mexico issue. Racism clearly played a part in the decision: Mexicans were "half-breeds," incapable of self-government; they would be a dead weight around the bounding young America's neck.

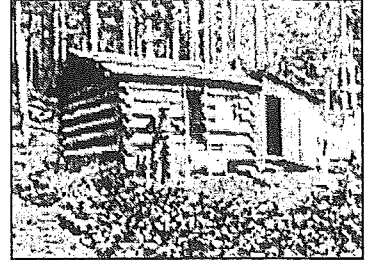
Irwin Unger, *These United States*, Vol. I
(Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), 390-91.

| Arguments for American expansion | Arguments against American expansion |
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Homestead Act (1862)

Enacted on May 20, 1862, this landmark piece of legislation granted to settlers ownership of 160 acres of land merely by living on it and working it for five years. It proved one of the most important government incentives in settling the vast territory of the American West and provided economic opportunities to thousands of Americans and newly arrived immigrants. Below is an excerpt of the act.



Be it enacted, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter-section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to pre-emption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning or residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

Section 2. That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one or more years of age, or shall have performed service in the Army or Navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not, either directly or indirectly, for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever, and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: Provided, however, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry—or if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in case of her death—shall prove by two credible witnesses that he, she or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne true allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: And provided, further, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an infant child or children under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall inure to the benefit of said infant child or children; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the States in which such children for the time being have their domicile, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose;

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

FROM *The Frontier in American History* (1893)

More than any other scholar, historian Frederick Jackson Turner influenced American attitudes toward the role of the West in shaping American values and institutions. Born in Portage, Wisconsin, in 1861, he taught at the University of Wisconsin from 1889 until 1910, when he joined Harvard's faculty. In 1893 he outlined his "frontier thesis" to the American Historical Society. Turner claimed that the process of western settlement was the defining characteristic of American society. Yet he concluded that at the end of the nineteenth century the frontier era had ended, and he worried that its beneficial effects would be lost to future generations of Americans. His frontier thesis was widely accepted. Today, however, historians criticize him for ignoring the role of women, evading the moral issues associated with the exploitation of the Native Americans, and asserting a simplistic connection between geography and political ideology.

From Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1920), pp. 1-4, 22-23, 29-31, 32, 37-38.

52 CHAPTER 19 NEW FRONTIERS: SOUTH AND WEST

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do you think Turner meant by the term "Americanization"?
2. According to Turner, in what crucial respect did western states differ from those on the Atlantic coast?
3. Turner equated the frontier with the American character. Does his set of national characteristics accurately describe Americans today?
4. In suggesting that the frontier was ultimately synonymous with a "new field of opportunity," what did Turner imply about other living environments in nineteenth-century American life?

In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in census reports." This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development.

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Calhoun¹ in 1817, "we are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing!" So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life.

* * *

In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolution of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial so-

ciety, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area.

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West. . . .

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization. . . . The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land.

* * *

In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe. Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. . . . The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Lit-

¹ John C. Calhoun (1782–1850).

tle by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe. . . .

The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward the frontier becomes more and more American. . . . Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.

* * *

First, we note that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands. . . . In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own. . . .

But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. As has been indicated, the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control.

The frontier States that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its existence came in with democratic suffrage provisions, and had reactive effects of the highest importance upon the older States whose peoples were being attracted there. An extension of the franchise became essential. . . .

But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to gov-

ernmental affairs which has rendered possible the spoils system and all the manifest evils that follow from a highly developed civil spirit. . . .

The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. The coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.

Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. . . . yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity. . . . And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

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I Hated Tonto (Still Do)

Commentary: Sherman Alexie recalls growing up with stereotype movie Indians--and loving them, wanting to be them. (Well, most of them.)

June 28, 1998 | Sherman Alexie

I was a little Spokane Indian boy who read every book and saw every movie about Indians, no matter how terrible.

I'd read those historical romance novels about the steroidal Indian warrior ravaging the virginal white schoolteacher.

I can still see the cover art.

The handsome, blue-eyed warrior (the Indians in romance novels are always blue-eyed because half-breeds are somehow sexier than full-blooded Indians) would be nuzzling (the Indians in romance novels are always performing acts that are described in animalistic terms) the impossibly pale neck of a white woman as she reared her head back in primitive ecstasy (the Indians in romance novels always inspire white women to commit acts of primitive ecstasy).

Of course, after reading such novels, I imagined myself to be a blue-eyed warrior nuzzling the necks of various random, primitive and ecstatic white women.

And I just as often imagined myself to be a cinematic Indian, splattered with Day-Glo Hollywood war paint as I rode off into yet another battle against the latest actor to portray Gen. George Armstrong Custer.

But I never, not once, imagined myself to be Tonto.

I hated Tonto then and I hate him now.

However, despite my hatred of Tonto, I loved movies about Indians, loved them beyond all reasoning and saw no fault with any of them.

I loved John Ford's "The Searchers."

I rooted for John Wayne as he searched for his niece for years and years. I rooted for John Wayne even though I knew he was going to kill his niece because she had been "soiled" by the Indians. Hell, I rooted for John Wayne because I understood why he wanted to kill his niece. I hated those savage Indians just as much as John Wayne did.

I mean, jeez, they had kidnapped Natalie Wood, transcendent white beauty who certainly didn't deserve to be nuzzled, nibbled, or nipped by some Indian warrior, especially an Indian warrior who only spoke in monosyllables and whose every movement was accompanied by ominous music.

*

In the movies, Indians are always accompanied by ominous music. And I've seen so many Indian movies that I feel like I'm constantly accompanied by ominous music. I always feel that something bad is about to happen.

I am always aware of how my whole life is shaped by my hatred of Tonto. Whenever I think of Tonto, I hear ominous music.

I walk into shopping malls or family restaurants, as the ominous music drops a few octaves, and imagine that I am Billy Jack, the half-breed Indian and Vietnam vet turned flower-power pacifist (now there's a combination) who loses his temper now and again, takes off his shoes (while his opponents patiently wait for him to do so), and then kicks the red out of the necks of a few dozen racist white extras.

You have to remember Billy Jack, right?

Every Indian remembers Billy Jack. I mean, back in the day, Indians worshiped Billy Jack.

Whenever a new Billy Jack movie opened in Spokane, my entire tribe would climb into two or three vans like so many circus clowns and drive to the East Trent Drive-In for a long evening of greasy popcorn, flat soda pop, fossilized licorice rope and interracial violence.

We Indians cheered as Billy Jack fought for us, for every single Indian.

Of course, we conveniently ignored the fact that Tom Laughlin, the actor who played Billy Jack, was definitely not Indian.

After all, such luminary white actors as Charles Bronson, Chuck Connors, Burt Reynolds, Burt Lancaster, Sal Mineo, Anthony Quinn and Charlton Heston had already portrayed Indians, so who were we to argue?

I mean, Tom Laughlin did have a nice tan and he spoke in monosyllables and wore cowboy boots and a jean jacket just like Indians. And he did have a Cherokee grandmother or grandfather or butcher, so he was Indian by proximity, and that was good enough in 1972, when disco music was about to rear its ugly head and bell-bottom pants were just beginning to change the shape of our legs.

When it came to the movies, Indians had learned to be happy with less.

We didn't mind that cinematic Indians never had jobs.

We didn't mind that cinematic Indians were deadly serious.

We didn't mind that cinematic Indians were rarely played by Indian actors.

We made up excuses.

"Well, that Tom Laughlin may not be Indian, but he sure should be."

"Well, that movie wasn't so good, but Sal Mineo looked sort of like Uncle Stubby when he was still living out on the reservation."

"Well, I hear Burt Reynolds is a little bit Cherokee. Look at his cheekbones. He's got them Indian cheekbones."

"Well, it's better than nothing."

Yes, that became our battle cry.

"Sometimes, it's a good day to die. Sometimes, it's better than nothing."

We Indians became so numb to the possibility of dissent, so accepting of our own lowered expectations, that we canonized a film like "Powwow Highway."

When it was first released, I loved "Powwow Highway." I cried when I first saw it in the theater, then cried again when I stayed and watched it again a second time.

I mean, I loved that movie. I memorized whole passages of dialogue. But recently, I watched the film for the first time in many years and cringed in shame and embarrassment with every stereotypical scene.

I cringed when Philbert Bono climbed to the top of a sacred mountain and left a Hershey chocolate bar as an offering.

I cringed when Philbert and Buddy Red Bow waded into a stream and sang Indian songs to the moon.

I cringed when Buddy had a vision of himself as an Indian warrior throwing a tomahawk through the window of a police cruiser.

I mean, I don't know a single Indian who would leave a chocolate bar as an offering. I don't know any Indians who have ever climbed to the top of any mountain. I don't know any Indians who wade into streams and sing to the moon. I don't know of any Indians who imagine themselves to be Indian warriors.

*

Wait.

I was wrong. I know of at least one Indian boy who always imagined himself to be a cinematic Indian warrior.

Me.

I watched the movies and saw the kind of Indian I was supposed to be.

A cinematic Indian is supposed to climb mountains.

I am afraid of heights.

A cinematic Indian is supposed to wade into streams and sing songs.

I don't know how to swim.

A cinematic Indian is supposed to be a warrior.

I haven't been in a fistfight since sixth grade and she beat the crap out of me.

I mean, I knew I could never be as brave, as strong, as wise, as visionary, as white as the Indians in the movies.

I was just one little Indian boy who hated Tonto because Tonto was the only cinematic Indian who looked like me.

*

Sherman Alexie is the author of "The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven," the screenwriter of "Smoke Signals," and the recent winner of the 17th Taos Poetry Circus.

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forced by General Scott to shoot an Indian Chief and his children, had to execute the orders of our superiors. We had no choice in the matter. . . .

However, murder is murder whether committed by the villain skulking in the dark or by uniformed men stepping to the strains of martial music.

Murder is murder, and somebody must answer. Somebody must explain the streams of blood that flowed in the Indian country in the summer of 1838. Somebody must explain the 4000 silent graves that mark the trail of the Cherokees to their exile. I wish I could forget it all, but the picture of 645 wagons lumbering over the frozen ground with their Cargo of suffering humanity still lingers in my memory.

Let the Historian of a future day tell the sad story with its sighs, its tears and dying groans. Let the great Judge of all the earth weigh our actions and reward us according to our work.

• • •

The lands of the Nez Percé stretched from Oregon to Idaho, but after the Gold Rush, in the 1860s, the federal government seized millions of acres of their lands, winding them into a small part of their former lands. Chief Joseph led the resistance to the ongoing encroachment of Nez Percé lands in the 1870s, but his people came under fierce attack in 1877. Chief Joseph was forced to lead a retreat toward the Canadian border. He and his followers were defeated, some forty miles from the border, in Montana, on October 5, 1877. He was sent to the Indian Territories in Oklahoma, where he continued to speak out against the crimes of the U.S. government, as he did in a visit to Washington in 1879.

Two Statements by Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé (1877 and 1879)

CHIEF JOSEPH'S SURRENDER (OCTOBER 5, 1877)⁶

Tell General [Oliver Otis] Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have it in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Ta-hool-hool-shute is dead. Looking-Glass is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say "Yes" or "No." He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold, and we have no blankets; the little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my

chiefs! I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.

CHIEF JOSEPH RECOUNTS HIS TRIP TO WASHINGTON, D.C. (1879)⁷

At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter with me. I am glad I came. I have shaken hands with a good many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General [Nelson] Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it. I cannot understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief (President [Rutherford B.] Hayes); the Next Great Chief (Secretary of the Interior [Carl Schurz]); the Commissioner Chief; the Law Chief; and many other law chiefs (Congressmen) and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while all their mouths talk right I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle. Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your war chief, General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not give my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misinterpretations have been made; too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men and the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same laws. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect all rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the Great White Chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They cannot tell me.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I can or go to my own home, let me have a home in a country where my people will or die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley. There my people would be happy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

When I think of our condition, my heart is heavy. I see men of my own race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals. I know that my race must change. We cannot hold our own with the white men; we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If an Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If a white man breaks the law, punish him so.

Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade here I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my choice, free to talk, think and act for myself—and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other then we all have no more wars. We shall be all alike—brothers of one father and mother, with the same sky above us and one country around us and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land and send rain to wash away the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race is waiting and praying. I hope no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht has spoken for his people.

...

One of the worst massacres of Native Americans occurred on December 29, 1890, and was, as with so many other massacres, reported with indifference and even raised. The massacre followed soon after the killing of the Indian leader Sitting Bull. After his death, the *Saturday Pioneer* in Aberdeen, South Dakota, proclaimed, "The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent . . . and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians." The editor of the paper was Frank Baum, the author of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. This account of the Wounded Knee Massacre is from the Oglala Sioux leader Black Elk, from his oral testimony published as *Black Elk Speaks*.

Black Elk, "The End of the Dream" (1932)⁸

After the soldiers marched away, Red Crow and I started back toward Pine Ridge together, and I took the little baby that I told you about. Red Crow had one too.

We were going back to Pine Ridge, because we thought there was peace back home; but it was not so. While we were gone, there was a fight around the Agency, and our people had all gone away. They had gone away so fast that they left all the tepees standing.

It was nearly dark when we passed north of Pine Ridge where the hospital is now, and some soldiers shot at us, but did not hit us. We rode into the camp, and it was all empty. We were very hungry because we had not eaten anything since early morning, so we peeped into the tepees until we saw where there was a pot with papa [dried meat] cooked in it. We sat down in there and began to eat. While we were doing this, the soldiers shot at the tepee, and a bullet struck right between Red Crow and me. It threw dust in the soup, but we kept right on eating until we had our fill. Then we took the babies and got on our horses and rode away. If that bullet had only killed me, then I could have died with papa in my mouth.

The people had fled down Clay Creek, and we followed their trail. It was dark now, and late in the night we came to where they were camped without any tepees. They were just sitting by little fires, and the snow was beginning to blow. We rode in among them and I heard my mother's voice. She was singing a death song for me, because she felt sure I had died over there. She was so glad to see me that she cried and cried.

Women who had milk fed the little babies that Red Crow and I brought with us. I think nobody but the little children slept any that night. The snow blew and we had no tepees.

When it was getting light, a war party went out and I went along; but this time I took a gun with me. When I started out the day before to Wounded Knee, I took only my sacred bow, which was not made to shoot with; because I was a little in doubt about the Waneekia religion at that time, and I did not really want to kill anybody because of it.

But I did not feel like that anymore. After what I had seen over there, I wanted revenge; I wanted to kill.

We crossed White Clay Creek and followed it up, keeping on the west side. Soon we could hear many guns going off. So we struck west, following a ridge to where the fight was. It was close to the Mission, and there are many bullets in the Mission yet.

From this ridge we could see that the Lakotas were on both sides of the creek and were shooting at soldiers who were coming down the creek. As we looked down, we saw a little ravine, and across this was a big hill. We crossed and rode up the hillside.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I cannot go to my own home, let me have a home in a country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley. There my people would be happy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

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From this ridge we could see that the Lakotas were on both sides of the creek and were shooting at soldiers who were coming down the creek. As we looked down, we saw a little ravine, and across this was a big hill. We crossed and rode up the hillside.

They were fighting right there, and a Lakota cried to me: "Black Elk, this is the kind of a day in which to do something great!" I answered: "How!"

Then I got off my horse and rubbed earth on myself, to show the Powers that I was nothing without their help. Then I took my rifle, got on my horse and galloped up to the top of the hill. Right below me the soldiers were shooting, and my people called out to me not to go down there; that there were some good shots among the soldiers and I should get killed for nothing.

But I remembered my great vision, the part where the geese of the north appeared. I depended upon their power. Stretching out my arms with my gun in the right hand, like a goose soaring when it flies low to turn in a change of weather, I made the sound the geese make—br-r-r-p, br-r-r-p, br-r-r-p; and, doing this, I charged. The soldiers saw, and began shooting fast at me. I kept right on with my buckskin running, shot in their faces when I was near, then swung wide and rode back up the hill.

All this time the bullets were buzzing around me and I was not touched. I was not even afraid. It was like being in a dream about shooting. But just as I had reached the very top of the hill, suddenly it was like waking up, and I was afraid. I dropped my arms and quit making the goose cry. Just as I did this, I felt something strike my belt as though some one had hit me there with the back of an ax. I r—ly fell out of my saddle, but I managed to hold on, and rode over the hill.

An old man by the name of Protector was there, and he ran up and held me, for now I was falling off my horse. I will show you where the bullet struck me sideways across the belly here (showing a long deep scar on the abdomen). My insides were coming out. Protector tore up a blanket in strips and bound it around me so that my insides would stay in. By now I was crazy to kill, and I said to Protector: "Help me on my horse! Let me go over there. It is a good day to die, so I will go over there!" But Protector said: "No, young nephew! You must not die today. That would be foolish. Your people need you. There may be a better day to die." He lifted me into my saddle and led my horse away down hill. Then I began to feel very sick.

By now it looked as though the soldiers would be wiped out, and the Lakotas were fighting harder; but I heard that, after I left, the black Wasichu soldiers came, and the Lakotas had to retreat.

There were many of our children in the Mission, and the sisters and priests were taking care of them. I heard there were sisters and priests right in the battle helping wounded people and praying.

There was a man by the name of Little Soldier who took charge of me and brought me to where our people were camped. While we were over at the Mission Fight, they had fled to the O-on-a-gazhee and were camped on top of it where the women and children would be safe from soldiers. Old Hollow Horn was there. He

was a very powerful bear medicine man, and he came over to heal my wound. In three days I could walk, but I kept a piece of blanket tied around my belly.

It was now nearly the middle of the Moon of Frost in the Tepee (January). We heard that soldiers were on Smoky Earth River and were coming to attack us in the O-on-a-gazhee. They were near Black Feather's place. So a party of about sixty of us started on the war-path to find them. My mother tried to keep me at home, because, although I could walk and ride a horse, my wound was not all healed yet. But I would not stay; for, after what I had seen at Wounded Knee, I wanted a chance to kill soldiers.

We rode down Grass Creek to Smoky Earth, and crossed, riding down stream. Soon from the top of a little hill we saw wagons and cavalry guarding them. The soldiers were making a corral of their wagons and getting ready to fight. We got off our horses and went behind some hills to a little knoll, where we crept up to look at the camp. Some soldiers were bringing harnessed horses down to a little creek to water, and I said to the others: "If you will stay here and shoot at the soldiers, I will charge over there and get some good horses." They knew of my power, so they did this, and I charged on my buckskin while the others kept shooting. I got seven of the horses; but when I started back with these, all the soldiers saw me and began shooting. They killed two of my horses, but I brought five back safe and was not hit. When I was out of range, I caught up a fine bald-faced bay and turned my buckskin loose. Then I drove the others back to our party.

By now more cavalry were coming up the river, a big bunch of them, and there was some hard fighting for a while, because there were not enough of us. We were fighting and retreating, and all at once I saw Red Willow on foot running. He called to me: "Cousin, my horse is killed!" So I caught up a soldier's horse that was dragging a rope and brought it to Red Willow while the soldiers were shooting fast at me. Just then, for a little while, I was a Wanekia myself. In this fight Long Bear and another man, whose name I have forgotten, were badly wounded; but we saved them and carried them along with us. The soldiers did not follow us far into the Badlands, and when it was night we rode back with our wounded to the O-on-a-gazhee.

We wanted a much bigger war-party so that we could meet the soldiers and get revenge. But this was hard, because the people were not all of the same mind, and they were hungry and cold. We had a meeting there, and were all ready to go out with more warriors, when Afraid-of-His-Horses came over from Pine Ridge to make peace with Red Cloud, who was with us there.

Our party wanted to go out and fight anyway, but Red Cloud made a speech to us something like this: "Brothers, this is a very hard winter. The women and children are starving and freezing. If this were summer, I would say to keep on fighting to the end. But we cannot do this. We must think of the women and children

and that it is very bad for them. So we must make peace, and I will see that nobody is hurt by the soldiers."

The people agreed to this, for it was true. So we broke camp next day and went down from the O-ona-gazhee to Pine Ridge, and many, many Lakotas were already there. Also, there were many, many soldiers. They stood in two lines with their guns held in front of them as we went through to where we camped.

And so it was all over.

I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream.

And I, to whom so great a vision was given in my youth,—you see me now a pitiful old man who has done nothing, for the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.

considerations and principles which enter into them belong to the unchangeable, or unchanging, order of things, remaining the same, in cause and effect, from age to age. They belong, as it were, to the Order of Nature, of whose stability so much is heard in our day; whereas tactics, using as its instruments the weapons made by man, shares in the change and progress of the race from generation to generation. From time to time the superstructure of tactics has to be altered or wholly torn down; but the old foundations of strategy so far remain, as though laid upon a rock. There will next be examined the general history of Europe and America, with particular reference to the effect exercised upon that history, and upon the welfare of the people, by sea power in its broad sense. From time to time, as occasion offers, the aim will be to recall and reinforce the general teaching, already elicited, by particular illustrations. The general tenor of the study will therefore be strategical, in that broad definition of naval strategy which has before been quoted and accepted: "Naval strategy has for its end

to found, support, and increase, as well in peace as in war, the sea power of a country." In the matter of particular battles, while freely admitting that the change of details has made obsolete much of their teaching, the attempt will be made to point out where the application or neglect of true general principles has produced decisive effects; and, other things being equal, those actions will be preferred which, from their association with the names of the most distinguished officers, may be presumed to show how far just tactical ideas obtained in a particular age or a particular service. It will also be desirable, where analogies between ancient and modern weapons appear on the surface, to derive such probable lessons as they offer, without laying undue stress upon the points of resemblance. Finally, it must be remembered that, among all changes, the nature of man remains much the same; the personal equation, though uncertain in quantity and quality in the particular instance, is sure always to be found.

Questions

1. According to Mahan, how could an enemy cripple American trade and commerce?
2. Why does he see this country's geographic isolation from other powerful nations as both a strength and a weakness?
3. In general, what is Mahan's view of history?

21-2 America in the World's Future (1886)

Josiah Strong

The interests of the Reverend Josiah Strong ranged from the cities (see Document 19-3) to foreign policy. In this excerpt from *Our Country*, Strong blends religion with a sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority to portray America's coming greatness. Like other observers of his time, Strong invoked Social Darwinism. He was not alone in arguing that nations, too, evolve through a process of natural selection. Others making that case included Brooks Adams and John Fiske (see text p. 680).

Source: Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (1886; reprint, ed. Jurgen Herbst, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 210, 212-216.

Mr. Darwin is not only disposed to see, in the superior vigor of our people, an illustration of his favorite theory of natural selection, but even intimates that the world's history thus far has been simply preparatory for our future, and tributary to it. He says: "There is apparently much truth in the belief that the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; for the most energetic, restless, and courageous men from all parts of Europe have emi-

grated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and have there succeeded best. Looking at the distant future, I do not think that the Rev. Mr. Zincke takes an exaggerated view when he says: 'All other series of events—as that which resulted in the culture of mind in Greece, and that which resulted in the Empire of Rome—only appear to have purpose and value when viewed in connection with, or rather as subsidiary to, the great stream of Anglo-Saxon emigration to the West.'" . . .

Again, another marked characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon is what may be called an instinct or genius for colonizing. His unequaled energy, his indomitable perseverance, and his personal independence, made him a pioneer. ~~He excels all others in pushing his way into new countries.~~

It was those in whom this tendency was strongest that came to America, and this inherited tendency has been further developed by the westward sweep of successive generations across the continent. So noticeable has this characteristic become that English visitors remark it. Charles Dickens once said that the typical American would hesitate to enter heaven unless assured that he could go farther west.

Again, nothing more manifestly distinguished the Anglo-Saxon than his intense and persistent energy, and he is developing in the United States an energy which, in eager activity and effectiveness, is peculiarly American.

This is due partly to the fact that Americans are much better fed than Europeans, and partly to the undeveloped resources of a new country, but more largely to our climate, which acts as a constant stimulus. Ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims, the Rev. Francis Higginson, a good observer, wrote: "A sup of New England air is better than a whole flagon of English ale." Thus early had the stimulating effect of our climate been noted. Moreover, our social institutions are stimulating. In Europe the various ranks of society are, like the strata of the earth, fixed and fossilized. There can be no great change without a terrible upheaval, a social earthquake. Here society is like the waters of the sea, mobile . . . that which is at the bottom to-day may one day flash on the crest of the highest wave. Every one is free to become whatever he can make of himself; free to transform himself from a rail-splitter or a tanner or a canal-boy, into the nation's President. Our aristocracy, unlike that of Europe, is open to all comers. Wealth, position, influence, are prizes offered for energy; and every farmer's boy, every apprentice and clerk, every friendless and penniless immigrant, is free to enter the list. Thus many causes co-operate to produce here the most forceful and tremendous energy in the world.

What is the significance of such facts? These tendencies infold the future; they are the mighty alphabet with which God writes his prophecies. May we not, by a careful laying together of the letters, spell out something of his meaning? It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. Heretofore there has always been in the history of the world a comparatively unoccupied land westward, into which the crowded countries of the East have poured their surplus populations. But the widening waves of migration, which millenniums ago rolled east and west from the valley of the Euphrates,¹ meet to-day on our Pacific coast. There are no more new

worlds. The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken. The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history—the *final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled*. Long before the thousand millions are here, the mighty *centrifugal* tendency, inherent in this stock and strengthened in the United States, will assert itself. Then the race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the "survival of the fittest"? "Any people," says Dr. Bushnell,² "that is physiologically advanced in culture, though it be only in a degree beyond another which is mingled with it on strictly equal terms, is sure to live down and finally live out its inferior. Nothing can save the inferior race but a ready and pliant assimilation. Whether the feebler and more abject races are going to be regenerated and raised up, is already very much of a question. What if it should be God's plan to people the world with better and finer material?"

"Certain it is, whatever expectations we may indulge, that there is a tremendous overbearing surge of power in the Christian nations, which, if the others are not speedily raised to some vastly higher capacity, will inevitably submerge and bury them forever. These great populations of Christendom—what are they doing, but throwing out their colonies on every side, and populating themselves, if I may so speak, into the possession of all countries and climes?" To this result no war of extermination is needful; the contest is not one of arms, but of vitality and of civilization. "At the present day," says Mr. Darwin, "civilized nations are everywhere supplanting barbarous nations, excepting where the climate opposes a deadly barrier; and they succeed mainly, though not exclusively, through their arts, which are the products of the intellect." Thus the Finns were supplanted by the Aryan races in Europe and Asia, the Tartars by the Russians, and thus the aborigines of North America, Australia and New Zealand are now disappearing before the all-conquering Anglo-Saxons. It seems as if these inferior tribes were only precursors of a superior race, voices in the wilderness crying: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord!" The savage is a hunter; by the incoming of civilization the game is driven away and disappears before the hunter becomes a herder or an agricul-

¹Valley of the Euphrates: Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, was an area of ancient settlement.

²Dr. Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) was a Congregational minister and theologian.

turist. The savage is ignorant of many diseases of civilization which, when he is exposed to them, attack him before he learns how to treat them. Civilization also has its vices, of which the uninitiated savage is innocent. He proves an apt learner of vice, but dull enough in the school of morals.

Every civilization has its destructive and preservative elements. The Anglo-Saxon race would speedily decay but for the salt of Christianity. Bring savages into contact with our civilization, and its destructive forces become operative at once, while years are necessary to render effective the saving influences of Christian instruction. Moreover, the pioneer wave of our civilization carries with it more scum than salt. Where there is one missionary, there are hundreds of miners or traders or adventurers ready to debauch the native.

Whether the extinction of inferior races before the advancing Anglo-Saxon seems to the reader sad or otherwise, it certainly appears probable. I know of nothing except climatic conditions to prevent this race from populating Africa as it has peopled North America. And those portions of Africa which are unfavorable to Anglo-Saxon life are less extensive than was once supposed. The Dutch Boers, after two centuries of life there, are as hardy as any race on earth. The Anglo-Saxon has established himself in climates totally diverse—Canada, South Africa, and India—and, through several generations, has preserved his essential race characteristics. He is not, of course, superior to climatic influences; but even in warm climates, he is likely to retain his aggressive vigor long enough to supplant races already enfeebled. Thus, in what Dr. Bushnell calls “the out-populating power of the Christian stock,” may be found God’s final and complete solu-

tion of the dark problem of heathenism among many inferior peoples.

Some of the stronger races, doubtless, may be able to preserve their integrity; but, in order to compete with the Anglo-Saxon, they will probably be forced to adopt his methods and instruments, his civilization and his religion. Significant movements are now in progress among them. While the Christian religion was never more vital, or its hold upon the Anglo-Saxon mind stronger, there is taking place among the nations a widespread intellectual revolt against traditional beliefs. “In every corner of the world,” says Mr. Froude,³ “there is the same phenomenon of the decay of established religions. . . . Among the Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists, Brahmins, traditionary creeds are losing their hold. An intellectual revolution is sweeping over the world, breaking down established opinions, dissolving foundations on which historical faiths have been built up.” The contact of Christian with heathen nations is awakening the latter to new life. Old superstitions are loosening their grasp. The dead crust of fossil faiths is being shattered by the movements of life underneath. In Catholic countries, Catholicism is losing its influence over educated minds, and in some cases the masses have already lost all faith in it. Thus, while on this continent God is training the Anglo-Saxon race for its mission, a complementary work has been in progress in the great world beyond. God has two hands. Not only is he preparing in our civilization the die with which to stamp the nations, but, by what Southey⁴ called the “timing of Providence,” he is preparing mankind to receive our impress.

³James A. Froude (1818-1894) was an English historian.

⁴Robert Southey (1774-1843) was an English author.

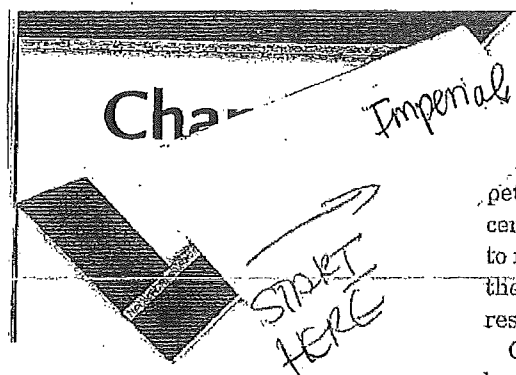
Questions

1. How would you characterize Strong’s version of Social Darwinism?
2. What kind of Christianity is he talking about?
3. What does Strong predict about the fate of peoples that encounter the United States as it expands?

21-3 Open House Days for a China Missionary (1900s)

Grace Service

China has long fascinated American missionaries as well as businessmen as a market for either souls or products. Grace Service (1879-1954) and Robert Service (1879-1935) devoted themselves to the former. The Services were a college-educated couple who in 1905 volunteered to work in China for the Young Men’s Christian Association. They spent the rest of their lives in China. It would be the land that welcomed their three sons just as it claimed the life of their infant daughter.



Nationalism Fuels Pursuit of Empire

In the late nineteenth century, patriotic songs by composers such as John Philip Sousa reinforced Americans' widespread belief in the national superiority of the United States. *How did nationalism contribute to the rise of American imperialism?*



READ *

| Causes of Imperialism | | Quick Study |
|----------------------------------|---|-------------|
| Economic gain | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Industrialists want raw materials for industries in their home countries. Entrepreneurs want to sell their goods and invest in new overseas markets. | |
| Militarism | Colonial powers seek bases for naval forces that protect their global trade networks. | |
| Nationalism and Social Darwinism | Imperialists feel a moral duty to spread their culture to peoples they consider inferior. | |

An Emerging World Power

Imperialists Believe in National Superiority Imperialists around the world used ideas of racial, national, and cultural superiority to justify imperialism. One of these ideas was Social Darwinism, the belief that life consists of competitive struggles in which only the fittest survive. Social Darwinists felt that certain nations and races were superior to others and therefore were destined to rule over inferior peoples and cultures. Prominent Americans worried that if the United States remained isolated while European nations gobbled up the rest of the world, America would not survive.

One reason that these Americans embraced Social Darwinism was that they had long believed that God had granted them the right and responsibility to settle the frontier. They spoke of America's "Manifest Destiny" to expand all the way to the Pacific Ocean. In a best-selling work titled *Our Country*, Josiah Strong picked up on this theme. A religious missionary, Strong argued that Americans had a responsibility to spread their Western values. "God is training the Anglo-Saxon race," he asserted, "for its mission [to civilize] weaker races." American missionaries who shared Strong's belief journeyed to foreign lands to gain converts to Christianity.

In "The Significance of the American Frontier," historian Frederick J. Turner noted that the frontier had been closed by gradual settlement in the nineteenth century. Throughout American history, he continued, the frontier had traditionally supplied an arena where ambitious Americans could pursue their fortunes and secure a fresh start. It had thus served as a "safety valve," siphoning off potential discontent. Now that America had spanned the continent, advocates of Turner's thesis urged overseas expansion as a way to keep the "safety valve" open and avoid internal conflict.

☒ **Checkpoint** What factors influenced Americans to play a more active role in the world?

America's First Steps Toward World Power

Beginning in the mid-1800s, with little fanfare, America focused more and more on expanding its trade and acquiring new territories. One of America's first moves toward world power came before the Civil War.

U.S. Power Grows in the Pacific In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry sailed a fleet of American warships into present-day Tokyo Bay, Japan. Prior to Perry's arrival, Japan had denied the rest of the world access to its ports. In fact, because most Japanese people had never seen steamships before, they thought Perry's fleet were "giant dragons puffing smoke." Perry cleverly won the Japanese emperor's favor by showering him with lavish gifts. Japanese leaders also realized that by closing off their nation to the outside world, they had fallen behind in military technology. Within a year, Perry negotiated a treaty that opened Japan to trade with America.

Perry's journey set a precedent for further expansion across the Pacific Ocean. In 1867, the United States took possession of the Midway Islands. Treaties in 1875 and 1887 increased trade with the Hawaiian Islands and gave the United States the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

Seward Purchases Alaska In 1867, Secretary of State William Seward bought Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million. Journalists scoffed at the purchase and referred to Alaska as "Seward's Folly" and "Seward's Icebox." They wondered why the United States would want a vast tundra of snow and ice 1,000 miles north

Rudyard Kipling, The White Man's Burden (1899)

Born in British India in 1865, Rudyard Kipling was educated in England before returning to India in 1882, where his father was a museum director and authority on Indian arts and crafts. Thus Kipling was thoroughly immersed in Indian culture; by 1890 he had published in English about 80 stories and ballads previously unknown outside India. As a result of financial misfortune, from 1892-96 he and his wife, the daughter of an American publisher, lived in Vermont, where he wrote the two Jungle Books. After returning to England, he published "The White Man's Burden" in 1899, an appeal to the United States to assume the task of developing the Philippines, recently won in the Spanish-American War. As a writer, Kipling perhaps lived too long: by the time of his death in 1936, he had come to be reviled as the poet of British imperialism, though being regarded as a beloved children's book author. Today he might yet gain appreciation as a transmitter of Indian culture to the West.

What is it today's reader finds so repugnant about Kipling's poem? If you were a citizen of a colonized territory, how would you respond to 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.

Take up the White Man's burden--
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden--
The savage wars of peace--
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden--
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper--
The tale of common things.

The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden--
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard--
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:--
"Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden--
Ye dare not stoop to less--
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke (1) your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden--
Have done with childish days--
The lightly proffered laurel, (2)
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!

(1) Cloak, cover.

(2) Since the days of Classical Greece, a laurel wreath has been a symbolic victory prize.

Response paper due Friday. Also you must answer the questions above in bold.

3. McKinley Submits a War Message (1898)

Despite the belated concessions of Spain, McKinley sent his war message to Congress on April 11, 1898. His nerves were giving way under the constant clamor for war; his heart went out to the mistreated Cubans. (He had anonymously contributed \$5000 for their relief.) He realized that Spain's offer of an armistice, at

the discretion of her commander, did not guarantee peace. The rebels had to agree on terms; and Spain had shown a talent for breaking promises and protracting negotiations. Further delay would only worsen the terrible conditions. Among the reasons that McKinley here gives Congress for intervention, which ones are the soundest and which the weakest? Was there danger in intervening for humanitarian reasons?

The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation; the expeditions of filibustering [freebooting] that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

These elements of danger and disorder already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by a tragic event which has deeply and justly moved the American people. I have already transmitted to Congress the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana during the night of the 15th of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and fifty-eight brave sailors and marines and two officers of our Navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death, [and] grief and want brought to their homes and sorrow to the nation.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the government, was unanimous in its conclusion that the destruction of the *Maine* was caused by an exterior explosion—that

of a submarine mine.* It did not assume to place the responsibility. That remains to be fixed.

In any event, the destruction of the *Maine*, by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American Navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there. . . .

[McKinley here refers to the offer by the Spanish minister to arbitrate the *Maine*, and simply adds, "To this I have made no reply."]

The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop. . . .

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me.

This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

* Assuming that the outside-explosion theory is correct—and it has been seriously challenged—the *Maine* might have been blown up by Cuban insurgents seeking to involve the United States in the war.

1. McKinley Prays for Guidance (1898)

What to do with the conquered Philippines? At first McKinley considered taking only a foothold at Manila, on the main island of Luzon. But this would be rendered militarily untenable if the remaining islands should fall into the hands of an unfriendly power, possibly Germany. The decision then lay between all or nothing. To hand back the islands to Spain was unthinkable. After fighting a war to free Cuba from Spanish misrule, America could hardly return the Filipinos, who had likewise risen in revolt, to Spanish misrule. To cut them completely loose might result in a mad scramble among the powers that would touch off a world war into which America might be drawn. McKinley had to make the decision while badly upset by the murder of his brother-in-law at the hands of a betrayed woman. He later told a group of fellow Methodists how he sought divine guidance, presumably late in October, 1898. How sound is McKinley's reasoning? Are there elements of racism in his thinking?

When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides—Democrats as well as Republicans—but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came:

- (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;
- (2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;
- (3) That we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and
- (4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died.

—And then I went to bed and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are and there they will stay while I am President!

1. This document is a report of an interview with McKinley at the White House, November 21, 1899, written by one of the interviewers and confirmed by others present. Published in *The Christian Advocate*, Jan. 22, 1903, it is here reprinted from C. S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (1916), II, 110-11.

Imperialism

The principal arguments . . . advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First—That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second—That our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third—That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth—That there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is address to the nation's pride and the second to the nation's pocket-book. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partizan.

It is sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power, but it has done more to shape the politics of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty others have fought for it. Because our Constitution was adopted other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

... It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their people. We have not ab-

sorbed the republics of Central and South America but we trade with them. It has not been necessary to have any political connection with Canada or the nations of Europe in order to trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is borne by all the people, while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors; it would be profitable to the ship owners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixt here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes and under systems which place the tax upon consumption pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it.

In addition to the evils which he and the farmer share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own Government.

It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The pecuniary argument, the more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much enthusiasm as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

... If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword? He who would declare the divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation.

Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breastplate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the spirit; let it be known that they are citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba.

For three-quarters of a century the Monroe doctrine has been a shield to neighboring republics and yet it has imposed no pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from without.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates our moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstance.

Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people. How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition!

The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility! The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests

the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfilment of that mission.

... I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-

day and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, *resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth*—a republic applying in practise and proclaiming to the world the self-evident propositions that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares or dares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

The Spanish American War: Crucible of Empire

Background: Roosevelt charging up Kettle Hill, the Rough Riders and the sinking of *The Maine*—these are what many people commonly know about the United States' 1898 war with Spain. What they may not remember is that this was the war that moved the United States to center stage as a world power.

Watch the following excerpt and take notes on the below prompts.

1. Clip One: The Cuban Rebellion

- Describe the background the Cuban Rebellion.
- Why does the United States get involved?

2. Clip Two: DeLome Letter

Describe the contents of the DeLome Letter.
How does the American public react?
Who is Hearst?

3. Clip Three: U.S. Prepares for War

Describe how prepared the United States was for War?

4. Clip Four: The U.S. in the Philippines
Describe U.S. treatment in the Philippines?
What was Taft's role in the Philippines?

5. Clip Five: Epilogue
Was conquest of the Philippines a success? Explain.

What was the result of Cuba? Explain.

In your opinion, do you believe that the U.S. transition of becoming an imperial power was worth it? Why? Explain.

Name:

Date:

READ: Chapter 18.4 "America as a World Power" Pgs 565-571

A. Make a chart comparing the different ways TR and Wilson used American power around the world

| Theodore Roosevelt | Woodrow Wilson |
|---|---|
| - What is the Roosevelt Corollary? | - What was missionary diplomacy? |
| - Define his "Big Stick" Policy and its goals | - What were the goals of missionary diplomacy? |
| - How did his policies define the role of U.S. intervention in international affairs? | How did his policies define the role of U.S. intervention in international affairs? |
| - Describe with examples how his policies were applied. | - Describe with examples how his policies were applied |

* What is "dollar diplomacy" & who practiced this?

See back
&
maps!

his
→
swer

The Platt Amendment, 1901

The United States occupied Cuba for five years after 1898. In 1901 Secretary of War Elihu Root drafted a set of articles (later known as the Platt Amendment) as guidelines for future United States-Cuban relations. Despite considerable Cuban resistance, they became a part of the 1902 Cuban Constitution. In following years the United States used the amendment several times to send troops to maintain or place friendly governments in power and to protect investments. The amendment was abrogated in 1934.

Whereas the Congress of the United States of America, by an Act approved March 2, 1901, provided as follows:

I.-That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgement in or control over any portion of said island.

II. That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government shall be inadequate.

III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

IV. That all Acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

V. That the government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States."

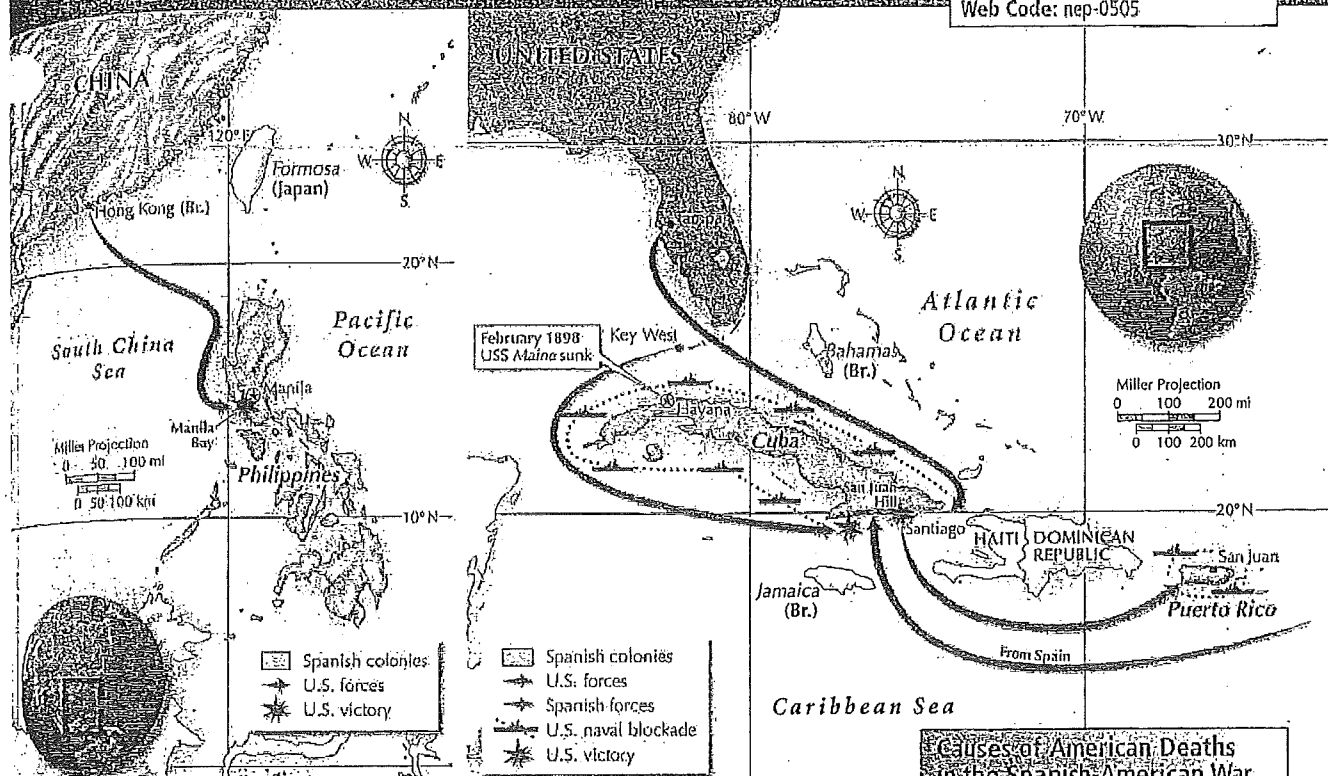
VIII. That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

Source: "The Platt Amendment," in *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 8, ed. C.I. Bevans (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 1116-17.

The Spanish-American War, 1898

Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-0505



Map Skills The Spanish-American War was fought on two fronts on opposite sides of the world. The United States won a quick victory over Spain.

1. Locate: (a) Havana, (b) Puerto Rico, (c) Hong Kong, (d) the Philippines

2. Regions Identify the two different regions of the world in which the war was fought.

3. Draw Conclusions Why do you think more Americans died from sickness and disease than in battle?

possession, the fighting had come to an end. Although almost 3,000 Americans died during the war, only around 380 died in combat. Disease, especially malaria and yellow fever, caused most of the deaths.

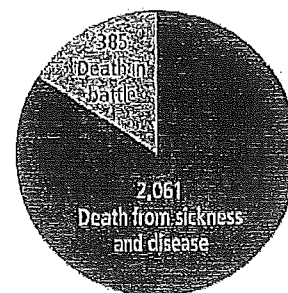
Checkpoint How did the Rough Riders and African American cavalry units contribute to the war effort?

Effects of the War

Secretary of State John Hay referred to the conflict with Spain as a "splendid little war" because of the ease and thoroughness of America's victory. Although the war may have been "splendid," it created a new dilemma for Americans: What should the United States do with Spain's former possessions?

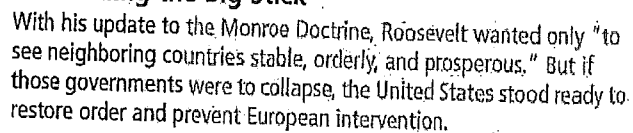
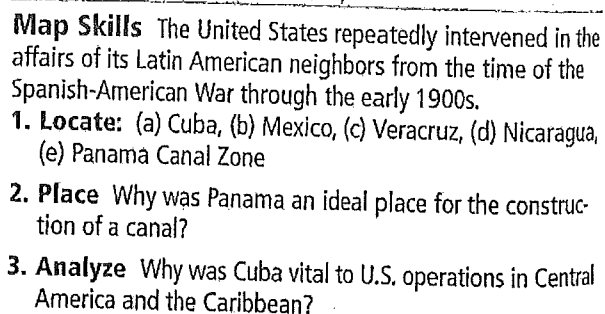
The Treaty of Paris Signed by Spain and the United States in December 1898, the Treaty of Paris officially ended the war. Spain gave up control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Pacific island of Guam. It also sold the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.

Causes of American Deaths in the Spanish-American War



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-0508



TR Video Questions: (start at 24:06-)

1. What other countries did Roosevelt feel the US should compete with?
2. Why did Roosevelt seek to get involved in other countries?
3. What happened in Santo Domingo? How does it increase the role of the US in the world?
4. What is his fear for Latin America?
5. Why does Roosevelt want to build the Panama Canal?
6. How does the canal get built? What other countries are involved?
7. What are the agreements made when the canal is built?
8. "I took Panama and let Congress debate that." What does this tell us about Roosevelt's view of executive power?
9. How does the imperial views of change his presidency/life? (lodging, entrances)
10. Do you agree with the methods that Roosevelt used? Why or why not?
11. How does this video change your view of Roosevelt?

The Zimmerman Telegram

On 16 January 1917, the German Foreign Minister, Arthur Zimmerman sent the following telegram to Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador in the United States.

Telegram text from The Zimmerman Telegram by Barbara Tuchman published in 1966 by Ballantine Books.

Most Secret

For Your Excellency's personal information and to be handed on to the Imperial Minister in Mexico

We intend to begin unrestricted submarine warfare on the first of February. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of an alliance on the following basis: Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement detail is left to you.

You will inform the President [*of Mexico*] of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves.

Please call the President's attention to the fact that the unrestricted employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England to make peace within a few months. Acknowledge receipt.

Zimmerman

Declaration Of War Against Germany-- April 6, 1917

Joint Resolution Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it Resolved . . . , That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Approved, April 6, 1917.

Why is the US becoming involved in the war according to this source?

Woodrow Wilson and WWI

Disc 2: Chapter 9: 9:10-14:40: Neutrality

1. Why does Wilson want to remain neutral in the war in Europe?
2. How did the immigrant population in the US impact Wilson's decision to remain neutral?
3. How does Wilson take a side in the war involuntarily?
4. What is the impact of the sinking of the Lusitania?
5. How does Wilson respond to the sinking of the Lusitania? How do people respond to Wilson's response?

23:10-26:48: US Involvement

6. What are two actions of Germany that threaten the United States?
7. What is the impact of these actions on Wilson? Why?
8. How does Wilson justify his decision to the American people and Congress?
9. How do the American people respond to his decision?

48:15-55:30 Peace Treaty

Background: Wilson travels to Paris to negotiate the Peace Treaty after WWI. He plans to promote his XIV points.

10. How does Wilson view the US's role in the war?

11. How do Europeans their role in the war?

12. What is in the impact of Wilson's ideas on other nations around the world? (be specific)

13. Why does Wilson unable to pass most of his XIV points?

14. What is the one part of the XIV points that was a non-negotiable for Wilson? Why?

15. How do US congressman react to the League of Nations? Why?

Reflection Questions post video

16. "The world must be made safe for democracy" Does this phrase, stated by Wilson, represent Manifest Destiny? Why or why not?

17. Do the reasons for US entry into WWI reflect Manifest Destiny? Why or why not?

18. Does Wilson represent Manifest Destiny in his foreign policy? Provide 5 examples of why or why not. (look back at imperialism notes)

[print page](#)[close window](#)

Woodrow Wilson: League of Nations speech (1919)

On July 10, 1919, President Woodrow Wilson presented to the U.S. Senate the results of several months of negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference to draft a treaty that would end World War I. Among the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles was the outline for an international peacekeeping organization known as the League of Nations that had been Wilson's creation and chief contribution to the peace talks. Below is an excerpt of his speech to the Senate that discusses the league. Despite Wilson's unqualified support for U.S. ratification of the treaty and participation in the league, the U.S. Senate refused to do either, voting down ratification and declining to join the league in an effort to reestablish U.S. isolationism.

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do which was heartening throughout everything.

Because we felt that in a way this conference did entrust into us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty; that the cooperation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now, as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a league of nations, a body of delegates, an executive council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the Body of Delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world.

Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official

guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit around this table more than 1.2 billion people.

You cannot have a representative assembly of 1.2 billion people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may (originate) the choice of its several representatives [wireless here unintelligible].

Therefore we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion. I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted it is not to arbitration but to discussion by the Executive Council; it can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council on the larger form of the general Body of Delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity—so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts; so that designs that are sinister can at anytime be drawn into the open; so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program; but it is in the background, and, if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket but a vehicle of life.

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite.

It is a definite guaranty of peace. It is a definite guaranty by word against aggression. It is a definite guaranty against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for cooperation in any international matter.

That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League.

Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not; people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can call any agreement valid which it has not registered with the secretary general, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of any body representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the secretary general to earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately. How uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the secretary general to publish them.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see. Now, helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

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<<http://www.americanhistory.abc-clio.com>>.

Decision Point

Should the United States Join the League of Nations?

After the Paris Peace Conference, the United States had to decide whether to join the League of Nations. The League's purpose was to help maintain peace in the world. In the political cartoon below, Wilson overloads a dove, a symbol of peace, with a large, heavy branch representing the League of Nations. Read the options below. Then you make the call.

President Wilson Favors Joining

Primary Source

"A general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. . . . It is the principle of justice to all peoples . . . and their right to live on equal terms . . . with one another, whether they be strong or weak."

—President Woodrow Wilson,
January 8, 1918



Senator Borah Opposes Joining

Primary Source

"Mr. President, there is another reason . . . why I shall record my vote against this treaty. It imperils what I conceive to be the underlying, the very first principles of this Republic. It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers. It challenges every tenet of my political faith."

—Senator William Borah,
November 19, 1919

You Decide

1. Why did Wilson favor joining the League of Nations?
2. Why did Borah oppose joining?
3. What decision would you have made? Why?

America Rejects the Treaty

When Wilson left Versailles to return to the United States, he knew the treaty was not perfect. But he believed that over time the League could correct its problems. He still thought that a lasting peace could emerge.

Wilson Faces Troubles at Home Wilson did not leave his problems in France when he boarded a ship bound for the United States. German Americans thought the treaty was too harsh toward Germany, especially the "war guilt clause" that suggested that Germany had caused the war. Irish Americans criticized the failure to create an independent Ireland. Most importantly, however, the treaty would need to be submitted to the Republican-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then ratified, or approved, by the Republican-controlled Senate. In both bodies, as well as in his own Democratic Party, Wilson faced stiff opposition.

A handful of senators believed that the United States should not get entangled in world politics or involved in world organizations. Known as "irreconcilables," these isolationist senators opposed any treaty that had a League of Nations folded into it. They particularly disliked Article 10 of the League covenant. Article 10 called for mutual defense by the signers of the treaty, a pledge that each nation would "respect and preserve . . . the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the Members of the League."

A larger group of senators, led by Henry Cabot Lodge and known as "reservationists," were opposed to the treaty as it was written. Some wanted only small changes, while others demanded larger ones. For example, many felt

Primary Source

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: The "Four Freedoms" Speech

In his State of the Union address to Congress on January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt stressed the danger that aggressive fascist powers presented to the United States. He urged the American people to support those "who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere"—namely the Allies. Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act three months later to do just that. Finally, Roosevelt set out the ideals that he believed Americans should fight for: the Four Freedoms.

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented¹ in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented" because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today. . . .

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

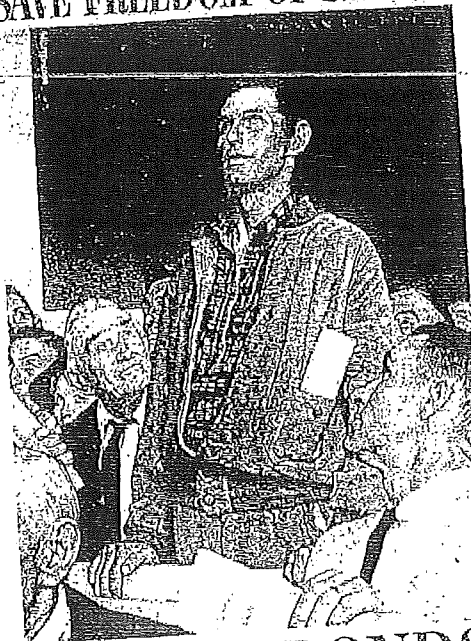
That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis² of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb. . . . The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights and keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

1. unprecedented (uhn PREHS uh dehn tihd) *adj.* new, having no previous example.
2. antithesis (an TITH uh sihs) *n.* exact opposite.

SAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH



BUY WAR BONDS

Inspired by Roosevelt's speech, the illustrator Norman Rockwell created four paintings, each illustrating one of the Four Freedoms. In *Freedom of Speech*, Rockwell shows a man speaking at his town meeting.

Thinking Critically

1. Summarize What are the Four Freedoms?
2. Predict Consequences How do you think an isolationist would respond to Roosevelt's speech?

been fought on Soviet soil. Its industries, cities, and peoples had suffered terribly. Still, the Red Army controlled most of Eastern Europe and threatened to move farther west. Militarily, although the Americans had the atomic bomb, the Soviets had the Red Army, the world's largest military force.

✓ **Checkpoint** What impact did World War II have on the relative roles of the United States and Britain in the world?

International Cooperation

Americans were quick to recognize that their nation had taken on a new position in the world. After World War I, the Senate had rejected the Treaty of Versailles and refused to join the League of Nations. Many Americans now viewed these decisions as mistakes that contributed to the rise of fascism and the outbreak of another war. As World War II drew to a close, Americans were ready to embrace the idea of world organizations.

A New World Economy Takes Shape The United States took on major responsibilities in shaping the postwar world economy. After meeting in 1944 with the Allies in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the U.S. government pushed for establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The United States provided most of the working capital for these new organizations, which worked to foster global economic and financial stability. The United States also signed the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**, a 1948 treaty designed to expand world trade by reducing tariffs.

The United Nations Is Formed Even more importantly, the United States led the charge for the establishment of the **United Nations (UN)**, an organization that, many hoped, would succeed where the League of Nations had failed. In April 1945, delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco to write the charter for the UN. The Senate overwhelmingly ratified the charter, and the UN later set up its permanent home in New York City.

The United Nations was organized on the basis of cooperation between the Great Powers, not on the absolute equality of all nations. All member nations sat on the General Assembly. However, the five major World War II Allies—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China—were assigned permanent seats on the most powerful arm of the UN, the Security Council.

Over the next decades, the UN aided the move away from colonialism, helped to create the Jewish state of Israel, mediated regional conflicts, and provided food and other aid to much of the world. The UN also issued the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** in 1948. This idealistic document states:

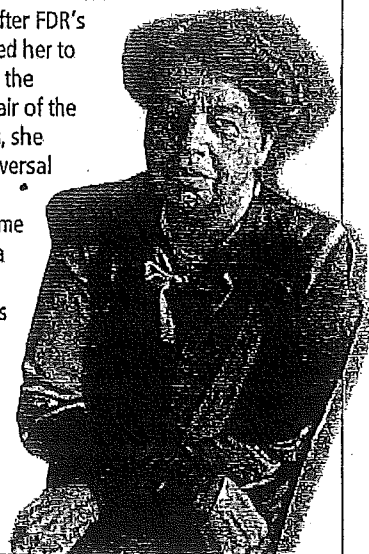
Primary Source “Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. . . . All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”

—Universal Declaration of Human Rights

HISTORY MAKERS

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962)

As First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt had been a valuable, if unofficial, part of her husband's presidential administration. After FDR's death, President Truman named her to represent the United States at the United Nations. As elected chair of the Commission on Human Rights, she guided the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which she hoped would “become the international Magna Carta for all men everywhere.” Her work on behalf of human rights won Roosevelt the nickname First Lady of the World. Shortly before her death, President John F. Kennedy named Roosevelt to head his Commission on the Status of Women.



Cause and Effect

Causes

- Europe suffers massive destruction in World War I
- Germans and Italians resent Versailles Treaty
- Great Depression leads to rise of fascist dictators
- European appeasement fails to end Axis aggression
- Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

World War II

Effects

- Europe and Japan lay in ruins
- European colonies gradually gain independence
- Soviets dominate Eastern Europe
- Cold War between United States and Soviet Union begins
- America becomes a world power
- African Americans gain momentum to pursue civil rights

Connections to Today

- United States remains a global superpower
- U.S. government plays a large role in guiding the nation's economy

Analyze Cause and Effect In its overall impact, World War II is often considered the single most important event of the twentieth century. *How did World War II contribute to the two effects listed above under Connections to Today?*


The Declaration condemns slavery and torture, upholds freedom of speech and religion, and affirms that “everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family.” Though the document sets lofty goals it has proved difficult to enforce.

War Criminals Go on Trial In the effort to create a better world, the Allies did not forget to punish the people who had caused so much destruction and death. During the war, the Axis Powers had repeatedly violated the **Geneva Convention**, an international agreement governing the humane treatment of wounded soldiers and prisoners of war.

The Allies tried more than a thousand Japanese citizens for committing atrocities in China and Southeast Asia and brutally mistreating prisoners of war. Hundreds were condemned to death, including Prime Minister Hideki Tojo and the general responsible for the Bataan Death March.

Americans more closely followed the trials against the Nazis. Held in Nuremberg, the trials turned a glaring spotlight on the evils of the Third Reich. The first of the **Nuremberg Trials** involved key leaders of Nazi Germany, such as Hermann Goering. Day by day, prosecutors described their crimes, detailing especially the horrors of the Holocaust. Most of the defendants pleaded that they were just following orders, that Hitler was the source of all the crimes. The judges at Nuremberg did not accept their excuses. Some of the Nazis were hanged; others received long prison terms.

In the following decades, Allied or Israeli authorities captured and tried such other Nazis as Adolf Eichmann, a leading architect of the “Final Solution.” The periodic trials kept alive the memory of the Nazi crimes against humanity.

 **Checkpoint** What steps did the United States take to increase its role in the postwar world?

A New American Identity

A new American identity rose from the ashes of World War II, one formed as the antithesis of the Nazi ideal. Americans regarded the Nazis as totalitarian, racist, and warlike. They defined themselves as democratic, tolerant, and peaceful. During the war, U.S. leaders and American popular culture had emphasized these positive themes, repeating constantly that the Allies were fighting a “people’s war” for tolerance, freedom, democracy, and peace. Although many Americans felt that their country had not always lived up to that ideal, they hoped that the postwar period would usher in significant changes.

The United States Assumes Global Leadership Millions of Americans had spent several years closely following the war. They had attached world maps to their walls and traced the paths of U.S. troops in the deserts of North Africa, the forests of Europe, and the coral islands of the Pacific. For this generation of Americans, the world had somehow become a smaller, more interconnected place. They had learned to think in global terms.

Few Americans called for a return to a policy of isolationism or retreat from its global responsibilities. They recognized that what happened in the far reaches of the globe affected them, that the economic and political health of

America was tied to world peace and economic development. They knew that America's national security involved world security.

Commitment to Civil Rights Grows African American soldiers in World War II had clearly believed they were fighting two foes: dictatorship overseas and racism in the United States. As the great African American poet Langston Hughes put it:

Primary Source

"You tell me that Hitler
Is a mighty bad man.
I guess he took lessons
From the Ku Klux Klan."

—Langston Hughes, quoted in *The Fight of the Century* (Hietala)

World War II gave renewed vigor to the fight for civil rights. In this battle, African Americans were not alone. A growing number of white Americans also called for the nation to fully live up to its promise as a beacon of freedom, democracy, and justice.

The Nation Prospers World War II ended the Great Depression and ushered in decades of economic growth. It also redistributed wealth across the country. Defense industries and military bases in the South and West spurred people to move to these regions, which in turn created more wealth and encouraged further migration.

The driving force for all the jobs and prosperity was the federal government. Like other wars, World War II led to a greater governmental influence in economic affairs. From the collection of raw materials to attempts to control inflation, the government had made the important decisions to guide the economy. In the process, it established the expanded economic role that government would play in postwar America.



A Hero Comes Home

For millions of Americans, World War II was not truly over until their loved ones came home from overseas. Here, a wounded G.I. embraces his parents.

Checkpoint How did World War II foster support for civil rights?

HW: 1, 5, 6

SECTION 5 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1111

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each term below, write a sentence explaining how it was connected with the building of the postwar world.

- Yalta Conference
- superpower
- GATT
- United Nations
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Geneva Convention
- Nuremberg Trials

2. Note Taking Reading Skill

Summarize Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the major immediate and long-term effects of World War II?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write a Descriptive Paragraph Write a paragraph describing the look and feel of the Nuremberg Trials. Describe both what you might see and the emotional mood in the room.

Critical Thinking

4. Predict Consequences Identify one possible postwar consequence of the Allied disagreements at Yalta and Potsdam.

5. Recognize Causes and Effects

Why do you think Americans supported participation in the UN after World War II when they had opposed participation in the League of Nations after World War I?

6. Compare In what way were the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the postwar push for civil rights in both reactions to the war?

WWII

Video: Perilous Fight: Infamy: Japanese Militarism

1. How do Japanese actions threaten the US? (at least 3 ways)

2. How does the US prepare for war even as they declare they will not become involved? Why do they do this? (according to Roosevelt)

3. What is the Lend-Lease Bill? Why are some people against the Lend-Lease Bill?

4. In what ways does FDR take a side in the war without declaring war?

37:00-42:32: The First US Casualties

5. Who are the first US casualties? Why is war not declared immediately?

6. What happens on December 7th 1941? Why is this significant to the US?

7. What are the losses for the US?

8. What follows the attack on Pearl Harbor?

9. *What events cause US involvement in WWII?*

10. *What events cause US declaration of war in WWII?*

11. *Does this reflect Manifest Destiny? Why or why not?*

End of WWII: Perilous Fight Video Guide

Part IV: Start with Atom Bomb Scene

1. How does the US justify the use of the atomic bomb?
2. How many people have died in WWII?
3. What are the feelings of Americans at the end of the war? (at least 5 emotions/feelings/reactions)

The 20th Century: Video Guide

1. What is the state of Europe at the end of WWII?
2. What countries are able to help these ruined European countries?
3. How was Europe divided? Which city represented this division?
4. What is the Marshall Plan? What are its motives?
5. What is the Berlin Airlift?
6. Why does the US feel threatened post WWII?

Dr. Seuss WWII Cartoons

Directions: Look at the cartoons.

For each one, answer these questions: 1. Which countries are shown in the cartoon?

~~2. What is the argument the author is making?~~

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Cartoon # _____

1.

2.

Overall, what is Dr. Seuss's view on US involvement in WWII?

Draw your own political cartoon on US involvement in WWII. You must make an argument in your cartoon about US involvement. You can use the symbols in the cartoons in your cartoon. Due at the end of class. (5 pts)



Section 1

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Motives*

How did the Cold War develop so soon after the success of the Allied victory in World War II? When you analyze the motives of the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the war, look at the experiences, emotions, and needs that compelled each nation to act in a certain way. Read the following passage, and then complete the chart below. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R5.)

U.S. and Soviet War Experiences: The Soviet Union suffered more casualties in World War II than all the other Allies combined. The Soviet Red Army lost approximately 7.5 million soldiers, more than twice Germany's loss of about 3.5 million. Moreover, there were about 19 million Soviet civilians killed during the war and another 25 million refugees left homeless. Much of Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine lay in ruins, having been overrun and scorched several times during the fighting.

Although 405,000 U.S. soldiers died in the war, there were no civilian casualties, and the continental United States was never invaded or bombed. The industrial production necessitated by the war helped the country out of the Depression and revitalized its capitalist economy. By 1945, almost half of all the goods and services produced in the world came from the United States.

U.S. and Soviet Goals: It was clear even before the end of the war that the United States and the Soviet Union had different goals for Europe.

The United States wanted to rebuild Europe, especially Germany, so that the burden of feeding so many refugees would not fall on American tax-

payers. It was also in U.S. interests to have economically strong European countries that were able to buy U.S. products. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted to rebuild itself. Stalin thought Germany should pay \$20 million in machinery and raw material as reparations for the wrongs the Soviets had suffered during the war.

After the Soviet experience in the war, Stalin feared invasion from the West. Gaining military and political control of Eastern Europe was his way of creating a buffer from further attack. Since the Red Army occupied the countries it liberated from the Germans, Stalin quickly set up or supported similar Communist governments. According to Stalin, "In this war, each side imposes its system as far as its armies can reach. It cannot be otherwise."

For its part, the United States feared totalitarian regimes that imposed their own systems on otherwise free and independent nations. Stalin in his desire for absolute control, Truman argued, was every bit as ruthless and dangerous as Hitler. Truman's efforts to contain communism was a diplomatic compromise between going to war again and stopping the Soviets from gaining any more power in the world than they already had.

| | Experiences During War | Emotions After War | Needs After War |
|---------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| SOVIET UNION | | | |
| UNITED STATES | | | |

*of the
Truman
Doctrine*

Please critically read the following excerpt. Then, answer the questions that follow.

Questions:

1. What is Truman's justification for aiding Greece and Turkey?
2. How does he want to aid these countries?
3. Why does Greece need help? Why can't Greece fight without US aid?
4. Why must the US step in to help?
5. Why is it important that Greece not become communist? (hint (it's partly geographical) (please give two reasons)
6. What does this document display about US foreign policy at this time?
7. What shows that this doctrine represents containment?
8. What the role of this document in the formation of NATO?

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE (1947)

Faced with the aggression and subversion of the Soviet Union following the end of World War II, President Harry Truman had decided that the United States must accept its responsibilities as the most powerful democracy in the world. Truman's policy for the United States to underwrite at great expense the defense of any free state against totalitarian regimes was quite different from our irresponsible withdrawal from world affairs after World War I under the Republican administrations of the Twenties.

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontiers between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority to the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. . . .

Harry S. Truman, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947 (Washington, 1963), pp. 176-180.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention. . . .

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments. . . .

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of

independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world--and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

What were the underlying reasons for Soviet Union and US conflict as stated in this document? Circle or underline at least 3 reasons.

Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe* (Soviet View)

The Soviet Union reacted to the diplomacy of the Truman administration by tightening its grip on Eastern Europe. In a speech on the 30th anniversary of the Revolution of November 7, 1917, V. M. Molotov, foreign minister of the U.S.S.R., explained Soviet policy.

The Soviet Union has invariably carried out, and is carrying out, the policy of peace and international collaboration. Such are the relations of the Soviet Union with all the countries which evince a desire to collaborate.

The policy outlined by Comrade Stalin is opposed at present by another policy, based on quite different principles. Here we can talk first and foremost of the foreign policy of the United States, as well as that of Great Britain. Possibly there exists in the United States a program of economic development of the country for some period ahead. However, the press has not yet announced anything about this, although press conferences take place there quite frequently. On the other hand, much noise is being spread about various American projects, connected now with the Truman Doctrine, now with the Marshall plan.

Reading of all these American plans for aid to Europe, aid to China, and so on, one might think that the domestic problems of the United States have long ago been solved, and that now it is only a question of America's putting the affairs of other states in order, dictating its policy to them and even the composition of their governments.

In reality, matters are not like that. If the ruling circles of the U.S.A. had no cause for anxiety concerning domestic affairs especially in connection with an approaching economic crisis, there would not be such a superfluity of economic projects of U.S.A. expansion, which in their turn are based on the aggressive military-political plans of American imperialism.

Now they no longer hide the fact that the United States of America, not infrequently together with Great Britain, is acquiring ever new naval and air bases in all parts of the globe, and even adapts whole states for such like aims, especially if closely situated to the Soviet Union. . . .

It is, however, clear that the creation of military bases in various parts of the world is not designed for defense purposes, but as a preparation for aggression. It is also clear that if, up to now, the combined British-American General Staff, created during the second World War, has been maintained, this is not being done for peace-loving purposes, but for the purpose of intimidating with the possibility of new aggression.

It would be a good thing for all this to be known to the American people, for under the so-called Western freedom of the press, when almost all newspapers and radio stations are in the hands of small cliques, the aggressive cliques of the capitalists and their servitors, it is difficult for the people to know the real truth.

It is interesting that in expansionist circles of the U.S.A. a new, peculiar sort of illusion is widespread—while having no faith in their internal strength—faith is placed in the secret of the atom bomb, although this secret has long ceased to exist.

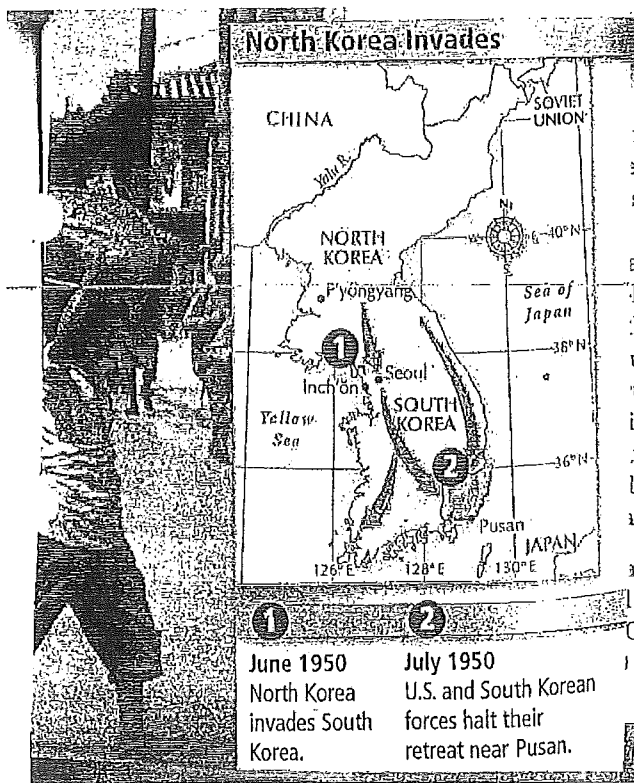
Evidently the imperialists need this faith in the atom bomb which, as is known, is not a means of defense but a weapon of aggression. . . .

From the example of the German question, one can see how widely present day Anglo-American principles diverge from the principles of the Soviet state, how Anglo-American principles are steeped in open imperialism, while the Soviet stands firmly on democratic positions.

The Soviet Union, in common with other democratic states, stands for peace and international collaboration on democratic principles. Under present conditions, this demands the uniting of all forces of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp in Europe and beyond the boundaries of Europe, so that an insurmountable barrier shall be created against imperialism, which is becoming more active, and against its new policy of aggression. . . .

The task of our time is to unite all the anti-imperialistic and democratic forces of the nations into one mighty camp, welded together by the unity of their vital interests against the imperialist and anti-democratic camp and its policy of enslavement of the peoples and new adventures.

* Source: The New York Times, November 7, 1947, p. 3.



the morning of September
ed an attack into the rear
gan fleeing for the North
s had been driven north of

als had to decide what to do
lished and end the war? Or
lel and punish the commu-
ut the action China would
th Korea. Chinese leaders
its borders. But MacArthur
man that China would not
States pushed a resolution
and democratic" Korea.

acArthur attacked north of
freezing temperatures, by
Chinese border at the Yalu
Chinese soldiers attacked

Vocabulary Builder

intervene—(ihn ter VEEN) *v.* to become involved in; to take action to settle a dispute or influence a course of action

Map Skills During the Korean War, UN troops supported South Korea, while China backed North Korea. Advantage seesawed between the two sides.

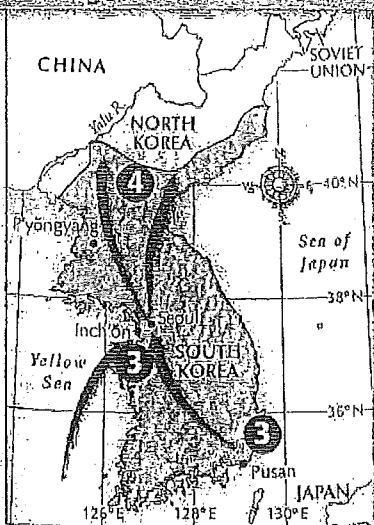
1. Locate: (a) 38th parallel, (b) Pusan, (c) Inchon, (d) Yalu River

2. Movement Describe the movement of communist troops after November 1950.

3. Compare How does the first map differ from the last one?



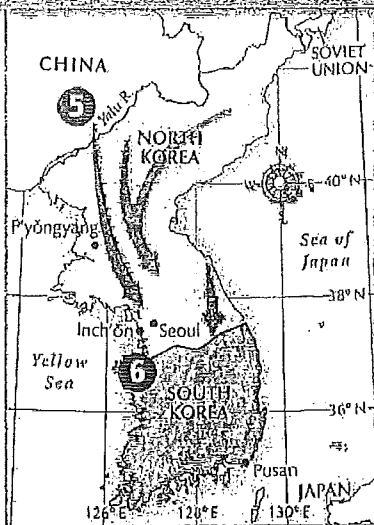
UN Fights Back



3 Sept. 15, 1950 UN forces land at Inchon and break out of Pusan.

4 Nov. 24, 1950 MacArthur starts offensive toward Yalu River.

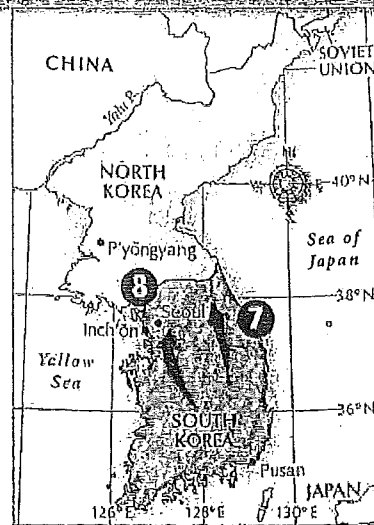
China Enters the War



5 Nov. 25, 1950 Chinese attack. UN and South Korean forces retreat.

6 Jan. 10, 1951 Communists push UN forces to 37th parallel.

Stalemate



7 Jan. 16, 1951 UN forces push communists back to 38th parallel.

8 June 27, 1951 Cease-fire is signed, with border at 38th parallel.

29-2 Peace without Conquest (1965)

Lyndon Johnson

President Lyndon Johnson (1908–1973) spoke at Johns Hopkins University on April 7, 1965, shortly after American air and ground forces escalated the military effort in Viet-Nam. Support for administration policies was still widespread; the anti-war movement had not yet hit its stride (see text pp. 945–947, 949–950).

Source: *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon Johnson, 1965* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 394–397.

... Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change.

This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania. It is the principle for which our sons fight tonight in the jungles of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on Viet-Nam's steaming soil.

Why must we take this painful road? ...

The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nation of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest.

Of course, some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attack on their own government. But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from north to south.

This support is the heartbeat of the war. ...

Over this war—and all Asia—is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes. ...

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence.

And I intend to keep that promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would

shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in southeast Asia—as we did in Europe—in the words of the Bible: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." ...

Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves—only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way.

We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is absolutely necessary.

In recent months attacks on South Viet-Nam were stepped up. Thus, it became necessary for us to increase our response and to make attacks by air. This is not a change of purpose. It is a change in what we believe that purpose requires.

We do this in order to slow down aggression.

We do this to increase the confidence of the brave people of South Viet-Nam who have bravely borne this brutal battle for so many years with so many casualties.

And we do this to convince the leaders of North Viet-Nam—and all who seek to share their conquest—of a very simple fact:

We will not be defeated.

We will not grow tired.

We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement. ...

Once this is clear, then it should also be clear that the only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement.

Such peace demands an independent South Viet-Nam—securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others—free from outside interference—tied to no alliance—a military base for no other country.

These are the essentials of any final settlement.

We will never be second in the search for such a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam.

There may be many ways to this kind of peace: in discussion or negotiation with the governments concerned; in large groups or in small ones; in the reaffirmation of old agreements or their strengthening with new ones. . . .

These countries of southeast Asia are homes for millions of impoverished people. . . .

Stability and peace do not come easily in such a land. Neither independence nor human dignity will ever be won, though, by arms alone. It also requires the work of peace. The American people have helped generously in times past in these works. Now there must be a much more massive effort to improve the life of man in that conflict-torn corner of our world.

The first step is for the countries of southeast Asia to associate themselves in a greatly expanded cooperative effort for development. We would hope that North Viet-Nam would take its place in the common effort just as soon as peaceful cooperation is possible.

The United Nations is already actively engaged in development in this area. . . .

For our part I will ask the Congress to join in a billion dollar American investment in this effort as soon as it is underway.

And I would hope that all other industrialized countries, including the Soviet Union, will join in this effort to replace despair with hope, and terror with progress.

The task is nothing less than to enrich the hopes and the existence of more than a hundred million people. And there is much to be done.

The vast Mekong River can provide food and water and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA.

The wonders of modern medicine can be spread through villages where thousands die every year from lack of care.

Schools can be established to train people in the skills that are needed to manage the process of development.

And these objectives, and more, are within the reach of a cooperative and determined effort.

I also intend to expand and speed up a program to make available our farm surpluses to assist in feeding and clothing the needy in Asia. We should not allow people to go hungry and wear rags while our own warehouses overflow with an abundance of wheat and corn, rice and cotton. . . .

In areas that are still ripped by conflict, of course development will not be easy. Peace will be necessary for final success. But we cannot and must not wait for peace to begin this job. . . .

This will be a disorderly planet for a long time. In Asia, as elsewhere, the forces of the modern world are shaking old ways and uprooting ancient civilizations. There will be turbulence and struggle and even violence. Great social change—as we see in our own country now—does not always come without conflict. . . .

Questions

1. What, according to Johnson, underlies the war in Vietnam?
2. What are America's objectives in Vietnam? Why must the United States persevere in seeking to attain them? Do any of Johnson's arguments draw on earlier American experience and policies?
3. Why do you think Johnson discusses "the work of peace" in his speech?

29-3 Joining the Anti-War Movement (1967)

Martin Luther King Jr.

As early as the summer of 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) had questioned American escalation of the war in Vietnam, but it was not until early 1967 that he broke with the Johnson administration regarding American involvement in that conflict. On March 30, between anti-war speeches in Los Angeles and Chicago (where he participated in his first anti-war march) and two addresses in New York City (one at an anti-war demonstration), Dr. King was interviewed by John Heibers of the *New York Times*. In the interview, Dr. King made clear the connections between the war abroad and the plight of African Americans at home. Incidentally, both the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) had long since officially declared against the war. (On the context in which

disorder, the Democrats' nomination of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey for president in riot-torn Chicago, and the independent presidential candidacy of Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama. In the end, Richard Nixon, the Republicans' presidential nominee, defeated Humphrey and Wallace. Although the Democrats retained control of Congress, their coalition had been shattered in the national race (see text pp. 961-964). The presidency was now Richard Nixon's, but so was the American war in Vietnam.

The long road home was just that, long and, like 1968, difficult and painful, too. President Nixon's policy of Vietnamization increased South Vietnamese involvement and reduced American involvement in the ground war, but Americans continued to fight and die in Southeast Asia, over 20,000 falling between 1969 and 1973. Vietnamization also involved an intensification of America's aerial bombing campaign in the war and, together with South Vietnamese troops, an invasion of Cambodia (1970) to root out enemy bases. This "incursion" touched off campus anti-war demonstrations, which escalated beyond earlier protests when Ohio national guardsmen killed students at Kent State University and Mississippi state policemen did likewise at Jackson State University, a black school. Strikes, arson, and bombings forced the closing of numerous campuses (see Figure 29-1, text p. 946, 964-968). Still, America's long war in Vietnam did end, in 1973, and two years later, Vietnam's even longer civil war also ended, in victory for North Vietnam's Communists. The costs of the war, human and material, ran high for Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and for the United States. The war's wounds would be long in healing (see text pp. 968-972).

Documents 29-10 and 29-11 provide war policy statements by President Nixon, the first on Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine, the second justifying the invasion of Cambodia. Document 29-12 recounts the return to the United States from Vietnam of an army nurse. Document 29-13 conveys the words of a mother to her son, fifteen years after his death in Vietnam.

29-10 Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine (1969)

Richard Nixon

Addressing Americans on November 3, 1969, President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) made the case for his administration's policy in Vietnam (Vietnamization) and, more broadly, Asia (the Nixon Doctrine). (See text pp. 964-967; also Figure 29-1, p. 946.)

Source: Department of State Bulletin, November 24, 1969.

Let me briefly explain what has been described as the Nixon doctrine—a policy which not only will help end the war in Viet-Nam but which is an essential element of our program to prevent future Viet-Nams.

We Americans are a do-it-yourself people. We are an impatient people. Instead of teaching someone else to do a job, we like to do it ourselves. And this trait has been carried over into our foreign policy.

In Korea and again in Viet-Nam, the United States furnished most of the money, most of the arms, and most of the men to help the people of those countries defend their freedom against Communist aggression.

Before any American troops were committed to Viet-Nam, a leader of another Asian country expressed this opinion to me when I was traveling in Asia as a private citizen. He said: "When you are trying to assist another nation defend its freedom, U.S. policy should be to help them fight the war, but not to fight the war for them."

Well, in accordance with this wise counsel, I laid down in Guam three principles as guidelines for future American policy toward Asia:

—First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments.

—Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power attacks the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security.

—Third, in cases involving other types of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense. . . .

The defense of freedom is everybody's business—not just America's business. And it is particularly the responsibility of the people whose freedom is threatened. In the previous administration we Americanized the war in Viet-Nam. In this administration we are Vietnamizing the search for peace.

The policy of the previous administration not only resulted in our assuming the primary responsibility for fighting the war but, even more significantly did not adequately stress the goal of strengthening the South Vietnamese so that they could defend themselves when we left.

The Vietnamization plan was launched following Secretary [of Defense Melvin R.] Laird's visit to Viet-Nam in March. Under the plan, I ordered first a substantial increase in the training and equipment of South Vietnamese forces.

In July, on my visit to Viet-Nam, I changed General Westmoreland's orders so that they were consistent with the objectives of our new policies. Under the new orders, the primary mission of our troops is to enable the South Vietnamese forces to assume the full responsibility for the security of South Viet-Nam. . . .

We have adopted a plan which we have worked out in cooperation with the South Vietnamese for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. combat ground forces and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces on an orderly scheduled timetable. This withdrawal will be made from strength and not from weakness. As South Vietnamese forces become stronger, the rate of American withdrawal can become greater. . . .

If the level of infiltration or our casualties increase while we are trying to scale down the fighting, it will be the result of a conscious decision by the enemy.

Hanoi could make no greater mistake than to assume that an increase in violence will be to its advantage. If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Viet-Nam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

This is not a threat. This is a statement of policy which as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces I am making in meeting my responsibility for the protection of American fighting men wherever they may be.

My fellow Americans, I am sure you can recognize from what I have said that we really only have two choices open to us if we want to end this war:

—I can order an immediate, precipitate withdrawal of all Americans from Viet-Nam without regard to the effects of that action.

—Or we can persist in our search for a just peace, through a negotiated settlement if possible or through continued implementation of our plan for Vietnamization if necessary—a plan in which we will withdraw all of our forces from Viet-Nam on a schedule in accordance with our program, as the South Vietnamese become strong enough to defend their own freedom.

I have chosen this second course. It is not the easy way. It is the right way. It is a plan which will end the war and serve the cause of peace, not just in Viet-Nam but in the Pacific and in the world.

In speaking of the consequences of a precipitate withdrawal, I mentioned that our allies would lose confidence in America.

Far more dangerous, we would lose confidence in ourselves. Oh, the immediate reaction would be a sense of relief that our men were coming home. But as we saw the consequences of what we had done, inevitable remorse and divisive recrimination would scar our spirit as a people. . . .

If [the plan for peace] does succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. If it does not succeed, anything I say then won't matter.

I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days. But I feel it is appropriate to do so on this occasion.

Two hundred years ago this nation was weak and poor. But even then, America was the hope of millions in the world. Today we have become the strongest and richest nation in the world. The wheel of destiny has turned so that any hope the world has for the survival of peace and freedom will be determined by whether the American people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free-world leadership.

Let historians not record that when America was the most powerful nation in the world we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism.

And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans—I ask for your support.

I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge.

The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed; for the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris.

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Viet-Nam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

Textbook pages 879-884

What was the policy of “flexible doctrine”?

Crisis over Cuba & Crisis over Berlin

Fill out the following chart.

| Region | What nations were involved and what ideologies did they support? | Actions of U.S | Actions of Communist Nations | How did this event increase tensions of the Cold War? |
|--------|--|----------------|------------------------------|---|
| Cuba | | | | |
| Berlin | | | | |

Pg. 887 *Race to the Moon*

How did the “Space Race” demonstrate Cold War tensions?

For Chapter 30 - pages 936-970 in textbook

Terms & Names

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the Vietnam War years.

- Ho Chi Minh
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Vietcong
- William Westmoreland
- Napalm
- Tet Offensive
- Robert Kennedy
- Henry Kissinger
- Vietnamization
- Pentagon Papers

For each chapter section, answer the following questions on a separate piece of paper.

"Moving Toward Conflict"

1. How did the Tonkin Gulf Resolution lead to greater U.S involvement in Vietnam?
2. What was President Eisenhower's explanation of the domino theory?

"U.S Involvement and Escalation"

3. Why did so much of the American public and many in Johnson support U.S escalation in Vietnam?
4. Why did the war begin to lose support at home? What contributed to the sinking morale of the U.S troops?

"A Nation Divided"

5. Explain how the United States was sharply divided between *sharks & doves*:

"1968 - A Tumultuous Year"

6. Why did American support for the war change after the Tet offensive?

"The End of the War and Its Legacy"

7. Briefly describe the military conflict in Vietnam soon after the last U.S combat troops departed in 1973:
8. List the immediate effects and more lasting legacies of America's involvement in the Vietnam War:

Source: The World Today 9th ed,
Henry Bush, Anusco Pub, NY 2012.

Chapter 10

Terrorism Threatens International Security

On a dark night in April 2011, a compound at the end of a dirt road in a small village in Pakistan was approached by 79 American commandos. The Navy Seals had arrived in four helicopters. They moved quickly into the compound and opened fire. Of the five people killed, one was identified as Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization responsible for the deaths of nearly 3,000 Americans on September 11, 2001. At long last, America's worst enemy was dead. A significant blow had been dealt to global terrorism and Al Qaeda.

Terrorism has been defined as the use of unpredictable violence against society in general and innocent people in particular to express beliefs and achieve political goals. In modern times, terrorism has largely been an instrument of the weak (individuals or small groups of commandos) against the strong (ruling groups and governments). It is a weapon favored by extremists, whatever their beliefs.

After terrorists crashed hijacked airliners into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001, President George W. Bush declared all-out war on terrorism. The president said: "We will direct every resource at our command, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence and every necessary weapon of war to the disruption and defeat of the global terror network."

The toppling of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001 and the defeat of Saddam Hussein in Iraq in 2003 were regarded as victories in the war on terror. Western leaders believed that Al Qaeda was on the run, its leaders arrested or killed, and its abil-

ity to control operations damaged. By early 2007, however, it was apparent that from secure bases in Pakistan, Al Qaeda was rebuilding its command structure, directing a growing number of terrorist attacks on the West, and developing new alliances with other terrorist groups across the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe. Global terrorism was not on the run; it was on the march.

Terrorism: The Historical Background

As a political tool, terrorism was heavily used during the French Revolution (1789–1799). Radical revolutionaries, called *Jacobins*, began a reign of terror by sending supporters of the monarchy and other suspected political enemies to the guillotine for beheading. This kind of terrorism used the instruments of state power against political enemies. Similar methods were used by the Bolsheviks after they seized power in Russia in 1917. In the United States, groups like the Ku Klux Klan used terror as a means of enforcing white supremacy in the South after the Civil War.

The Post-World War II Years. After the war, terrorism was used in a number of campaigns for national independence. Nationalists attacked officials and others associated with the British ruling colonial government in Kenya, Cyprus, and South Yemen. In Israel, Zionist leaders Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir led two terrorist groups, Irgun and Stern, which assassinated British officials, and Arabs as well, in their drive to achieve independence for Israel. A long conflict, from 1954 to 1962, pitted Algerian nationalists against the French colonial regime. Anticolonialism of a different sort led to terrorism in Northern Ireland, where Catholic militants fought to end British rule and Protestant militants fought to continue it.

Groups within independent countries also used terror in their campaigns for political and social change. It was a common tactic of *separatists*, who sought to secede from national governments and set up their own homelands. In Spain, a Basque organization, the ETA, became active in the 1960s. Members assassinated the handpicked successor of dictator Francisco Franco in 1973. By the 1990s, ETA terrorism had claimed more than 500 lives. In the Philippines, the Moro National Liberation Front began a campaign to gain independence for Moros

(Philippine Muslims) in the 1960s. Its acts of terror left 50,000 dead and drove 20,000 Moro refugees to Malaysia before factionalism weakened it.

Governments, too, used terrorist acts to advance their goals. In one famous incident, a Communist agent killed an anti-Communist Bulgarian dissident in a London subway by pricking his leg with a poison-tipped umbrella. During the 1960s, U.S. officials plotted ways of assassinating Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. They considered a range of methods, from poisons to explosives. They even went so far as to hire Mafia assassins. When news of such acts became public in the 1970s, Congress clamped tighter restrictions on U.S. intelligence agencies.

◆ Identify each of the following:

- a. Menachem Begin
- b. ETA
- c. separatists

Guerrillas and Militants. In recent years, the term *terrorism* has been applied most often to acts of violence by guerrillas or militant organizations rather than to actions taken by governments. In the 1970s, the term *international terrorism* began to be used to describe acts of violence committed by political groups outside their own country. Another term that became common in this period was *state-sponsored terrorism*. It refers to acts of violence encouraged by governments or states for political purposes.

Terrorism erupted in many regions of the world in the 1970s. Rural guerrillas were especially active in Latin America. In Peru, Shining Path militants planned a worldwide Communist revolution based on the principles of Mao Zedong (Chapter 5). In both Argentina and Brazil, left wing terrorists rebelled against military dictatorships. These in turn waged campaigns of terror against the guerrillas, in which thousands "disappeared" without a trace. In Colombia, persistent antigovernment radicals used terror in their agitation for land reform.

The industrialized nations of Europe also witnessed outbreaks of terrorism in the 1970s. In Germany, a left wing group known as the Red Army Faction carried out bombings, arson, kidnappings, and assassinations in its campaign against the (West) German government. Evidence uncovered later indicated that the Red Army Faction was supported in part by the East German secret police. In Italy, numerous small revolutionary groups launched violent protests against the government. The best known of these,

the Red Brigade, kidnapped and murdered Aldo Moro, a former prime minister, in 1978. In both Germany and Italy, concerted police action put an end to most radical terrorist activity by 1980.

In the United States, radical groups active in the 1960s and early 1970s worked mainly to force the United States out of Vietnam. Isolated acts of violence included the destruction of some university facilities and attacks on draft boards. In the late 1970s, the U.S. government made the fight against terrorism a major part of its foreign policy. Officials drew up a list of countries believed to support terrorism. The government set up special military units to prevent terrorist acts and to retaliate against terrorism when appropriate.

As terrorism continued in the 1980s, four main types of activity emerged: assassinations, bombings, seizures of hostages, and hijackings of airplanes and ships. These activities often caused the loss of innocent lives.

One of the most prominent victims of political assassination was Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, killed in 1981. The murder was attributed to Islamic religious extremists who disapproved of Sadat's ties with the United States and his peace treaty with Israel. India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was slain by her Sikh bodyguards in 1984. They were acting to avenge the deaths of several hundred Sikhs that occurred when soldiers under Gandhi's orders had stormed a Sikh temple in northern India. Gandhi's son Rajiv was killed in 1991, apparently the victim of Tamil separatists. Two years later the president of Sri Lanka met a similar fate.

Bombings have resulted in hundreds of fatalities. In 1983, a terrorist on a suicide mission blew up the U.S. Marine headquarters in Lebanon, killing 241 Americans. After terrorists kidnapped, tortured, and killed the chief of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Beirut, the CIA's director retaliated by ordering an attack on a Muslim cleric who headed a terrorist organization. The 1985 attack, using a truck bomb in a Beirut courtyard, killed 80 people but left the cleric unhurt. In 1988, a terrorist bomb blew up a U.S. passenger plane over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270. After years under international sanctions, Libya turned over two suspects; one, a Libyan intelligence agent, was convicted in 2001.

Hostages, like bombing victims, were usually innocent bystanders who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. After the revolution that brought Islamic fundamentalists to power in Iran in 1979, Iranian militants seized the U.S. embassy and took some 50 Americans hostage. They demanded the return

to Iran of the shah. The former ruler had been sentenced to death by the new government. Even after the shah died, in July 1980, the militants refused to release the hostages; they were finally freed in January 1981, after 444 days of captivity. During this period, several Americans and Europeans were kidnapped and held hostage for years by terrorists based in Lebanon.

A notable hijacking incident occurred in 1985. Four gunmen, reported to be members of a PLO splinter group, seized an Italian cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*, in the eastern Mediterranean. The men demanded the release of Palestinians held prisoner by Israel. Their demand was not met and eventually they surrendered, but not until they had killed a wheelchair-bound American.

In 1989, the Pentagon reported the existence of 52 terrorist groups in various parts of the world. In addition to the terrorist acts committed by the militant groups mentioned here are others, including violence by Armenians and Kurds against Turks and assaults by ultranationalist Germans against foreign workers (Chapter 9).

1. Summarize five major examples of terrorism in the years between 1945 and 1990.

2. Match each victim of political assassination in Column A with his or her country in Column B.

| Column A | Column B |
|------------------|----------|
| 1. Anwar Sadat | a. Italy |
| 2. Indira Gandhi | b. Egypt |
| 3. Aldo Moro | c. India |

3. Complete the following sentences.

- The Red Army Faction was active in _____.
- Beginning in 1979, some 50 Americans were held hostage in _____.
- Gunmen who hijacked the *Achille Lauro* demanded _____.
- Terrorism against foreign workers was committed by ultranationalists in _____.

Late 20th-Century Terrorist Attacks

Attacks Around the World. The Middle East has been the scene of countless terrorist attacks. Many of them involved hostility between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Violence often took the form of

suicide bombings by young Palestinians. These men belonged to such radical groups as Hamas and the Palestine Islamic Jihad. Fourteen such attacks by those two organizations between April 1994 and July 1997 killed more than 150 people. Dozens more suicide attacks came during the second Palestinian intifada, which began in September 2000 (see page 92).

In many Muslim countries, terror was a weapon used by both Islamic fundamentalists and governments. Nowhere was the resulting violence worse than in Algeria. It began in 1992, when the government cancelled elections that the fundamentalists seemed certain to win. Extremist rebels such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) massacred thousands of innocent villagers. The government countered with mass arrests, imprisonment, and executions. Estimates of the dead vary from 60,000 to 100,000.

Algeria's troubles spread to France. In 1995 and 1996, several bombings in or near Paris subways killed ten people. The GIA claimed responsibility. France had been targeted because of its ties to the government of Algeria.

In Japan in 1995, extremists released a nerve gas called sarin in five Tokyo subway cars during rush hour. Twelve persons were killed and more than 5,000 injured. Japanese officials blamed the attack on a religious cult called Aum Shinrikyo. This group predicted massive destruction and the end of the world.

Russians became the victims of terrorist attacks in 1999. Night time bomb blasts in apartment buildings in Moscow and elsewhere killed 367 people. Russian authorities blamed Islamists and other militants from Chechnya (see Chapter 2).

In September 2004, the world was shocked by a brutal attack on a Russian school by Chechen rebels. When their demands for a Russian troop withdrawal from Chechnya and independence for the region were not met, bloodshed resulted. Fighting between the rebels and local militia left 300 dead, half of them children. Russian officials referred to the terrorists as "a new generation of fanatics."

◆ How has the use of terror been linked to religion in the Middle East, Europe, and Asia?

Attacks Against the United States. During the 1990s, the United States experienced several serious terrorist attacks. In February 1993 in New York City, a powerful truck bomb exploded in a garage under the World Trade Center. It caused extensive damage and six deaths. U.S. authorities blamed Islamists from the

Middle East. They linked the bombing to a plot uncovered later in 1993 to blow up the United Nations headquarters in New York City and a tunnel linking the city and New Jersey, and to kill prominent political leaders. A key figure was an Egyptian fundamentalist Muslim leader, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who lived in the United States. Four militant Islamists were convicted of the Trade Center bombing in 1994. The sheikh and nine other defendants (including two U.S.-born Muslims) were found guilty in the case involving the broader plot in 1995; and in 1997, a jury convicted the accused mastermind of the Trade Center bombing. He was a Pakistani who wanted to punish the United States for its support of Israel.

A terrorist truck bomb in April 1995 blew up a federal office building in Oklahoma City. It killed 168 people, including 15 children at a day care center. At first, Islamists from the Middle East were suspected. But this time the bomber was an American, Timothy J. McVeigh. A former U.S. soldier, McVeigh had links to right wing militias. These are groups of heavily armed U.S. militants who claim the United States is becoming a police state.

McVeigh apparently wanted to avenge two earlier incidents. In the first, in 1992, federal agents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, attempted to arrest a white supremacist sought on a weapons charge. Shootouts killed the man's wife and son and a deputy marshal. In the second incident, in 1993, government forces stormed a compound near Waco, Texas. It was occupied by members of a religious cult, the Branch Davidians. In the resulting fire, some 80 Branch Davidians lost their lives. McVeigh was convicted in 1997 and executed in 2001.

In August 1998, car bombs exploded simultaneously at two U.S. embassies in Africa: in Nairobi, Kenya, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The death toll came to 270. Twelve Americans were among the dead. U.S. authorities said that the mastermind behind the attacks was an exiled Saudi businessman, Osama bin Laden. They accused him of backing a prolonged campaign of anti-U.S. terrorism. Two weeks after the bombings, U.S. planes attacked bin Laden's camp in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan that was suspected of making chemical weapons. The USS Cole, a Navy destroyer, was damaged by a terrorist bomb in Yemen in 2000.

◆ *Discuss the differences between the Oklahoma City bombing and the African embassy bombings.*

21st-Century Terrorism Sets the World on Edge

Terrorism reached a stunning new level of violence on the morning of September 11, 2001. Out of a sunny blue sky, two passenger airliners piloted by suicide hijackers plowed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and exploded in flames. A third hijacked airliner crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, near Washington, D.C. A fourth plane came down in Pennsylvania woodland. An estimated 3,000 people died that morning in the crashes, the explosions, and the collapse of the Trade Center's 110-story towers.

"The Day the World Changed." When the first plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center (or WTC) at 8:48 A.M., it appeared to be a horrible accident. Television cameras quickly carried live coverage showing the gaping hole around the 100th floor and black smoke that billowed out. Police, firefighters, and rescue crews rushed to the site. Office workers sought to flee down elevators and stairways.

Shortly after 9 A.M., TV viewers around the world watched in horror as the second plane smashed into the WTC's south tower. It sent a massive fireball out the opposite side. Within an hour the south tower collapsed. Thousands of office workers and rescuers were killed. An hour later, the north tower collapsed. Dust and smoke floated over lower Manhattan for weeks afterward. The search for bodies and the clearing of the rubble went on for many months.

The second strike at the WTC made it clear that the crashes were no accident. Further evidence came at 9:45 A.M. The third airliner struck the Pentagon, the five-story, five-sided building that houses the U.S. Department of Defense. The exploding plane destroyed about one-fifth of the building.

The planes that hit in New York had both left Boston that morning for cross-country flights to Los Angeles. The third plane was headed from Washington to San Francisco. Teams of four or five hijackers had seized the planes. They were armed with box cutters and small knives that escaped detection at airport security gates. Each team included trained pilots who took over the controls and flew the planes on suicide missions against their carefully chosen targets.

A fourth plane, from Newark, New Jersey, to Los Angeles, was also hijacked. Soon after it passed Pittsburgh it turned back toward the East Coast. But by this time, passengers with cell phones had

learned of the attacks in New York and Washington. Risking their own lives to prevent any attack on a fourth target, several passengers rushed the hijackers. At 10:10 A.M. the plane crashed in a remote area southeast of Pittsburgh. There were no survivors. The final moments on the plane's cockpit voice recorder had the sounds of a frantic struggle in or near the cockpit.

The death toll on the four airplanes was 236, not including the hijackers. Another 125 people died at the Pentagon. But the greatest toll was at the World Trade Center. The dead or missing numbered 2,723 people from dozens of different nations. At least 343 firefighters and 60 police officers from the New York vicinity were lost.

The events of the day shocked and sickened Americans and people all over the world. President George W. Bush declared the attacks to be "acts of war." He vowed to strike back against all who had helped the hijackers. Americans who had previously felt safe behind two oceans and powerful armed forces suddenly felt at great risk. In its cover headline, a British news magazine summed it up: September 11 was "The Day the World Changed."

- ◆ *Why did the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have such a dramatic impact on the United States?*

Who Did It—and Why? News media was cautious about placing blame. But U.S. officials soon named Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization as the main suspects.

Investigators traced the names on the four airliners' passenger lists. They concluded that 19 men of Arab origin had been the hijackers. Some had attended flight schools in Florida and other states, training to pilot passenger jets of various sizes. U.S. officials said the men were part of a worldwide terrorist conspiracy directed by bin Laden and associated Islamist extremists. Those extremists sought to impose their militant brand of Islam throughout the Middle East and in other countries with large Muslim populations. And they saw the United States as an obstacle in their way.

President Bush offered his own explanation of the terrorists' motives. In a speech to Congress, the president said: "They hate what we see right here in this chamber, a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms, our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other."

Experts offered further explanations. They said the United States was viewed as an enemy by many people in Third World countries. In the view of its critics, the United States boasted of its democratic ways while sending arms and money to support governments that oppressed their citizens. Many people in the Middle East objected to the U.S.'s strong support for Israel and its frequent use of military force. At the same time, U.S. culture had a wide appeal in Middle Eastern countries. And "the American dream" had continued to attract a steady stream of immigrants to the United States from around the world.

Questions about the attackers' motives also focused on what they expected the United States to do in response. Did they want to provoke the United States into striking back blindly? Perhaps the terrorists hoped that U.S. military action would take a large toll in innocent lives, enrage the world's Muslims, and win new recruits for the Islamist cause. Many Americans worried about such a possibility. But polls showed strong public support for powerful and long-term military action against terrorists and their backers.

- ◆ *Identify each of the following:*

- a. Osama bin Laden
- b. Al Qaeda

Effects in the United States. The attacks of September 11 did more than kill people and destroy buildings. It badly damaged the economy of the United States (and the world). It undermined Americans' sense of security. And it sent waves of grief and anger through U.S. society.

The most immediate blow was to the airline industry. It faced massive insurance claims, sharp rise in future insurance costs, and a sudden drop in passengers. For two days, U.S. authorities barred all planes from the skies. Tough new security measures were put into place. When flights resumed, many seats were empty. Thousands of jittery Americans canceled their travel plans. Ten days after the attack, Congress went to the industry's rescue. It passed a multibillion-dollar package of subsidies and loan guarantees.

The U.S. economy was already troubled by a drop in business activity and a sliding stock market. Stock markets stayed closed for almost a week after the attack. In part this was because several Wall Street firms with offices in the World Trade Center had

lost many people. In part it was because disruptions to telephone and other services affected the nearby New York Stock Exchange. And in part it was to avoid the panicky selling of stocks. When stock markets did reopen, share prices plunged. The markets experienced the worst one-week percentage drop since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Share prices in other nations also fell amid fears of a global recession. Stock prices later regained some of the losses. Fears about the future still kept investors on edge.

In the United States and around the world, tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs. Airlines laid off thousands. So did hotels and other businesses related to travel and tourism. Many large corporations cut production and laid off workers. They were expecting sharp declines in business activity and in future profits. A few industries, however, saw business pick up. Defense industries prepared for new orders. Companies that provide security guards and other protective services had more work than they could handle.

U.S. officials planned major increases in spending as well as new tax cuts to help boost the economy. Before the attacks, Congress had been struggling to protect the federal budget surplus. But after the attacks, the emphasis was on hunting down the terrorists, tightening security within the United States, and reviving the economy.

◆ *What were the economic effects of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001?*

A Nation Roused. In the days after September 11, television networks ran and reran the dramatic footage showing the attack on the World Trade Center. Americans responded with fervent displays of patriotism and an outpouring of charity. Flags appeared on homes, businesses, cars, and bicycles. People pinned flag emblems to their clothes. Many wore purple ribbons as a symbol of mourning and of national resolve. Contributions poured in to charities that aided victims of the attacks and their families.

People in other nations added their contributions and their expressions of sympathy. Almost all the world's governments joined in condemning the attacks as atrocities. (An exception was Iraq.) Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat denounced the attacks and donated blood for the victims. But some Palestinians did not share Arafat's attitude. U.S. reporters found many people in Middle Eastern countries who condemned the attacks but were critical of the United States.

Fighting Terrorism at Home. The Bush administration immediately asked for and received from Congress more money and expanded authority to fight the terrorist threat within the United States. There were fears that terrorists might stage a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack. President Bush created a new Department of Homeland Security to coordinate federal efforts to protect Americans against terrorism.

Congress granted new powers to agencies like the FBI to tap the phones and monitor the computers of suspected terrorists. It also gave immigration officials expanded powers over immigrants suspected of terrorism. Groups of both left and right warned against reducing civil liberties in the name of fighting terrorism.

In the days and weeks following the attacks, authorities arrested more than a thousand people. Many were aliens or U.S. citizens of Middle Eastern heritage. Some were suspected of playing an active part in terrorism. Others were held as possible witnesses.

As outrage about the murderous attacks built among the U.S. public, Muslims and people of Middle Eastern and South Asian origin came under wide suspicion. Security agents stopped them for questioning at airline check-in counters and boarding gates. Several airline pilots refused to take off until people of Middle Eastern origin were removed from the planes. Angry Americans attacked several Muslim houses of worship. And a few revenge seekers murdered people they assumed to be Muslim.

The 9-11 Commission, led by Thomas Kean, former New Jersey governor, investigated the security problems that made the attacks possible and proposed measures necessary to prevent future disasters. The commission's 567-page report, published in July 2004, placed blame for major intelligence and security failures on both the Clinton and Bush administrations. President Bush ordered an immediate study of the report to rapidly implement the commission's recommendations.

1. *Describe the efforts taken to increase homeland security.*
2. *What was done to respond to Americans' demand to know why the September 11 attacks had not been prevented?*

Fighting Terrorism Abroad. President Bush put the nation on a war footing. He called up National Guard units. Warships and attack planes were sent to the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. And the president assembled a coalition of partners. (The first

President Bush had done the same before the Persian Gulf War.) Bush said the United States would go after "every terrorist group of global reach" wherever it could be found. The United States would go after nations that harbored the terrorists. "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make," the president added. "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." U.S. and British forces invaded Afghanistan to remove the Taliban government sheltering bin Laden and to destroy Al Qaeda bases there.

The United Nations Security Council strongly condemned the assaults on New York and Washington. Within weeks, it passed a resolution requiring all member countries to cooperate in a campaign against terrorists. The resolution also obliged members to deny money and protection to terrorists and their organizations. The council gave those requirements binding force by invoking Chapter Seven of the U.N. Charter. The U.N. did not directly authorize a military response, but U.S. officials said they considered the resolution to be a go-ahead for U.S. military action.

The U.S. "war on terrorism" received strong backing from its allies in the NATO alliance and in Latin America. Russia pledged to share intelligence and give other support. Central Asian nations bordering Afghanistan offered help and bases. Middle Eastern governments gave more tentative support; they feared a backlash from their own people. Saudi Arabia, for example, denied the use of its territory for attacks on Muslim nations.

Under strong pressure from the United States, Pakistan allowed American forces to make use of its territory as a staging area for the military campaign against neighboring Afghanistan. Pakistan's military ruler, General Pervez Musharraf, agreed to help the United States. In return, Pakistan was to receive financial assistance. In addition, U.S. trade sanctions against Pakistan were lifted. The sanctions had been imposed in 1998 when both Pakistan and India had tested nuclear weapons. The United States also dropped sanctions against India when that country backed the antiterrorist campaign.

◆ *Why did the "war on terrorism" begin with military attacks on Afghanistan?*

In March 2003, U.S. and British forces invaded Iraq. Their mission was to destroy weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and free the Iraqis from the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. No WMDs were found. Nor was it proven that Saddam was funding Al

Qaeda, as President Bush had asserted. Following the rapid defeat of his forces and the collapse of his regime, Saddam vanished. He was captured in December 2003 and eventually placed on trial before an Iraqi court for war crimes. The former dictator was hanged in 2006. The Americans and British began a long-term effort to rebuild Iraq. Ambushes, suicide bombings, and terrorist executions claimed the lives of Iraqis, Americans, and others, as Islamic terrorists and hostile Iraqis continued to attack the U.S.-led coalition.

A new Iraqi government was chosen in a national election in which there was broad Iraqi participation in December 2005. Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, eventually became prime minister. However, the Iraqis had voted along ethnic lines. This produced an impasse that has limited the government's effectiveness. The outnumbered Sunnis have felt locked out of a new Iraq dominated by Shiites. As a result, ethnic fighting between rival militias increased. With an increased number of troops supported by Sunni militias, General David Petraeus was able to improve the security situation in Iraq in 2008. That enabled President Barack Obama to begin the gradual reduction of U.S. forces there, setting August 31, 2010, as the date by which American combat troops would be withdrawn. In early 2011, 50,000 U.S. troops remained in bases outside Iraqi cities. These military advisors assisted brigades assigned to noncombat operations.

1. *What action did the United Nations take in response to the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?*
2. *What did Pakistan stand to gain by siding with the United States? What risk did it take in doing so?*
3. *What were the results of the U.S.-British invasion, defeat, and occupation of Iraq?*

Case Studies in Terrorism

The PLO. When Israel was established in 1948, warfare broke out between the new state and its Arab neighbors. Thousands of Palestinians lost their homes and fled the country. Many lived in refugee camps in Jordan (see Chapter 4). Various pro-Palestinian groups sprang up. Some relied on terrorism to dramatize the Palestinians' cause. In 1964, an umbrella group, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was formed to unite many of those

Perhaps the most important factor in weakening the PLO was Arafat's support for Iraq after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. This cost the PLO the financial backing of Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. Before the Persian Gulf War, the PLO had been able to pay for medical services, education, and welfare for Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. Without the aid of wealthy Arab states, the PLO had to stop many of its services.

Mahmoud Abbas became chairman of the PLO after Arafat's death in November 2004. Drawing his main support from Fatah, Abbas became leader of the Palestinian Authority. Abbas was known as a moderate and experienced negotiator, and his rise increased hopes for a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Abbas, however, was opposed by Hamas—the Palestinian militant organization that continued terrorist attacks on Israel. In 2005, Palestinian elections placed Hamas in control of the government. Ismail Haniyeh became prime minister. Although Abbas remained president of the Palestinian Authority, his power was limited. Armed conflict began between Hamas and Fatah gunmen. In February 2007, after months of bloody clashes, the rival factions agreed to form a unity government. However, fighting continued and Fatah was forced out of Gaza. President Abbas then established an emergency government on the West Bank.

7. Explain how the development of the PLO, from 1964 to the present, reflected changes in the practice of terrorism in the Middle East.

2. PROVE or DISPROVE: In the 21st century, Hamas threatened the political power of the PLO and its claim as the "sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

3. For each year, state a development or event in the history of Middle Eastern terrorism: 1964, 1974, 1982, 1987, 1990, 1995, 1997, 1998, and 2006.

Hamas. Branded a terrorist organization by Israel, the United States, and the European Union, Hamas is seen by its supporters as a legitimate fighting force defending Palestinians from a brutal Israeli military occupation. It is the largest Palestinian militant Islamist organization. Hamas was formed in 1987 at the beginning of the first *intifada*, or Palestinian uprising against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Hamas's short-term goal has been to drive Israeli military forces from the occupied territories. To achieve this goal, it launched attacks on Israeli troops and settlers. It also has a long-

term goal of establishing an Islamic state in all of historic Palestine. Most of the land claimed by Hamas lies within the borders of Israel.

Before taking control of the Palestinian government in 2006, Hamas was divided into two areas of operation. One dealt with social programs, such as building schools, hospitals, and religious institutions. The other dealt with military operations carried out by Hamas's underground brigades. It also had a political branch in exile, located in Jordan. After taking office in 1999, Jordan's King Abdullah II had the Hamas headquarters closed down and its senior personnel expelled to Qatar.

Hamas came to prominence as the main Palestinian opponent of the U.S.-sponsored peace process. Hamas's primary method of effecting this opposition has been by suicide bombings. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, Hamas gained power and influence. In 2008, the United States and Israel took steps to strengthen Fatah, the favored political party of the Palestinian Authority, and improve the standard of living of West Bank Palestinians in order to reduce the influence of Hamas.

Hamas has stated that it will never agree to a permanent ceasefire with Israel while that country occupies Palestinian territory. It has, however, offered a ten-year truce in return for complete Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza, and east Jerusalem. Hamas also has insisted that Palestinians who left Israel in 1948, when the United Nations established Israel as a state, or their descendants, be allowed to return to their pre-1948 homes in Israel. The Israelis believe that agreement to this demand would threaten Israel's existence as a Jewish state.

Sustained rocket fire from Gaza into Israeli territory resulted in Israeli air strikes followed by a troop and tank invasion of Gaza in December 2008. Great destruction and much human suffering were caused before the Israeli forces withdrew.

In April 2011, Fatah and Hamas signed an agreement to end their bitter feud and form an interim unity government. Brokered by Egypt, this agreement was regarded as essential to increasing the possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state. Some observers regarded this deal as an indication that Palestinians had lost faith in American-sponsored peace negotiations and were turning more to fellow Arabs.

START HERE ↓

Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. The long and bitter war against Soviet occupation in Afghanistan gave birth to the organization called Al Qaeda. From the start, its top leader and financial backer

was Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian. At the age of 22, bin Laden had been deeply affected by the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. Many fundamentalist Muslims welcomed the Iranian revolution. They saw the revolution as the victory of Islamic traditions over Western-style modernization. Bin Laden seems to have shared this view. When Soviet troops poured into Afghanistan at the end of 1979, he vowed to resist the "infidels."

Osama bin Laden was one of 57 children of Mohammed bin Oud bin Laden. His father was a Yemeni who moved to Saudi Arabia in the 1930s. He used his early friendship with the Saudi royal family to acquire a prominent role in Saudi business life. He made a fortune in the construction industry. Upon his father's death in 1968, Osama bin Laden inherited tens of millions of dollars. While older brothers took over the family business, he earned a degree in civil engineering at a Saudi university.

In 1980, Osama bin Laden went to Pakistan. He used his inherited fortune to set up aid organizations for *mujahedeen* (Islamic guerrillas) fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. He raised money from his wealthy friends. He provided construction equipment to build military bases and tunnels in guerrilla-controlled areas of Afghanistan. And he occasionally fought alongside the *mujahedeen*.

75 The guerrillas used Pakistan as a supply center and staging area for attacks on Soviet troops and their Afghan allies. At the time, the United States was giving strong support to various *mujahedeen* groups. It supplied money and weapons. In those days, U.S. officials viewed the militant Islamists as "freedom fighters" if they fought the Soviets.

Bin Laden and a number of close associates formed Al Qaeda, or "The Base," in about 1989, shortly before the Soviets left Afghanistan. These associates included men from many Islamic countries. Al Qaeda became a holy army. It was dedicated to Islamic revival and battling all those considered to be enemies of Islam. Its leaders included Islamic *mullahs*, or religious leaders. They followed a strict or pure form of Islam. They approved of terrorism against civilians in the service of a *jihad*, or holy war. Most Muslims do not share these beliefs.

◆ Describe how Al Qaeda grew out of the battle against Soviet control of Afghanistan.

After the Soviet departure, bin Laden and most of his supporters returned to their home countries. But the Gulf War of 1991

gave them a new mission. Bin Laden was angered at the way the Saudi government invited U.S. military forces onto its soil to launch a war on Iraqi forces, which had invaded Kuwait. He denounced the Saudi government for "betraying" Islam. According to bin Laden, Saudi leaders had allowed infidels into the holiest of Islamic countries. (Islam's two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, are in Saudi Arabia. They attract thousands of pilgrims each year.) In bin Laden's eyes, Saudi leaders were traitors for backing a non-Muslim country (the United States) in a fight against Muslims (Iraqis). The Saudi government allowed no opposition. It put bin Laden under house arrest.

After fleeing Saudi Arabia in April 1991, bin Laden moved briefly to Afghanistan and then to Sudan, in North Africa. There and in Yemen, Al Qaeda set up training camps for urban and guerrilla warfare. Men from those camps were said to have been responsible for killing 18 U.S. servicemen in Somalia in 1993. That was also the year when a truck bomb exploded in the parking garage of the World Trade Center in New York, killing six people. U.S. authorities said they found evidence linking that attack to Al Qaeda. Meanwhile, officials in Egypt and Algeria began blaming bin Laden for financing and training local Islamist militants.

Bin Laden renewed his attacks on the Saudi government when it allowed 5,000 "American crusader forces" (as bin Laden called them) to remain after the Gulf War ended. Saudi Arabia revoked bin Laden's citizenship in 1994. His family renounced him. In May 1996, under U.S. pressure, he and most of his supporters were expelled from Sudan.

Bin Laden moved his headquarters and training camps back to the mountains of Afghanistan and carried on. In September 1996, the Taliban gained control of Kabul, the Afghan capital. Its purist form of Islam was similar to that of Al Qaeda. Apparently, bin Laden used some of his wealth to finance the Taliban's activities.

In 1996 and again in 1998, bin Laden urged Muslims to wage war against U.S. citizens wherever they might be found. "For more than seven years," he wrote in 1998, "the United States [has occupied] the lands of Islam in the holiest of its territories, overwhelming its rulers, humiliating its people, [...] and using its bases in the [Arabian] peninsula [...] to fight against the neighboring Islamic peoples." Bin Laden turned the charge of "terrorism" against the United States. He applied the term to the "starving" of Iraqi children through economic sanctions since 1991.

The U.S. blamed the bombings of its embassies in two East African nations in 1998 on bin Laden. The United Nations Security Council placed sanctions on the Taliban. It demanded that the Taliban hand over bin Laden for trial and stop providing sanctuary and training for international terrorist organizations.

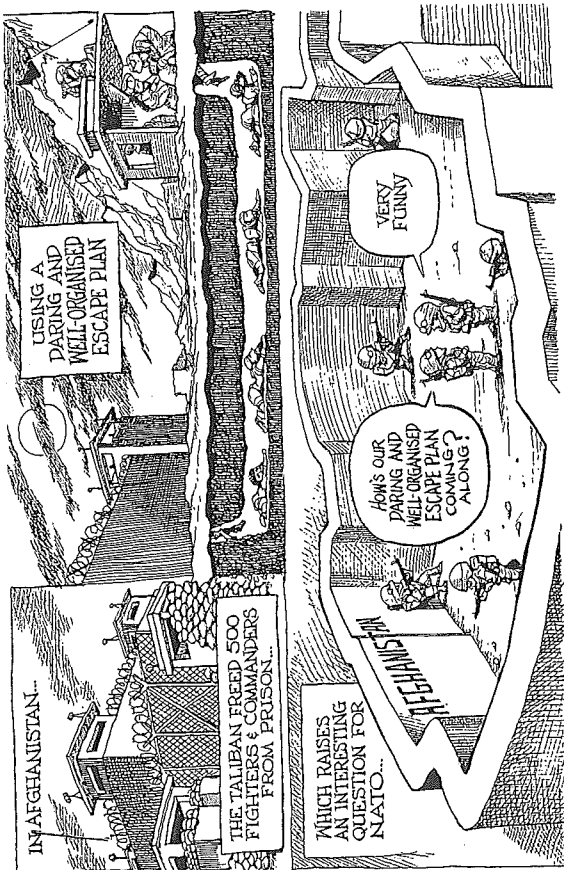
Intelligence agencies of the United States and other nations have worked for years to find links between Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. U.S. officials believe that the bin Laden group has cooperated with such groups as the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, which is active in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. They say that Al Qaeda and groups like Hezbollah help train each other's agents in sabotage and terror, and that Al Qaeda often provides assistance for major terrorist operations.

After the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in 2001, President Bush declared bin Laden to be the prime suspect. In response, U.S. and British forces invaded Afghanistan in late 2001. The Taliban government was removed, and Al Qaeda bases that the Taliban had sheltered were destroyed. A pro-Western government, led by Hamid Karzai, was established.

However, the fighting between NATO forces and reorganized Taliban and Al Qaeda bands continued. By 2007, Al Qaeda was rebuilding in the remote tribal areas of Pakistan's mountains. Under a new generation of leaders, Al Qaeda became less hierarchical, with several planning centers working independently without constant contact with bin Laden.

From their bases in Pakistan, Al Qaeda's new leaders have directed terrorist groups in Morocco, Somalia, and other countries. By early 2009, American missile strikes and raids by the Pakistani military had killed many Al Qaeda fighters. However, the danger to Pakistan increased as Al Qaeda cells fought to maintain their sanctuaries and more Taliban fighters came from Afghanistan.

Public resentment of the strikes by American drone aircraft, which caused civilian deaths, put pressure on the Pakistani government. A new regional danger arose: a destabilized, nuclear-armed Pakistan, a state with a weak civilian government and military struggling to fight a growing insurgency. The killing of bin Laden by American forces operating in Pakistan was done without the knowledge of the Pakistani government, military, or intelligence service. None of these were trusted by the U.S. and have been suspected of aiding the Taliban and Al Qaeda despite Pakistan's alliance with the U.S.



© James Sullivan

Osama bin Laden's successor, Ayman al-Zawahri, has long been second in command of Al Qaeda. He has been regarded as the organizational brain of Al Qaeda, but not an inspiring leader.

For the U.S., the extent to which the Pakistan government, military, and intelligence service would be effective allies in the war on global terror was a key question. Other future concerns were the ability of Al Qaeda to mount operations without bin Laden, and the impact of the deal between Hamas and Fatah on terrorist operations directed against Israel.

1. How did Osama bin Laden support the mujahedeen in Afghanistan?
2. Why did U.S. officials consider the mujahedeen at that time to be "freedom fighters"?
3. Why do you think Western intelligence agencies were less concerned with hunting Osama bin Laden by 2007?
4. Review the cartoon on page 251 and answer the following questions.
 - a. Explain why you AGREE or DISAGREE with those who regard the Taliban as a terrorist organization.
 - b. Contrast the cartoonist's opinion of the Taliban with his view of NATO forces.

Speech at West Point

President George W. Bush

June 1, 2002

...In your last year America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is powerful and is honorable.

Our war on terror is only begun...This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet I'm certain of this: Wherever we carry it the American flag will stand not only for our power but for freedom.

Our nation's cause has always been larger than our nation's defense. We fight as we always fight, for a just peace. A peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity and America's duty. From this day forward it is your challenge as well. And we will meet this challenge together.

You wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves: safety from violence, the rewards of liberty and the hope for a better life.

In defending the peace we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our nation.

The attacks of September the 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank.

The dangers have not passed. This government and the American people are on watch. We are ready. Because we know that terrorists have more money and more men and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology, when that occurs even weak states and small groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations.

Our enemies have declared this very intention and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us or to harm us or to harm our friends. And we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century America's defense relied on the cold war doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases those strategies still apply. But new threats also require new thinking.

Deterrence, the promise of massive retaliation against nations, means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when

unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies.

We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants who solemnly sign nonproliferation treaties and then systematically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of a stronger security. They're essential priorities for America.

Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans and confront the worst threats before they emerge.

In the world we have entered the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies, such as the F.B.I., so they are prepared to act and act quickly against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead. A military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terrorist cells in 60 or more countries using every tool of finance, intelligence and law enforcement.

Along with our friends and allies we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror and we will provide it. Other nations oppose terror but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror and that must change.

We will send diplomats where they are needed. And we will send you, our soldiers, where you're needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the cold war. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life.

America confronted imperial communism in many different ways: diplomatic, economic and military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the cold war.

When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants they gave hope to prisoners and dissidents and exiles and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods but not different moralities. Moral truth

is the same in every culture, in every time and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong.

There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil. And America will call evil by its name.

By confronting evil and lawless regimes we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem. And we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war.

Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we're gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong and great power relations when times are good to help manage crises when times are bad.

America needs partners to preserve the peace. And we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

And finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace by replacing poverty, repression and resentment around the world with hope of a better day.

The bicentennial class of West Point now enters this drama. With all in the United States Army you will stand between your fellow citizens and grave danger. You will help establish a peace that allows millions around the world to live in liberty and to grow in prosperity. You will face times of calm and times of crisis. And every test will find you prepared because you're the men and women of West Point.

New Threats in the Post–Cold War World



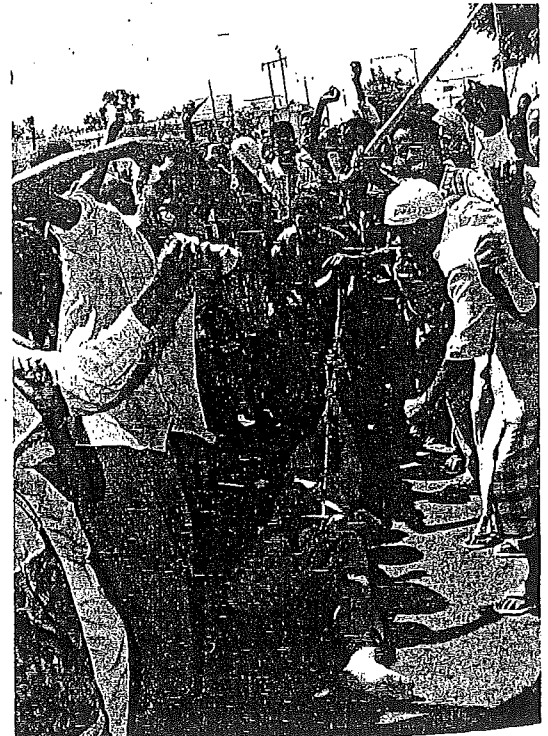
Access to oil in the Middle East remained critical to the American economy throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Containing Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein presented an ongoing challenge for President Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush. Ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe and Africa raised additional questions of much responsibility American should assume to prevent massacres worldwide. When Islamic fundamentalist terrorists attacked U.S. targets overseas and at home, competing visions also arose over how to best defend the nation from this new threat.

Ethnic Cleansing and Terrorism

In the 1990s the nation faced a new foreign policy dilemma: when to intercede on humanitarian grounds to stop massacres in parts of the world strategically unimportant to the United States. In 1992 images of a civil-war induced famine in Somalia, a country in East Africa, flooded American airwaves and newspapers. This image of a Somali woman and her starving child (29.12) echoed the Madonna and child compositions used by Jacob Riis during the

Gilded Age (see Chapter 17) and Dorothea Lange during the Depression (see Chapter 22) to rally popular support for aiding the poor. President George H. W. Bush responded to the public outcry by sending U.S. troops to help UN peacekeepers restore order, aid that incoming president Bill Clinton continued. Public opinion shifted dramatically in 1993 when news cameras captured the image of cheering Somalis dragging the corpse of an American soldier through the streets of Mogadishu, the capital city of Somalia, after rebel Somali warlords downed a U.S. Black Hawk helicopter (29.13). The public now demanded

29.12 and 29.13 Competing Views of Civil Turmoil in Somalia, 1992 and 1993
Photographs like this one of a starving Somali woman and child prompted Americans to demand that the United States send troops to end the civil war responsible for the famine. A year later, angered by a photograph of Somali rebels dragging the corpse of an American soldier through the streets, Americans called for the return of U.S. troops. Both images encouraged Americans to view African nations as dysfunctional places where famine and fighting were endemic.



How did media coverage influence American views?

O'Donnell, Edward et al. Visions of America.
Pearson Education Inc. NJ 2010.

an immediate withdrawal, and Clinton complied. The UN withdrew its troops as well, and years of anarchy in Somalia followed. Reluctant to put American soldiers' lives in jeopardy again, Clinton proceeded cautiously in April 1994 when Hutus, the majority ethnic group in Rwanda, another East African nation, unleashed a one-hundred-day genocidal rampage that killed 800,000 Tutsis, a minority ethnic group. This time Clinton came under attack for failing to intervene decisively with force.

The photo of Somalis desecrating the corpse of an American soldier had other repercussions as well. Osama bin Laden, the Saudi exile who headed al-Qaeda, a fundamentalist Islamic terrorist organization, concluded that terrorist attacks against the United States would work because Americans had no stomach for casualties. "One American pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu [and] you left. . . . the extent of your impotence and weaknesses became very clear," he jeered in 1996. Such pronouncements caused Paul Watson, the photo-journalist who took the Pulitzer-prize winning image, to conclude that the "storm of outrage" over his photo taught terrorists that they could rely on publicity in the Western media to amplify the impact of their terrorist attacks.

During his first few years in office, Clinton also had to formulate a response to "ethnic cleansing," an intentional mass killing of one ethnic group by another, in the Balkans, a mountainous region of southeastern Europe. When Communist Yugoslavia dissolved in 1991, ethnic and religious differences provoked a civil war among Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia, all former parts of Yugoslavia. Clinton resisted intervening until July 1995 when Serbian forces forced 25,000 Bosnian Muslim women and children to leave the town of Srebrenica, and murdered the 7,500 Muslim men and boys who remained behind. The United States participated in North American Treaty Organization (NATO) air strikes of Serbian military positions and helped broker the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, which settled disputed territorial boundaries and placed NATO troops (including Americans) on the ground as peacekeepers.

Preoccupied with humanitarian tragedies overseas, Americans paid less attention in the early 1990s to signs that the terrorist threat was moving closer to home. Many residents in Arab nations saw the United States and Israel as one, blaming both for taking away land that rightfully belonged to the Palestinians. A spate of overseas hostage-takings and plane hijackings in the 1970s and 1980s kept Arab-Israeli conflict in the news. In 1993

Kuwaiti and Iraqi-born terrorists exploded a massive car bomb in the parking garage of the World Trade Center, two towering skyscrapers located in the heart of New York City's financial district that housed governmental agencies and companies involved in foreign trade. The explosion killed six people and created a six-story hole in the ground. The FBI captured the culprits easily when one tried to recover his deposit from a car rental agency for the van used in the attack. Reassured that law enforcement agencies had done their job and that the terrorists were inept, the public and government quickly forgot the incident.

But al-Qaeda, which maintained training bases in Afghanistan, resolved to try again. Determined to launch a *jihad*, or holy war against Western non-believers, bin Laden relied on his family's fortune and large donations from individuals in Saudi Arabia to construct a clandestine terrorist network that recruited disciples from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

Not all terrorist threats during this period originated overseas. On April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh parked a rental truck filled with explosives in front of a federal building in Oklahoma City. The blast killed 168 people, including many children in the building's day care center, and wounded 800. McVeigh and his accomplice Terry Nichols viewed the attack as payback for the federal government's recent assaults against private paramilitary groups and their rural compounds filled with large caches of weapons. Militia supporters like McVeigh rejected any legal restriction on their Second Amendment right to bear arms, citing gun laws as just one example of government tyranny. The attack stunned the country and remained the deadliest terrorist attack against American civilians until 9/11.

Meanwhile al-Qaeda made plans to attack U.S. targets overseas. Issuing a *fatwa*, or death sentence, against all Americans, bin Laden demanded that the United States remove its troops from Saudi Arabia (stationed there since the 1991 Persian Gulf War) and end its support of Israel. "It is more important for Muslims to kill Americans than other infidels," bin Laden declared. This pronouncement was more than rhetoric. In August 1998 al-Qaeda terrorists bombed the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, a city in Tanzania. Clinton ordered an immediate retaliatory attack, and tomahawk cruise missiles rained down on eight al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan and on a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan accused of supplying bin Laden with chemical weapons.

29.14 The World Trade Center Collapses

The photograph captured the panic that spread through lower Manhattan as rubble and smoke from the collapsing World Trade Center towers rained down on the streets.

The president's advisors presented Clinton with a set of competing views over the next step to take. Clinton's antiterrorist advisor recommended continuing the bombing until the Taliban, Afghanistan's fundamentalist Islamic government, turned bin Laden over to the United States. Pentagon officials opposed sustained bombing, worried that mounting civilian casualties would inflame anti-American sentiments throughout the Middle East. Assassinating bin Laden, others argued,

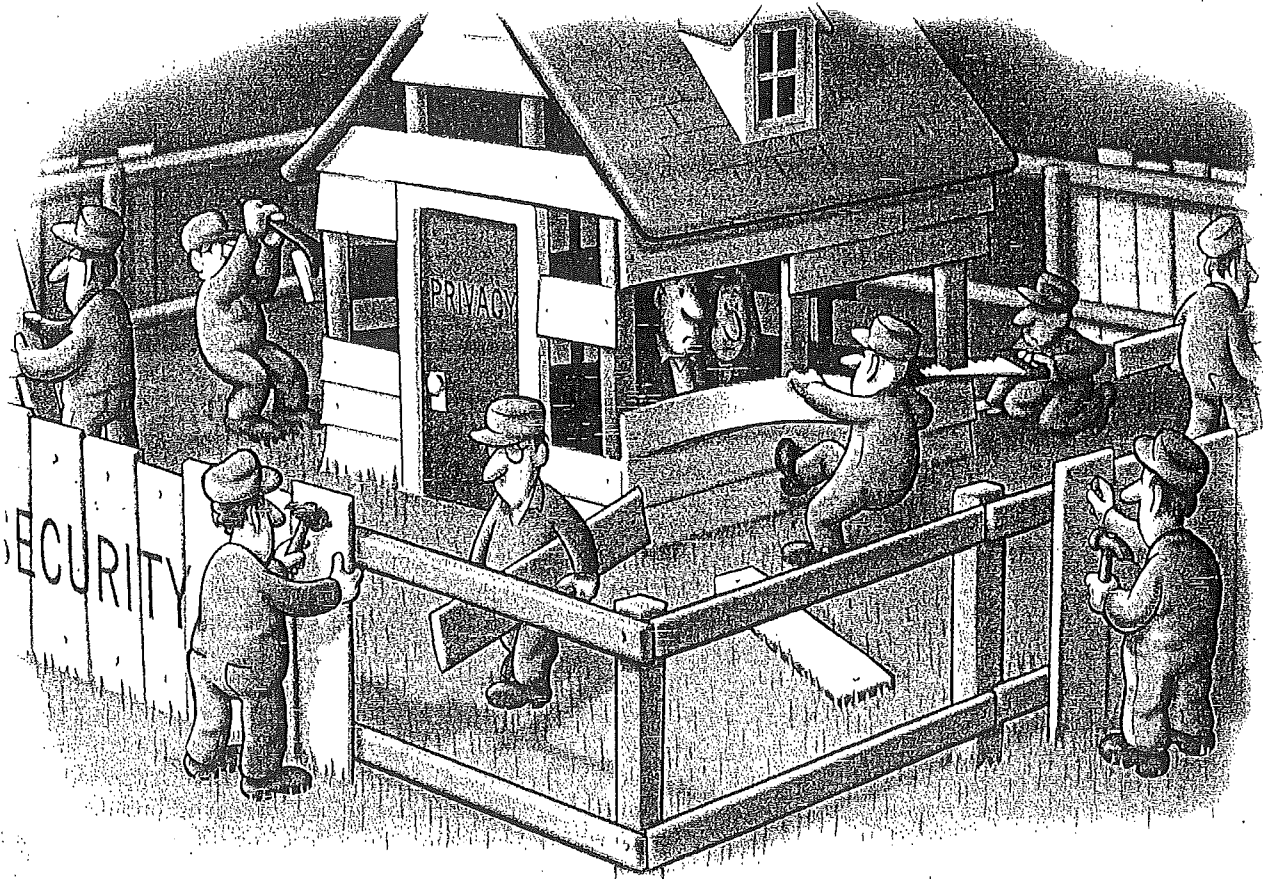
would turn him into a martyr whose death fundamentalists would certainly avenge. Faced with these conflicting views, Clinton chose instead to rely on the CIA to thwart terrorist attacks against U.S. targets overseas. These covert agents uncovered several planned attacks but failed to prevent al-Qaeda from sending a small explosive-laden boat into the side of an American naval vessel, the *USS Cole*, which was anchored near the Middle Eastern country of Yemen. The October 12, 2000, assault killed seventeen sailors and injured forty more. Clinton left office still waiting for verification that al-Qaeda was behind this attack. Incoming President George W. Bush received that confirmation, but had not yet settled on a clear policy response when al-Qaeda struck again on September 11, 2001.

9/11

On the morning of September 11, 2001, in an attack that became known as 9/11, nineteen terrorists operating from al-Qaeda cells located inside the United States hijacked four planes. The terrorists, from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, and the United Arab Emirates, flew two planes into the World Trade Center towers, and a third into the Pentagon. The fourth plane crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after the passengers seized control of the cockpit, thwarting the terrorist plan to fly the plane into the Capitol. On this "day of terror," Americans watched in horror as the World Trade Center towers crumbled, causing rescue workers, victims, and onlookers to run for safety as the massive structures collapsed in a heap (29.14). A total of 2,973 people died in the attacks.

President Bush immediately announced that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." He issued an ultimatum to Afghanistan's Taliban government: turn over al-Qaeda members living there, including bin Laden, or face invasion. The Taliban refused. Receiving overwhelming support from Congress, the American people, and most foreign nations, the United States attacked Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. U.S. forces first bombed al-Qaeda training camps and arms depots, and then joined with the Northern Alliance, an Afghan rebel group, to drive the Taliban from power. The two-month conflict failed, however, to capture bin Laden, who had likely escaped into the mountains of neighboring Pakistan with help from Pakistani sympathizers.





Most Americans had supported the invasion, but a growing number grew uneasy about how the Bush administration was conducting the war. These critics accused Bush of condoning torture by allowing CIA agents to use water-boarding, an interrogation tactic that simulated drowning, in an effort to extract information from captured al-Qaeda suspects held prisoner at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay in Cuba. The decision to incarcerate captured prisoners indefinitely at Guantánamo Bay, denying them the right to a fair trial, also aroused controversy.

Responding to criticism that the nation's security agencies had failed to prevent the 9/11 attack, the president created the Department of Homeland Security, a new umbrella organization that housed the nation's intelligence-gathering and law enforcement agencies. He also secured congressional approval for the 2001 Patriot Act, a law that greatly expanded the government's investigative and police powers. Critics soon attacked the law as an unconstitutional assault on civil liberties. This 2002 Pulitzer Prize-winning

political cartoon (29.15) by Clay Bennett exposed a familiar wartime dilemma—how to protect the nation against enemy agents operating on American soil while simultaneously safeguarding the privacy rights of Americans. In the cartoon determined federal workers remove planks from a couple's home to build a security fence, exposing their personal lives to public scrutiny. In the weeks after the 9/11 attacks, the FBI arrested hundreds of Arabs and Muslims in an effort to destroy any remaining al-Qaeda cells in the United States. Acting hastily, and often on flimsy evidence, resulting in innocent people getting caught up in the FBI dragnet and some spent substantial periods in jail before being released. Scores of Arab Americans, like Japanese Americans in World War II, hung American flags outside their businesses to counter lingering suspicions that all Muslims were terrorists. In 2007 a federal court overturned parts of the Patriot Act that made it easier for the government to secure search warrants and Internet and phone records.

29.15 Security versus Privacy, 2002

This cartoon suggests that invading the privacy of Americans under the guise of increasing security reduced, rather than improved, their standard of living.

Were governmental efforts to prevent internal enemy attacks after 9/11 similar to the steps during World War II?

The Iraq War

America's "war on terror" soon spread to Iraq. Containing Hussein's ambition to acquire weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons) had been an ongoing issue since the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In 1998 the UN halted its weapons inspection program after Hussein refused to continue cooperating. President Clinton subsequently authorized Operation Desert Fox, a four-day bombing campaign in December 1998 against one hundred Iraqi military targets to punish Hussein and destroy any weapons he was hiding. Neoconservatives publicly urged Clinton to make removing Hussein a key goal of American foreign policy. They had the chance to advance their views more forcefully once Bush appointed key neoconservatives to defense-related positions, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

This core of key neoconservative defense policy advisors included Vice President Dick Cheney. Reversing his previous stand when he had urged the first President Bush to stop the Persian Gulf War without attacking Baghdad, Cheney, along with others, urged the president to attack Iraq while public concern about national security remained high. "Do we wait and hope he doesn't do what we know he is capable of, which is distributing weapons of mass destruction to anonymous terrorists, or do we take preemptive action?" asked neoconservative Richard Perle, chairman of the Defense Policy Board. These advisors championed the doctrine of preemptive war, the notion that the United States should remove hostile regimes with force before they could pose a serious threat.

"Our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives."

President GEORGE W. BUSH, announcing a shift in foreign policy from containment to preemption, 2002

State Department officials, especially Secretary of State Colin Powell, disagreed. They offered a competing vision that relied on the same Cold War-era containment policies that had eventually toppled the Soviet Union. Those urging restraint

worried that a hostile fundamentalist Islamic government might replace Hussein's secular regime, fueling rather than dampening the terrorist threat against the United States. "Better the devil we know than the one we don't," one high-ranking intelligence official reasoned. *Choices and Consequences: Launching a Preemptive War* examines the options before Bush as he made his decision to attack Iraq.

Having privately resolved to topple Hussein, Bush began laying the groundwork for sending American troops into Iraq. In September 2002 his administration announced a new national security strategy. The Bush Doctrine established the unilateral right to attack nations that harbored terrorists, to launch preemptive military strikes to prevent future attack on the United States, and to replace autocratic governments with democratically elected ones. The inclusion of preemptive war was new, but other parts of the Bush Doctrine reiterated key principles announced by Bush's father when he defined a new post-Cold War direction for American foreign policy in 1992. Neoconservative Paul Wolfowitz played a key role in both administrations, devising a foreign policy that aggressively protected America's singular status as the world's strongest military power.

In building his case for war, the president repeatedly claimed that Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and had links to terrorist organizations, including al-Qaeda. By the summer of 2002, this rhetoric had convinced 72 percent of the American public of the falsehood that Hussein was responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Working to win support in the international community and at home, Bush sought both a UN resolution demanding that Iraq readmit weapons inspectors and a congressional joint resolution authorizing the use of force to enforce UN mandates and remove the "continuing threat" that Hussein posed. In arguing for war the administration pointed to secret correspondence between Iraq and Niger provided by Italian intelligence agents indicating that between 1999 and 2001 Hussein had tried to buy uranium oxide, material used to build a nuclear bomb, from Niger. Some CIA agents, including the envoy sent to Niger to investigate, privately doubted that Hussein had made any direct overture to buy uranium from Niger. This charge, however, convinced wavering Democrats to support the war. When the International Atomic Energy Agency later announced that these letters were indeed forgeries, antiwar advocates charged that Bush had deliberately misled the country while building his case for war.

What debates occurred within the Bush administration over going to war against Iraq in 2002?

Choices and Consequences

LAUNCHING A PREEMPTIVE WAR

In 2002 the Bush administration feared that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had acquired, or was on the verge of acquiring, nuclear weapons and was actively developing chemical and biological weapons. President Bush worried that once Hussein acquired a sizeable arsenal, he would use it against his neighbors, including Israel, and help terrorists attack the United States. Facing a critical decision about how to proceed, his advisors gave Bush several options.

Choices

1 Launch a preemptive war to remove Hussein from power.

2 Work through the UN to impose economic sanctions and send weapons inspectors to Iraq.

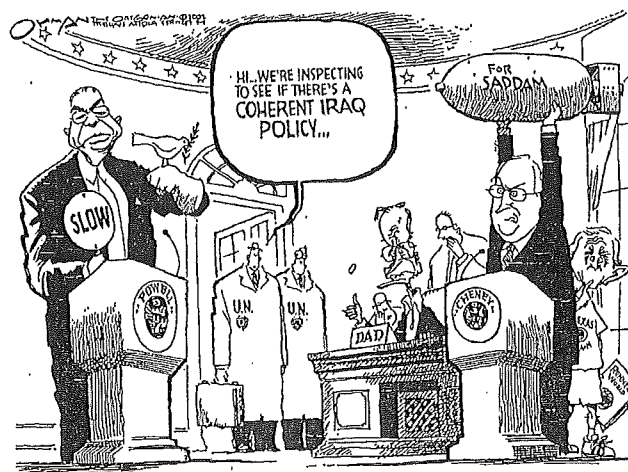
3 Support Iraqi exiles' plan to organize a coup d'état that might trigger a mass uprising.

Decision

In February 2002 Bush decided to fight. He announced that Hussein harbored weapons of mass destruction and had aided al-Qaeda. He made a half-hearted effort to work with the UN to reconstitute the weapons inspection program halted in 1998, and secured support from a handful of potential allies if the United States declared war. Announcing that Hussein had refused to cooperate with UN weapons inspectors adequately, the United States attacked Iraq on March 20, 2003.

Consequences

Active combat operations lasted three weeks and successfully removed Hussein from power. No weapons of mass destruction were found. Iraq elected a democratic government that struggled to contain ethnic and religious strife. U.S. forces came under daily attack until a surge of troops in 2008 weakened rebel insurgencies.



Looking for a coherent Iraq policy, Jack Ohman, *The Oregonian*, 2002

Continuing Controversies

Was the Iraq War justified?

Supporters of Bush's policies argued that removing Hussein benefited the Iraqi people and the world. Building a stable, democratic and militarily weakened Iraq was necessary to protect American interests in the strategically and economically important Persian Gulf. The 9/11 attacks demonstrated that the United States must act aggressively and preemptively overseas to prevent future strikes on its own soil.

Critics argued that Bush misled the American people by making false claims that Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and had ties to al-Qaeda. The war made America less secure by fanning anti-American sentiments in the Middle East that helped al-Qaeda recruit and diverted needed resources from the war in Afghanistan, where al-Qaeda was regrouping. Preemptive war set a dangerous precedent that lowered the threshold for declaring war to simply feeling threatened by another nation.

The Iraq War followed the same pattern as the 1991 Persian Gulf War—intense bombing followed by a ground troop invasion. The bombing campaign began on March 19, 2003, and within three weeks American troops were in Baghdad. On April 10, 2003, *USA Today* was one of many newspapers and television newscasts (29.16) showing an Iraqi crowd enlisting the aid of U.S. Marines to pull down a huge statue of Hussein. “The toppling of Saddam Hussein’s statue in Baghdad will be recorded alongside the fall of the Berlin Wall as one of the great moments of liberty,” Bush subsequently proclaimed. Although the event was initially seen as emblematic of Iraqi happiness over the fall of Hussein, subsequent reports suggested that American army personnel had staged it in a square across from the hotel housing international journalists to create a positive iconic image of the

war similar to the World War II image of U.S. Marines raising the flag on Iwo Jima (see Chapter 23). The controversy over the picture mirrored Americans’ ongoing debate over whether the war was based on lies or was, as Bush and his supporters maintained, spreading democracy to the Middle East.

After active combat operations ceased, American troops faced a host of problems that kept them in Iraq. Widespread looting greeted the fall of Saddam Hussein, who eluded capture until December 13, 2003. He was held in prison, then put on trial and executed on December 30, 2006. Restoring law and order and creating a new democratic government proved difficult as Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds divided along ethnic and religious lines. American soldiers caught up in the emerging civil war provided inviting targets for suicide bombers, while Iran and

al-Qaeda penetrated Iraq to expand their influence in the region.

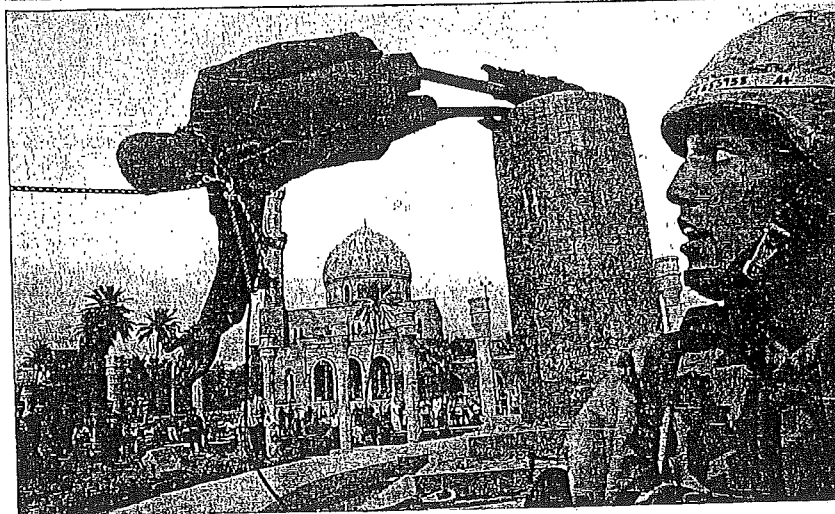
Controversy over the war continued at home, especially when scandalous photographs taken by soldiers at the American-run Abu Ghraib prison circulated in the mainstream media and on the Internet in 2004. While interrogating prisoners U.S. guards had taken photos of the prisoners forced into humiliating sexual positions and being threatened with dogs. Some photos showed smiling American soldiers standing beside beaten and bloody corpses. As with the 1968 My Lai massacre in Vietnam (see Chapter 26), Americans held strong competing visions on what they felt the photos represented. Some saw rogue soldiers acting on their own; others blamed the president for authorizing brutal



Baghdad falls

Why capital fell so quickly, 2A

Jubilant crowds swarm U.S. troops as 3-week war topples regime; 'Game is over,' Iraqi diplomat says



29.16 “Baghdad Falls,” April 10, 2003

Initial news reports spoke of jubilant crowds cheering as U.S. Marines helped them pull down a statue of Saddam Hussein, but later reports suggested that the army had staged the incident.

interrogating techniques on suspected terrorists. Another group sidestepped the moral question and instead debated whether torture produced valuable information or simply encouraged suspects to say what interrogators wanted to hear.

When an influx of U.S. troops in 2008 reduced insurgent attacks, the public's views of the war improved. Debate nonetheless continued over how long American troops would stay in Iraq and whether the war had made the nation safer. How the new president who entered the White House in 2009 would handle these questions remained to be seen.

The Election of 2008

In 2004 Bush successfully won reelection against Democratic challenger Massachusetts senator John Kerry, a Vietnam War veteran whose record both as a decorated officer and peace activist came under Republican attack during the campaign. Despite the growing unpopularity of the war in Iraq, the fresh memories of 9/11 bolstered Bush's argument that only he could adequately protect the nation against terrorism. In a close election Bush won the popular vote by 3 percent and captured the Electoral College 286 to 252.

By 2008, however, the president's approval rates had sunk to historic lows. These lows reflected the nation's unease with its seemingly permanent presence in Iraq and recoil at the White House's initial failure to react when Hurricane Katrina devastated predominantly black New Orleans neighborhoods in 2005. In the 2008 presidential contest, Democrat and Republican candidates all repudiated the Bush administration and ran campaigns that promised change.

The election soon assumed historic dimensions when Hillary Rodham Clinton, the former First Lady and now a senator from New York, announced her candidacy. Clinton had a long record of public service dedicated to healthcare issues, but her initial support for the war in Iraq angered staunch antiwar Democrats. First-term Illinois senator Barack Obama, the forty-seven-year-old son of a white woman from Kansas and an African father, astutely campaigned on his own consistent opposition to the war. When the crowded Democratic field narrowed to Clinton and Obama, the 2008 election was guaranteed to make history. For the first time either a woman or an African American would head the national Democratic Party ticket. At the end of a bruising primary battle, Obama prevailed and became the Democratic nominee. Fervent Clinton

supporters, holding fast to their dream of electing the first female president, for the moment appeared reluctant to switch allegiances to Obama.

In the general election Obama faced Republican John McCain, a former military pilot whom the Communist Vietnamese had held captive for six years during the Vietnam War. The seventy-two-year-old senator from Arizona had developed a reputation as a maverick for occasionally breaking ranks with fellow Republicans. Hoping to make some history of his own, and perhaps woo some Clinton supporters, McCain selected Alaska governor Sarah Palin as his running mate—only the second time that a woman had received this honor.

Obama pledged to end the war in Iraq quickly and roll back the Bush-era tax cuts for the wealthy, while McCain supported both. Debate over the Iraq War faded when a cascade of bank and insurance company failures sent the stock market into a tailspin. In the midst of the crisis, economists offered the following explanation for the downturn that future investigations may or may not confirm. During the last five years, as housing prices rose dramatically and Congress deregulated the banking and financial industries, banks had made numerous risky loans that let some people purchase homes they could not afford, and Wall Street brokers had invested heavily in mortgage-backed securities. When housing prices started declining in the summer of 2007, the dominos began to fall. Bank foreclosures on people who could not pay their mortgages increased, and even more ominously, the declining value of mortgage-backed securities threatened to bankrupt leading Wall Street firms, wiping out many Americans' retirement investments. Trying to stabilize the mortgage market, the government took over two leading lenders, Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson refused to intervene when Lehman Brothers, a major investment firm, went bankrupt in September 2008. This bankruptcy sent shock waves through the financial sector. Credit markets froze as banks stopped lending and investors began moving money from stocks and bonds to government-backed Treasury notes.

By mid-September the Bush administration decided that an infusion of \$700 billion was needed to unfreeze the credit markets and stop the stock market's freefall. Enraged House Republicans revolted. In their view the government "bail-out" used taxpayer money to reward bad behavior. Many Democrats accepted the competing view that the government would recoup this money when the

Four, Inc. Give me
 Liberty. W.W. Norton
 Company New York.
 2002.

CONFRONTING IRAQ

These tensions became starkly evident in the Bush administration's next initiative. The Iraqi dictatorship of Saddam Hussein had survived its defeat in the Gulf War of 1991. Hussein's opponents charged that he had flouted United Nations resolutions barring the regime from developing new weapons. During the Clinton administration, the United States had occasionally bombed Iraqi military sites in retaliation for Hussein's lack of cooperation with UN weapons inspectors.

From the outset of the Bush administration, a group of conservative policy-makers including Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz were determined to oust Hussein from power. They developed a military strategy to accomplish this—massive initial air strikes followed by invasion by a relatively small number of troops. They insisted that the oppressed Iraqi people would welcome an American army as liberators and quickly establish a democratic government, allowing for the early departure of American soldiers. This group seized on the opportunity presented by the attacks of September 11 to press their case, and President Bush adopted their outlook. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who believed the conquest and stabilization of Iraq would require hundreds of thousands of American soldiers and should not be undertaken without the support of America's allies, found himself marginalized in the administration.

Even though Hussein was not an Islamic fundamentalist, and no known evidence linked him to the terrorist attacks of September 11, the Bush administration in 2002 announced a goal of "regime change" in Iraq. Hussein, administration spokesmen insisted, must be ousted from power

because he had developed an arsenal of chemical and bacterial "weapons of mass destruction" and was seeking to acquire nuclear arms. American newspaper and television journalists repeated these claims with almost no independent investigation. The UN Security Council agreed to step up weapons inspections, but the Bush administration soon declared that inspectors could never uncover Hussein's military capabilities. Early in 2003, despite his original misgivings, Secretary of State Powell delivered a speech before the UN outlining the administration's case. He claimed that Hussein possessed a mobile chemical weapons laboratory, had hidden weapons of mass destruction in his many palaces, and was seeking to acquire uranium in Africa to build nuclear weapons. (Every one of these assertions later turned out to be false.) Shortly after Powell's address, the president announced his intention to go to war with or without the approval of the United Nations. Congress passed a resolution authorizing the president to use force if he deemed it necessary.

THE IRAQ WAR

The decision to go to war split the Western alliance and inspired a massive antiwar movement throughout the

Steve Benson's 2003 cartoon, which alters a renowned World War II photograph of soldiers raising an American flag, illustrates widespread skepticism about American motivations in the Iraq War.



world. In February 2003, between 10 million and 15 million people across the globe demonstrated against the impending war. There were large-scale protests in the United States, which brought together veterans of the antiwar movement during the Vietnam era and a diverse group of young activists united in the belief that launching a war against a nation because it might pose a security threat in the future violated international law and the UN Charter.

Foreign policy "realists," including members of previous Republican administrations like Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser under the first President Bush, warned that the administration's preoccupation with Iraq deflected attention from its real foe, Al Qaeda, which remained capable of launching terrorist attacks. They insisted that the United States could not unilaterally transform the Middle East into a bastion of democracy, as the administration claimed was its long-term aim.

Both traditional foes of the United States like Russia and China, and traditional allies like Germany and France, refused to support a "preemptive" strike against Iraq. Many Americans resented international criticism. Some restaurants stopped selling French wines, and the Senate dining room renamed french fries as "freedom fries," recalling the rechristening of items with German names during World War I.

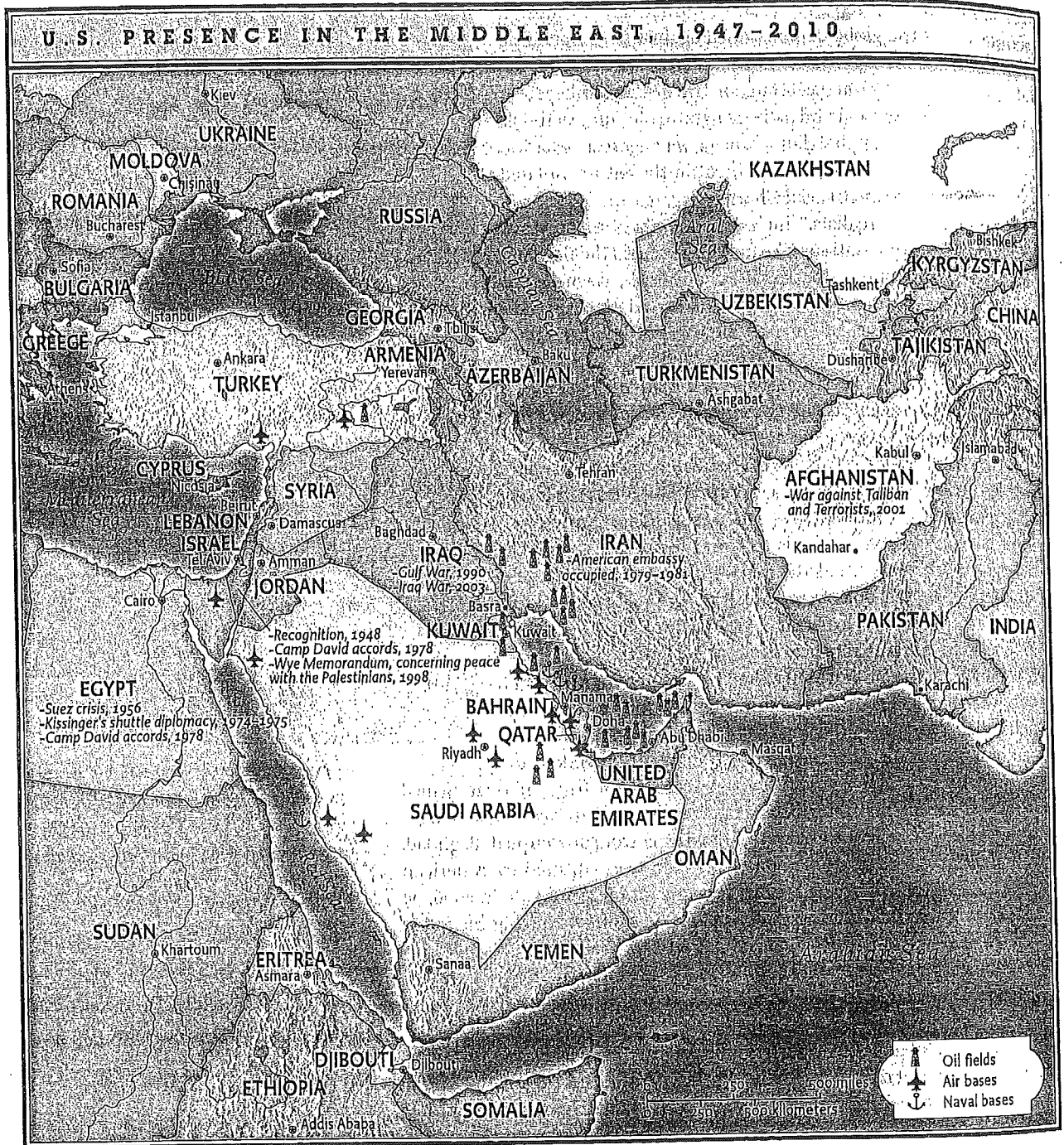
Unable to obtain approval from the United Nations for attacking Iraq, the United States went to war anyway in March 2003, with Great Britain as its sole significant ally. President Bush called the war "Operation Iraqi Freedom." Its purpose, he declared, was to "defend our freedom" and "bring freedom to others." The Hussein regime proved no match for the American armed forces, with their precision bombing, satellite-guided missiles, and well-trained soldiers. Within a month, American troops occupied Baghdad. After hiding out for several months, Hussein was captured by American forces and subsequently put on trial before an Iraqi court. Late in 2006, he was found guilty of ordering the killing of many Iraqis during his reign, and was sentenced to death and executed.

ANOTHER VIETNAM?

Soon after the fall of Baghdad, a triumphant President Bush appeared in an air force flight suit on the deck of an aircraft carrier beneath a banner reading "Mission Accomplished." But after the fall of Hussein, everything seemed to go wrong. Rather than parades welcoming American liberators, looting and chaos followed the fall of the Iraqi regime. With too few American troops to establish order, mobs promptly sacked libraries, museums, government offices, and businesses, and seized caches of weapons. An insurgency quickly developed that targeted American soldiers and Iraqis cooperating with them. Sectarian violence soon swept throughout Iraq, with militias of Shiite and Sunni Muslims fighting each other. (Under Hussein, Sunnis, a minority of Iraq's population, had dominated the government and army; now, the Shiite majority sought to exercise power and



Part of the massive crowd that gathered in New York City on February 15, 2003, a day of worldwide demonstrations against the impending war against Iraq.



Since World War II, the United States has become more and more deeply involved in the affairs of the Middle East, whose countries are together the world's largest exporter of oil.

exact revenge.) Despite holding a number of elections in Iraq, the United States found it impossible to create an Iraqi government strong enough to impose order on the country. By 2006, American intelligence agencies concluded, Iraq had become what it had not been before—a haven for terrorists bent on attacking Americans.

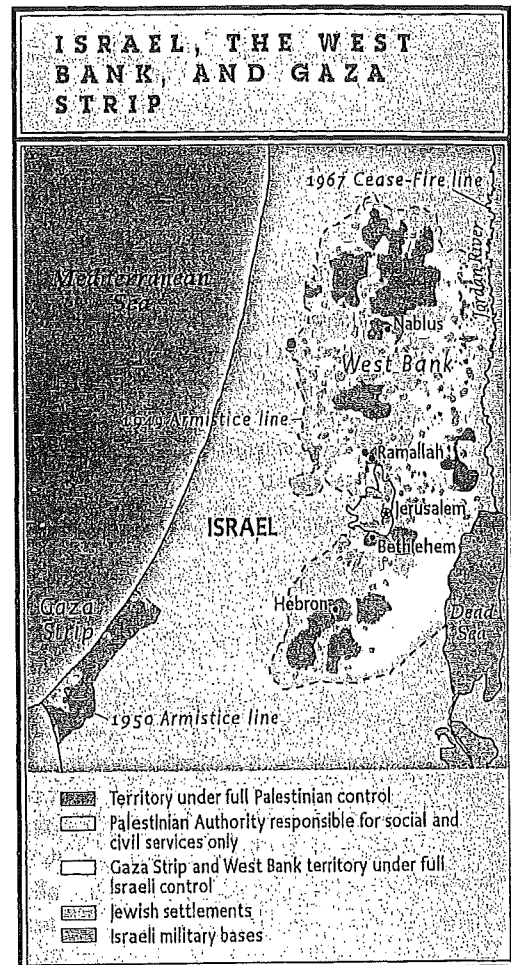
Fewer than 200 American soldiers died in the initial phase of the Iraq War. But by the end of 2006, Iraq stood at the brink of civil war. American deaths had reached nearly 3,000, with 20,000 or more wounded. According to the estimates of U.S. and Iraqi scientists, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, most of them civilians, had also died, and tens of thousands more had fled to neighboring countries seeking safety. Initially, the Bush administration had estimated that the war would cost \$60 billion, to be paid for largely by Iraq's own oil revenues. By early 2006, expenditures had reached \$200 billion and were climbing fast, and the insurgency prevented Iraq from resuming significant oil production. Some economists estimated that the Iraq War would end up costing the United States nearly \$2 trillion, an almost unimaginable sum.

With no end in sight to the conflict, comparisons with the American experience in Vietnam became commonplace. Iraq and Vietnam, of course, have very different histories, cultures, and geographies. But in both wars, American policy was made by officials who had little or no knowledge of the countries to which they were sending troops and distrusted State Department experts on these regions, who tended to be skeptical about the possibility of achieving quick military and long-term political success. The war's architects preferred to get their knowledge of Iraq from Saddam Hussein's exiled opponents, who exaggerated their own popularity and the degree of popular support for an American invasion. Administration officials gave little thought to postwar planning.

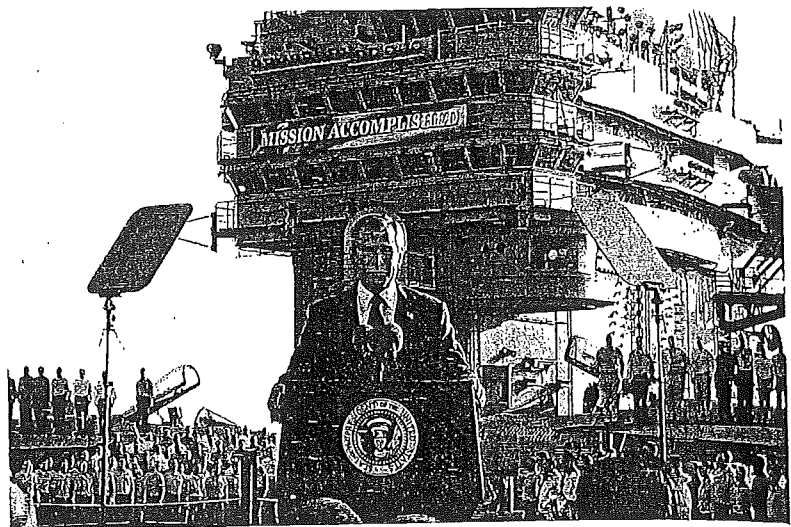
THE WORLD AND THE WAR

The war marked a new departure in American foreign policy. The United States had frequently intervened unilaterally in the affairs of Latin American countries. But outside the Western Hemisphere it had previously been reluctant to use force except as part of an international coalition. And while the United States had exerted enormous influence in the Middle East since World War II, never before had it occupied a nation in the center of the world's most volatile region.

Rarely in its history had the United States found itself so isolated from world public opinion. Initially, the war in Iraq proved to be popular in the United States. After all, unlike earlier wars, this one brought no calls for public sacrifice from the administration. There were no tax increases, and no reintroduction of the draft to augment the hard-pressed all-volunteer army. Many Americans believed the administration's claims that Saddam Hussein had something to do with September 11 and had stockpiled weapons of mass destruction. The realization that in fact Hussein had no such weapons discredited the administration's rationale for the war. Subsequent investigations revealed that intelligence reports at variance with administration claims had been sidetracked or ignored. With the weapons argument discredited, the Bush administration increasingly defended the war as an effort to bring freedom to the people of Iraq. This argument resonated with deeply rooted American values. But by early 2007, polls showed that a large majority of Americans considered the invasion of Iraq a mistake, and the war a lost cause.



President Bush standing on the deck of the aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln on May 10, 2003, announcing the end of combat operations in Iraq. A banner proclaims, "Mission Accomplished." Unfortunately, the war was not in fact over.



Much of the outside world now viewed the United States as a superpower unwilling to abide by the rules of international law. They believed that a nation whose Declaration of Independence had proclaimed its signers' "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" had become indifferent or hostile to the views of others. As early as 2003, a survey of global opinion had found that even in western Europe, large numbers of people viewed the United States as a threat to world peace. The fact that Iraq possessed the world's second-largest reserves of oil reinforced suspicions that American motives had less to do with freedom than self-interest.

The Iraq War severely strained the United Nations and the Western alliance created in the aftermath of World War II. But whatever the outcome, for the third time in less than a century, the United States had embarked on a crusade to create a new world order.

THE AFTERMATH OF SEPTEMBER 11 AT HOME

SECURITY AND LIBERTY

Like earlier wars, the war on terrorism raised anew the problem of balancing security and liberty. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, Congress rushed to passage the USA Patriot Act, a mammoth bill (it ran to more than 300 pages) that few members of the House or Senate had actually read. It conferred unprecedented powers on law-enforcement agencies charged with preventing the new, vaguely defined crime of "domestic terrorism," including the power to wiretap, spy on citizens, open letters, read e-mail, and obtain personal records from third parties like universities and libraries without the knowledge of a suspect. Unlike during World Wars I and II, with their campaigns of hatred against German-Americans and Japanese-Americans, the Bush administration made a point of discouraging anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiment. Nonetheless, at least 5,000 foreigners with Middle Eastern connections were rounded up, and more than 1,200 arrested. Many with no link to terrorism were held for months, without either a formal charge or a public notice of their fate. The administration also set up a detention camp at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, for persons captured in Afghanistan or otherwise accused of

terrorism. More than 700 persons, the nationals of many foreign countries, were detained there.

In November 2001, the Bush administration issued an executive order authorizing the holding of secret military tribunals for noncitizens deemed to have assisted terrorism. In such trials, traditional constitutional protections, such as the right of the accused to choose a lawyer and see all the evidence, would not apply. A few months later, the Justice Department declared that American citizens could be held indefinitely without charge and not allowed to see a lawyer, if the government declared them to be "enemy combatants." The president's press secretary, Ari Fleischer, warned Americans to "watch what they say," and Attorney General John Ashcroft declared that criticism of administration policies aided the country's terrorist enemies.

THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT

In the new atmosphere of heightened security, numerous court orders and regulations of the 1970s, inspired by abuses of the CIA, FBI, and local police forces, were rescinded, allowing these agencies to resume surveillance of Americans without evidence that a crime had been committed. Some of these measures were authorized by Congress, but the president implemented many of them unilaterally, claiming the authority to ignore laws that restricted his power as commander-in-chief in wartime. Thus, soon after September 11, President Bush authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to eavesdrop on Americans' telephone conversations without a court warrant, a clear violation of a law limiting the NSA to foreign intelligence gathering.

Two centuries earlier, in the 1790s, James Madison had predicted that for many years to come, the danger to individual liberty would lie in abuse of power by Congress. This is why the Bill of Rights barred Congress, not the president or the states, from abridging civil liberties. But, Madison continued, in the long run, the president might pose the greatest danger, especially in time of war. "In war," he wrote, the discretionary power of the Executive is "extended." No nation, Madison believed, could preserve its freedom "in the midst of continual warfare." Madison's remarkable warning about how presidents might seize the power afforded them in war to limit freedom has been borne out at many points in American history—from Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus to Wilson's suppression of free speech and Franklin D. Roosevelt's internment of Japanese-Americans. The administration of George W. Bush was no exception. But no other president had ever made so sweeping an assertion of the power to violate both longstanding constitutional principles, such as the right to trial by jury, and any law he chooses during wartime.

The majority of Americans seemed willing to accept the administration's contention that restraints on time-honored liberties were necessary to fight terrorism, especially since these restraints applied primarily to Muslims and immigrants from the Middle East. Others recalled previous times when wars produced limitations on civil liberties and public officials equated political dissent with lack of patriotism: the Alien and Sedition Acts during the "quasi-war" with France in 1798, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus during the Civil War, the severe repression of free speech and persecution of German-Americans during World War I, Japanese-American internment in World War II, and McCarthyism during the Cold War. These episodes underscored the fragility of principles most Americans have learned to take for

granted—civil liberties and the ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race and ethnicity. The debate over liberty and security seemed certain to last as long as the war on terrorism itself.

THE TORTURE CONTROVERSY

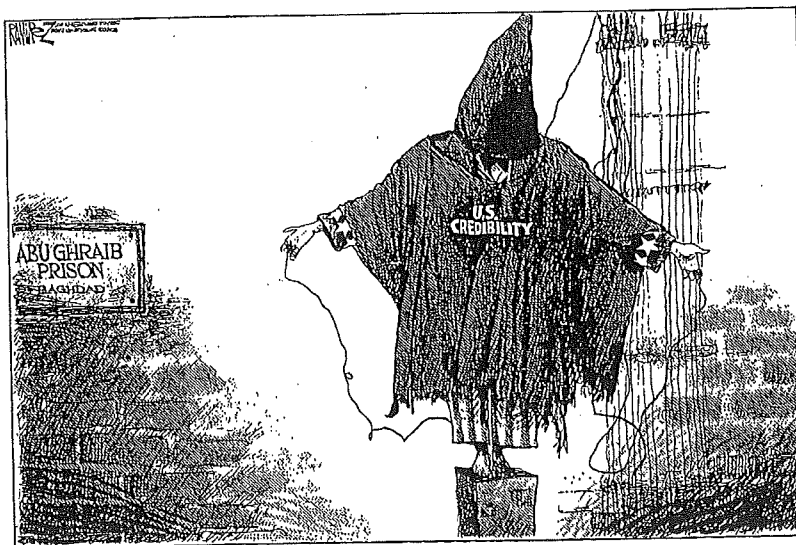
Officials of the Bush administration also insisted in the aftermath of September 11 that the United States need not be bound by international law in pursuing the war on terrorism. They were especially eager to sidestep the Geneva Conventions and the International Convention Against Torture, which regulate the treatment of prisoners of war and prohibit torture and other forms of physical and mental coercion. In January 2002, the Justice Department produced a memorandum stating that these rules did not apply to captured members of Al Qaeda as they were “unlawful combatants,” not members of regularly constituted armies. White House counsel Alberto Gonzales, who later became attorney general, advised the president that the Geneva Accords were “quaint” and “obsolete” in this “new kind of war.” In February 2003, President Bush issued a directive that denied Al Qaeda and Taliban prisoners the Geneva protections.

Amid strong protests from Secretary of State Powell and senior military officers who feared that the new policy would encourage the retaliatory mistreatment of American prisoners of war, in April 2003 the president prohibited the use of torture except where special permission had been granted. Nonetheless, the Defense Department approved methods of interrogation that most observers considered torture. In addition, the CIA set up a series of jails in foreign countries outside the traditional chain of military command and took part in the “rendition” of suspects—that is, kidnapping them and spiriting them to prisons in Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and former communist states of eastern Europe, where torture is practiced.

In this atmosphere and lacking clear rules of behavior, some military personnel—in Afghanistan, at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, and at Guantánamo—beat prisoners who were being held for interrogation, subjected them to electric shocks, let them be attacked by dogs, and forced them to strip naked and lie atop other prisoners. Some prisoners in U.S. custody died from their maltreatment. As it turned out, the military guards and interrogators who committed these acts had not been adequately trained for their missions. Indeed, some took photographs of the maltreatment of prisoners and circulated them by e-mail. Inevitably, the photos became public. Their exposure around the world in newspapers, on television, and on the Internet undermined the reputation of the United States as a country that adheres to standards of civilized behavior and the rule of law.

The military investigated prisoner abuse but punished only a few low-level

Based on an infamous photograph, circulated around the world, of an Iraqi prisoner abused while in American custody, this 2004 cartoon suggests how such mistreatment damaged the image of the United States.



soldiers, not the commanders who were supposed to be in charge of these prisons and had tolerated or failed to halt the abuse. After much debate, Congress in 2005 inserted in the Defense Appropriations Act a measure sponsored by Senator John McCain of Arizona (a former prisoner of war in Vietnam) banning the use of torture. President Bush signed the bill but issued a "signing statement" reaffirming his right as commander-in-chief to set rules for the military by himself.

Late in 2008 and early the following year, previously secret government documents were released demonstrating that torture was the result not of missteps by a few "bad apples," as the administration had claimed, but decisions at the highest levels of government. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, and other officials had authorized the torture of persons captured in the war on terrorism, over the objections of many in the military. Ironically, some of the techniques used, especially water-boarding (simulated drowning), had been employed by the government during the Korean War to train soldiers how to withstand torture if captured by the enemy. No one in the administration seemed concerned about what these practices might do to the reputation of the United States as a law-abiding nation. The revelations left a difficult question for the administration of Barack Obama—whether or not to prosecute officials and interrogators who had violated international treaties and American laws.

THE ECONOMY UNDER BUSH

In the congressional elections of 2002, Bush took full advantage of his post-September 11 popularity, campaigning actively for Republican candidates. His intervention was credited with helping his party increase its small majorities in the House and Senate, in defiance of the traditional pattern in which the president's party loses seats in midterm elections. Continuing chaos in Iraq began to undermine support for Bush's foreign policy. But the main threat to the president's reelection appeared to be the condition of the American economy. During 2001, the economy slipped into a recession—that is, it contracted rather than grew. Growth resumed at the end of the year, but, with businesses reluctant to make new investments after the overexpansion of the 1990s, it failed to generate new jobs.

THE "JOBLESS" RECOVERY

Talk of "economic pain" reappeared in public discussions. The sectors that had expanded the most in the previous decade contracted rapidly. The computer industry slashed more than 40 percent of its jobs during the first two years of the Bush presidency. Thanks to the Internet, jobs as computer programmers and other highly skilled technology positions could be shifted to India, which had a large number of well-educated persons willing to work for far less than their American counterparts. Employment in the media, advertising, and telecommunications industries also fell.

The difficulties of these sectors received much publicity. But in fact, 90 percent of the jobs lost during the recession of 2001–2002 were in manufacturing. Despite the renewed spirit of patriotism, deindustrialization continued. Textile firms closed southern plants and shifted production to

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The largest single spending appropriation in American history, the bill was meant to pump money into the economy in order to save and create jobs and to ignite a resumption of economic activity.

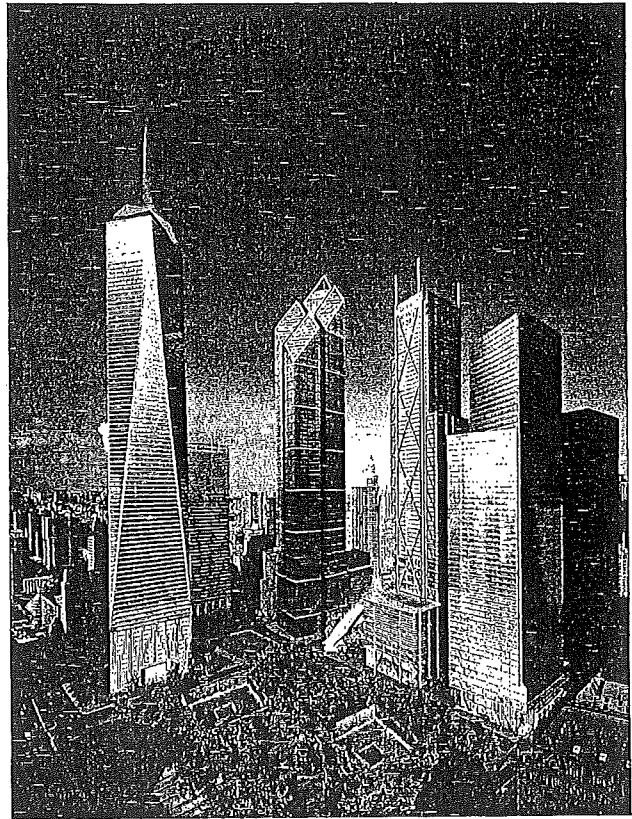
For most of Obama's first year in office, congressional debate revolved around a plan to restructure the nation's health care system so as to provide insurance coverage to the millions of Americans who lacked it, and to end abusive practices by insurance companies, such as their refusal to cover patients with existing illnesses. After months of increasingly bitter debate, in March 2010, Congress passed a sweeping health-care bill that required all Americans to purchase health insurance and most businesses to provide it to their employees. It also offered subsidies to persons of modest incomes so they could afford insurance, and required insurance companies to accept all applicants. This was the most far-reaching piece of domestic social legislation since the Great Society of the 1960s, and it aroused strong partisan opposition. Claiming that it amounted to a "government takeover" of the health-care industry (even though plans for a government-run insurance program had been dropped from the bill), every Republican in Congress voted against the bill.

Like many of his predecessors, Obama found that criticizing presidential power from outside is one thing, dismantling it from inside another. He reversed his previous promise to abolish the military tribunals Bush had established. He pledged to complete the planned withdrawal from Iraq, but dispatched 17,000 more American troops to Afghanistan, and in December 2009 announced plans to send another 30,000, creating the danger that his administration would become bogged down in another military quagmire. His stimulus package marked a new departure, but he chose his economic advisers from Wall Street and continued the Bush administration policy of pouring taxpayer money into the banks and assuming responsibility for many of their debts. In the meantime, the economy continued to hemorrhage jobs (the unemployment rate reached 10.2 percent in November). As 2010 neared its midpoint it remained unclear how long it would take for the financial system to resume normal operations and for the country to emerge from the Great Recession.

LEARNING FROM HISTORY

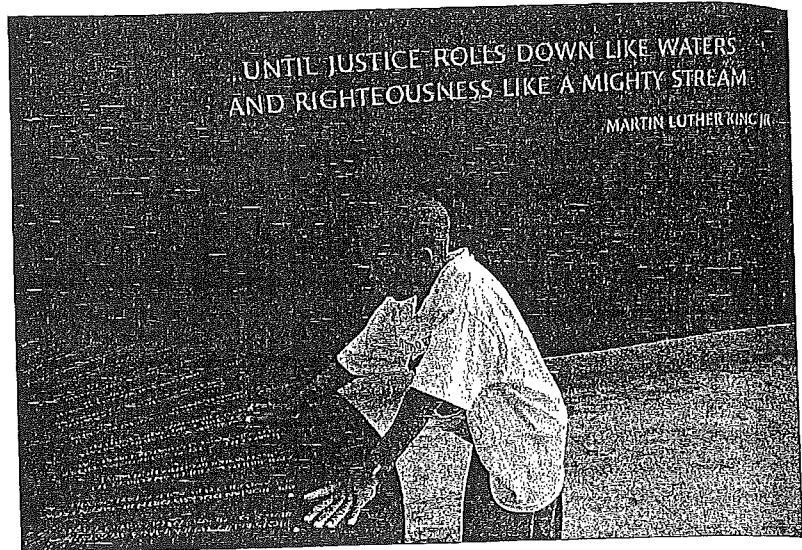
"The owl of Minerva takes flight at dusk." Minerva was the Roman goddess of wisdom, and this saying suggests that the meaning of events only becomes clear once they are over. It is still far too soon to assess the full impact of September 11 on American life and the long-term consequences of the changes at home and abroad it inspired.

As of the end of 2009, the world seemed far more unstable than anyone could have predicted when the Cold War ended nearly twenty years



The design for a series of office buildings that will replace the World Trade Center illustrate the juxtaposition of optimism and fear in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. The soaring towers underscore Americans' capacity for recovery and regeneration. But at the insistence of the New York City police, the base of the Freedom Tower, at the left, consists of reinforced concrete, giving the building, at ground level, the appearance of a fortress.

Seeking the lessons of history: a young visitor at the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery, Alabama.



earlier. An end to the war on terror seemed as remote as ever. The future of Iraq and Afghanistan remained uncertain, and Pakistan, traditionally the closest ally of the United States in that volatile region, experienced serious political instability. No settlement of the long-standing conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors seemed in sight. Iran, its power in the region enhanced by the American removal of its chief rival, Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, appeared to be bent on acquiring nuclear weapons, which the United States vowed to prevent, raising the prospect of future conflict. Other regions of the world also presented daunting problems for American policymakers. North Korea had acquired nuclear weapons and refused international pressure to give them up. China's rapidly growing economic power posed a challenge to American predominance. A series of Latin American countries elected presidents who rejected the doctrines of globalization and global free trade pressed so insistently by the United States.

No one could predict how any of these crises, or others yet unimagined, would be resolved. And taking a longer view, a study by American intelligence agencies predicted that by 2025 the United States would remain the world's most powerful nation, but that its economic and military predominance will have declined significantly. A "multipolar world," with countries like China and India emerging as major powers, would succeed the era of unquestioned American dominance. How the continuing global financial crisis would affect these developments remained to be seen.

What is clear is that September 11 and its aftermath drew new attention to essential elements of the history of American freedom. As in the past, freedom is central to Americans' sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation. Americans continue to debate contemporary issues in a political landscape shaped by ideas of freedom. Indeed, freedom remains, as it has always been, an evolving concept, its definition open to disagreement, its boundaries never fixed or final. Freedom is neither self-enforcing nor self-correcting. It cannot be taken for granted, and its preservation requires eternal vigilance, especially in times of crisis.

Name: _____

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Is America A Modern Day Imperial Power?
Vidéo Guide and Discussion Questions

Vidéo Guide

In the documentary *Inside America's Empire* author Robert Kaplan takes us on a tour of America's military presence in the world today. He argues that America is now effectively an empire. America owns or rents 700 military bases across 130 countries. America uses this military presence to enact its Imperialism; an Imperialism that is rooted in spreading democracy, not obtaining colonial control.

As you watch the film look for evidence which supports and opposes Kaplan's argument that America is an imperial power. After we finish watching the film we will discuss whether or not we agree with Kaplan's thesis.

| Evidence in support of America as a modern day Imperial power | Evidence in opposition to America as a modern day Imperial power |
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Discussion Questions

How does Kaplan define Imperialism? Do you agree with this definition?

What evidence does Kaplan give from his experience in the Philippines to support of his argument that America is an imperial power?

What evidence did you find that challenges Kaplan's argument?

Do you agree that America is an Imperial power?

How does Kaplan connect America's involvement in the Philippines today to its past history of colonization on the island?

How does he connect current American foreign policy to 19th century imperialism more broadly? Do you agree?

In light of our original definition of Imperialism is America an Imperial power?

Kaplan believes that American Imperialism is necessary to prevent future large-scale wars. Do you agree?

What should America's role in the world be?

