CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION

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Three Visions for African Americans

In the early years of the 20th century, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey developed competing visions for the future of African Americans.

Civil War Reconstruction failed to assure the full rights of citizens to the freed slaves. By the 1890s, Ku Klux Klan terrorism, lynchings, racial-segregation laws, and voting restrictions made a mockery of the rights guaranteed by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, which were passed after the Civil War.

Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) was the head of the Tuskegee Institute. To improve the lot of African Americans, he favored job training and economic independence instead of political action. (Perry-Castaneda Library, University of Texas)

The problem for African Americans in the early years of the 20th century was how to respond to a white society that for the most part did not want to treat black people as equals. Three black visionaries offered different solutions to the problem.

U S HISTORY

Booker T. Washington argued for African Americans to first improve themselves through education, industrial training, and business ownership. Equal rights would naturally come later, he believed. W. E. B. Du Bois agreed that self-improvement was a good idea, but that it should not happen at the expense of giving up immediate full citizenship rights. Another visionary, Marcus Garvey, believed black Americans would never be accepted as equals in the United States. He pushed for them to develop their own separate communities or even emigrate back to Africa.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington was born a slave in Virginia in 1856. Early on in his life, he developed a thirst for reading and learning. After attending an elementary school for African-American children, Washington walked 500 miles to enroll in Hampton Institute, one of the few black high schools in the South.

Working as a janitor to pay his tuition, Washington soon became the favorite pupil of Hampton's white founder, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Armstrong, a former Union officer, had developed a highly structured curriculum, stressing discipline, moral character, and training for practical trades.

Following his graduation from Hampton, for a few years Washington taught elementary school in his hometown. In 1880, General Armstrong invited him to return to teach at Hampton. A year later, Armstrong nominated Washington to head a new school in Tuskegee, Alabama, for the training of black teachers, farmers, and skilled workers.

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Controversies

This issue of *Bill of Rights in Action* examines three controversial issues that resonate today. The first article looks at competing visions put forward by three African American leaders at the turn of the 20th century: W. E. B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, and Marcus Garvey. The second article explores the Armenian genocide that took place during World War I, which still generates charges and counter charges between Turks and Armenians. The last article looks at the Bush Doctrine, a controversial change in American foreign policy.

U.S. History: Three Visions for African Americans

World History: "Forgotten Genocide": The Destruction of the Armenians During World War I

Current Issues: The Bush Doctrine

Washington designed, developed, and guided the Tuskegee Institute. It became a powerhouse of African-American education and political influence in the United States. He used the Hampton Institute, with its emphasis on agricultural and industrial training, as his model.

Washington argued that African Americans must concentrate on educating themselves, learning useful trades, and investing in their own businesses. Hard work, economic progress, and merit, he believed, would prove to whites the value of blacks to the American economy.

W. E. B. Dubois (1868–1963) helped found the NAACP and saw political action as the best hope to improve the lives of African Americans. (National Archives and Records Adminstration)

Washington believed that his vision for black people would eventually lead to equal political and civil rights. In the meantime, he advised blacks to put aside immediate demands for voting and ending racial segregation.

In his famous address to the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington accepted the reality of racial segregation. He insisted, however, that African Americans be included in the economic progress of the South.

Washington declared to an all-white audience, "In all things social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Washington went on to express his confidence that, "No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized [shut out]."

White Americans viewed Washington's vision as the key to racial peace in the nation. With the aid of white philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie, Washington's Tuskegee Institute and its philosophy of economics first and equal rights later thrived.

Recognized by whites as the spokesman for his people, Washington soon became the most powerful black leader in the United States. He had a say in political appointments and which African-American colleges and charities would get funding from white philanthropists. He controlled a number of newspapers that attacked anyone who questioned his vision.

Washington considered himself a bridge between the races. But other black leaders criticized him for tolerating racial segregation at a time of increasing anti-black violence and discrimination.

Washington did publicly speak out against the evils of segregation, lynching, and discrimination in voting. He also secretly participated in lawsuits involving voter registration tests, exclusion of blacks from juries, and unequal railroad facilities.

By the time Booker T. Washington died in 1915, segregation laws and racial discrimination were firmly established throughout the South and in many other parts of the United States. This persistent racism blocked the advancement of African Americans.

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts in 1868. He attended racially integrated elementary and high schools and went off to Fiske College in Tennessee at age 16 on a scholarship. Du Bois completed his formal education at Harvard with a Ph.D. in history.

Du Bois briefly taught at a college in Ohio before he became the director of a major study on the social conditions of blacks in Philadelphia. He concluded from his research that white discrimination was what kept African Americans from good-paying jobs.

In 1897, two years after Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Address," Du Bois wrote, "We want to be Americans, full-fledged Americans, with all the rights of American citizens." He envisioned the creation of an elite group of educated black leaders, "The Talented Tenth," who would lead African Americans in securing equal rights and higher economic standards.

Du Bois attacked Washington's acceptance of racial segregation, arguing that this only encouraged whites to deny African Americans the right to vote and to undermine black pride and progress. Du Bois also criticized Washington's Tuskegee approach as an attempt

"to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings."

Lynchings and riots against blacks led to the formation in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an organization with a mainly black membership. Except for Du Bois who became the editor of the organization's journal, *The Crisis*, the founding board of directors consisted of white civil rights leaders.

Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) favored separation of the races and even began a "back to Africa" movement. (National Archives and Records Adminstration)

The NAACP used publicity, protests, lawsuits, and the editorial pages of *The Crisis* to attack racial segregation, discrimination, and the lynching of blacks. Booker T. Washington rejected this confrontational approach, but by the time of his death in 1915 his Tuskegee vision had lost influence among many African Americans.

By World War I, Du Bois had become the leading black figure in the United States. But he became disillusioned after the war when white Americans continued to deny black Americans equal political and civil rights. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Du Bois increasingly advocated socialist solutions to the nation's economic problems. He also questioned the NAACP's goal of a racially integrated society. This led to his resignation as editor of *The Crisis* in 1934.

Du Bois grew increasingly critical of U. S. capitalism and foreign policy. He praised the accomplishments of communism in the Soviet Union. In 1961, he joined the U.S. Communist Party. Shortly afterward, he left the country, renounced his American citizenship, and became a citizen of Ghana in Africa. He died there at age 95 in 1963.

Du Bois never took part in the black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, which secured many of the rights that he had fought for during his lifetime.

Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey, the third major black visionary in the early part of the 20th century, was born in Jamaica in 1887. He founded his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914.

UNIA stressed racial pride and self-improvement, much like the views of Booker T. Washington whom Garvey admired. Garvey, however, had greater international ambitions, including the development of worldwide black-owned industries and shipping lines. He also called for the end of white colonial rule in Africa.

At the invitation of Washington, Garvey traveled to the United States in 1916. He soon established his UNIA in New York City, opened a restaurant, and started a newspaper. In 1919, he formed the Black Star Line, the first black-owned shipping company in the United States.

The publicity over the Black Star Line caused great excitement among black Americans, many of whom bought stock in it. Garvey organized huge parades to promote this and other UNIA projects. He often appeared in a colorful uniform, wearing a plumed hat.

In 1920, over 20,000 people attended Garvey's first UNIA convention in New York. The convention produced a "Declaration of Negro Rights," which denounced lynchings, segregated public transportation, job discrimination, and inferior black public schools. The document also demanded "Africa for the Africans." Without actually consulting any African people, the convention proclaimed Garvey the "Provisional President of Africa."

Garvey believed that white society would never accept black Americans as equals. Therefore, he called for the separate self-development of African Americans within the United States.

The UNIA set up many small black-owned businesses such as restaurants, groceries, a publishing house, and even a toy company that made black dolls. Garvey's goal was to create a separate economy and society run for and by African Americans.

Ultimately, Garvey argued, all black people in the world should return to their homeland in Africa, which should be free of white colonial rule. Garvey had grand plans for settling black Americans in Liberia, the only country in Africa governed by Africans. But, Garvey's

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UNIA lacked the necessary funds and few blacks in the United States indicated any interest in going "back to Africa."

A poor economy and the near-bankruptcy of the Black Star Line caused Garvey to seek more dues-paying members for the UNIA. He launched a recruitment campaign in the South, which he had ignored because of strong white resistance.

In a bizarre twist, Garvey met with a leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta in 1922. Garvey declared that the goal of the UNIA and KKK was the same: completely separate black and white societies. Garvey even praised racial segregation laws, explaining that they were good for building black businesses. Little came of this recruitment effort. Criticism from his followers grew.

In 1922, the U.S. government arrested Garvey for mail fraud for his attempts to sell more stock in the failing Black Star Line. At his trial, the evidence showed that Garvey was a poor businessman, but the facts were less clear about outright fraud. The jury convicted him anyway, and he was sentenced to prison.

In 1927, President Calvin Coolidge commuted his sentence, and he was released. The government immediately deported him to Jamaica.

His vision for black separatism and "back to Africa" never caught on with most African Americans, and he and his spectacular movement soon faded away. Garvey died in 1940, an almost forgotten man.

* * * * *

The visions of Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey all fell short of settling the future of black people in American society. In the mid-20th century, new leaders emerged to guide the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King Jr. and others pursued a strategy of passive non-violence to overcome segregation in the South. Leaders of the NAACP, such as Thurgood Marshall, pushed forward legal cases to end segregation. Some took more militant stands. The Black Muslims led by Elijah Muhammad advocated separation. Malcolm X broke from the muslims and founded a rival organization opposing separation. The Black Panthers led by Huey Newton prepared for revolution. Today, new black leaders continue to struggle among themselves over the best way for African Americans to improve their lives.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Compare the visions for African Americans of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey.
2. Write an editorial that critiques the vision of Washington, Du Bois, or Garvey.
3. Considering the state of race relations in the United States in the early years of the 20th century, what do you think was the best way for black people to improve their lives as American citizens? Why?

For Further Reading

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A C T I V I T Y

African American Leaders Today

Just as Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey differed in their visions for black people, African American leaders today do not all hold one viewpoint. Form the class into sets of two students. Each set will research one of the following current African American leaders:

Julian Bond	Kweisi Mfume
Ward Connerly	Carol Moseley-Braun
Marian Wright Edelman	Colin Powell
Myrlie Evers-Williams	Condoleezza Rice
Louis Farrakhan	Al Sharpton
Jesse Jackson Sr.	Clarence Thomas
Coretta Scott King	J. C. Watts Jr.
John Lewis	Andrew Young

1. One student in each set should research the life and accomplishments of the African-American leader. The other student should research the leader's ideas and views on current issues such as affirmative action, reparations for slavery, hate crimes, housing, tax policy, foreign affairs, or other matters important to him or her.
2. The students should write a report and give a brief oral presentation, highlighting the life and ideas of the African American leader they have researched.

Standards Addressed in This Edition of Bill of Rights in Action

National High School U.S. History Standard 20: Understands how Progressives and others addressed problems of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and political corruption. (3) Understands how the Progressive movement influenced different groups in American society (e.g., . . . the founding of the NAACP . . .) (4) Understands how racial and ethnic events influenced American society during the Progressive era.

California Social Studies Standard 11.5: Students analyze the major political, social, economic, technological, and cultural developments of the 1920s. (2) Analyze the international and domestic events, interests, and philosophies that prompted attacks on civil liberties, including . . . Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement, the Ku Klux Klan . . . and the responses of organizations such as the . . . National Association for the Advancement of Colored People . . . to those attacks.

National High School World History Standard 39: Understands the causes and global consequences of World War I. Understands the human cost and social impact of World War I.

California Social Studies Standard 10.5: Students analyze the causes and course of the First World War. (5) Discuss human rights violations and genocide, including the Ottoman government's actions against Armenian citizens.

National U.S. History Standard 27: Understands how the Cold War and conflicts in Korea and Vietnam influenced domestic and international politics. Understands U.S. foreign policy from the Truman administration to the Johnson administration . . . .

National U.S. History Standard 30: Understands developments in foreign policy and domestic politics between the Nixon and Clinton presidencies. (5) Understands the influence of U.S. foreign policy on international events from Nixon to Clinton (e.g., . . . foreign policy in the post-Cold War era; U.S. goals and objectives in the Middle East; the pros and cons of U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf . . .)

California Social Studies Standard 11.9: Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II. (2) Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO . . . , in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War. (3) Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences . . . of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: . . . . The Truman Doctrine . . . . (6) Describe U.S. Middle East policy and its strategic, political, and economic interests, including those related to the Gulf War . . . .

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"Forgotten Genocide": The Destruction of the Armenians During World War I

The first attempt in the 20th century to destroy an entire people occurred when the government of Turkey ordered executions and mass deportations of about 1 million Armenians during World War I.

According to a U.N. report, at least 1 million Armenians died when they were forced to leave Turkey during the First World War. (© Armenian National Institute (www.armenian-genocide.org). Elder Photo Collection.)

As early as 1000 B.C., the Armenian people began to develop a distinctive culture in southwestern Asia. Today, the historic Armenian homeland includes eastern Turkey, northern Iran, and the small country of Armenia recently formed out of the old Soviet Union.

In A.D. 301, St. Gregory the Illuminator converted the Armenians to Christianity, making them the first Christian nation in the world. Despite being conquered by Muslim Arabs in A.D. 645 and absorbed by the Muslim Ottoman Empire in the 1500s, the Armenians remained a Christian people.

At its height, the Ottoman Empire was vast. It included all of modern Turkey, surrounded the Black Sea, went east to the Persian Gulf, extended along the southern Mediterranean to Algiers, and traveled west to include modern-day Greece, Bulgaria, and much of Yugoslavia.

WORLD HISTORY

Along with other religious minorities such as the Jews, the Christian Armenians became second-class subjects within the Ottoman Empire. They were tolerated, but only Muslims enjoyed full equality under Islamic law. The Armenians and other religious minorities paid special taxes, could not give testimony in Islamic courts, and were not allowed to carry weapons. These and other forms of discrimination denied the equal protection of the law to non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the power of the Ottoman Empire declined. Its government tried to reform the system to prop up the empire. In 1856, the emperor decreed that all subjects, regardless of religion, had equal rights.

Yet the empire continued to shrink. Revolutions and wars caused it to lose Greece and other possessions in Europe. In 1876, Sultan Abdul Hamid II ascended to the Ottoman throne. Sultan Hamid was determined to restore the power and glory of his empire. To do so, he believed he had to deal with religious minorities such as the Armenians, who were making increasing demands for legal reforms and even independence.

Hamid attempted to undermine the Christian Armenians' power by directing Muslim refugees, fleeing from Bulgaria and other former Ottoman possessions in Europe, to settle in the Armenian homeland. The sultan also encouraged the nomadic Muslim Kurds to settle in Armenian areas.

The large migration of Muslims into traditionally Christian Armenian lands resulted in widespread conflict. The new Muslim immigrants, backed by the government, confiscated huge amounts of Armenian land.

In 1894, Sultan Hamid falsely charged the Armenians with rebelling against his authority. He then allowed attacks against the Armenian people by local Muslims backed up the Ottoman army. Over a two-year period, up to 200,000 Armenians were massacred or died of starvation.

Apparently, the sultan's purpose was not to exterminate the Christian Armenian minority, but to permanently end its demands for equal rights. Even so, many historians have noted that the massacres of 1894–96

provided a precedent for the genocide that took place 20 years later.

The Rise of the "Young Turks"

In 1908, a group of intellectuals and military leaders overthrew Sultan Hamid II and took power. Representing the Turkish-speaking core of the old Ottoman Empire, the rebels became known as the "Young Turks."

The top Young Turk leaders, Mehmet Talaat, Ismail Enver, and Ahmed Jemal, pushed a policy of "Pan-Turkism." The old multi-cultural Ottoman Empire had wanted only to dominate religious and other minorities. The new regime sought to achieve an exclusively Muslim and Turkish-speaking nation.

The Armenians, with their different religion and language, occupied much of eastern Turkey and numbered over 2 million persons. Clearly, they were an obstacle to the nation that the Young Turks intended to build. In 1910, the Young Turk political party labeled the Armenians as enemies of the Muslims of Turkey.

In 1914, Turkey entered World War I on the side of Germany. The Young Turks hoped the Germans would help them defeat the Russians in Central Asia, enabling Turkey to acquire new areas of Turkish-speaking peoples. But a Turkish military offensive against Russia in 1914–15 ended in disaster for the Turks, who accused the Armenians in Turkey of aiding the Russians.

Turkey drafted tens of thousands of young Armenian men into its army, but soon segregated them into "work brigades." Then, in an ominous sign of what was to come, the Young Turk government ordered their mass execution by fellow Muslim soldiers.

On April 24, 1915, Turkish authorities arrested several hundred Armenian political, cultural, and religious leaders in Constantinople, the capital of Turkey. The government imprisoned and then executed this elite group of Armenians. Each year, Armenians around the world commemorate April 24 as the beginning of the Armenian Genocide.

The Armenian Genocide

In June 1915, the Turkish government ordered the deportation of all remaining Armenians from Turkey into the deserts of Syria and Iraq to the south. During the deportation, some Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and government officials aided and even hid Armenian families. But most of the Muslim population cheered the expulsion of Turkey's largest Christian minority group.

When the Turkish authorities assembled Armenian villagers for deportation, they often immediately shot to death any able-bodied adult males. The women, children, and elderly men were then forced to travel hundreds of miles, mainly on foot, into the southern deserts. The Turkish government provided them with little food, water, shelter, or protection.

Along the way, outlaws, local people, and even the police guarding the deportees attacked, robbed, raped, and murdered them at will. Minister of War Enver created a paramilitary unit called the "Special Organization," made up mainly of convicted criminals released from prison. Their mission was simply to attack and kill Armenians.

Kurdish horsemen also raided the Armenians, robbing them and sometimes taking women and children as slaves. The Turkish government did little to discourage such acts.

The Reverend F. H. Leslie, an American missionary in Urfa, a city in southeast Turkey, wrote:

> For six weeks we have witnessed the most terrible cruelties inflicted upon the thousands . . . daily passing through our city from the northern cities. All tell the same story . . .: their men were all killed on the first day's march from their cities, after which the women and girls were constantly robbed . . . and beaten, criminally abused and abducted along the way. Their guards . . . were their worst abusers but also allowed the baser element in every village . . . to abduct the girls and women and abuse them. We not only were told these things but the same things occurred right here in our own city before our very eyes and openly on the streets.

The forced deportation of hundreds of thousands of Armenians led to their mass destruction by murder, starvation, and disease. At most, 25 percent of those who were forced to leave Turkey reached Syria and Iraq. But most of these people were finally massacred or left to die of thirst in the desert.

At times, the Armenians resisted. In 1915 on a mountain called Musa Dagh (Mt. Moses), located on Turkey's southern Mediterranean coast, Armenian villagers defied the government's deportation order and

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took up defensive positions on the mountain slopes. For 53 days, they fiercely fought against the Turkish army. Finally, more than 4,000 Armenian men, women, and children escaped by ships to Egypt where they lived in refugee camps until the end of the war.

Many foreigners witnessed the destruction of the Armenians, including diplomats and missionaries. In May 1915, Great Britain, France, and Russia jointly issued this warning to the Young Turk government:

> In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly . . . that they will hold personally responsible [for] these crimes all members of the . . . government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

On July 16, U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Henry Morgenthau cabled the State Department that the deportations were increasing and "a campaign of race extermination is in progress."

Abandoned After the War

On the losing side at the end of World War I, Young Turk leaders Talaat, Enver, and Jemal fled the country. A new sultan, hostile to the Young Turk regime, formed a temporary government. He set up military courts to try members of the Young Turk government for war crimes. Talaat, Enver, and Jemal were prosecuted even though they had escaped the country and were absent at their trials.

The Turkish war crimes trials of 1919 documented "the massacre and destruction of the Armenians." The defense attempted to show that the Armenian minority was disloyal and a threat to Turkey during the war. The prosecution, however, showed that most Armenians remained loyal to Turkey and did not threaten its war effort. The prosecution also presented evidence that the executions, deportations, and massacres had been part of a premeditated "centrally directed plan" to get rid of the Christian Armenians in Turkey once and for all.

The Turkish war crimes courts found the defendants guilty of planning and carrying out the destruction of the Armenian people, a crime against humanity that would later be called "genocide." Talaat, Enver, and Jemal were sentenced to death while lesser officials received prison terms.

World War I ended the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, a war hero, formed a Turkish republic in 1923. He ordered the release of all those held for war crimes. Armenians seeking vengeance later assassinated Talaat and Jemal who were living in exile in Europe.

A crowd swarmed around two Armenians executed in a public square in Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey), c. 1915. (© Armenian National Institute (www.armenian-genocide.org), photo by Armin T. Wegner, courtesy of Sybil Stevens)

The peace treaty between Turkey and the victors of World War I called for the creation of an independent Armenian republic formed out of Turkish territory. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson pushed this idea and even asked Congress to authorize an American trusteeship to oversee the newborn nation, but this never happened. The short-lived Armenian Republic collapsed when Ataturk attacked it and confiscated "abandoned properties" that had been owned by the Armenians before the deportations.

In 1923, the final peace agreements that formally ended World War I abandoned any support for an independent Armenia. The agreements also ignored the right of Armenian survivors to return to their homes in Turkey and be compensated for the loss of their property. The Soviet Union carved out a small area for its Armenian citizens.

The "Forgotten Genocide"

According to a report of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1985, at least 1 million Armenians died in the harsh deportation during World War I. About half of the pre-war Armenian population of Turkey had been destroyed. Many of the Armenians who survived managed to escape to Russia and other countries before the executions and deportations began.

Today, relatively few Armenians live in Turkey. About 3.3 million populate the nearby country of Armenia, a

small Christian nation that was once part of the Soviet Union. Another 2–3 million Armenians are scattered around the world.

Since World War I, Turkey has officially denied that any premeditated genocide ever took place. Turkey argues that the relocation of Armenians took place for their own protection. According to this view, those Armenians who died were caught up in the chaos of war like everybody else at that time. Recently, the acting consul general for Turkey in Los Angeles, Ozgur Kivanc Altan, stated:

> What we are saying is, yes, a terrible tragedy took place and, yes, many Armenians lost their lives terribly. But also in that war, more than 2.5 million Turks and Muslims lost their lives.

The Armenian Genocide faded from memory after World War I. Then, the horror of more than 6 million Jews and others who were murdered during the Nazi Holocaust of World War II further pushed the destruction of the Armenians into obscurity.

The recent mass killings of peoples in places like Cambodia, Bosnia, and Rwanda have revived interest in the "forgotten genocide" of the Armenians. Tragically, the first genocide of the 20th century provided a blueprint for the extermination of entire religious, ethnic, and other groups in our own time.

For Discussion and Writing

1. Why did the Armenian Genocide occur?
2. What actions do you think the nations of the world could have taken after World War I to achieve justice for the victims of the Armenian Genocide?
3. How would you answer the claim of the Turkish government today that Turkey had no intention in 1915 to destroy the Christian Armenian minority?

For Further Reading

Dadrian, Vahakn N. *Warrant for Genocide, Key Elements of the Turko-Armenian Conflict*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Transaction Publishers, 1999.

Melson, Robert. *Revolution and Genocide, On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

ACTIVITY

What Is Genocide?

In 1948, following the Nazi Holocaust of World War II and more than 30 years after the Armenian Genocide of World War I, the United Nations adopted the "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." This document makes it a crime under international law for government leaders, public officials, or private individuals to commit *any* of the following acts "with the intent to destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group":

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

1. Form the class into small study groups. Each group should use the article to investigate whether the treatment of the Armenians in Turkey during World War I fits the definition and acts of genocide included in the UN Genocide Convention.
2. The study groups should then share their conclusions and evidence.
3. In an extended research activity, divide students into eight study groups. Each group will investigate and report what evidence exists for genocide in one of the following cases:

   Ukraine (1932–33)
   Nazi Holocaust (1933–45)
   Indonesia (1965–66)
   East Timor (1975)
   Cambodia (1975–79)
   Bosnia (1992–95)
   Rwanda (1994)
   Burma (1996–present)

The Bush Doctrine

The Iraq War may only be the beginning of an ambitious American strategy to confront dangerous regimes and expand democracy in the world.

Following World War II, the United States helped set up international institutions to provide for world security and stability. The United Nations, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund were started. The United States formed alliances—the most important one was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—to stop communism. It gave Europe billions of dollars in aid to rebuild. It developed a new policy to check the spread of communism by the Russians and others. The chief author of this policy, diplomat George F. Kennan, called for "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." The policy was announced by President Harry S. Truman in 1947. It became known as the Truman Doctrine.

Truman's policy of containment came under attack by John Foster Dulles, who became President Dwight D. Eisenhower's secretary of state. In the 1952 campaign, Dulles called for "rollback" and "liberation" of the Soviet empire instead of containment. Once in power, however, the Eisenhower administration and all subsequent administrations during the Cold War followed the policy of containment. This policy relied on deterrence to prevent a Soviet attack. The Soviet government was told that an attack on any NATO member state was an attack on all the member states. The United States and NATO would have responded to an attack with massive retaliation. This threat deterred the Soviet Union from attacking. And the Soviet threat of massive retaliation deterred the United States from intervening in the Soviet bloc.

CURRENT ISSUES

The Cold War ended with the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. During the 1990s, the rapid spread of democracy and capitalism in the world seemed to herald a new era of peace and stability. The United States emerged as the most powerful nation in the world. Its economy is far stronger than any other country's. It spends more on its military than all the other nations of the world combined. The attacks on September 11, 2001, however, proved that even powerful nations like the United States were vulnerable to terrorist acts.

On September 12, 2002, President George W. Bush addressed the United Nations. He called for the United Nations to hold Iraq to account for violating U.N. Security Council resolutions. A few days later, the president issued his National Security Strategy, known as the Bush Doctrine. (White House Photo)

After the September 11 attacks, President George W. Bush brought forward a new American security strategy to prevent terrorists and dangerous regimes from developing, acquiring, or using weapons of mass destruction. The new strategy, called the Bush Doctrine, also pushed for the expansion of democracy in Middle East Muslim countries and elsewhere in the world.

Background of the Bush Doctrine

Near the end of the Cold War, Iraq (led by dictator Saddam Hussein) invaded its oil-rich, neighbor Kuwait. The U.N. Security Council authorized the use of force against Iraq unless it withdrew its forces from Kuwait by January 15, 1991. The United States organized a coalition made up of its NATO allies and other nations including several Arab countries. On January 16, the coalition, led mainly by American troops, started pushing Iraq out of Kuwait. When the Gulf War ended, President George H. W. Bush (the father of the current president) decided to contain Iraq's potential military threat. He did this by stationing American military forces in neighboring countries. The U.N. Security Council issued resolutions calling for Iraq to disarm by ridding itself of weapons of mass destruction, and it sent weapons inspectors into Iraq.

In 1992, Department of Defense officials Paul Wolfowitz and Lewis Libby wrote a proposal for a new American military and political strategy. They concluded that containment and deterrence had become obsolete with the end of the Cold War. They also argued for three revolutionary ideas:

- The United States must remain the world's only superpower, unchallenged by any other nation.
- The United States may need to use pre-emptive force (attack an enemy first) in self- defense.
- The United States will, if necessary, act unilaterally (alone) to confront and eliminate threats to American security.

This proposal sparked great controversy. President Bush ordered his secretary of defense, Dick Cheney, to revise the strategy and remove the points about pre-emptive and unilateral action. When Bill Clinton became president in 1993, he continued the policy of containment and deterrence.

In 1998, Iraq expelled U.N. weapons inspectors. Around this same time, a group of national defense critics began to publicly argue for the forced removal of Saddam Hussein because of his potential use of weapons of mass destruction. Called "neo-conservatives" by the press, the group included Libby, Cheney, Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, and other members of the former Reagan and Bush administrations.

When George W. Bush became president in 2001, he appointed Rumsfeld secretary of defense and Wolfowitz as one of his deputy defense secretaries. Vice President Dick Cheney appointed Libby his chief of staff. Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Libby, and Cheney formed the core of neo-conservative influence on national security matters within the Bush administration.

The neo-conservatives wanted to revive the strategy proposed by Wolfowitz and Libby in 1992. They also pushed for the United States to confront hostile regimes and "militant Islam." In addition, they called for the United States to expand democracy and capitalism throughout the world.

Following the devastating terrorist attacks in 2001, Wolfowitz and the other neo-conservatives pressed for an immediate attack on Iraq. Secretary of State Colin Powell, however, persuaded President Bush to first attack the Al Qaeda terrorists and the Taliban regime harboring them in Afghanistan.

In his January 2002 State of the Union Address, President Bush identified Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an "axis of evil." "The United States of America will not permit," Bush said, "the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

On September 12, 2002, after a sharp debate within the Bush administration over what to do about Iraq, the president addressed the United Nations. He warned that disarming Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction (banned by the U.N. after the 1991 Gulf War) "will be enforced" by the U.N. or, if necessary, by the United States acting unilaterally in self-defense.

In early November 2002, the United Nations adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution. It stated that Iraq was in "material breach" of previous U.N. resolutions and called for Iraq to immediately disarm and fully cooperate with weapons inspectors or "face serious consequences." Iraq agreed to comply, and inspectors returned. In their time in Iraq, the inspectors issued three reports, saying that they had not found weapons of mass destruction, but also saying that Iraq needed to be more cooperative. Citing Iraqi lack of cooperation as a material breach of the U.N. resolution, the United States pressed for a new resolution to use force against Iraq. When it saw that the Security Council was not going to approve the new resolution, it withdrew it. The United States decided to act with a "coalition of the willing" (a group of allies) to remove Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. The coalition included Great Britain and 29 other nations. It did not include any Arab states or some NATO members, including Canada, France, Germany, Belgium, and Norway. On March 20, 2003, the coalition forces, consisting mainly of U.S. and British troops, invaded Iraq. The war lasted several weeks and toppled the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein.

The National Security Strategy

President Bush's actions in Iraq seemingly were based on a new defense strategy document titled "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." The administration released this document to the public in September 2002. Reflecting the long-held views of Wolfowitz, Libby, and other neo-conservative thinkers, the new strategy became known as the "Bush Doctrine." Three of the main points are:

1. Pre-emption. The Bush Doctrine downgrades containment and deterrence in favor of pre-emption. This is the idea that in a world of terrorist organizations, dangerous regimes, and weapons of mass destruction, the United States may need to attack first. "We cannot let our enemies strike first," the National Security Strategy document warns.

(Continued on next page)

According to the Bush Doctrine, rogue states threaten American security today. These nations are hostile to the United States and are developing chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. The new security strategy calls for the United States to stop rogue states before they are able to threaten or use these weapons against us.

The National Security Strategy notes that international law allows nations to take pre-emptive action against a nation that presents an imminent threat. It also states that the United States has long followed this policy. Critics agree, but say that the Bush administration is pursuing a policy of *preventive* war, not *pre-emptive* war. A pre-emptive war is one against an enemy preparing to strike right away. A preventive war is one against an enemy that will pose a danger in the future. The distinction is important, say the critics, because *preventive* war is illegal under international law. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. states: "Dec. 7, 1941, on which day the Japanese launched a preventive strike against the U.S. Navy, has gone down in history as a date that will live in infamy. During the Cold War, advocates of preventive war were dismissed as a crowd of loonies. . . . Robert Kennedy called the notion of a preventive attack on the Cuban missile bases 'Pearl Harbor in reverse,' and added, 'For 175 years we have not been that kind of country.' "

In addition, say critics, American preventive wars may encourage other nations to justify attacks on their enemies. There are many potential conflicts in the world, some even with the danger of nuclear war—the Mideast, India-Pakistan, and North Korea-South Korea. One nation, seeing another as a threat, may decide to wage a preventive war. Since we employ pre-emption, critics argue that other nations could invoke the same principle and American diplomats could do little to argue against the action.

Anticipating the critics, the National Security Strategy recognizes that pre-emptive action in the past required "the existence of an imminent threat—most often a visible mobilization of armies, navies, and air forces preparing to attack." It says, however, that terrorists and rogue states will not use conventional armies and navies, but rather terrorism and possibly "weapons of mass destruction—weapons that can be easily concealed, delivered covertly, and used without warning." It argues, therefore, that "the concept of imminent threat" must be adapted "to the capabilities and objectives of today's adversaries." It further states that other nations should not "use pre-emption as a pretext for aggression." It stresses that the "reasons for our actions will be clear, the force measured, and the cause just."

2. Act Alone, If Necessary. The Bush Doctrine identifies methods to achieve its aims such as establishing new military bases in the world, developing defense technology, and expanding intelligence gathering. Diplomacy also has a role to play, especially in the "battle for the future of the Muslim world."

The Bush Doctrine favors the United States acting in cooperation with allies and international institutions like the U.N. to deal with threats to world peace. But the security strategy states that the United States "will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary."

Critics argue that the Bush administration reflexively resorts to unilateralism, acting alone in the world. They cite the administration's withdrawal from three international treaties in its first year in office: the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, and the treaty setting up the International Criminal Court. Writing in the *World Policy Journal*, political science professor David C. Hendrickson states: "Even when the administration makes an approach to international institutions, as it did in its September 2002 demands on the U.N. Security Council [over Iraq], it does so with the explicit reservation that it intends to pursue in any event its chosen course, thus impugning the authority of the council even in the appeal to it." By going it alone in the world, critics say that American power loses its legitimacy and America is perceived as a bully.

Supporters of the Bush doctrine respond that the administration believes deeply in multilateral action whenever possible. They note that many people oppose the treaties that the administration withdrew from. The ABM Treaty, they argue, was outmoded. They believe that the International Criminal Court was harmful to the interests of the United States, and the Kyoto Protocol was purely symbolic. As President Bush states in his introduction to the National Security Strategy: "In all cases, international obligations are to be taken seriously. They are not to be undertaken symbolically to rally support for an ideal without furthering its attainment." As for Iraq, they point out that this was not a unilateral action: The coalition of the willing had many member nations.

3. Extend Freedom. The third major element of the Bush Doctrine is for the United States to "extend the benefits of freedom across the globe" in order to build "a balance of power that favors freedom." The security strategy states that the United States should do this by championing "nonnegotiable demands of human dignity." These include such things as the rule of law, freedom of worship, and respect for women. In addition, the strategy calls for the United States to promote world economic growth through capitalist free markets and free trade.

This is the most idealistic part of the National Security Strategy. It is opposed by critics who consider the policy unrealistic. They point out that it took democracy centuries to take root in Western societies. Societies such as Iraq, which have no democratic tradition, cannot be expected to form democratic institutions quickly. They think the costs of nation building will prove staggering. Other critics think it's wrong for us to impose our way of life, especially our capitalistic system, on other people.

Implications of the Bush Doctrine

With the victory in Iraq, reporters asked whether the United States would next pursue military action against Syria, Iran, and North Korea. The Bush administration quickly denied it had any such intentions. South Korea's president called for the United States to exempt North Korea from its policy of pre-emption, because a war with North Korea would likely result in the destruction of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. The administration refused this request, saying it would leave "all options open." But it stressed that it hoped a diplomatic solution could be reached with North Korea, which is building nuclear weapons.

For Discussion and Writing

1. How does the Bush Doctrine differ from the containment policy of the Cold War?
2. The National Security Strategy states that "deterrence based only upon the threat of retaliation is less likely to work against leaders of rogue states . . . ." Do you agree? Explain.
3. What do you think President Bush should do if Iran and North Korea proceed with developing nuclear weapons? Why?
4. Do you think that the Bush Doctrine will help or hinder the United States in its war on terrorism? Explain.

For Further Reading

The White House. "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." September 2002 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>.

Hendrickson, David C., "Toward Universal Empire: The Dangerous Quest for Absolute Security," *World Policy Journal*, Volume XIX, No 3, Fall 2002, <http://worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj02-3/hendrickson.html>.

"The War Behind Closed Doors," PBS Frontline. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/>

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Arrogant Empire." *Newsweek*. 24 March 2003. <http://www.msnbc.com/news/885222.asp>

See Constitutional Rights Foundation's War in Iraq: Web Links: Bush Doctrine <http://www.crf-usa.org/Iraqwar_html/iraqwar_links.html#bush>

ACTIVITY

Should the Bush Doctrine be a part of U.S. foreign policy?

The class will research the article and other sources in order to debate this question.

1. Form debating groups of three. The first debater will argue the pro position. The second debater will argue the con position. The third member of each group will act as a debate judge.
2. Every member of the class should research the issue. A good place to get information is Constitutional Rights Foundation's web site: http://www.crf-usa.org. Click on "War in Iraq," scroll down to "Web Links," and click on "Bush Doctrine." Advocates should find information to develop their arguments and judges should find information to ask questions about.
3. In each of the groups, the debaters will present their arguments in turn. The debate judge will listen to the arguments, take notes, and ask questions. Then, the debaters will have a chance to challenge each other.
4. After the debating groups have finished, the judges will assemble in a discussion group with the other students observing. The judges will then discuss and argue their own views on the debate question. To conclude, the judges may want to take a vote on the question.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION

PostScript

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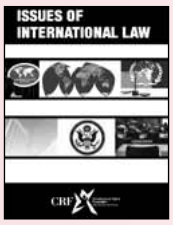

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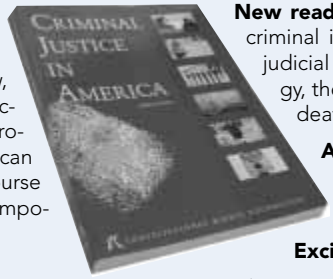

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