Bill of Rights in Action

Constitutional Rights Foundation

FALL 2014 Volume 30 No 1

A FIRE WAITING TO BE LIT: THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR I

ON JUNE 28, 1914, AN ANGRY YOUNG MAN OPENED FIRE ON A CAR GOING THROUGH THE STREETS OF SARAJEVO, THE CAPITAL OF BOSNIA. HIS TARGETS WERE TWO PASSENGERS IN THE OPEN CAR: FRANZ FERDINAND, HEIR TO THE THRONE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, AND HIS WIFE, SOPHIE. THE ATTACKER SUCCEEDED IN KILLING THEM. THE MURDERS SPARKED A CONFLICT THAT EXPLODED INTO A WAR ENVELOPING MUCH OF THE WORLD, CAUSING MORE THAN 16 MILLION DEATHS, AND LEAVING 20 MILLION PEOPLE WOUNDED OR MISSING. WORLD WAR I LASTED FOUR YEARS AND BROUGHT DESTRUCTION ON A SCALE THAT NO ONE HAD IMAGINED. WHY AND HOW DID THE WORLD GO TO WAR IN 1914?

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The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, as depicted in a drawing on the front page of a 1914 Italian newspaper.

For about 100 years, from 1815 to 1914, the great powers of Europe had managed to avert a full-scale Europe-wide war. The British Empire dominated the world. With its dominions and colonies, the empire held sway over about 450 million people and almost a quarter of the Earth's land area. In 1850, Britain led the world in industrial manufacturing. Britain was producing about two-thirds of the world's coal and more than half of its iron and cloth.

The brief Franco-Prussian War, which ended in 1871, led to a shift in Europe's balance of power. Prussia, along with other German states, quickly defeated France. The German states formally united as the nation of Germany, and Germany began to catch up to Britain in economic power. In 1870, Britain had 32 percent of the world's manufacturing capacity, but by 1910 Germany had 15.9 percent and Britain had only 14.7 percent. (The U.S. had also boomed, with 35.3 percent.) And Germany, now industrialized, began to develop colonial ambitions, which caused conflicts with Britain, France, and other European countries.

In an 1897 debate in the German Reichstag, its parliament, the foreign secretary stated, "In one word: We wish to throw no one into the shade, but we demand our own place in the sun." The head of the German Empire, Kaiser Wilhelm II, committed

WAR & POLICY

This edition of *Bill of Rights in Action* looks at issues and government policies related to war. Since 2014 marks the 100th anniversary of the beginning of World War I, our first article examines the causes of this war. An enhanced version of this article with additional activities, maps, graphics, and other features is available online. The second article looks at the challenges President James Madison faced during the United States' first declared war, the War of 1812. The last article explores the war in Afghanistan and what our nation's policy should be moving forward.

World History: A Fire Waiting to Be Lit: The Origins of World War I

U.S. History: The War of 1812: America's First Declared War

Current Issue: The War in Afghanistan: What Should America's Policy Be?

Two guest writers contributed articles to this edition. Lucy Eisenberg, Esq., wrote about World War I and Patrick Ferguson wrote on the war in Afganistan. Our longtime contributor Carlton Martz wrote the article on the War of 1812.

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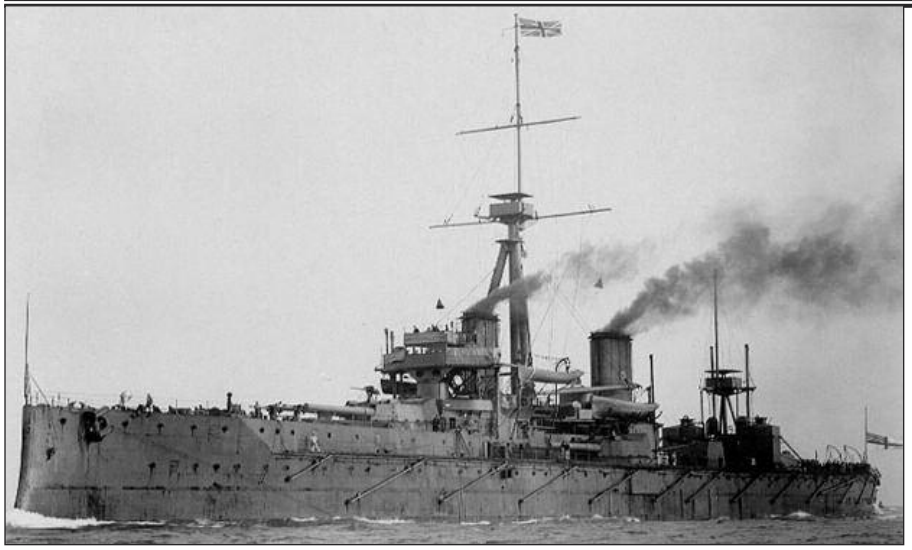

The first of its kind, the British navy's powerful *Dreadnought* became the standard for battleships of the era.

himself to making Germany into a global power through aggressive diplomacy and the acquisition of overseas colonies.

Actions in Morocco

One instance of the kaiser's aggressive diplomacy was in North Africa. In 1905, he disembarked from a German warship in the Moroccan port of Tangier and spoke in favor of Moroccan independence. Germany had no real interest in Morocco, but France did. The kaiser's goal was to support the sultan of Morocco and to impress others with Germany's power and prestige.

Germany called for an international conference to consider whether France's actions in Morocco had violated an international treaty. A conference took place the next year in the Spanish town of Algeciras to discuss issues of international law in the African colonies. But the outcome was not particularly positive for Germany, because Britain voted with France, as did Italy, and only Austria backed the kaiser.

The kaiser made a second try at demonstrating Germany's power in Morocco. In July 1911, a German gunboat, the *Panther*, arrived at Agadir, a large city on the Moroccan coast. The Germans stated that they had come to protect Morocco from French troops, which had entered the city of Fez to put down rebels. But Germany's true goal was to get access to territory in the Congo. Negotiations between France and Germany resulted in Germany's obtaining a small parcel of territory in the French Equatorial African colony of Middle Congo — a marshy area where sleeping sickness was widespread.

The kaiser's "gunboat diplomacy" damaged Germany's relations with Britain. Fearing Germany might meddle with its colonies, Britain drew closer to France, leading the two countries to make a naval agreement. Britain's Royal Navy promised to protect the northern coast of France from German attack, and France promised that her fleet in the western Mediterranean would protect British interests there.

Control of the Seas

Rivalry among the great powers grew during the early years of the 20th century. France was determined to restore its prestige and power and to regain the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which it had lost in the Franco-Prussian War. The kaiser in Germany, jealous of Great Britain's empire, implemented *Weltpolitik*, "world policy." The aim of *Weltpolitik* was to transform Germany into a global power through aggressive diplomacy, the acquisition of overseas colonies, and the development of a large navy. The kaiser believed that Germany's greatness depended on her becoming a naval power. "We have fought for a place in the sun," the kaiser said, and won it. "Our future is on the water." And Britain, which long had enjoyed naval supremacy, became alarmed at Germany's intentions.

Those intentions were clearly stated in the naval laws, which the German Reichstag passed beginning in 1898. The first Naval Law set a large number of ships to be constructed by 1904. A second Naval Law, passed in 1900, doubled the size of the fleet and made clear that the German navy would become a serious rival to the British Royal Navy. Britain depended on its navy to shield it from invasion. The British believed that the new plans for expanding the German navy were designed for a possible conflict with the British fleet.

From 1902 until war broke out in 1914, the British and Germans engaged in a naval arms race. Britain designed a powerful new battleship, the *Dreadnought*, which it launched in 1906. The Germans immediately copied the *Dreadnought*, and the British Admiralty decided to maintain as many ships as Germany plus an additional six. The British also redistributed their ships so the biggest and most powerful ships were situated to fight the Germans. The effects of this race put a huge financial burden on both countries. But the naval race continued as the two powers struggled to dominate the seas.

Agreements in Case of War

The struggle for imperial power was not confined to North Africa. The Russians and Japanese, competing for territory in Korea and Manchuria, went to war in 1904. The Russians also had imperialist goals in Persia and on the borderlands with India, which created tension with Britain. India was part of the British Empire, and the British were also heavily invested in Persia, which they saw as an important source of oil. To address the rivalries for foreign investment and territory, the European powers began to join together in agreements, or alliances, which would guarantee them support from other nations in case of war.

Under the guidance of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, Germany and Austria-Hungary formed a military alliance in 1879. Three years

later, Italy joined in what became the Triple Alliance. The terms of the alliance were, in brief, that if any member became involved in war with another great power, its allies would come to its aid by force of arms. The Triple Alliance lasted until the First World War.

In response to the Triple Alliance, the French decided to form its own alliance with Russia. Signed in 1894, the Franco-Russian Alliance provided that if one of the countries of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) attacked France or Russia, its ally would attack the aggressor.

Britain meanwhile was increasingly concerned about Germany's push to acquire new colonies and secure foreign trade. Britain decided that it should forge greater ties with European powers. Britain and France had previously competed over who would control the Nile River as well as Egypt and Morocco. But in 1904, the governments settled their dispute. The French recognized the British occupation of Egypt, and the British recognized the French penetration of Morocco. Britain and France did not have a specific alliance and did not state clearly what would happen if they were attacked, but it was a close understanding that came to be known as the *Entente Cordiale*. Three years later, Britain and Russia put aside their differences over Persia and India. In an Anglo-Russian convention, the British recognized a Russian sphere of influence in the north of Persia and the Russians a British sphere in the south and the east. Thus, by 1907, the older Triple Alliance faced a new Triple Entente, composed of France, Russia, and Britain. The major European powers had divided into two opposing groups.

The Balkans in 1907

The Balkan Crises

At the same time as the great powers' conflict over Morocco, a series of crises erupted in the Balkans. Slavic-speaking peoples known as South Slavs — Bosnians, Bulgarians, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Slovenes — lived in the Balkan region located south of Austria-Hungary and north of Greece. Serbia and Montenegro had gained their independence in 1878 under the Treaty of Berlin, an international agreement between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire. Millions of other South Slavs lived nearby in parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (such as Croatia) and in the European part of the Ottoman Empire (such as Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Macdedonia). As the Ottoman Empire began to break up, a sense of nationalism was growing among these people. By 1900, many radical South Slavs decided that Austria-Hungary should be broken up and that they — the South Slavs — should either unite in one independent state ▶

From the *New York Times* of October 7, 1908

AUSTRIA TAKES TWO PROVINCES
Bosnia and Herzegovina Are Annexed and a Liberal Constitution Granted.

SERVIAN ARMY MOBILIZED
Leaders of All Parties Angered by Austria and War Talk Is Popular.

CONFERENCE ON BULGARIA
Britain, Framers, and Russia Acting Together — Bulgarian Minister Explains the Declaration of Independence.

LONDON, Oct. 6. — The second and culminating step in the Austro- Bulgarian programme for the aggrandizement of themselves at the expense of the status established by the Treaty of Berlin was consummated to-night when Emperor Francis Joseph formally proclaimed the practical annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the dual monarchy, with a pledge of a Constitution guaranteeing civic rights and a representative assembly.

The present situation is as follows: Turkey calls upon the powers to preserve to her what they guaranteed by that treaty: Austria and Bulgaria strongly declare their determination to keep what they have taken. Servia is protesting belligerently against being hemmed in more strongly between two unpopular neighbors and against having the Servians in Bosnia absorbed into the Austro-Hungarian nationality.

The other powers concerned in the Berlin Treaty are discussing the holding of an international conference. Turkey's unexpectedly restrained policy minimized the possibilities of war, which now is considered out of the question.

A conference of the powers is expected to be held within two or three months if it can be arranged, but no one imagines that it will undo this week's work. Austria declines even to discuss the matter of its annexation of the provinces, and the most that is expected is some arrangement that will save Turkey's pride. Before the powers agree to enter upon a conference, they probably will be obliged to define its scope, which will be a hard task. British statesmen suggest that compensation be made to Turkey, and that guarantees be given against further disturbance of the status quo. Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, will address his constituents tomorrow evening, when it is expected he will explain the attitude of the British Government.

The English papers unite in praising Turkey's moderation and in denouncing Austria. The Standard, in a typical utterance, says: "We are sorry for the aged Emperor. We regret that so late in his long and honorable career he has chosen to sully his name with a deed which will go down in history alongside of the partition of Poland."

Several of the London newspapers question whether or not Emperor Francis Joseph is acting against his will.

(*Yugoslavia*, meaning "South Slavia") or form a number of independent states.

The first crisis began in 1908. Russia was trying, as it had throughout history, to get control of the Turkish Straits (the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmara, and the Dardanelles), which connect the Black and Aegean seas. Control of the straits would give the Russian navy access to the Aegean and the Mediterranean. According to an existing international treaty, however, the straits would be closed to all warships in time of war, which meant the Russian fleet would be bottled up in the Black Sea.

Russia entered talks with Austria-Hungary. Under the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, Austria occupied and administered the Ottoman Empire's provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria wanted to annex the two provinces, which legally still belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Austria had invested heavily in these provinces and did not want them returned to the Ottoman Turks or to become independent. It felt it could placate the Ottomans by giving up all claim to the Novi Pazar, a Turkish region that separated Serbia from Montenegro.

Russia thought Austria-Hungary had agreed to call an international conference. At the conference, Austria would support opening the Aegean to Russian warships. It would also back Russia in allowing Serbia to expand its borders (into areas controlled by the Ottomans) and in granting independence to Bulgaria, which was a self-ruling province in the Ottoman Empire. In return, Russia would support Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Austria never called for an international conference. Instead, in October 1908, Bulgaria declared its independence. The next day, Austria announced its annexation of Bosnia and renounced any claim to Novi Pazar.

The Serbs erupted in a frenzy. The Serbian press lashed out at Austria, demonstrators filled the streets of Belgrade (the capital of Serbia), and Serbia mobilized its army. War became a real danger.

Austria's annexation of Bosnia also angered other European powers and the Ottoman Empire. The annexation violated the Treaty of Berlin. Countries called for an international conference to revise the treaty.

Austria ignored the calls, and Germany backed Austria. Austria did pay Turkey more than 2 million British pounds in compensation. Ultimately, the Treaty of Berlin was amended without a conference as each of the powers agreed to the annexation.

Among the last to agree were Serbia and Russia. The Serbian government looked to Russia for support. Russians, eastern Slavs, saw themselves as natural allies of Serbia. Too weak to back Serbia militarily and pressured by Germany, the Russian government reluctantly agreed to the annexation. The Russian government felt humiliated by Germany, betrayed by Austria, and exposed as being willing to make a deal at Serbia's expense.

The crisis brought Germany and Austria closer, and military leaders from these two countries began to meet. The Germans committed themselves to Austria, and the Austrians began a more aggressive policy against the Slav threat.

Serbs responded by organizing radical nationalist societies. Narodna Odbrana ("National Defense") formed right after the annexation. It spread propaganda favoring South Slav independence and enlisted volunteers into paramilitary units. Young Bosnia, a group of like-minded student revolutionaries, sprang up in Bosnia itself. Most dangerous was a secret group called Unification or Death, commonly known as the Black Hand. Linked to the head of Serbian Military Intelligence, the Black Hand generated propaganda and advocated terrorism against Austria-Hungary, which it regarded as a deadly enemy.

War did break out in the Balkans in 1912 and again in 1913. In both wars, the Balkan states fought to divide up the parts of the Ottoman Empire located on the European continent. Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece joined forces with support from Russia, and the first war ended with the Treaty of London in May 1913. But the countries that had fought together during the war still contested territory, and two months later, Bulgaria attacked its former allies, Serbia and Greece. Turkey joined the war as well. In August 1913 the second Balkan War ended with the Treaty of Bucharest.

As a result of the Balkan wars, the Ottoman Empire lost almost all its land in Europe. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro expanded their borders. The non-Slavic Balkan nation of Albania gained its independence. And Serbia and Russia (which had sided with Serbia) lost a key ally in Bulgaria (which became an ally of Austria).

Tension over the Balkans remained high. All the contestants still desired more land. The Ottoman Empire wanted its land back, and Austria-Hungary continued to control large populations of South Slavs.

In the words of one historian, the next Balkan crisis proved to be a fatal one. It was fatal, because the other crises before it had left "feelings of exasperation in Austria, desperation in Serbia, and humiliation in Russia." And soon after, in June 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire made a fatally bad decision to visit Bosnia with his wife, Sophie.

The World Goes to War

Franz Ferdinand was assassinated on June 28, 1914 in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by an 18-year-old Bosnian named Gavrilo Princip. Part of a team of assassins in Sarajevo that day, Princip belonged to the Young Bosnia group, and the Black Hand terrorist group had trained the team. Rounded up by Austrian authorities, the assassins eventually named three leaders of the Black Hand as the planners of the attack: Chief of Serbian Military Intelligence Dragutin Dimitrijevic, his close associate Serbian Army Major Vojislav Tankosic, and Milan Ciganovic, a Bosnian Serb.

The Austrian government was already determined to crush the South Slav movement. The assassination of the heir to the empire set a war against Serbia in motion.

Because of the two alliances, the war would not be limited to Austria and Serbia. Fearing that Russia would support the Serbs, Austria looked to Germany for support. The German chancellor called a meeting in Potsdam on July 5, and with the backing of those attending, he agreed to give Austria full military support. Knowing of the alliance between France and Russia, Germany had a war plan that called for military action on two fronts: against Russia in the east and France in the west. Germany did not know whether Britain would join its allies if war broke out. But to achieve a quick invasion on the western front — against France — Germany planned to invade France through Belgium.

An invasion through Belgium, however, would make it likely that Britain would go to war. The countries of Europe had long promised to respect Belgium's independence and neutrality. Britain had signed a treaty committing it to protect Belgium if it were invaded.

War did not break out immediately. The great powers made military plans and issued ultimatums. On July 23, 1914, Austria sent a note to Serbia accusing the Serbs of "inciting its people to hatred of the Monarchy" and making 10 demands, with a 48-hour ultimatum. When Russia learned of the note, it announced that it would mobilize its army if Austria invaded Serbia. And when Serbia did not agree to all of Austria's demands, the great powers went down a slippery slope to war. On July 28, Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia ordered partial mobilization of its troops on July 29. Germany warned Russia to demobilize, and when it refused, began its mobilization the same day. On August 1, France ordered mobilization, and two hours later Germany declared war on Russia. The final step, which brought Britain into the war, came on August 3 when Germany invaded Belgium and declared war on France. Britain issued a 24-hour ultimatum demanding that Germany withdraw its forces from Belgium. Germany refused, and on August 4, 1914, Germany and Britain were at war.

* * * * *

David Lloyd George, who was a member of the British cabinet in 1914, and prime minister from 1916 to 1922, wrote in his memoirs that in 1914 no one had wanted a European war, no one expected it, and that the "nations had slithered over the brink." Certainly no one expected that the war would last four years; most soldiers left home expecting to be back by Christmas. And probably no one expected that the alliance system, which was designed to protect the great powers from harm, would in fact propel them into war.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. What were the great powers before World War I? Which do you think was the most powerful? The weakest? Why?
2. In 1897, the German foreign secretary stated, "In one word: We wish to throw no one into the shade, but we demand our own place in the sun." What did he mean? How might his statement be considered fair? How might someone today criticize the statement?
3. What were the alliances among the great powers before World War I? Why did the alliances exist? Why didn't they prevent the war?
4. Why do you think losing Bulgaria as an ally was a loss for Serbia and Russia?
5. Why were the Balkans such a problem area in Europe? Do you see other areas of the world today with problems similar to those that existed in the Balkans? Explain.
6. What was the annexation crisis of 1908? How important do you think it was in leading to World War I? Explain.

ACTIVITY

The Bosnian Crisis of 1908

Some historians believe the last step toward the First World War was the crisis surrounding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. If that crisis could have been resolved better, perhaps the war could have been avoided. In this activity, students will create plans for successfully resolving the crisis.

1. Form small groups.
2. Each group should do the following:
   a. Reread the article (including the news article from the *New York Times* of October 7, 1908) and discuss the crisis.
   b. List the countries (and provinces) directly involved in the crisis. For each, discuss and answer the following questions:
      (1) What did it want and why?
      (2) Which countries/ provinces opposed it getting what it wanted and why? (Also include in this answer countries not directly involved in the crisis.)
      (3) How might each of these differences be resolved? (A graphic organizer can be downloaded to help organize these answers.)
   c. Create a plan to resolve the crisis. Remember: Not all countries are equals. More accommodations must be made to great powers, and the greater the power, the greater the accommodation. But try to give everyone something. Humiliation and frustration of even a lesser power can lead to disaster (see World War I for evidence of this point).
   d. Prepare to present your plan to the class.
3. Call on groups to present their plans. Hold a brief discussion of each, pointing out the pros and cons of the plan. When all groups have presented, conclude by holding a class vote on which plan is the best.

THE WAR OF 1812:
AMERICA'S FIRST DECLARED WAR

THE WAR OF 1812 TESTED WHETHER THE NEW FEDERAL REPUBLIC COULD SURVIVE ITS FIRST DECLARED WAR. AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON HAD TO LEAD THE WAR EFFORT AND DEAL WITH ANTI-WAR STATES THAT CHALLENGED HIS PRESIDENTIAL POWER TO WAGE WAR.

Library of Congress

Atop a white horse, General Andrew Jackson leads U.S. troops at the Battle of New Orleans.

During the wars of Napoleon in the early 1800s, France and Britain blockaded each other's ports. Britain also issued Orders in Council, which banned all foreign ships from entering any European ports under French control.

On the high seas, both nations searched and seized merchant ships belonging to neutral countries like the U.S. In addition, the British "impressed" American sailors, forcing them into service on Royal Navy warships.

Adopting the slogan, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," many Americans called for war against Britain. President Thomas Jefferson, however, resisted war and pressed Congress to enact an embargo (ban) on all American foreign trade. Jefferson hoped the embargo would affect the economies of Britain and France and force both nations to lift their restrictions on American commerce and end impressment. But the embargo hurt the American economy more than those of Britain and France.

The call for war also came from another group of Americans. In the treaty that ended the Revolutionary War, Britain ceded to the U.S. land from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River (except Spanish Florida). Seeking cheap land, settlers moved into the area. Numerous Indian tribes, however, still occupied this land and resisted settlement, leading to much bloodshed on both sides.

The settlers believed the British in Canada plotted with the Indians to massacre them. This caused many settlers to join the cry for war against Britain. They hoped to end Indian hostility by invading Canada and driving out the British.

Declaring War

James Madison was elected president in 1808. Madison and Jefferson were the chief leaders of the Republican Party (not today's Republican Party, which was established in 1854).

The Republicans, who had won control of Congress in 1800, saw themselves as representing the "common man." They favored a small federal army, no government debt or federal taxes, and states' rights. They also championed cheap land for settlers in the West. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, Republican Southerners and Westerners called the "War Hawks" became the loudest voices for war against Britain in Congress.

Although the Federalist Party had lost its majority in Congress, it still dominated New England. The Federalists represented merchants, ship owners, bankers, and others involved in foreign trade. They opposed the Republican embargo since it crippled foreign trade. They objected to war, fearing this would permanently damage commerce with Britain.

When the U.S. grievances against Britain continued, Madison recommended that Congress declare war. Congress erupted in debate. The Republican War Hawks claimed American honor, free trade, and protection from Indian massacres justified war. A few Republicans opposed the war. The New England Federalists argued the U.S. could never win a war against the greatest power in the world.

On June 16, 1812, Britain withdrew the Orders in Council, which had prohibited neutrals like the U.S. from entering many European ports. But it took two months for this news to reach Washington. Meanwhile, Congress, for the first time, voted to declare war. More than 80 percent of the Republicans in Congress voted for war. All the Federalists and a few Republicans voted against it.

When Madison finally received notice of Britain's withdrawal of the Orders in Council, he went ahead with the war anyway. His chief reason was that Britain still refused to stop impressing American sailors.

Waging War

Congress had done little to prepare for war. The supporters of the

war pinned their hopes on the fact that most of the British army and navy were already fighting Napoleon in Europe.

Having only a small federal army, Congress debated whether to call state militias into the service of the U.S. under the command of the president. The Federalists argued that only the states could do this.

Congress was unsure how to pay for the war. Most federal revenue came from customs duties on imports. But the embargo had greatly reduced this source of funds.

Madison's treasury secretary recommended taxing certain domestic goods and borrowing from state banks. In 1811, the Republican Congress had refused to re-charter the Bank of the United States, which would have provided cheaper loans. Congress acted slowly to borrow and enact federal taxes.

Barely a month after Congress declared war, Madison ordered the invasion of British Upper Canada around Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Western militias wanted to end British influence among the Indians. Madison thought that he could use the conquest of Canada to bargain for an end to British impressment.

British soldiers and their Indian allies beat back the American militias and federal army troops in three different military campaigns. The American invasion of Canada failed mainly because of incompetent generals and poorly trained troops.

The war at sea was a different story. The little U.S. Navy won a series of ship-to-ship battles in 1812, most famously by the *Constitution*, nicknamed "Old Ironsides."

After a political fight within the Republican Party, Madison was renominated and re-elected president in December 1812. The American war effort in the following year was more successful after yet another invasion of Canada.

Meanwhile, Oliver Perry had built a squadron of gunboats to take control of Lake Erie. In September, he won a major victory against British gunboats.

In October 1813, better trained and led American troops, now with their own Indian allies, forced the British eastward and took control of most of Upper Canada. British forces, however, stopped the Americans from invading Lower Canada, which extended along the St. Lawrence River.

As all this was happening in the north, Andrew Jackson was leading a Tennessee militia to fight a Creek Indian uprising in the South. Jackson crushed the Creeks and forced them to sign a treaty that ceded nearly 40,000 square miles of their land to the U.S.

Obstructing the War Effort

By 1814, criticism was mounting against "Mr. Madison's War." Canada still had not been entirely conquered. The British blockaded most American ports. The blockade together with the latest embargo on trade with Britain and France caused many shortages and a sharp drop in customs revenue. The impressment of American sailors continued.

British troops overran the militias and marched into the U.S. capital. They burned the Capitol Building, the White House, and other public buildings.

In Congress, the Federalists complained about the embargo. They voted against increasing federal army recruiting. They argued state militias could not be ordered to fight in Canada. Even the Republicans, who held a majority in both houses of Congress, defied Madison. The Federalists and various Republican factions sometimes joined to block his war legislation and appointments.

Madison's natural tendency was to defer to Congress since he believed the Constitution made it the leading element of the federal government.

As chief executive, he was more of a scholar than an inspiring war leader. His cabinet was unruly. The generals and civilian officials he appointed often were incompetent and divided.

The most serious obstruction to the war effort came from the states of Federalist New England. Elected officials, newspaper editors, and church leaders discouraged enlistment in the federal army, opposed war loans, and argued the militias could not legally fight outside their states. State courts ruled that governors could defy Congress and Madison when they called state militias into the service of the United States. Smuggling of food and other goods, even to British troops and sailors, was widespread.

Heading for Defeat?

Napoleon's defeat in the spring of 1814 changed things dramatically. Britain could now divert its regiments and ships to North America. This forced the U.S. into a defensive war.

The British raided Maryland towns on Chesapeake Bay. They invaded northern New York. They seized the coastline of Maine (then a part of Massachusetts). They extended their blockade. Fighting continued in Canada, but the war there was at a stalemate.

Most shocking to Americans was the attack on Washington, D.C. The city's defenses had been neglected by Madison's secretary of war and were poorly protected by outmatched local militias. On August 24, 1814, British troops overran the militias and marched into the U.S. capital. They burned the Capitol Building (where Congress met), the White House, and other public buildings, and then left the next day.

The sack of Washington was only one of Madison's troubles. Revenue from customs duties dried up with the British blockade. Newly enacted federal taxes were inadequate. Smuggling became increasingly common. The embargo had failed, and Congress finally repealed it.

When the U.S. failed to make its debt payments, banks and investors stopped issuing loans. Madison's

Wikimedia Commons

After signing the Treaty of Ghent, British Admiral James Gambier shakes hands with U.S. negotiator John Quincy Adams.

secretary of the treasury tried to revive the Bank of the United States as a source for more borrowing. Many Republicans, who always distrusted a central bank, joined with Federalists to vote the bank idea down in Congress. The U.S. was bankrupt.

James Monroe, Madison's new secretary of war, worked on a plan to invade Lower Canada and capture its capital of Montreal. But New England state militias refused to fight in Canada, and recruitment for the federal army lagged.

Monroe proposed drafting men into the federal army from each state. This enraged the Federalists in Congress. After weeks of debating a number of alternatives, Congress finally passed a bill that called for 40,000 *volunteers* from the states to serve in the federal army for one year. But the volunteers could not serve outside their state without the consent of the governor.

Some Federalists in New England wanted to secede from the Union and negotiate a separate peace with Britain. Delegates from most New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut, in December 1814 to discuss this and a variety of complaints they had against the federal government.

After meeting a few weeks in secret, the Hartford Convention never voted on secession. The convention did, however, pass a resolution, declaring that any military draft enacted by Congress would be unconstitutional. The resolution recommended states "to adopt all such measures as may be necessary to protect the citizens" from acts not authorized by the Constitution. The convention also proposed a series of constitutional amendments, such as requiring a two-thirds vote by Congress to declare war.

Madison took the threat of secession seriously and placed additional guards at a Massachusetts armory where federal weapons were stored. Throughout the war, however, he rejected calls from fellow Republicans for laws to arrest those openly opposing the war or supporting secession. Madison did not permit any trials for treason, censorship of newspapers, jailing of citizens for dissent, or trials of civilians by military courts.

Ending the War

From the war's beginning, the U.S. and Britain held talks off and on about ending it. But serious talks did not occur until the summer of 1814. Madison sent an outstanding team of negotiators that included John Quincy Adams, an experienced Federalist diplomat, and Henry Clay, the War Hawk Republican speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Americans and a less capable group of British diplomats met at the city of Ghent (now in Belgium). Among the list of U.S. demands were the abolition of sailor impressment and British withdrawal from at least part of Canada. The British refused to consider ending impressment and proposed carving out a neutral Indian state from U.S. territory, serving as a buffer between Canada and the U.S.

Both sides quickly rejected each other's proposals. But Madison sent instructions for his team to drop the impressment demand. He believed (correctly it turned out) that the need for impressment would likely stop naturally with the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe.

The American concession on impressment proved to be the breakthrough. The British quickly gave up the idea of an Indian neutral state, thus abandoning their wartime allies.

In September, the negotiators received news that the British had failed to capture Baltimore's Fort McHenry, the event that inspired Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner." In addition, the British offensive into northern New York had been beaten back. The Duke of Wellington, Britain's top army commander, declared that the conquest of the U.S. would be too long and costly, something the British public would not support after years of war against Napoleon.

The War of 1812 ended with the Treaty of Ghent, signed on Christmas Eve 1814. The key provision simply called for each side to return all captured territory, thus restoring the situation that existed before the war. Not mentioned were the two chief American reasons for going to war: neutral country trading rights in wartime and the impressment of American sailors.

Regarding the Indians, the treaty required Britain and the U.S. to make peace with the tribes that had been their former enemies. The two countries were also to restore to the tribes "all the rights, privileges, and territories which they enjoyed in the year 1811."

On January 8, 1815, two weeks *after* the peace treaty was signed at Ghent, Andrew Jackson won a decisive victory at New Orleans, the largest, bloodiest, and last battle of the war. News of Jackson's victory reached Washington on February 4, several days before news of the Treaty

A Federalist Speaks Against the Draft


Wikimedia Commons

Daniel Webster from New Hampshire was a Federalist member of the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1814, just before the Hartford Convention met, he delivered a speech before the House against the Madison administration's proposal to draft men from the states into the federal army. Below is an excerpt from his speech.

It will be the solemn duty of the state governments to protect their own authority over their own militia, and to interpose between their citizens and arbitrary power. These are among the objects for which the state governments exist; and their highest obligations bind them to the preservation of their own rights and the liberties of their people. . . .

A military force cannot be raised in this manner but by the means of military force. If [the] administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription [a draft], it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army. The government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail; and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our government.

1. What did Webster mean when he said that it was the duty of states "to interpose between their citizens and arbitrary power"?
2. How does Webster justify this state duty?

of Ghent arrived. This caused many Americans to incorrectly believe the Battle of New Orleans had won the war for the U.S.

Federalism and the War of 1812

The War of 1812 ended in a military and political stalemate. Although the U.S. did not win the war, it did win the peace. Madison's talented team of diplomats got the British to yield on most of their demands.

Americans generally viewed the outcome of the war positively, much to the benefit of Madison and the Republican Party. On the other hand, many accused the Federalists of being unpatriotic obstructionists, even traitors.

Republican James Monroe demolished the Federalists in the presidential election of 1816. Before long, the Federalist Party ceased to exist. But in a final twist, the Republicans adopted many Federalist policies such as re-chartering the national bank to finance national needs such as roads and ports.

The biggest losers, however, were the Indian tribes that had played such an important role in the war, especially for the British. Despite the promises made to the tribes in the Treaty of Ghent, their abandonment by Britain permanently broke their power. This led in the following decades to their relocation beyond the Mississippi River and sped up the American westward movement.

Madison is often called the Father of the Constitution because he was at the center of creating the federal republic. Federalism means that the government in Washington and the states share power. Madison believed the states would play a crucial role in checking the power of Congress and the president. During the War of 1812, however, Madison discovered that the federal system limited the ability of Congress and the president to wage war. Anti-war states did everything they could to obstruct the war effort.

The federal army remained relatively small during the war. A big majority of men who served came from local militias and volunteer units. After the war, the federal army was enlarged. But it still depended heavily on state militias and volunteers, even in the Civil War.

Madison declared that the War of 1812 proved that a federal republic could survive the stresses of war without destroying the Constitution. Many historians, however, say that only war weariness in Britain and a strong U.S. negotiating team prevented the young federal republic from falling into disunion and defeat.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. The Constitution states that Congress has the power "To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions." Do you think Congress did or did not have the authority to put state militias under the command of the president in the War of 1812? Why? (See Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 15 and Art. II, Sec. 2, Clause 1 in the Constitution.)
2. Why did many Indian tribes join the British in the War of 1812?
3. Why was the federal system in the Constitution a problem for President Madison during the War of 1812?

ACTIVITY

What Should President Madison Have Recommended to Congress in 1812?

1. Students in groups will discuss these alternate courses of action for Madison:
   a. Congress should declare war against Britain and invade Canada.
   b. Congress should not declare war but build up the federal army and navy to defend U.S. commerce.
   c. Congress should continue the embargo against Britain and France.
   d. Congress should take some other action.
2. Each group will choose a recommendation for Madison and then defend it before the class with arguments and evidence from the article.

THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN:
WHAT SHOULD AMERICA'S POLICY BE?

Wikimedia Commons

An Apache helicopter circles American troops in Afghanistan in 2005.

UNDER TWO DIFFERENT COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AT WAR IN AFGHANISTAN FOR THE PAST 13 YEARS, MAKING IT THE LONGEST WAR IN U.S. HISTORY. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA ANNOUNCED THIS YEAR THAT U.S. FORCES WILL WITHDRAW FROM THAT COUNTRY BY THE END OF 2016. IN THE WAKE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT, AMERICANS ARE DEBATING THE PROPER COURSE OF ACTION GOING FORWARD AND TRYING TO DRAW LESSONS FROM THE WAR.

A country roughly the size of Texas, Afghanistan is located in Central Asia. This landlocked nation shares a border with Iran (to the west), Pakistan (to the southeast), China (to the far northeast), and the former Soviet states of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan (to the north). Largely mountainous and dry, Afghanistan can experience freezing winters and intensely hot summers, depending on the location. Its land holds a great variety of natural resources: fuels like coal and natural gas, metals like copper and lithium, and rare earth-elements used in the production of many modern-day technologies.

The people of Afghanistan, known as Afghans, comprise a number of ethnic groups. The largest group is the Pashtuns, who also live in northwestern Pakistan. The second largest is the Tajiks, who also live in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Other groups include Hazara, Uzbeks, Aimaks, Turkmen, and Baloch, each with their own ancestry and culture. None of these groups is exclusive to Afghanistan. In fact, significant populations of all of them live in neighboring countries as well.

In many cases, ethnic groups speak their own languages. The two official languages of Afghanistan are Pashto, the language of the Pashtuns, and Dari, a dialect of Persian. Most communication between ethnic groups is done in Dari, as many Afghans speak two or more languages.

Nearly all Afghans are Muslim. About 90 percent of them follow Sunni Islam, as do most other Muslims in the world. The remaining minority adheres to Shia Islam (which is also the state religion of Iran). Afghanistan's laws and government, the Islamic Republic, are informed by the teachings of the Quran, the holy book of Islam.

Economically, Afghanistan is one of the world's poorest and least developed countries. For each Afghan, Afghanistan's annual economic production is just over $1,000, about 2 percent of U.S. output. Agriculture remains the principal contributor to the national economy, with food items like pomegranates and apricots enjoying special prominence while the country works slowly to restore its once-great production of grapes.

For the most part, Afghanistan's considerable natural resources remain untapped, since Afghanistan has lacked the roads, railways, and other infrastructure necessary to drive significant mineral exports. Still, Afghanistan's mining industry may hold promise for the future: The nation's total deposits of extractable metals are estimated to be worth around $1 trillion. It remains to be seen whether such vast wealth will benefit Afghanistan as a nation or drive armed conflict among warring Afghan tribes.

The official Afghan economy is often overshadowed by the black market, especially for drugs like opium, of which Afghanistan is the world's greatest producer. Opium and hashish provide significant sources of income for Afghan farmers, who grow them for the illegal drug trade. The national government bans the production and sale of drugs, but anti-government forces participate enthusiastically. In other words, the government prevents many poor Afghan farmers from growing and selling certain crops (sometimes even burning fields of opium poppies), while terrorists and insurgent fighters pay good money for the same crops.

Conquest and Resistance

Over the centuries, the people of Afghanistan have encountered many armies of foreign powers. The nation is situated along a historic trade route linking Iran to China and the Indian subcontinent. As a result, Afghanistan is of vital strategic importance, not only to East Asian and Middle Eastern nations, but also to various imperial powers attempting to establish influence in the region. In antiquity,

Afghanistan fell to the Macedonian Empire under Alexander the Great, the Mauryan Empire of India, and the Parthian Empire of ancient Persia.

Islam was introduced to Afghanistan in the seventh century by Muslim Arabs, who conquered much of Afghanistan, but were ultimately expelled by native Afghans in 683. Later, in the ninth century, an empire of Persian Muslims called the Saffarids brought Afghanistan under Islamic rule. During this time, however, the country remained religiously pluralistic, with large populations of Hindus and Buddhists as well as some Jews and Zoroastrians. Most of these were converted to Islam in the 10th century by the Ghaznavids, new rulers of Turkic and Persian ancestry. In the years to come, Islam would prove to be a unifying force in an otherwise diverse and fragmented nation, but Afghanistan would remain a hotly contested imperial battleground.

European Entanglements

It was not until the 18th century that Afghanistan drove out all foreign occupiers and established its own government under Mir Wais Hotak, a Pashtun who led an Afghan revolt against the reigning Persians. When Persians sent an army to take back their imperial possession, Hotak's forces persevered and routed the invaders. Under Hotak's brief reign, Afghanistan governed its own affairs. To this day, Afghans celebrate Hotak as a national hero, for his stand against foreign occupiers and his rule over an independent Afghanistan.

Independence, however, did not mean peace. Afghanistan established an empire of its own, fighting for territory against Persian and Indian forces. In the 19th century, Afghanistan found itself caught in the middle of the "Great Game," a contest for imperial supremacy between the British and Russian empires. Britain sought to expand its rule from India, using Afghanistan as a bulwark in Central Asia against the Russians. The British fought three wars to gain control of Afghanistan, winning the second and securing an agreement with the Russians that Afghanistan fell within Britain's sphere of influence. Following the third war, Afghanistan gained its independence in 1919.

United States Air Force

Cold War Involvement

A military coup brought communism to Afghanistan in 1978. For the previous five years, the nation had been ruled by Mohammad Daud Khan, who had seized power and implemented an ambitious program for modernizing Afghanistan's economy and military. But his policies had failed to deliver any material results for Afghans.

The Soviet Union, which bordered Afghanistan, supported the new communist regime, while the U.S. and its allies sought to undermine Afghanistan's government as part of the Cold War. Amid renewed chaos within Afghanistan, the Soviets dispatched troops in 1979 to keep the communists in power. Simultaneously, the U.S., Pakistan, and others armed and supported anti-Soviet forces called the *mujahideen*, Islamic fighters. Ten years later, these fighters had succeeded in expelling Soviet military forces, but the Soviet Union continued to support the communist government financially.

The Rise of the Taliban

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Afghanistan established a post-Communist Islamic state. But a civil war erupted between militias representing various ethnic groups, and foreign powers supported different militias. The Taliban was one of the *mujahideen* groups vying for control of Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal and collapse. Pashtun by ethnicity, the Taliban was financed early on by Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the main intelligence agency of the Pakistan government. Although the Sunni Taliban was opposed by Shi'ite Iran (who funded rival groups), it was supported by fellow Sunnis in the Saudi Arabian government. In a violent and chaotic nation, the highly religious and well-organized Taliban fighters appeared to represent order and stability. Unfortunately, their ultimate victory established a violent and repressive regime based on a radical reading of the Islamic legal system called *Sharia*.

Sharia prescribes correct governance in politics, economics, and even personal conduct. Following their own interpretation of Sharia, the Taliban introduced laws restricting dress, grooming, and speech, prohibited the education and employment of women in most circumstances, and persecuted ethnic and religious minorities. After a rise to power that included numerous massacres and ethnic cleansing campaigns, the Taliban's reign in Afghanistan was marred by widespread sex trafficking of girls and women, public beatings and stoning, and the assassination of international aid workers.

The U.S. War on Terror

On September 11, 2001, terrorists flew commercial passenger jets into ▶

the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., killing nearly 3,000 people. These attacks were orchestrated by al-Qaeda, a terrorist group led by a Saudi national named Osama bin Laden. Basing his operations in Afghanistan, bin Laden planned al-Qaeda attacks and trained al-Qaeda terrorists. The Taliban, which bin Laden had praised as an exemplary Islamic state, refused to extradite him, both before and after the attacks of September 11.

The United States was shocked by the scale and lethality of the attacks, which were unprecedented in American history. People in the U.S. rallied behind President George W. Bush, who issued the following policy in the aftermath of 9/11: The United States will "make no distinction between terrorists and the nations that harbor them," and will "hold both to account." Given this principle, the Taliban's refusal to extradite bin Laden implicated it in an act of war against the United States.

In response, the U.S. and its allies invaded Afghanistan in October 2001, with the overwhelming support of the American people. The invasion had three goals. Its first and primary goal was to destroy the al-Qaeda network and bring to justice the perpetrators of the 9/11 attack. The second goal was to depose the Taliban in order to deny terrorist groups safe haven in Afghanistan. And the final goal was to provide the security and humanitarian assistance necessary to enable Afghans to govern themselves.

Nearly 13 years later, the U.S. has accomplished many of its objectives: The Taliban has been deposed, al-Qaeda has been reduced to a shell of its former self, and Osama bin Laden is dead, killed in a 2011 special-operations raid in Pakistan. Moreover, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) alone has spent more than $13 billion providing food, water, and medicine to Afghans as well as building critical infrastructure and supporting Afghan education. Although this is a considerable expense, it falls far short of at least one historical precedent: the (inflation-adjusted) $160 billion spent by the U.S. after World War II to rebuild Europe under the Marshall Plan.

Women in particular have made significant gains over the past 13 years. The Taliban had outlawed even the home-schooling of females. Nearly 40 percent of today's Afghan students are girls and women. The Taliban had barred women from working in most jobs and from participating in politics. Today, Afghan women work in a number of different occupations, including police, military, and political office.

Women in particular have made significant gains over the past 13 years. The Taliban had outlawed even the home-schooling of females.

In addition to proclaiming the political equality of men and women, the current Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan recognizes a citizen's right to free speech and expression and provides for religious minorities' free exercise of religion. The Constitution provides for the peaceful settling of political differences between regional and ethnic groups. A federal government presides over a number of smaller provinces headed by local governors. Similar to the U.S., Afghanistan now has a bicameral legislative branch, a judicial branch led by a supreme court, and an executive branch headed by the president. Each of these has its own set of powers and prerogatives.

Despite this progress, the situation in Afghanistan remains complicated, troubled, and brittle. The nation's current government, led by President Hamid Karzai, was ranked in a 2013 report by Transparency International as one of the world's most corrupt (along with North Korea and Somalia). Afghanistan's lack of a cohesive civic culture threatens to make the promise of its Constitution a dead letter. Meanwhile, Taliban insurgents are fighting the government to reclaim power for themselves. The Taliban has an unofficial safe haven in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas, a loosely governed Pashtun area that borders Afghanistan. The insurgents may even have foreign assistance from their original patrons in Pakistan's ISI, although American and Pakistani government officials deny such assistance. Nevertheless, President Barack Obama has committed the U.S. to ending combat operations this year, with a full withdrawal of U.S. forces taking place in 2016.

The Debate Over Withdrawal

Opponents of the planned U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan argue that progress in Afghanistan is fragile and that the country may unravel without a continued U.S. military presence. Afghanistan and its military remain fractured along ethnic lines, and the central government lacks full control over large swaths of the country. Worse, the Afghan state and military employ a number of covert Taliban loyalists and foreign actors. The phenomenon of "green-on-blue" violence incidents, in which Afghan soldiers attack allied Western forces, underlines the gravity of the problem.

The result of such an unraveling would be profound for national-security interests. The Taliban could regain power and once again provide a safe base of operations for extremist Islamic terrorists. If that were to occur, the U.S. occupation would have failed to accomplish its long-term objectives. These events would not be without precedent. The U.S. withdrawal from Iraq was followed by an increase in sectarian violence, a civil war, and the rise of ISIS, a ruthless terrorist group seeking to establish its brutal rule over Iraq and neighboring Syria.

As in Iraq, the past 13 years of Afghanistan's humanitarian progress may hang in the balance. Like Iraq,

Afghanistan's deeply divided society lacks the continuous tradition of the rule of law and individual rights, which underpins American democracy. It remains to be seen whether its current, republican form of government can be sustained without Western military occupation. If the Taliban or some other group should seize control of the Afghan state, the U.S. should expect the end of Afghan democracy, the return of bans on women in school and the workplace, the renewed persecution of ethnic and religious minorities, and violent reprisals directed against anyone who cooperated with the U.S.

The proponents of U.S. withdrawal make several arguments in favor of ending the war in Afghanistan. First, American military capacity has limits. A continued, robust commitment to Afghanistan compromises the United States' ability to act elsewhere. With so many of its soldiers and military assets dedicated indefinitely to one country, the U.S. loses some of its ability to project power or make credible threats in pursuing other interests in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, or Asia.

Furthermore, advocates of withdrawal argue that the United States has discharged any moral duties it assumed in invading Afghanistan. More than 2,000 U.S. soldiers have lost their lives in Afghanistan, with a great many more injured or disabled. In addition, the U.S. has spent more than $500 billion in Afghanistan, fighting Taliban forces, providing security, and administering humanitarian aid. After more than a decade of U.S. sacrifice, this argument suggests, it is time for Afghanistan to take responsibility for its own security and government.

Finally, to say that the U.S. should stay in order to accomplish certain goals is to assume that those goals can be achieved. Advocates of withdrawal say that there is little rational basis for such a belief. Afghanistan's sectarian tensions are ancient, may be intractable, and may undermine any prospect of long-term stability for a democratic government.

What's more, the U.S. military has carried a heavy burden of the long wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Compared to past wars, a tiny fraction of the American people served in these wars, resulting in many soldiers returning to war in multiple tours of duty. At home, the recent scandal in the Department of Veterans Affairs exposed the great difficulty in providing adequate medical care to those who served in these wars and suffered profound physical and psychological harm. In this context, withdrawal may be an opportunity for the U.S. military to regroup and recover.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. What do you think is Afghanistan's greatest strength as a nation? Greatest weakness? Explain.
2. Was the U.S. right to equate al-Qaeda ("terrorists") with the Taliban ("those who harbor them")? Explain your answer and examine the consequences for the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.
3. What obligations, if any, does the U.S. have to Afghanistan, whose government was overthrown? If the U.S. has obligations, have they been met? Explain your answers.

ACTIVITY

What Should Be the U.S. Role in Afghanistan?

In this activity, students will role play advisers to a U.S. senator on the Foreign Relations Committee. The advisers will advise the senator on a policy option for Afghanistan.

Divide the class into small groups. Each group should:

1. Discuss the policy options, below.
2. Decide on a policy it favors. If the group cannot agree, students can present dissenting positions.
3. Be prepared to present its option to the class and to argue its position, citing evidence from the article to support its position.

Regroup the class and call on groups to argue for their chosen policy. Conclude by holding a class vote on which policy to follow.

Policy Options

1. Leave Afghanistan altogether, as soon as possible.
2. President Obama's proposal: Gradually withdraw troops by 2016, when just a small force remains to defend the American embassy.
3. Remain indefinitely in Afghanistan, staying the course until the Taliban has been defeated and a stable government rules the country.
4. Create your own option.

Resources

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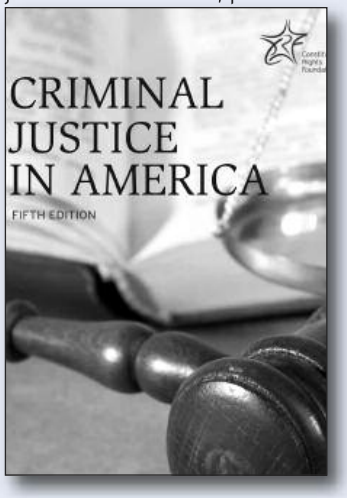

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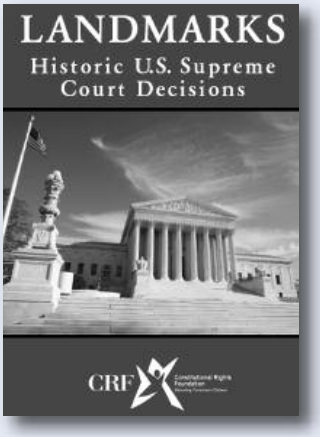
Schenck v. U.S. (1919)
Palko v. Connecticut (1937)
Brown v. Board of Education (1954)
Mapp v. Ohio (1961)
Gideon v. Wainwright (1963)
Miranda v. Arizona (1966)
U.S. v. Nixon (1974)
Regents of UC v. Bakke (1978)
Texas v. Johnson (1989)
Bush v. Gore (2000).



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Resources for Teachers Using *Bill of Rights in Action*

NEW

Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) has always supported social studies teachers. With a new grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, CRF will be able to bring that support directly to you, our *Bill of Rights in Action (BRIA)* subscribers, to help you take your students deeper into history, geography, U.S. government, civics, and all that *BRIA* contains.

The grant supports the best practices of teaching aligned with the Common Core State Standards. But wait! It's not all about English-language arts and math! This grant is specific to social studies, which means that social studies teachers will not simply be in a supporting role for the work of our ELA colleagues. (Even if you are not in a state mandating Common Core, the new resources will still help you jazz up *BRIA* lessons.)

With each issue of *BRIA* during the next 18 months, we will select one lesson from *BRIA* and pull out all the stops to provide you with supplementary online resources. On our web page, you'll find:

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What's more, we will be providing online professional learning for all the selected *BRIA* lessons to support you as you incorporate them in your teaching.

In this issue, the selected lesson is **A Fire Waiting to Be Lit: The Origins of World War I**. Upcoming lessons will include the Magna Carta, the First Amendment, and more!

Have an idea? What topic or lesson that already exists in *BRIA* would you like to see enhanced with new supports and resources for Common Core-based instruction? Send your suggestions to Damon Huss at **damon@crf-usa.org**.

Welcome to new opportunities in *Bill of Rights in Action* and thank you Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation!

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Sources

World War I

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War in Afghanistan

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Standards

World War I

National High School World History Standard 39: Understands the causes . . . of World War I.

California History-Social Science Standard 10.5: Students analyze the causes . . . of the First World War.

Common Core Standard SL.11–12.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

Common Core Standard RH.11–12.3: Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

Common Core Standard RH.11–12.6: Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Common Core Standard RH.11–12.8: Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

Common Core Standard SL.11–12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions . . . with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

War of 1812

National High School U.S. History Standard 9: Understands the United States territorial expansion between 1801 and 1861, and how it affected relations with external powers and Native Americans. (7) Understands political interests and views regarding the War of 1812 (e.g., U.S. responses to shipping harassments prior to the war; interests of Native American and white settlers of the Northwest Territory during the war; congressional positions for and against the war resolution of June 3, 1812)

California History-Social Science Standard 8.2: Students analyze the political principles underlying the U.S. Constitution and compare the enumerated and implied powers of the federal government. (7) Describe the principles of federalism, dual sovereignty, separation of powers, checks and balances, the nature and purpose of majority rule, and the ways in which the American idea of constitutionalism preserves individual rights.

California History-Social Science Standard 8.4: Students analyze the aspirations and ideals of the people of the new nation. (1) Describe the country's physical landscape, political divisions, and territorial expansion during the terms of the first four presidents.

California History-Social Science Standard 8.5: Students analyze U.S. foreign policy in the early Republic. (1) Understand the political and economic causes and consequences of the War of 1812 and know the major battles, leaders, and events that led to a final peace.

Common Core Standard SL.11–12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions . . . with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

War in Afghanistan

National High School Civics Standard 22: Understands how the world is organized politically into nation-states, how nation-states interact with one another, and issues surrounding U.S. foreign policy. (1) Understands the significance of principal foreign policies and events in the United States' relations with the world . . . . (3) Understands the major foreign policy positions that have characterized the United States' relations with the world . . . . (9) Understands the current role of the United States in peacemaking and peacekeeping.

California History-Social Science Standard 10.10: Students analyze instances of nation-building in the contemporary world in at least two of the following regions or countries: the Middle East . . . . (1) Understand the challenges in the regions, including their geopolitical, cultural, military, and economic significance and the international relationships in which they are involved. (2) Describe the recent history of the regions, including political divisions and systems, key leaders, religious issues, natural features, resources, and population patterns. (3) Discuss the important trends in the regions today and whether they appear to serve the cause of individual freedom and democracy.

California History-Social Science Standard 11.9: Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

Common Core Standard SL.11–12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions . . . with diverse partners on grades 11–12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.