1900 C.E. TO PRESENT



POPULAR CONTROVERSIES *in* WORLD HISTORY

STEVEN L. DANVER, EDITOR

Popular Controversies in World History

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Volume One **Prehistory and Early Civilizations**

Volume Two **The Ancient World to the Early Middle Ages**

Volume Three **The High Middle Ages to the Modern World**

Volume Four **The Twentieth Century to the Present**

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Popular Controversies in World History

INVESTIGATING HISTORY'S INTRIGUING QUESTIONS

Volume Four
The Twentieth Century to the Present

Steven L. Danver, Editor

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Introduction

In the countless history courses I've taught over the years, the one question that invariably appears at some point (usually from a nonmajor who has to take the course for some general education requirement) is: "Why should we study history?" This is not an idle question, but an esoteric one that goes to the heart of what history is and what it can tell us. Usually, the student asking that question has the notion that history consists of a static set of "facts," unchanging (or, at least, it should not change) and ultimately meaningless for modern life. Students often buy into Henry Ford's famous take on the subject, "history is more or less bunk," rather than George Santayana's maxim, "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." In the end, neither of these perspectives is especially true or helpful. This is because both writing history and understanding history are complex activities. They are our attempts to make sense of the past, usually drawing from incomplete or biased accounts of what actually happened. Even when the accounts are complete, the interpretations of history can vary radically depending on the perspective of the person writing. Perhaps the best explanation of the problem comes from the novelist Aldous Huxley, who, in his novel *The Devils of Loudun*, said "The charm of history and its enigmatic lesson consist in the fact that, from age to age, nothing changes and yet everything is completely different."

This work proceeds on the assumption that history is not a subject, but rather an activity. The activity of history engages the capability of students to use reason. On a purely anecdotal basis, I've asked many of my colleagues which skills they believed were the most important for their students to possess a high proficiency in when they begin college. Almost invariably, the two top answers were writing and critical thinking. In *Taxonomy of Learning*, developed in 1956 by Benjamin Bloom as an effort to show the evolution of mental skills in pyramidal form, critical thinking skills are integral to the third and fourth levels: application and analysis. The students who ask why it is important to study history are proceeding on the assumption that history is only an activity that engages the first two levels: knowledge and comprehension. If that were all there is to history, then Ford may have been right. However, application and

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analysis are also key to understanding, without which one cannot reach the final two levels of Bloom's *Taxonomy*—synthesis and evaluation—which are essential to the creation of history. So, to summarize, critical thinking skills are key to moving from the first two levels—knowledge and comprehension—to the highest levels—synthesis and evaluation. In order to understand and, eventually, to write history, critical thinking is the transitional, indispensable skill.

Judging once again from my unscientific survey of my colleagues, it is one of the skills with which many students who are entering college struggle. This realization was the genesis of this project. *Popular Controversies in World History* takes as its subjects the topics over which there has been considerable historical debate. Some of these topics will not be familiar to students, but many of them will. Did the Great Flood, described in both the biblical book of Genesis and the Epic of Gilgamesh, actually happen? Is the lost continent of Atlantis just a myth, or was really such a place? Is the Shroud of Turin the actual burial cloth of Jesus Christ? Was William Shakespeare the sole author of all of the plays attributed to him? Who was the "man in the iron mask"? Did Franklin D. Roosevelt allow the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to happen as a pretext for the U.S. entrance into World War II? Did Lee Harvey Oswald act alone in assassinating John F. Kennedy in Dallas? These questions and more reveal that history is not a static set of facts, but rather a living, expanding set of ideas and interpretations. To understand those interpretations and formulate those ideas, critical thinking skills are paramount in importance.

The purpose of this work is to present the varying perspectives on events like these. These topics, as well as the ability to think critically about them, are vitally important parts of the social science curriculum at both the secondary and postsecondary levels. Each chapter takes a particular topic that has generated controversy either within the historical profession or in society as a whole and offers pro and con points of view, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions. The work covers all eras of human history, both before and after the advent of the written record. Each chapter in *Popular Controversies in World History* is formatted in the style of a historical debate, with a "pro" and a "con" section that presents contrasting perspectives. In most cases, both of these perspectives are or have been widely held within academia and supported by scholarship. The readers are then given the opportunity to exercise their critical thinking skills to evaluate the evidence presented by each side, to assess the validity of the arguments made by the authors, and eventually to determine which conclusions they accept or reject.

Of course, I could never have presented these arguments, ranging across so many eras and subdisciplines of history, by myself. This work represents the efforts of 62 other scholars with whom I have had the privilege to work. In addition, much of the early work on this project, especially determining the format to be used to accomplish our goals and formulation of the various questions

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to be debated, was done in conjunction with Geoff Golson, to whom I give due credit. I'd also like to thank the editorial and production staff at ABC-CLIO, including David Tipton, editorial manager; Barbara Patterson, who administered the considerable paperwork involved; Kim Kennedy-White, who helped me refine the manuscript submissions; and Donald Schmidt and his team, who oversaw the production work to turn the manuscript into a book. Without the efforts of such a fantastic team, this work would not have been possible.

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I

The Progressive movement in the United States and in other countries in the first decade of the 20th century represented a middle-class, conservative reaction against the rise of both big business and big labor that had created a status revolution. The middle class (journalists, attorneys, small town businessmen) supported reformers like Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in hopes of restoring what they believed were proper class relations.

PRO Kevin Wilson
CON Arthur K. Steinberg

PRO

The era between the turn of the 20th century and World War I was notable for a loosely connected progressive "movement," which attempted, variously, to expand the role of government, regulate the economy, and institute political and social reforms. From 1909 on, the time became known as the Progressive Era and has been generally understood as an era of enlightened, forward-looking, "modern" policies. This dominant interpretation of the era has meant that the word "progressive" has become synonymous with "liberal," antonymous with "conservative," and has come to denote "favoring or implementing social reform or new, liberal ideas." In contrast, "conservatism" has been defined as "cautious about change and innovation" and is often a synonym for reactionary. With the available vocabulary, arguing that the Progressive movement was in fact conservative appears to be not only unfashionable but actually a contradiction in terms.

In *The Republican Roosevelt*, historian John Morton Blum (1974) argues that Theodore Roosevelt was a conservative progressive, and in the process he offers a useful reconsideration of conservatism. Roosevelt believed the democratic process worked so long as moral individuals were at the helm, working through established institutions. Roosevelt valued established American institutions, which were forged in history, and he sought to preserve them. "But preservation," Blum explains, "depended on change." Change was thus not anathema to conservatism; in fact, change was necessary to preserve traditional treasured institutions and traditional values. Such gradual change included "change

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obtained by adapting, managing, administering; change 'on suspicion.'" While the means to achieve necessary change took novel forms under Roosevelt, the goals of change were stability, order, and morality—quintessentially conservative ends. As Roosevelt once told a fellow progressive, "The only true conservative is the man who resolutely sets his face toward the future" (Blum 1974: 5).

By Roosevelt's own definition of conservative, it becomes clear that conservatism is not inherently opposed to change or reform, but a more precise definition is necessary. This section will present three aspects of conservatism and will demonstrate how the Progressive movement fit each of these definitions. First, the Progressive movement was conservative because it idealized the past and opposed radical social change. Progressive reformers inherited the American agrarian myth and worried about the consequences of the "closing" of the frontier. Like the populists, the Progressive movement attempted to restore the ideal social and economic conditions that they envisioned to have existed on a past agrarian frontier, but they rejected the populists' more radical propositions. Second, the Progressive movement was conservative because it sought to preserve existing social relations. The middle class formed the leadership of the Progressive movement and supported reformers like Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in hopes of restoring what they believed were proper class relations. Middle-class status anxiety was fueled by the rise of new elites, including corporate officials, industrial magnates, and political bosses. The middle class furthermore segregated themselves from those below them in order to preserve existing power relationships. Third, the Progressive movement was conservative because it aimed to uphold traditional values. Most progressives were raised in middle-class, evangelical Protestant households, and though many imbibed the secularism of their age, many retained a moralist tendency. Progressivism took the form of a moral crusade against perceived immorality, vice, and disreputable behavior, and progressive reformers sought to impose their middle-class morality on the upper and lower classes. Also, a politician like Theodore Roosevelt saw the promulgation of traditional republican moral virtue as necessary to reform the democratic system. Finally, the section will conclude with the argument that although the means of the Progressive movement were sometimes novel, the ends of the movement—as stated above—were essentially conservative. Novel means were necessary because society itself had changed. As historian Richard Hofstadter established in *The Age of Reform*, "Progressivism, at its heart, was an effort to realize familiar and traditional ideals under novel circumstances" (1955: 215).

As Hofstadter suggested, progressivism should be understood as a conservative reaction against the new social and economic conditions of late 19th-century America. The Industrial Revolution in the late 19th century transformed the United States from an agrarian into an urban nation. In 1860, farms composed 40 percent of the nation's wealth and in 1870 agricultural laborers still represented a majority of the nation's laborers. By 1900, farms accounted for

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Richard J. Hofstadter, Historian of the Progressive Movement

Richard J. Hofstadter (1916–1970) was born at Buffalo, New York. His father, Emil, was a farrier who operated a retail store in Buffalo—his family was Jewish from Poland; and his mother, Catherine, was from a German Lutheran family. Orphaned by the death of his father when he was 10, he joined the Young Communist League while an undergraduate at the State University of New York and completed his doctoral thesis at Columbia University. He subsequently joined the Communist Party of the USA but left after a year following disillusionment caused by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

Influenced by Charles Beard and Beard's views on industrial capitalism, Hofstadter later became prominent for his own views, especially through his book *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948), in which he first articulated his theory that Theodore Roosevelt was actually a conservative who was worried about "the people" becoming too powerful.

only 16 percent of the nation's wealth, and agriculturalists comprised only 38 percent of the nation's workforce. Farms continued to grow in number and in size as farmers moved westward, but the rapid growth of industry outpaced the agricultural sector such that by 1900 farm pay averaged $260 per year while nonfarm work averaged $622 annually. Between 1860 and 1910 the rural population doubled while the urban population increased by nearly sevenfold. Hofstadter aptly summarizes this trend: "The United States was born in the country and has moved to the city" (1955: 23).

The industrial growth of the so-called Gilded Age created a host of problems that were unprecedented in the American experience. Starting after the Civil War, the availability of industrial jobs drew millions of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. These immigrants represented a change in type and in scale from previous waves of immigration. Immigration peaked in 1907 at over 1 million entering just that year, and by 1910, foreign-born persons accounted for about one-seventh of the population of the United States. While the labor pool grew, class conflict became more pronounced. Strikes proliferated as wages decreased in relation to inflation, and labor organizing increased. Along with the violence of the Homestead and Pullman strikes, the economic depression of 1893–1897, and the growing disparity of wealth, social upheaval seemed possible. The size of corporations was also without parallel. Just between 1898 and 1904, 234 trusts were incorporated with a total capitalization of $6 billion. The new firms included giants like United States Steel Corporation, Standard Oil, Consolidated Tobacco, and Amalgamated Copper. While capital became consolidated in fewer hands, the newly wealthy displayed their wealth ever more ostentatiously. According to one study, in 1892, 9 percent of American families owned 71 percent of all wealth (Hofstadter 1955: 136, 169).

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Idealizing the Past

When Americans asked themselves why social and economic inequality and political corruption had arisen, they looked to the past. Historian David Wrobel argues in *The End of American Exceptionalism* that observers of American society, from the founders to the progressives, saw the existence of the frontier as the source of American exceptionalism. Wrobel explains, "the frontier of free or cheap land had always been the wellspring of American democracy" (1993: 51). The agrarian myth is the belief that uninhabited land and nearly limitless resources would allow most Americans to own land, and nearly universal land ownership was thought to make Americans socially equal and economically independent. Furthermore, as sovereign individuals, yeoman farmers were to be the backbone of a vigorous American democracy. In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville expressed his belief that "the soil of America is opposed to territorial aristocracy." In contrast to the European experience of landed aristocracy and landless peasants, a democratic division of land was believed to prevent the appearance of persistent inequality and class strife as in Europe. Thomas Jefferson expressed this belief in a letter to James Madison, when he wrote: "Our governments will remain virtuous . . . as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they [the people] get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another."

Jefferson's concern about urban corruption illuminates how the agrarian ideal was connected to democratic virtues. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, a French expatriate, believed American political traditions were deeply imbued with values shaped by agrarian life. Upon reaching the New World, Crevecoeur, in his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1792) supposed the European "leaves behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners . . . [and becomes] a new man acting upon his principles" because of the wide availability of "unrented, untaxed lands." The frontier was widely believed to be a "safety valve" for the poor and discontented, and agrarian life was itself an education in democratic principles. The frontier made Americans socially equal, economically independent, and transformed them into virtuous democrats.

Progressive anxieties arising from the end of cheap agricultural land and growing economic inequality were foreshadowed by similar concerns that arose in the form of the populist movement. Like the progressives, the populists sought to restore social conditions that predated industrialism and commercial agriculture, a time when the agrarian myth was reality. Hofstadter writes:

> The Populists looked backward with longing to the lost agrarian Eden, to the republican America of the early years of the nineteenth century in which there were few millionaires and, as they saw it, no beggars, when the laborer had excellent prospects and the farmer had abundance, when statesmen

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> responded to the mood of the people and there was no such thing as the money power. (1955: 62)

The populists believed democratic reform necessitated corresponding economic reform, but the populists' plan to devalue the currency was merely a tool to restore the American economy to a state of free competition that prevailed before the Industrial Revolution. The populist movement rose and declined during the 1890s, but the reform impulse quickly spread to a larger constituency, one represented by various interests and with different goals, but nonetheless united by general principles that can be called "progressive." The populists and progressives shared anxieties about the consolidation of capital in a few hands, corruption of politics, and the commercialization of social relations. Also like the populists, the progressives sought reform, not to achieve utopia, but to turn back the clock.

Conservatism is a relative term. In late 19th-century America, progressivism was conservative in that, unlike populism, it did not seek radical social change. Progressive reforms were often backward-looking, half-a-loaf measures. Hofstadter writes:

> Concerning the great corporations, the Progressives felt that they were a menace to society and that they were all too often manipulated by unscrupulous men; on the other hand, many Progressives were quite aware that the newer organization of industry and finance was a product of social evolution which had its beneficent side and that it was here to stay." (2002: 31)

Just as progressives objected to excessive centralization of wealth, they also took exception to centralization of political power in urban bosses, who were empowered by a constituency of new immigrants and whose corruption seemed to threaten the political culture of the United States. Progressives also saw unassimilated immigrants as a problem, but unlike populist nativism, progressives proposed less radical, more constructive treatment of immigrants. On the whole, middle-class progressives rejected radical socialism, but they also rejected the radical individualism that justified the creation of massive trusts and the neglect of public service. To remedy these problems, progressives tacked toward the middle, advocating morality in politics and what economist Richard T. Ely called "the golden mean" in economics. As Hofstadter argues:

> Progressivism was a mild and judicious movement, whose goal was not a sharp change in the social structure, but rather the formation of a responsible elite, which was to take charge of the popular impulse toward change and direct it into moderate and, as they would have said, "constructive" channels. (1955: 163–64)

Like the populists, progressives inherited the agrarian ideal and also tended to romanticize agrarian life. The progressive journalist Jacob Riis said: "The

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ideal, always in my mind, is that of a man with his feet upon the soil and his children growing up there. So, it seems to me, we should have responsible citizenship by the surest road" (Riis 1903: 24). The conspicuous centralization of wealth in trusts, the rise in labor unrest, and the growth of urban slums of Riis's time seemed to be symptoms of traditionally European problems. Many Americans attributed contemporary problems to the closing of the frontier, and some believed government would have to perform the function that had previously been served by the frontier. The progressive economist Richard T. Ely suggested in his 1903 book, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, that the government would have to assume a new role in the economy to replace the frontier as the nation's economic equalizer. In a 1905 work, *Constructive Democracy*, William E. Smythe argued that the west could still serve as a safety valve, but only if the government provided funds to irrigate marginal, semiarid plains. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner likewise proposed the government could become the new guarantor of American democracy and struggled with the problem of assimilating new immigrants without the transformative frontier experience (McGerr 2005: 104).

One way that middle-class progressives actively addressed the problems of rural poverty in order to preserve the agrarian myth was the Country Life movement. Kenyon Butterfield, sociologist and president of the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture, was one of the movement's leaders. Butterfield said, "There is neighborliness in the country; there is intense democracy; there is a high sense of individual responsibility; there is initiative; but this over-development of the individual results in anemic social life" (quoted from McGerr 2005: 105). Progressives idealized agrarian life but believed unbridled individualism had to be tempered and a sense of community had to be fostered to best preserve the agrarian way of life. For instance, Ann Bassett, who grew up on a ranch in Colorado in the late 19th century, called for the federal government to regulate wealthier ranchers who were determined to drive the smaller ranchers off the land. While calling for greater governmental power seemingly violated her individualist ethic, Bassett argued that regulation was necessary just to preserve competitive capitalism and perpetuate yeoman farmers' economic opportunities. She recalled, "It was a privilege to live in a new free land where real democracy existed in a wholesome atmosphere, where people were accepted on their individual merits, and background or great wealth had small importance." There had been, she believed, "equal opportunity for development on all sides in an uncluttered America, before collectivism got a stranglehold on the nation" (quoted from McGerr 2005: 105, 147–48). But in her own time, large, unregulated cattle ranching operations used the individualist ethic to justify their refusal to pay the grazing tax or allow the government to count their cattle. Pitted against such foes, Bassett and other farmers decided that controlling big business did not represent a radical break with the past, but was in fact the best way to preserve the

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agrarian way of life. While this logic legitimated antitrust legislation and government regulation, it did not succeed in returning America to the golden age of competition. Though government regulation of the economy was a novel means, securing the agrarian ideal was a conservative end.

Maintaining Social Order

Whereas the populists were often portrayed as radical anarchists seeking to overturn the social order, progressives were overwhelmingly middle class and respectable. Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose movement of 1912 was composed, according to William Allen White, "of little businessmen, professional men, well-to-do farmers, skilled artisans from the upper brackets of organized labor . . . the successful middle-class country-town citizens, the farmer whose barn was painted, the well-paid railroad engineer, and the country editor" (quoted in Hofstadter 1955: 132). Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., surveyed the Progressive Party leadership and found that they were largely urban, middle-class, native-born Protestants. Many were college-educated professionals, while others were businessmen; only one union leader, not a single farmer, and few white-collar managers were among the leadership. Chandler says:



Former president Theodore Roosevelt speaks to the Bull Moose convention in New Jersey in 1912. Dissatisfied with his successor, William Howard Taft, Roosevelt chose to run for president again, forming the Progressive (or "Bull Moose") Party when he did not receive the Republican nomination. Both Roosevelt and Taft lost to Woodrow Wilson in the election. (Library of Congress)

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> As lawyers, businessmen, and professional men, they worked for themselves and had done so for most of their lives. As individualists, unacquainted with institutional discipline or control, the Progressive leaders represented, in spite of their thoroughly urban backgrounds, the ideas of the older, more rural America. (Chandler 1958: 1465)

In another study, George Mowry found that the average California Progressive was "more often than not a Mason, and almost invariably a member of his town's chamber of commerce" (quoted in Hofstadter 1955: 145). Progressives were the petit bourgeois of their day, who, in the early 20th century, were experiencing a period of prosperity, but also—like the populist farmers—a relative decline in status.

The progressive leaders, Hofstadter argues, "were Progressives not because of economic deprivations but primarily because they were victims of an upheaval in status that took place in the closing decades of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century." Status and deference were diffuse until the mid-19th century. Local professionals, including lawyers, journalists, physicians, professors, merchants, and clergymen, commanded respect and wielded power in small towns until railroads created a national marketplace, corporations consolidated into massive trusts, and large cities became the new hubs of power and prestige. Hofstadter argues:

> The old-family, college-educated class that had deep ancestral roots in local communities and often owned family business, that had traditions of political leadership, belonged to the patriotic societies and the best clubs, staffed the governing boards of philanthropic and cultural institutions, and led the movements for civic betterment, were being overshadowed and edged aside in the making of basic political and economic decisions. (Hofstadter 1955: 135–37)

Captains of industry, political bosses, and their allies surpassed the old, local elite in prestige as well as wealth. Middle-class professionals valued their traditional status, so the *nouveau riche* offended their sensibilities. Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote in *Wealth against Commonwealth*:

> Our great money-makers have sprung in one generation into seats of power kings do not know. The forces and the wealth are new, and have been the opportunity of new men. Without restraints of culture, experience, the pride, or even the inherited caution of class or rank, these men, intoxicated, think . . . that they have created the business which has created them." (quoted from Hofstadter 2002: 35)

The old gentry viewed themselves as public servants; clergy, professors, and lawyers joined the Progressive movement as a reaction to the perceived immorality of the newly rich, the corruption of urban politics, the commercialization of society, the materialism and greed of the corporate world, and the vice of

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urban slums. Progressive reforms represented a middle-class reaction against the new, monied elite. As Walter Lippman, a progressive journalist, observed, "The middle class . . . is the dominant power expressing itself through the Progressives, and through the Wilson administration. The middle class has put the 'Money Power' on the defensive. Big business is losing its control of the government" (quoted from Hofstadter 1955: 141).

If the Progressive movement sought to rein in the corruption of the new elites, progressives also distanced themselves from those below them on the social ladder. Segregation existed not only in the South, but it is a term than can be used to describe progressive attempts to draw boundary lines between the middle class and African Americans, Native Americans, immigrants, and the working class. Just as one goal of the Progressive movement entailed preserving economic opportunity, another was maintaining social stability. As historian Michael McGerr argues, "True to their mission to create a safe society for themselves and their children, the progressives turned to segregation as a way to halt dangerous social conflict that could not otherwise be stopped" (2003: 183). While residential segregation, economic discrimination, and legal disfranchisement of African Americans in the North and South was justified as protecting African Americans from abuse and brutality, racial segregation also benefited the middle class by maintaining unequal access to opportunity, wealth, and prestige. The same logic of delineation was at work in progressive policies that restricted Native Americans to reservations and disallowed them from becoming citizens. Moreover, limited immigration restrictions, interest in eugenics, and the growth of residential segregation by class and ethnicity all evince a middle-class desire to separate themselves and preserve existing social and power relationships.

The progressive middle class attempted to reverse its relative decline in status by remaking the other classes in its own mold. Michael McGerr describes the perspective of the progressive middle class: "The rich had their mansions and lavish entertainments, their divorces, yachts, and all the other trappings of consumerism and self-indulgence. Workers had their slums, saloons, festivals, their supposedly freer sexuality and expressiveness" (2003: 54). Middle-class progressives believed both the upper and working classes were morally depraved. The progressives' deep-seated notions of proper morality and public service justified their movement to reshape society. This missionary spirit was what the progressive Henry Demarest Lloyd alluded to when he wrote "The middle class is not to be exterminated, but is to absorb the other classes" (quoted from McGerr 2005: 74).

Upholding Traditional Values

The importance of evangelical Protestant religion and Victorian morality to middle-class progressives demonstrates the essential conservatism of the Progressive movement. Even though many progressives upheld the relatively "liberal" social

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gospel, they remained within the bounds of the conservative Protestant tradition. Just because many progressives believed in the forward-looking social gospel does not mean that such progressives were not conservative, as the quote by Roosevelt suggests. Progressive moralists did not foresee a socialist utopia but rather sought a society that was in line with biblical principles. Even those progressives who were not devout Christians had absorbed evangelical Protestantism into their middle-class Victorian homes and their thought conformed to religious patterns. In fact, progressivism was deeply rooted in traditional moral values and often sprang from the American penchant for moral absolutism. As Richard Hofstadter argues, "It is hardly an accident that the generation that wanted to bring about direct popular rule, break up the political machines, and circumvent representative government was the same generation that imposed Prohibition on the country and proposed to make the world safe for democracy" (quoted from Crunden 1982: 40).

The traditional beliefs of evangelical Protestantism and more secular Victorian morality underlay the outlooks of various progressive reformers. For one, Frederic Howe was born into a middle-class family in a small Pennsylvania town to pious Methodist parents. Howe absorbed the morality of his pious Methodist parents, but was influenced by the growing secularization of late 19th-century American society. Still, the "morality of duty, of careful respectability" did not pass from his mind, as did the theological doctrines. Howe wrote:

> Early assumptions as to virtue and vice, goodness and evil remained in my mind long after I had tried to discard them. This is, I think, the most characteristic influence of my generation. It explains the nature of our reforms, the regulatory legislation in morals and economics, our belief in men rather than in institutions and our messages to other peoples. (quoted from Hofstadter 1955: 206)

In *Ministers of Reform*, historian Robert Crunden argues that the uniting belief of those who called themselves progressive was that they "shared moral values and agreed that America needed a spiritual reformation to fulfill God's plan for democracy in the New World" (1982: 40). Crunden illustrates how progressives, born between 1854 and 1874, learned the strict moral teachings of their parents, many of whom were republicans. Though raised in Christian, abolitionist households, their religion was the social gospel, which portrayed Jesus as more of a democrat than a messiah. Within this rigidly moral yet increasingly secular culture, in which the ministry was no longer an intellectually respectable profession, well-educated youth had no established career path. Progressives experimented with new professions, including social work, politics, and academia, because these professions would become respectable vehicles for their social consciences, as they attempted to reform corrupt individuals and institutions. Coming from similar traditions, Richard Ely, George Mead, John Dewey, and Woodrow

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Wilson were pioneers in producing socially useful and morally satisfying work in academia. As a woman, Jane Addams had more difficulty finding such work.

As a girl, Jane Addams internalized her father's strict, Protestant moral imperatives, sense of social justice, and vigorous work ethic. When her father married an overbearing, frivolous woman, Crunden argues Jane's reaction against her stepmother made her into a progressive. "The foundations of Hull-House were laid in one woman's moral revulsion against privileged uselessness." From her father, Addams absorbed the moral skepticism of excessive materialism and frivolity. In reaction, Addams searched for a respectable outlet for her moral energies within the confines of Victorian vocational constraints on women. The result was Hull House, which represented the reification of Addams's social conscience. Crunden argues, "She was the first progressive to institutionalize her own psychological needs and thus the founding of Hull-House in 1889 marks an appropriate beginning for progressivism as an important cultural phenomenon" (Crunden 1982: 17, 19, 25). Just as internalized morality was a stimulus to individual action, appeals to traditional values worked on the collective level as well.

A central institution of the progressive era, muckraking journalism, reflected traditional values by voicing moral outrage at the persistent perceived immorality. Muckraking exposed political corruption, vice, and the abysmal living conditions in slums. Hofstadter argues the reality represented by muckraking "was a series of unspeakable plots, personal iniquities, moral failures, which, in their totality, had come to govern American society only because the citizen had relaxed his moral vigilance." Muckraking was moral exhortation aimed to enlighten the public conscience, and such appeals came naturally to the progressive moral outlook. Hofstadter explains, "The Progressive mind . . . was preeminently a Protestant mind; and even though much of its strength was in the cities, it inherited the moral traditions of rural evangelical Protestantism" (1955: 202, 204). Muckraking journalism gave evidence to the belief that politicians, corporate titans, and the wealthy had neglected their duty of public service and lost their sense of civic virtue.

With muckraking journalism, progressives pointed fingers of moral indignation not only at others, but also at the middle class itself. Protestant progressives were deeply troubled that social conditions deviated from those of their ideal agrarian myth, and they felt a degree of personal responsibility for the state of affairs. The deeply held ethos of personal responsibility, augmented by knowledge of lost virtue and neglected duties, produced a sense of guilt. In *The Shame of the Cities*, Lincoln Steffens wrote: "The misgovernment of the American people is misgovernment by the American people. . . . The boss is not a political, he is an American institution, the product of a free people that have not the spirit to be free." Steffens explained, "My purpose was . . . to see if the shameful facts, spread out in all their shame, would not burn through our civic shamelessness and set fire to American pride" (quoted in Hofstadter

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1955: 208). Muckraking exposés like Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities* and Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* were intended as jeremiads, exposing wrongdoing to provide catharsis to the American character.

Progressives believed the surest method to reform the evils of society was to reshape individual human beings in accordance with their notion of proper morality. Attempts to reconstruct society in line with Victorian values included movements to ban liquor, eliminate prostitution, restrict gambling and pornography, and curb increasing divorce rates, all under the rubric of eradicating vice from public life. Carrie Nation was perhaps the most recognizable embodiment of the moral revulsion against vice. Her first husband had been an alcoholic, and her time serving as a jail evangelist with the Women's Christian Temperance Union taught her that vice was largely the result of intoxicating drinks. Motivated by her powerful faith and abhorrence of alcoholism, Nation sought to reform individuals by breaking up saloons and depriving society of sources of vice. Nation's activity inspired other prohibitionists to follow her lead and convinced authorities to enforce previously ignored prohibition laws in the state of Kansas. Middle-class religious fervor and assumptions about civic virtue shaped progressive reforms, but so too did the belief that persuasion alone was not enough. "Moral suasion!" Nation exclaimed. "If there's anything that's weak and worse than useless it's this moral suasion. I despise it" (quoted in McGerr 2005: 82–84). Some progressives, discontent with the results of exhortation and muckraking, resorted to compelling individuals to change their behavior, whether through force or through government action.

Along with settlement houses like Jane Addams's Hull House, evangelical Protestant churches were among the more important institutional promoters of progressive moral reform. Evangelical attempts to reach and reform the urban poor included Sunday schools, revivals, city missions, and settlements. The "institutional church" movement began in New York City in the 1890s and promoted a social vision of Christianity by providing education, recreation, and charity. By 1900, the growth of the movement gave rise to the Institutional Church League. The Salvation Army provided soup kitchens and secondhand stores, and the Young Men's Christian Association was another manifestation of the social gospel. But the evangelical nature of progressivism was perhaps most evident at the 1912 National Progressive Party Convention, where diverse progressive delegates attempted to forge a coherent platform. While this process was contentious, the overriding tone of the convention was that of a religious revival, laced with moral approbations and zealous hope for reform (McGerr 2003: 100–101).

Ends and Means of the Progressive Movement

The man who was nominated at the 1912 National Progressive Party Convention, Theodore Roosevelt, was in many ways representative of the conservative

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nature of progressivism and the Progressive movement's tendency to use novel means to achieve conservative ends. Born into a wealthy family, Roosevelt developed an abiding belief that elites have a duty to perform public service and that government leaders have a responsibility to act morally. He was familiar from an early age with Christian ethics and their application in philanthropy and social work. John Morton Blum argues, "Roosevelt established for himself a stern moral code by which he rejected the amorality of business and public as well as of private life" (1974: 8). He shared the progressive bourgeois morality and encouraged other elites to live up to his moral standard. He was particularly critical of the new industrial and financial elites, whom he believed had abandoned traditional ethics. In the 1890s Roosevelt proclaimed, "There is not in the world a more ignoble character than the mere money-getting American, insensible to every duty, regardless of every principle, bent only on amassing a fortune, and putting his fortune only to the basest uses" (quoted in Blum 1974: 29, 33).

Though a conservative by nature and a republican by party affiliation, Roosevelt adopted the progressive mantle because he shared their conservative impulses. Like the progressives, Roosevelt argued in an article that while the "pioneer spirit" remained essential to the nation's continued prosperity, the closing of the frontier signaled that Americans needed to curb the individualist spirit in the interest of the "general welfare." Roosevelt also preferred segregation to violence as a resolution to, what he called, "the terrible problem offered by the presence of the negro on this continent" (quoted from Bucklin 1920: 166). Like many progressive reformers, in the realm of antitrust suits, Roosevelt attempted to redress the worst grievances but not reinvent or revolutionize institutions. In *The Triumph of Conservatism*, historian Gabriel Kolko explains, "Roosevelt was consciously using government regulation to save the capitalist system, perhaps even from itself, for the greatest friend of socialism was the unscrupulous businessman who did not recognize that moderate regulation could save him from a more drastic fate in the hands of the masses" (1973: 130). Like the Progressive movement as a whole, Roosevelt saw himself as an impartial arbiter mediating between capital and labor to reduce class conflict and to make the chances of competition more even. For Roosevelt, government regulation of the economy was, according to Kolko, "a means of preventing radical social change." Historian John Morton Blum agrees with this assessment of Roosevelt's ultimate goals. All Roosevelt's policies, Blum argues, "had one common, revealing objective: stability" (Blum 1974: 6). Roosevelt, like the middle-class progressives, idealized the past and sought to restore the social conditions of that ideal past, sought to maintain power relationships, and promoted traditional moral values—all in the name of stability.

If Theodore Roosevelt were the quintessential progressive politician, the classic statement of progressive ideas was *The Promise of American Life*, a book written in 1909 by Herbert Croly, a progressive political philosopher. The book

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influenced Roosevelt's New Nationalism and prompted Felix Frankfurter to describe it as "the single most powerful single contribution to progressive thinking" (quoted in McClay 1999: 56). *The Promise of American Life* gave a heterogeneous reform movement a coherent set of ideas, but perhaps even more important, it also provided a national narrative that gave a larger context and justification for progressive reform. Croly described the American story as being driven by three impulses: a confidence in the virtues of agrarian individualism, commitment to a limited central government, and confidence in "the Promise of American life," or the gradual diffusion of democracy and steady amelioration of social and economic inequality. While a classical liberal ideology made these three tenets seem to reinforce one another, the changed circumstances of the late 19th century—the growth of massive corporations and increasing disparities of wealth—drew the ideology and the Promise into doubt. Croly believed that while too much emphasis had been placed on the first two principles, the conditions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries demonstrated that Americans needed to put relatively more emphasis on safeguarding the Promise.

The surest means to guarantee the Promise, Croly believed, was through a stronger central government and less emphasis on individualism. So while the means might appear unorthodox, the end was conservative. As Croly explained, Americans would have to use "Hamiltonian means," or a more powerful central government, to achieve "Jeffersonian ends," or democratic values and social and economic equity. The resulting expansion of federal regulation, empowerment of experts, and growth of bureaucracies may have represented a break with the past, but they represented a reaction, implemented to deal with the social, economic, and political consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Also, these new elites, whose job it would be to organize and rationalize the American economy, would ideally be restrained by an ideology of disinterestedness. Like Roosevelt's notion of public service, Croly believed these experts needed to put the public interest above more narrow interests. In the book's final page, Croly quotes Montesquieu's statement that "the principle of democracy is virtue." The circumstances of American life had changed, and the means of pursuing the Promise necessarily changed as well, though not entirely (McClay 1999: 64).

The confusion of ends and means is most notable in a classic revision of the Progressive movement. In *The Search for Order*, historian Robert Wiebe argued that the rise of the new elites favored by Croly was the defining feature of the progressive era. But this interpretation mistakes the means for the ends of the Progressive movement. While the expansion of government power was novel, it was one of many tactics in the Progressive movement's wide-ranging "search for order." The goals of the Progressive movement—re-creating agrarian conditions to revive economic equity, reestablishing conventional social relationships to maintain social stability, and restoring proper moral norms to promote a healthy political democracy—constituted enduring conservative ideals.

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CON

With the end of the Civil War and the Gilded Age, the United States entered the modern Industrial Revolution. This period centered on a collectivism that began in 1870 and closed with the American entry into the Great War, World War I,

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when America turned to individualism. This collapse was partly the result of the success of the movements of various and dispersant groups. Various philosophies and political actions were taken in response to progressive efforts that molded a society that was more responsive to the needs of the majority, where little attention was given the wealthiest economic segments of a nascent industrial society. However, the atmosphere and climate-engendering progressivism were bleak for the average worker. The earmarks of the movement for this period were little governmental regulation, poor pay, abominable health conditions, and grossly inadequate economic facilities. The cause célèbre for the movement's success arose from despair, the intellectual belief that the worker could never attain the benefits being recently advertised in print throughout America during the Gilded Age. In juxtaposition to wealthy political and economic control, Americans of varied origins, backgrounds, education, and profession reacted to the societal inequities dominant throughout with a sense if social justice.

Elements of Liberal Progressivism

Conflict is present between all segments of society, and efforts taken to pursue changes in the relationships of these are difficult. An analysis of the attributes of liberal progressivism shows that its elements are similar to a liberal interpretation of fascism, even though the latter term is an anathema to many. Jonah Goldberg's (2007) *Liberal Fascism* provides an analysis of the subject beyond the scope of this section, but it is worth reading for a comparison of their respective elements. The tome argues that fascist elements in government existed well into the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. However, Goldberg posits that many do not understand the terms used.

The Progressive movement had tentacles that radiated into every sphere of American society. As a response to Victorian society and the Gilded Age, anger and hopelessness provided the hallmark through which middle-class Americans, educated and idealistic, launched their campaigns to change society. Help would be offered to both coal miner and slum tenant. Municipal regulation, moral indignation, and the value of human life, not merely existence, fell within the purview of the idealistic liberal Americans who chose to wage a war of progress devoid of the shackles of political, economic, social corruption, and stagnation of upward mobility caused by the robber barons and their minions.

These latter, the wealthy, believed in individualism and that they had earned their positions because of their exceptional ability, talents, and even origins, including religions. People such as Andrew Carnegie believed that an unfettered government was responsible for America's progress and that regulation of any kind would result in irreversible damage to society. They did not appreciate the cultural and political tensions created by their conduct. Progressivism sought to remove this class tension through the use of the intellect. The hope was that

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"Fighting Bob" La Follette and Progressivism

The politician most identified with the Progressive movement was Robert Marion La Follette, nicknamed "Fighting Bob." The governor of Wisconsin, and later republican senator from Wisconsin, he contested the 1924 U.S. presidential election and managed to win not only Wisconsin, but also 17 percent of the national vote, standing as a candidate for the Progressive Party. He certainly would have achieved a higher result had it not been for a split and the failure of the progressives to nominate a single candidate.

From a French family who had lived in Wisconsin for four generations, Robert La Follette championed "the little man" against the large companies, especially the railroads, the banks, and the electricity companies. He also opposed U.S. involvement in World War I, and supported U.S. noninvolvement in the League of Nations. As a member of the U.S. Senate for 19 years, some historians regard him as one of the most influential senators in U.S. history. He died on June 20, 1925, seven months after his failed presidential bid.

educated people would, and could, rise above their petty differences and concerns for the good of society.

Conversely, the poor, lacking in power, economic or political, resorted to mutualism and cooperation for their collective defense. Families remained united, with their members working for the benefit of all. Their living conditions lacked most conveniences as is illustrated in Jacob Riis's (1890) *How the Other Half Lived* or Jane Addams's work in Hull House, assisting and protecting the needy of society. The proto-proletariat worked long hours in unhealthy conditions for low wages. Education, so necessary for upward mobility, was denied such a person because of the need to contribute to the family's well-being, a situation that only further magnified the differences between classes. The resulting resentment fueled the move toward collective action. Only the agrarian sector managed the shibboleth of independence and control over individual destiny. Besides the agrarian angst, the declassed American worker felt economically defenseless. Upton Sinclair's (1906) *The Jungle* illustrates the problem; labor was not yet organized, although nascent organizations became increasingly popular; John Wayne's rugged individualism had little currency for the majority of labor, whether skilled or unskilled.

Equal to this problem was the diversity caused by immigration. Religion and national origin made the problem of organization worse. Several ideologies rose to justify the slanted lack of economic and political control over society. The robber barons offered theories, such as the gospel of wealth, to affirm their places over the average workers. The gospel told everyone that God had ordained that work—a Protestant belief—had determined one's place in society and that God had prescribed a person's place and role in society.

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Poor residents of a New York City tenement eke out a living making neckties in a local workshop during the late 1880s. Photographed by Jacob Riis, such makeshift sweatshops were common during the late 19th century. (Library of Congress)

The God-fearing and quasi-educated members of the middle class evidenced their lack of security and dissatisfaction as America moved from the Victorian to the Progressive Age. Members of the middle class were psychologically well adapted to the new theories of cooperation. Families learned to work together domestically, and because they were educated, middle-class members looked beyond individualism to cooperative approaches to their social malaise. Instability led to prostitution and unstable marriages as well as increased alcohol consumption, indicative of a decline in social mores, and the progressives viewed this as an opportunity to disseminate their movement goals for America.

Jane Addams's Hull House pursued radical change in society and epitomized the new age. Domesticity suffered; women were dissatisfied with their traditional roles and now sought something more fulfilling than their parents' roles. Many women, feeling the emptiness of their lives, joined the movement for more and better. They pursued diverse avenues and opposed the restrictions of the Victorian Age. The broadening of opportunities offered post-Victorian women new horizons, many of which their parents found unattainable: education and the power to refuse economic independence through marriage.

The freedom given middle-class women allowed them to evaluate their male counterparts, as female leaders of the Progressive movement acquired

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increasing political power. For many, the result was not positive, and divorce and the subsequent independence it gave women became the harbinger of single-parent families. The Industrial Age contributed to the malaise and role conflicts that marked the middle-class family. Job uncertainty and the need to provide more produced emotional and familial disorder, creating a social climate that affected the Progressive movement's development.

Welfare Capitalism

The aforementioned domestic disasters, reflective of the decaying general economic and social systems, were justified through the use of welfare capitalism. Because of Victorian individualism—as Americans increasingly were economically reduced in power—progressive collective efforts gained more appeal. The character Julian West in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888), a popular novel, described the conditions of most Americans in the proto-proletariat segment of society. These conditions, in conjunction with the literature of many educated middle-class writers with a sense of social conscience—the muckrakers, allowed average Americans to explore the conditions under which they lived and resist justifications for and expressions of social Darwinism.

These terms were used to justify individualism rather than cooperative efforts to establish equilibrium among the all-economic elements in society. The rash of events such as the Haymarket Affair, the bombing that took place at a rally in support of the strike against the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company at Chicago's Haymarket Square in 1886, and the Pullman strike, the labor dispute between unions and railroads in 1894, publicly and increasingly threatened individual Victorian equality and led to cooperative action through labor unions, inviting a movement the declassed American worker found beneficial. Religious organizations supported many of those advocating change, even by violence. They indicated that the Gilded and Victorian ages were passé. However, the middle class's commitment to religion lessened. People discovered that the freedoms acquired through the Progressive movement allowed for more leisure time; the Protestant work ethic had less relevance to Americans than it had to their ancestors.

Seeking a Political Platform

With the inchoate successes of public awareness, progressives now sought a political platform for their various planks. Socialism, despite being accused of embracing anti-God and anti-American views, provided a potential way for defining the umbrella of a political movement committed to the middle- and working-class Americans. However, for various historical and ethical reasons, this "ism" was not accepted, and soon events such as the Palmer raids, the anticommunist

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raids and deportations instituted by U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer during 1918–1921, and the deportation of socialists alleged as enemy aliens strengthened the opposition to it. Government regulation in every segment of American life called for supervision of all sectors of the economy. Specifically, muckraking novels like Sinclair's *The Jungle* or Riis's *How the Other Half Lived* led to an awareness of the actual situation that prior rationalizations, secular and religious, and justifications had little currency to the actual situation that existed. The climactical opposition to any term identified as socialism led to the creation of a new identification not associated with the Bolsheviki or Karl Marx.

Faced with the difficulties in pursuing a comprehensive progressive plan for society, the necessity for governmental intervention, on all levels, became tantamount. They recognized that government from the municipal corporation to federal agency must join the battle to make America fit for all her people. This realization amounted to a revolution by the progressive middle class. They dedicated their efforts to every aspect of American life without any exclusion of class, occupation, sex, or race. This liberalism became the hallmark of a movement that would change America.

Control of Big Business

Control of big business was an essential arm of the progressive crusade. Given the consolidation of businesses and the lack of middle-class power, the progressives sought federal assistance in the battle for regulation. They aimed at national legislation but ran into the conflict of traditional federalism and state efforts to control national business enterprises. Businessmen were able to take advantage of the interstate and intrastate jurisdictions. Any confusion caused by this delineation aided big business and prevented progressive efforts to develop regulations for such sectors of the economy as railroads, food, and insurance. Hopes of building new associations or unions existed especially because progressives believed in environmental factors: bad food, unsanitary conditions, lack of education, and so forth. Presumably, such changes would reduce criminal conduct. These hindrances, it was thought, would retard the creation of a new man better able to function effectively with society.

Led by Carry A. Nation, a feminist, efforts to build a new nation were supplanted by her drive to construct a brave new man. She was not an armchair progressive but was physically committed to the cause. As a religious conservative, she offered a litany of sins, the elimination of which would be redemptive: all forms of gambling, pornography, contraception, divorce (as today, the male was considered the cause for the separation), and breaking the sabbath, and so forth. She reserved her greatest attack for alcoholism, which caused so much depravity. Progressives sought to create the new man free of sin, a family man. Nation used violence as a tool wherever and whenever she deemed it necessary.

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The middle class bore these economic and social burdens because they had more education, idealism, and disposable income. Urban workers and wealthy citizens showed little interest in being morally molded; they tended to be more independent and willing to oppose actions that affected their private lives. Members of the middle class of society became muckrakers and advocates for progress in seeking the betterment of society. With these tools, concerned members of the middle class viewed conditions with disgust and strove to transform America, whether it liked it or not. Some have described this as the radical center of reform, but how does one define radical?

The hope of reshaping America and creating a more equitable society was the core issue of the progressives. The more politically observant recognized the relationship between business control of the federal and state legislative processes and the alliance with big business. Legislative reforms were viewed as the avenue through which the progressives could mold the new man or woman. Environmentalists, social scientists, and naturalists appreciated the connection between the well-being of the individual and a more equitable society; numerous muckraker authors illustrated the effects of society on our genetic composition. Josiah Strong, a preacher of the social gospel, lectured about the implications of a bad and unhealthy environment and the human results. Religion and evolution, justifications adopted by the upper strata of society as justifications for the conduct of man or woman were relegated to the trash can.

Jacob Riis's (1903) *The Peril and the Preservation of the Home* offered a more chilling account of economic conditions and their results. At the same time, evangelical Protestants and other religious groups made efforts to legislate morality; The Anti-Saloon League, the white slave trade, and Society for the Prevention of Crime were but a few of the organizations attempting to gloss a dysfunctional society with the moral glaze illustrated by the demise of the prohibition amendment to the federal constitution. Morality and the inability to govern their own lives made concern for the lower class an important issue. The reformers were neither fascists nor socialists within the common definitions of these words, however; they did not seek control but a more equitable opportunity for all Americans through unionization or organization, even though at times their methods might have been suspect. The organizational emphasis stressed by the progressives, while attractive to urban poor and middle class, was not as attractive to the farmers and other groups who cherished individualism.

Education as Concern

An area of general concern was education, which became a cause célèbre to the progressives. They transferred much of their general concern about society to the specifics molding and affecting our culture. Dysfunctional families, poor housing, low wages, and insufficient food fell within the purview of the progressives as

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factors that had to be resolved in order to have efficient and progressive education. In apparent response, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* defeated their attack against child labor. The Court ruled that child labor laws in interstate commerce were unconstitutional. And, since the nation was increasingly becoming one economic unit, portends for the future were glum for progressive attempts to educate and uplift society.

Yes, several courts supported legislation that aided the progressives, such as in juvenile courts, but state courts provided more assistance than the federal system. A movement to protect children was part of progressivism. However, as with immigrant newcomers, the progressives sought to substitute "American" society and its values for the customs of the various European states, especially the southern and eastern European states. Social workers concentrated on schooling, education, and hygiene unmindful of the needs of the immigrants. With the latter, social Darwinism was injected into the climate by those opposed to progressivism. The Darwinian proponents vied with the social gospel elements in society, and the motives of the liberal reformers came into question.

Justification for laissez-faire conduct by business with its concomitant opposition to liberal Progressive movements strained efforts to establish collective activity, whether unionism or association, among labor. Many of those imperiled by the system came from European countries referenced above. Ethnic conflicts and the natural distrust of groups not familiar with one another made progressive efforts more difficult. The tenuous relationship between labor and capitalists hindered progressivism. Progressivism was hindered by the American Federation of Labor's (AFL's) insistence on a craft union to the exclusion of those less fortunate. Welfare capitalism became the vogue as a means of eradicating public efforts to attempt collective action; an increasing number of workers supported these efforts and disavowed collectivism. A less congenial approach for the workingman was led by Frederick Taylor, a scientific management expert, who provided a sense of individualism for labor; one's earnings were reflected by his or her production.

Influencing or conducting policies that aided labor and society became a problem because some unionists were elitists. The AFL attempted to influence many of the agencies that the progressives targeted: municipal government, state labor federations, and unions on all levels. When combined with the concept of welfare capitalism, only tragedies such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire of 1911, which killed 146 mostly female and mostly immigrant workers, and the support of immigrants from Eastern Europe allowed the Progressive movement to move forward.

Progressives achieved success when they supported provisions aiding women and children to function in the American industrial society. Discouragement arising from Supreme Court decisions that hindered the progress foreseen by the middle-class reformer only proved to be an obstacle. Low wages, poor working conditions, and the inability to obtain an education because children

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had to work to support the family saw changes in the state level that provided encouragement. *Muller v. Oregon* recognized the inequities of the time and mandated improved working conditions for women as the courts expanded their roles in sanctioning better working conditions. Unfortunately, the emphasis on women's working conditions led to a return of Victorian expressions of the role of the woman. Conversely, American labor sadly suffered under the tutelage of the Fuller Supreme Court. The justice and the majority of the associate justices on the Court spoke of contractual issues, property rights, and federalism.

Ideological Problems

Progressive philosophy faced ideological problems; the various interest groups desiring change could not form a united front, socially or politically. While some progressives wished to regulate business for the common good, others wished to dismember the large corporations exemplified by the robber barons. Middle-class advocates, whether teachers or secretaries, each viewed the social malaise differently. New arenas for conflict developed in the growing American industrial society. Now railroads, technology, governmental policies, and social Darwinism were all in conflict. Theodore Roosevelt, a supporter of change and the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, was unable to constrain the movement's activities, partly because many feared a loss of individual liberty because the law increasingly regulated society. Meat regulation, drug control, and other forms of legislation were instituted, but the mythical fear of the loss of individuality caused problems for the progressives. These latter opposed progressive segments, hoping that governmental regulation would expand. William Jennings Bryan, the Scopes trial attorney and progressive presidential candidate, was quoted in the *Congressional Record* in 1908 as saying that "public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible."

Conclusion

Progressive Americans viewed their efforts to "correct" as liberation from the politics, economics, and individual lifestyles of the past and an ushering in of a utopia like Edward Bellamy's (1888) *Looking Backward*. Americans looked forward to progress, better living conditions, and a better life. These hopefuls opposed the supporters of big business and the religious conservatives who contested science and the moral code befitting a modern growing society. The progressives, through their liberal policies, encompassed all aspects of growing industrial America. One of the more pronounced changes was the status of women who removed the religious, economic, and legal fetters imposed over the millennium. Conditions for black Americans were not well addressed because they lived in the South prior to the Great Migration; oriental Americans suffered the same because the members

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of these groups didn't live in large industrial urban centers. It would take a need for workers in all fields of the military budget, World War I or World War II, before large numbers of these minorities were under the looking glass. Americans now questioned terms such as social gospel, social Darwinism, gentleman's agreement, gospel of wealth, welfare socialism, socialism, and so forth.

Sadly, with the commencement of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson had to create a wartime economy as a result of many progressive programs. Efforts suffered, only to be reborn under the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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The captain of the ship *Californian* was guilty of gross negligence in not coming to the rescue of the survivors of the *Titanic*.

PRO Tim J. Watts
CON Elizabeth D. Schafer

PRO

In April 1912, the ocean liner RMS *Titanic* made its maiden voyage from Great Britain toward New York. On the night of April 14, she struck an iceberg. After only two and a half hours, *Titanic* sank, taking over 1,500 passengers and crew with her.

The disaster was made more tragic by the failure of one nearby ship to render assistance. The *Californian* was within 10 miles of *Titanic* when she struck the iceberg. Her wireless operator was in contact with *Titanic* before the collision. Officers and men on board the *Californian* were able to see the *Titanic* and saw distress rockets fired off to attract help. Still, *Californian* failed to make any attempt to assistant *Titanic* or to rescue survivors until the next morning. Her captain actively took steps to cover up his ship's presence near the *Titanic*. Only after the inquiries conducted by the British and U.S. governments confirmed the presence of *Californian* on that fateful night did her captain grudgingly admit the ship might have been in a position to assist.

The Failure of the *Californian* to Come to the Rescue of the *Titanic*'s Survivors

By tradition and international law, sea captains are required to assist other ships and sailors in trouble. On the night of April 14, 1912, Captain Stanley Lord failed to render aid to *Titanic* and its passengers and crew. The evidence indicates that he received reasonable indications that another ship was requesting help. Although Lord later claimed that he could not be certain of such a request, he unquestionably failed to take any action to clarify the situation and later tried to deny any responsibility.

Lord's own officers later indicated they felt he did not take their observations seriously. Both the British and American inquiries assigned him some responsibility for the great loss of life as well. By failing to sail toward *Titanic* until it

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Stanley Lord, the Man Who Saw the Iceberg Coming

Stanley Lord was born on September 13, 1877, at Bolton, Lancashire, in the north of England. His father, James Lord, was a commercial clerk and later a cashier at a cotton mill. Living at 9 Hampden Street, Little Bolton, Stanley grew up with four older brothers, and indeed he himself started work as a clerk at the age of 13. However very soon afterward, he went to sea as a cadet and later gained his second mate's certificate and then his master's certificate—the latter at the age of 23. In the following year he was living at Walton on the Hill, Lancashire.

In 1897 he had started working for the West India and Pacific Steam Navigation Company, and after they were taken over by the Leyland Line, with that company. On April 5, 1912, he spotted the iceberg and instructed his wireless operator to send a message to the *Titanic*.

Lord continued serving in the British merchant navy throughout World War I and retired in March 1927. After the release of the film *A Night to Remember* (1958), he was angered by the mention in that film that the *Californian* was closer to the *Titanic* than was actually the case. A legal battle resulted. Captain Stanley Lord died on January 24, 1962, at Wallasey, Cheshire, aged 84. He was buried in the New Brighton Cemetery in Merseyside.

was too late, Lord indirectly contributed to the many deaths. He was removed from his position and lived under a pall of disfavor for the rest of his life.

The Facts

Stanley Lord had been a ship's captain since 1906. He was an experienced seaman, even though he was only 35 years old. Lord had been at sea nearly continuously since enrolling as an apprentice with J. B. Walmsley & Company in 1891. During that time, he had proven himself as a conscientious and competent officer. Like many ships' captains, Lord could apparently be a domineering and strong officer who did not encourage input or uninvited suggestions from his officers or men.

By 1912, Lord was employed by the Leyland Line, which operated 30 ships. In March 1911, he took over his largest command, the 6,223 ton *Californian* (sometimes written as the *California*). The *Californian* normally carried up to 47 passengers, along with its main load of freight. She was not a passenger liner and was relatively slow. Although her best speed was approximately 13 knots, *Californian* ordinarily sailed at a slower, more economical pace. During Lord's first year in command, the *Californian* traveled the sea routes between North America and Great Britain. On April 5, 1912, *Californian* set sail from London, bound for Boston. She carried no passengers, but had a full load of freight. Superstitious sailors may have been concerned over a traditionally unlucky Friday sailing.

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Californian's course toward Boston took her along the major sea routes across the North Atlantic. She was equipped with a new radio set, known at the time as a "wireless." Although this was only *Californian*'s second voyage since having a wireless fitted, Lord had been pleased with the results. The radio had brought messages about sailing conditions from other ships. In April, one of the most important warnings was in regard to ice and icebergs. Sailors such as Lord were very conscious of the dangers ice presented to their ships and avoided it as much as possible. For example, *Californian* had received a warning of three icebergs from another ship bound for Boston earlier on April 14. She altered course and passed within five miles of the icebergs around 6:30 P.M.

Concerned about the dangers ahead, Lord ordered extra lookouts and planned to spend the night on the bridge. He assumed control of the ship around 8:00 P.M. At 10:15 P.M., Lord detected an unusual brightness on the horizon. Experience convinced him that this was a condition known as "ice blink" among sailors. Field ice and ice floes on the water reflected the light from stars, making the reflection more visible at a greater distance than the normal reflection off water would have permitted. Lord ordered the ship stopped immediately. *Californian* slowed to a stop with its bow pointing to the northeast. After examining the conditions around him, Lord decided it would be safest to remain stopped for the night. In the morning, he could see how thick the ice was and whether it was possible to find a passage through, without causing damage to the ship.

Lord later reported the night as being extremely clear and the weather calm. The visibility was very good. He prepared to return to his cabin since the ship had stopped and all seemed secure. At about 10:30 P.M., Lord noticed a light to the southwest, which he believed to be the masthead light of another steamship approaching from the east. He called it to the attention of Third Officer Charles V. Groves. Groves stated that he believed it was a star, which seemed to satisfy Lord.

Before retiring to his cabin, the captain walked around the ship to be certain everything was secure for the night. Lord spoke with Cyril F. Evans, the *Californian*'s wireless operator. Evans reported that he had been in contact with the *Titanic*'s operator earlier that day. *Titanic* had confirmed it received a message from the *Californian* about the three icebergs seen earlier. Lord ordered Evans to tell *Titanic* that *Californian* was stopped for the night because of the ice field. When Evans tried to do so, the *Titanic*'s operator cut him off. He told Evans that Evans's signal was interfering with messages being sent from *Titanic* to New York. These were known as "Cape Race" messages, because they were sent to a radio relay station on Cape Race. The relay station forwarded the messages from passengers to individuals on land to let them know of their impending arrival. Evans could judge that *Titanic* was relatively close from the strength of its radio signal. He turned in for the night around 11:30 P.M. No one else was available to monitor the radio messages.

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Before Lord went to his cabin at 11:45, he noticed a ship to the south of *Californian*. At the time, he apparently believed it was a steamer about the size of the *Californian*. Other members of the *Californian*'s bridge crew also saw the ship. They all agreed that it was stopped, much like the *Californian*. Lord told Herbert Stone, who assumed control over the *Californian* at midnight, to watch the other ship and to notify Lord if it seemed to be drifting toward the *Californian*.

The other ship was the *Titanic*. It struck an iceberg at 11:40 P.M. and slowed to a halt. At the time, it was probably about 9 or 10 miles away from *Californian*. The *Titanic*'s bow was pointing nearly directly toward the smaller ship. Eyewitnesses on *Titanic*, especially Fourth Officer Joseph G. Boxhall, noticed the lights of a ship to the north. Boxhall later testified that he was certain the ship was not a small sailing ship, as was sometimes claimed, but a steamer. He and Captain Edward J. Smith were the only officers to see the mystery ship through binoculars. Smith told the crew manning the lifeboats from *Titanic* to head toward the lights of the unknown ship for rescue.

During the next several hours, the crew of the *Titanic* shot off eight rockets, which were clearly visible to the officers and men on *Californian*'s bridge. At least one officer notified Captain Lord, who was by then in his sea cabin. The captain did not come to the bridge to see for himself, but did ask the color of the rockets. Another crewman later notified Lord about additional rockets, but this was ignored.

After 2:30 A.M., the bridge crew of *Californian* believed the other ship had disappeared. They notified Lord around 2:40 of this development. The captain did not come to the bridge or change his orders to remain stationary.

At 4:30, Lord returned to the bridge, where he acknowledged to another officer that he had been told about the rockets. Just as day was dawning at 6:00, Evans returned to duty at the radio set. He quickly received messages from the *Frankfurt* and the *Virginian*, reporting that *Titanic* had struck an iceberg and was sinking. Lord ordered the engines started and headed toward the reported position of *Titanic*. This position was in error, however, it was a location on the far side of the ice field. Lord carefully picked his way through the ice floes. When he arrived at the presumed location, nothing could be seen. The *Californian* then received another radio message, with the correct position of the survivors. The ship headed south and east, rounding the ice field. They soon saw the *Carpathia*, picking up the final survivors of *Titanic*.

Californian resumed her course for Boston later that day. At Lord's direction, the log did not mention the rockets that had been seen during the night. He also asked Stone and Gibson to write up reports of what they had seen and told him. Lord did not plan to turn these reports over to investigators, however. Instead, he prepared a series of reports and charts that showed *Californian*'s actions and positions, with an eye to justifying his actions, or the lack thereof. After the *Californian* docked in Boston, a member of the crew told a local

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newspaper about seeing distress rockets and the failure to act. The news caused a sensation. When reporters asked Lord about the incident and *Californian*'s location when *Titanic* was sinking, he responded by saying the location was a "state secret."

Lord was eventually called to testify at both the American and British inquiries into the disaster. His story changed during the inquiries. When questioned by congressional investigators, Lord admitted to being told of one rocket. At the later British inquiry, he confessed that eight rockets had been seen, and he was told three times about them. Both inquiries found that Lord had failed to respond properly to obvious distress signals. He soon lost his job with the Leyland Line. Although Lord was quickly hired by another shipping line, he spent most of the remainder of his life trying to justify his actions on April 14.

Supporting Proof of Lord's Failure to Render Assistance to *Titanic*

Lord's Attitude toward the Unidentified Ship

Lord reported seeing what he believed to be a masthead light of another ship at around 10:30 P.M. Groves had assured Lord that the light was only a star. Lord, perhaps unusually, agreed. It was only after taking his brief tour of *Californian* that Lord once again noticed a light to the southeast. It was then almost 11:00. At that point, Lord asked the radio operator if he had any information on which ships were nearby. Cyril Evans, the radio operator, reported that he had monitored messages from *Titanic*. Evans knew *Titanic* was nearby because of the strength of her signals. At the time, radio communication was through coded signals, similar to that used in telegraphs. An operator had to use a key apparatus that used short dots and long dashes in place of letters or words. Direct voice communication was not possible. An experienced operator could tell how far away a transmitter was by the strength of the signal. The closer a transmitter, the stronger and more powerful the signal was. *Titanic* had a powerful transmitter, so when she was transmitting nearby, Evans could hardly send his own messages out.

At around 11:30 P.M., Lord returned to the bridge. At that time, *Californian* was drifting slowly. She had turned so that her bow was pointing east-northeast. James Gibson, a 24-year-old apprentice, reported that the light belonged to another ship, which was visible to the southeast. At the time, he estimated the ships were no more than six miles apart. The other ship had apparently stopped. Lord told Gibson to signal to the other steamer with the Morse lamp. The Morse lamp used a powerful light and shutters, to send signals with a combination of long and short flashes of light. On a clear night, like that of April 14, the Morse lamp should have been visible for up to 10 miles. Gibson signaled for several minutes. Lord could see a flickering light on the other ship and believed its crew was returning the signal. The light did not make out a recognizable message, however.

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Lord apparently decided the other vessel did not see their signal, although he could certainly see their light. Shortly afterward, he noted a green light on board the other ship. A green light was displayed on all ships on the starboard, or right, side. The light helped other vessels to determine the position and heading of a ship seen at night. Lord realized the other vessel was pointing northwest. Crewmen on the *Californian* later noticed they could see the red light on the port, or left hand, side as well, indicating the other ship was pointed directly at them. Lord went to bed soon afterward.

The *Californian*'s captain displayed a certain lack of urgency about identifying the other ship he could see. The evidence indicates that Lord almost certainly was seeing the *Titanic*. Her approach from the east and lack of movement after 11:30 P.M. coincides with events on the *Titanic*. Her collision with the iceberg was at 11:40, and her engines shut down shortly afterward. The light that Lord saw earlier was most likely the light on *Titanic*'s main mast. From the bridge of the *Californian*, Lord's radius of vision was about six miles. Anything that rose above the horizon could be seen much farther away. *Titanic*'s main mast rose 150 feet into the air, making it visible for up to 16 miles. Lord could have seen it approaching from the east, and Groves may have mistaken it for a star rising over the horizon. An hour later, the *Titanic* would have been much closer to *Californian*, even if its course was somewhat to the south. The green light is another indication that Lord could see the *Titanic*. When she struck the iceberg, the *Titanic* was sailing west-southwest. Her attempts to avoid the iceberg left her bow pointing toward the northwest.

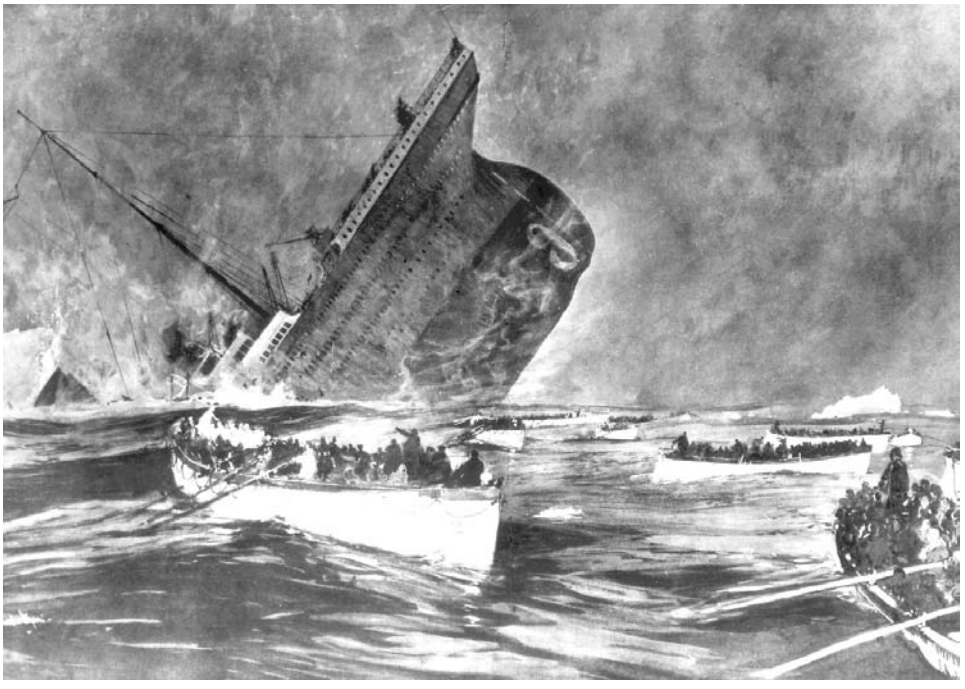
Lord was concerned enough about the strange vessel to the south to issue orders for the bridge crew to watch it and to notify him if it came closer. He naturally wanted to avoid a collision in the dark and was well aware that the other ship was apparently drifting, just as the *Californian* was. Even if his first attempts at signaling with the Morse lamp failed to get a response, the captain could have ordered his crew to try again later. Lord could also have roused his radio operator to try to determine the other ship's identity. Evans had just gone to bed and Lord did not try to wake him. Thanks to his conversation with Evans earlier, Lord was aware that the *Titanic* was relatively close by.

Failure to Respond to Signal Rockets

One of the most important charges against Lord was that he failed to respond to rockets sent off by crewmembers of the *Titanic*. Fourth Officer Joseph Boxhall of *Titanic* testified that he began shooting off distress rockets about an hour after *Titanic* struck the iceberg. Following standard procedures, he shot them off at regular intervals. The rockets went several hundred feet into the air with a white light before exploding into stars.

The rockets were noticed by the crew on the *Californian*. Ernest Gill, an assistant engineer who had been in the engine room, came off watch at midnight.

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A depiction of the *Titanic*, sinking during her maiden voyage in April 1912. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

He observed a large steamship within 10 miles away and clearly observed its lights. About an hour later, he came back on deck to smoke and saw the other ship shoot off a white rocket. He immediately believed it was a distress signal. Gill did not report it to the bridge because he assumed they were watching the other vessel and could see the rocket as well as he did. Stone, who was standing watch on the *Californian*'s bridge, noticed one rocket at 12:45. He observed several more rockets before calling down to Lord in his cabin at 1:15. Stone reported that the strange vessel to the south was firing rockets. Lord asked about the color of the rockets and whether they fit the pattern of rockets used by any shipping line. When Stone replied they were white and did not have any company colors, Lord went back to sleep.

In 1912, the International Rules of the Road issued to ships and commanders clearly set out how ships could signal when they were in distress. The first way was to sound an explosive signal, such as a gun, at regular intervals, such as a minute apart. Another accepted method at night was to shoot off rockets of any color, one at a time at regular intervals. Experienced sailors in almost any location could hardly have viewed the rockets as anything other than a distress signal.

Defenders of Lord have sometimes cited the idea that distress rockets were supposed to be green or red, or some other color. They tried to indicate that white rockets were not generally regarded as distress signals. Some suggested

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that the crew believed the rockets were part of the entertainment being staged for the passengers of the unknown vessel.

The International Rules of the Road, however, did not specify that distress rockets had to be any particular color or colors. Some combinations of colored rockets and lights were used in specific locations to identify the company to which a ship belonged. The Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, which regulated British merchant ships in 1912, permitted companies to use specific signals. The act authorized the Board of Trade to produce a pamphlet outlining company signals. These combinations of colored rockets or lights were unique to individual companies. The Leyland Line, for example, was authorized to burn three red lights in quick succession to identify its ships. A key provision in the regulation, however, was that these signals were to be used only in certain areas of the sea and only for identification purposes. The North Atlantic was not an authorized location for company identification signals. In its preface, the pamphlet stated that if signals were used in any other place, they might be considered signals of distress. Captains who observed signals, such as rockets being launched at regular intervals, would take them as distress signals. They were expected to react accordingly.

Between 12:45 and 1:15, Stone observed five rockets from the other ship. He later testified that he understood these rockets to be distress signals. He did not explain why he failed to act or to inform Lord that he believed the other ship was in trouble. Stone had taken his examination for a certificate as first mate only four months earlier, and this information was tested on the examination. He only noted that the strange vessel had disappeared at 2:40. He believed it had sailed away.

A question also exists about whether the *Californian*'s crew was close enough to hear the rockets' explosions, another distress signal. Because the night was clear and calm, the sound of the explosions might have been heard over the 10 miles or so that separated the two ships. No crewmen on *Californian* reported hearing any explosions. Although making a regular sound or constant noise was considered a signal of distress by the International Rules of the Road, sound was not considered a primary indicator of problems. Although Lord's defenders made much of the failure to hear the rockets' explosions, this lack was not an excuse to ignore the rockets as a sign that another ship was in trouble.

Failure to Wake Californian's *Radio Operator*

Another aspect for which Lord was criticized was the failure to use the radio to try to identify the unknown ship and to learn about its distress. Lord was familiar with the capabilities of the new technology. Although this was only the second voyage on which *Californian* carried a Marconi set, Lord had authorized its frequent use and willingly acted upon the information received via the radio. During the past few days, *Californian* received a number of messages from

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other vessels about sailing conditions. They were particularly useful when *Californian* entered the region where icebergs and other ice could be encountered. Earlier on April 14, Lord had asked Evans which ships were nearby when he thought he saw another ship approaching.

When attempts to contact the strange ship by Morse lamp failed, Lord did not try to use the wireless. When he realized Evans had gone to bed just before 11:45 P.M., Lord did not rouse him. Although at that time no apparent emergency existed, things had obviously changed just an hour later. When the rockets were reported to Lord, he could have ordered Evans to return to duty and monitor the radio frequencies. After striking the iceberg, the *Titanic* was continuously sending out radio messages, asking for help. By ignoring the possibility that the rockets were a call for help, Lord failed to use all the tools at his disposal to verify whether an emergency existed. If Evans had monitored the radio traffic for just a few minutes, he would have been able to tell Lord that the *Titanic* was sinking just a few miles away.

Failure to Take a Direct Route to the Titanic's *Location*

Lord arose at 4:30 A.M. on April 15. He made his rounds of the ship to check the conditions and the ice around it. By 5:00, he was on the bridge. Lord sent an officer to rouse Evans and check on the rockets that had been reported during the night. The officer quickly returned with news that the *Titanic* had sunk. Lord sent him back to get a location. The first location was 41° 46' N, 50° 14' W. This location would have been nearly the same as the ship that was observed the night before. Lord studied the position, then sent his officer back to check on whether other ships had the same location of the sinking. A different position was then received, on the other side of the ice field that had stopped *Californian* the night before.

Lord cautiously picked his way through the ice in a southwesterly direction. By 6:20 A.M., they were clear of the thickest ice and Lord ordered full steam ahead. The *Californian* was making about 13 knots. The *Californian* passed the reported position at 7:30 and saw two other ships, but no sign of a wreck. They continued south until Evans received a message from the *Carpathia* that it was picking up the *Titanic*'s survivors. Lord turned his ship back to the east and pushed through the ice field again. By the time they approached the *Carpathia* at 8:30, the rescue operation was completed. The *Californian* circled the area looking for survivors for about three hours, then resumed its course to Boston.

By the time Lord arose at 4:30, the *Titanic* had been sunk for two hours. When he finally received information about radio messages that the *Titanic* had struck an iceberg, he prepared to rescue survivors. However, Lord failed to act on the first position reported. This failure seems odd because the position would have been close to the ship observed the night before, firing rockets. Instead,

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Lord waited until he had a different position, one farther away and on the other side of the ice field. That position would have excused him from rendering assistance because of the distance and the ice. Sailing to that position prevented the *Californian* from arriving at the true location of the *Titanic*'s sinking until it was too later to render any practical assistance.

Lord's Attempt to Cover Up

Californian reached Boston after the *Carpathia* had docked in New York, and the survivors of the *Titanic* had time to tell their stories. A congressional inquiry into the loss of the liner was scheduled, but Lord did not tell anyone about what he and the crew had seen on April 14–15. He had asked Groves and Stone to write up a report of the night, but did not share the report with anyone. Lord also made certain the log did not include any mention of the rockets.

Lord and Evans were subpoenaed to testify before the inquiry, but mostly about the conditions in the area. Other ships had recorded the *Californian*'s message about ice, and investigators wanted some background information. When reporters asked Lord about what had happened, he told them that the *Californian* had been too far away from the *Titanic* to help. Lord's comments angered Gill, who gave a signed affidavit to the *Boston American*. In it, Gill reported that eight rockets had been seen from *Californian* and that the officers on duty had reported them two or three times to the captain. Lord did not see the newspaper story before he testified, although Senator William Smith was aware of it. He was able to surprise Lord with questions about the rockets during Lord's testimony. Lord was forced to admit that he had been told of at least one rocket and to admit that the ship's log did not include mention of rockets that could have been distress signals from the *Titanic*.

Lord's attempt to dodge responsibility drew criticism from the press. In the British inquiry that followed the American one, Lord was again asked what was seen from the *Californian* on April 14–15. He was more forthcoming, but again tried to deny any failure to come to the *Titanic*'s aid. Both inquiries found Lord negligent for his failure to offer assistance.

Lord's deception about what had been seen from the *Californian*'s bridge led to criticism in the press. His attempts to discredit his own crewmen in public, then being forced to admit the validity of the crewmen's testimony, caused Lord to lose credibility. For many members of the public, Lord's attempt to hide something made them believe he had more to hide.

Historical Interpretations Supporting Lord's Guilt in Failing to Render Assistance

The question of whether or not the *Californian* could have given assistance to the *Titanic* and rescued many of the passengers that were lost has attracted great

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attention. Both the British and American inquiries condemned him. Other members of the *Californian*'s crew wrote criticisms of him, including calling him a "thousand-fold murderer." Others quickly spoke up in his defense. Soon after the loss of the *Titanic*, British solicitor A. M. Foweraker published several articles defending Lord. Lord's defenders became known as "Lordites." They used different arguments, including one that an unidentified mystery ship actually was between the *Titanic* and the *Californian* and was seen by both ships. They also were accused of suppressing unfavorable evidence and playing up comments most supportive of Lord.

After a while, the furor over the *Titanic* died down. The outbreak of World War I only two years later helped push the disaster out of the public consciousness. The controversy over what Lord saw and did or did not do resurfaced in 1955. That year, Walter Lord published *A Night to Remember*, a popular history of the *Titanic* disaster. The book and the movie that was later made from it were critical of Lord and his failure to act. Lord, who had kept a low profile, was spurred to try to clear his name. He filed a series of appeals with the Mercantile Marine Service Association to review the facts and establish whether the *Californian* could have seen the distress rockets and saved the *Titanic*'s passengers.

A series of books on both sides of the argument followed. Those that were critical of Lord included the following. Roy Anderson, in *White Star* (1964), covered the history of the White Star Line. Anderson blamed Lord for not coming to the assistance of the *Titanic*. More important, Leslie Reade and Edward de Groot wrote *The Ship that Stood Still: The Californian and Her Mysterious Role in the Titanic Disaster* (1993). Reade used research by Leslie Harrison, who supported Lord, to discredit the captain's claims. Harrison tried to block publication of *The Ship that Stood Still*, but was unable to prevent an edited version from appearing after Reade's death.

Conclusion

In 1992, Lord's request for a review was finally granted. Because the *Titanic*'s wreck had finally been located, her position at sinking was established by a review board. According to the review board, the distance between the *Californian* and *Titanic* was 13.5 miles, close enough for distress signals to have been seen. The board believed the *Californian*'s crew had seen the distress signals and Lord had failed to act according to established rules. Whether he could have saved all the passengers and crew was debatable. Lord's failure was again documented, 80 years after the fact.

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CON

The RMS *Titanic* tragedy has permeated popular culture since that iconic ocean liner struck an iceberg on its maiden voyage and sank during the early hours of April 15, 1912, resulting in the deaths of approximately 1,500 people. That disaster has been one of the most frequently examined historical maritime incidents. Newspapers, magazines, books, films, television programs, and other media have selectively portrayed *Titanic* crew members and passengers of various classes as heroes, victims, or villains. Depictions often represented opinions and stereotypes describing people who had perished that night and thus could not defend their actions or correct inaccuracies. Myth and fact sparred when some authors' exaggerated, ignored, or fictionalized events in an attempt to intensify drama and romanticize characters and their reactions, usually cast as courageous, to abrupt life-and-death situations and sacrifices they elected to make. Some writers purposefully distorted aspects relevant to the sinking in order to criticize specific individuals and absolve others for the horrific losses suffered that bitterly cold April morning.

Accounts also featured people associated with the *Titanic* who were not aboard that ship. Captain Stanley Lord, who was master on the British steamer SS *Californian*, is perhaps one of the most vilified and misunderstood people who became embroiled in the *Titanic*'s misfortunes. Two official government inquiries in 1912 stated Lord had seen distress signals from the *Californian* and been able to reach the *Titanic* to save survivors but had refused. Discussion whether Lord neglected to assist the *Titanic* represented one of the most controversial *Titanic* topics in the press at the time of the disaster and has been a recurring issue throughout the century since that liner sank. Two sides, the Lordites who believe

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the captain was innocent of negligence and the anti-Lordites who think he was guilty, have debated this issue for decades in various forums and groups such as the Titanic Historical Society, expanding discussion globally on Internet message boards and Titanic Web sites.

Captain Stanley Lord and the *Californian*

When the *Titanic* sank, Captain Stanley Lord was an accomplished seaman. A native of Bolton in Lancashire, England, Lord was born to James and Charlotte Lord on September 13, 1877. Lord and his five older brothers grew up in the Bolton community, where one of his brothers was classmates with Arthur Rostron, who later was captain of the *Carpathia* when that ship's crew rescued *Titanic* victims. As a child, Lord yearned to join the Mercantile Marine so he could see the world. No one in his immediate family had been employed in naval pursuits, and young Lord had no experiences with that profession except through sea stories he had read and heard. Although Lord's parents disliked the idea of their son pursuing a naval career, Lord convinced his father to sign an indenture with Lord on May 7, 1891, at Liverpool, permitting Lord to join J. B. Walmsley & Company for six years of service, beginning on the *Naiad*, a barque belonging to his employers. Lord excelled at seamanship and earned a second mate's certificate and was hired as the *Lurlei*'s second officer.

By 1897, Lord began employment with the West India and Pacific Steam Navigation Company and joined the Mercantile Marine Service Association (MMSA), a professional membership he retained throughout his career. Three years later, Frederick Leyland & Company, Ltd. (often referred to as the Leyland Line) gained control of that navigation company, and Lord agreed to work for them. He secured master certification during February 1901 then qualified for an extra master's certificate in the spring of that year. Lord served on routes from Europe to North and South America and Africa. He participated in training events, including a lifeboat exercise involving 1,000 sailors at an Essex beach in September 1904. Lord's achievements surpassed those of many officers serving on British vessels. His peers admired his capabilities, work ethic, and conduct, describing Lord as responsible and methodical.

Lord first served as a commander during 1906. He was master of the *Antillian*, *Louisianian*, and *William Cliff* prior to service on the *Californian*. Caledon Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, Ltd. built the *Californian* at Dundee, Scotland, in 1901. Designed to transport cotton and passengers, the *Californian*, owned by the Leyland Line, weighed 6,223 tons and was approximately 447 feet long, almost 54 feet wide, and 35 feet deep. That steamer completed its maiden trip in 1902. Starting in 1911, Lord served as the *Californian*'s fourth captain, guiding that cargo steamer filled with cotton bales between New Orleans, Louisiana, and Le Havre, France.

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April 14, 1912

On April 5, 1912, Lord and a crew of approximately 50 men departed from Victoria Docks at London, England, in the *Californian*. No passengers were aboard for that trip. As the *Californian* moved westward toward its destination, Boston, Massachusetts, ship crews also traveling in that region sent wireless communications the *Californian* received that stated ice was present on the North Atlantic Ocean shipping routes.



Jack Phillips, wireless operator on the *Titanic*, 1912. (The National Archives/Heritage-Images/StockphotoPro)

Lord stood on the *Californian*'s bridge to survey the sea on the evening of April 14. He saw three icebergs at 6:30 that night and had his ship's wireless operator, Cyril Furmstone Evans, warn the Leyland Line vessel, *Antillian*, regarding the ice hazard. In that message, Evans included the *Californian*'s location, 42° 5′ N, 49° 9′ W, at that time. Later, Lord detected ice

Jack Phillips and the *Titanic*'s Wireless

The wireless operator on the RMS *Titanic* who took the warning of icebergs from the SS *Californian*, but then admonished the operator on the *Californian* for interrupting his duties, was John George "Jack" Phillips. He was born on April 11, 1887, at Farncombe, Surrey, southwest of London. His father, George Alfred Phillips, was a draper, originally from Wiltshire, and it was expected that Jack might go into the family business as did one of his older sisters. The young Jack Phillips went to school at Godalming and then started working at the local post office. It was there that he learned about telegraphy and managed to find work for the Marconi Company in 1906.

Phillips went to work for the White Star Line and was appointed to the *Teutonic*, and then to the *Campania*, the *Corsica*, the *Victorian*, the *Pretorian*, the *Lusitania*, and then the *Mauretania*, before working at the Marconi Station near Cliften, Ireland. He then went back to sea on the *Adriatic* and the *Oceanic*. During this time he sent out thousands of messengers for passengers—something extremely lucrative for the shipping line. It was as a result of this that he was said to have been annoyed at the interruption by the message sent by the *Californian*.

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in his steamer's path and ordered his crew to cut power to the engines at 10:21 P.M. The *Californian* stopped next to the eastern side of an immense field of ice approximately 30 miles in dimension. Lord had never maneuvered vessels near field ice and decided to delay the *Californian*'s movement until the next morning when sunlight would aid him to evaluate the situation. His decision to stop was a typical response many sailors chose when confronted with ice fields. Lord used his compass to determine the *Californian*'s position was 42° 5′ N, 50° 7′ W when it stopped.

To alert vessels concerning the ice field, Lord told Evans at approximately 11:00 to issue a radio message that stated the *Californian* had ceased movement because of ice. The *Titanic*'s wireless operator, Jack Phillips, responded to the *Californian*'s warning by tapping out an abrupt message stating that he was busy and to leave him alone. On the *Californian*, Evans, who had been working since early that morning, left his wireless equipment after 11:30 and fell asleep. About that time, Lord and several crew members saw a ship stop about five miles south-southeast of the *Californian* and decided that it was another steamer. They used Morse lamps, which rotated 360 degrees and could be seen at least 16 miles away, especially in a clear sky like they experienced that night, to signal the vessel, but it did not respond.

About 20 minutes before midnight, the *Titanic* hit an iceberg and began filling with seawater. Phillips issued an SOS message, stating that the *Titanic* was in distress at 41° 46′ N, 50° 14′ W. As water filled the *Titanic*'s lower levels, passengers and crew put on flotation vests and began assembling on decks near lifeboats, which there were not enough of for everyone aboard. In the distance, about five miles away, many people on the *Titanic* saw ship lights. Crew members began firing distress signals approximately 200 feet high in the sky and using similar lamps like the *Californian* had to send Morse code messages, hoping that unidentified ship and any others nearby would assist to save *Titanic* passengers. The mystery ship approached the *Titanic* but then departed from sight without helping.

April 15, 1912

Meanwhile, by 12:40 A.M. Lord, tired by a full day's work and wearing his clothes and boots, napped in the chartroom. He had ordered the second officer, Herbert Stone, to wake him if needed. Stone used a speaking tube around 1:15 to tell Lord the steamer they had seen was moving southwest. Stone reported he had seen a rocket low in the sky near the steamer and used Morse lamps to signal it. Because he did not receive any responses before the steamer vanished from view in the southwest, Stone decided that the rocket had not been urgent. Lord resumed sleeping, feeling assured the steamer did not need assistance.

Californian officers and crew members who were awake during the night observed rockets at a distance in the sky southeast of their ship's position. They

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thought they were seeing signals between ships from the same shipping line or fireworks for a party, not distress flares. The flares were low on the horizon, not high like distress signals, and the crew did not hear explosions associated with emergency rockets. Later, Lord stressed that if he and his men had been aware of the *Titanic*'s distress calls and signals, they would have attempted to move through the ice in the dark and headed to the *Titanic*.

By dawn on April 15, Evans resumed monitoring radio operations, reporting the *Californian*'s coordinates at 5:15 A.M. Receiving messages from the ships *Frankfurt* then *Virginian*, the *Californian* crew became aware that the *Titanic* had sunk. About 6:00 Lord ordered his crew to maneuver through the ice field until they could proceed at full speed to the disaster site according to coordinates in the *Titanic*'s distress messages. When the *Californian* reached those coordinates, Lord saw no signs of the *Titanic*.

Hoping to find that ship, Lord guided the *Californian* south until he detected the *Carpathia* and its crew led by Captain Rostron surveying the *Titanic*'s actual sinking site where debris such as deck chairs floated on the surface. Lord estimated coordinates where the *Titanic* sank were 41° 33′ N, 50° 1′ W, approximately 33 miles from where the *Californian* had been stopped. The *Californian* arrived after the *Carpathia*'s crew had secured *Titanic* survivors from lifeboats. Lord and his crew searched the area for anyone the rescuers might have missed but did not find anyone. By 11:20 A.M., Lord ordered his crew to head toward Boston where they docked on April 19.

Official Inquiries

Soon after his arrival in Massachusetts, Lord traveled to Washington, D.C., when a U.S. Senate Commerce Committee chaired by Senator William Alden Smith requested Lord to be a witness at a government hearing investigating why the *Titanic* sank. On April 26, 1912, the committee questioned Lord and two *Californian* crew members, Evans and boilerman Ernest Gill, who had received $500 from the *Boston American* for his account. Gill claimed Lord had seen a moving passenger ship's port side light, implying that vessel had been the *Titanic*, and distress flares but refused to help. Lord denied Gill's allegations, but the senators accepted Gill's account as the truth.

In its May 28, 1912, report, Smith and committee members asserted their belief that the *Californian* had been closer to the *Titanic* than Lord indicated and concluded the ship lights the *Titanic* survivors had seen had been the *Californian*'s lights. Committee members insisted that if the *Californian* crew had taken action when they saw the flares they could have rescued everyone on the *Titanic*. The committee rebuked Lord for his inaction and negligence, establishing a precedent for further scrutiny of Lord and preserving its harsh judgments in public records, which omitted many crucial facts.

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Lord went to Liverpool to give a statement to Leyland Line Marine Superintendent Captain Fry and became aware that Charles Victor Groves, the *Californian*'s third officer, also said the ship the *Californian* crew saw on April 14–15 was a passenger vessel, suggesting it was the *Titanic*, and that he had seen a port side light and watched the deck lights go out prior to midnight. Lord clarified that was the first time he had heard Groves make that claim.

He next appeared as a witness to assist the British Board of Trade inquiry led by John Charles Bigham, formally known as Lord Mersey, examining why the *Titanic* sank. During those hearings in London, Lord testified on May 14 and was never designated as a defendant or tried for any crimes. He was represented by his employer's counselor, C. Robertson Dunlop, who did not interact with Lord outside the inquiry to comprehend Lord's navigational evidence. On May 15, Lord was dismayed when Lord Mersey urged Groves to agree with him that the *Californian* crew had seen the *Titanic* nearby. Lord returned to Liverpool that night because he was scheduled to sail three days later but was told by the marine superintendent to retrieve his belongings from the ship because he would not be going to sea.

In June, a month after Lord concluded his testimony and was not present to defend himself, British investigators questioned why Lord and the *Californian* had not reached the disaster site until hours after the *Titanic* sank. Like the U.S. investigators, the British officials decided that the unidentified ship the survivors stated they had seen near the *Titanic* was the *Californian*, despite Lord's assertions that his ship had been stationary throughout the night.

At the British inquiry, officials accepted the *Titanic*'s position in messages as valid and dismissed other evidence as inaccurate. Leyland & Company presented the British investigators a communication sent from the *Californian*, noting its position, to the *Antillian* before the *Titanic* sank, but this evidence was discounted. Investigators believed witnesses who lacked credibility and did not investigate information provided by more reliable witnesses such as Stone, who stated the ship he had seen near the *Californian* was moving normally and not in distress.

A July 30, 1912, report written by Lord Mersey stated the *Californian* had been within 8 to 10 miles from the *Titanic*, witnessed distress signals, and could have safely navigated to the disaster site and rescued *Titanic* survivors. The White Star Line supported the government's findings, which focused on Lord and not the line's negligence to provide sufficient lifeboats. Despite its harsh charges regarding Lord, the Board of Trade did not seek his prosecution and permitted Lord to retain his certification.

Persecution of Captain Lord

Lord initially became aware of allegations accusing him of negligence in newspaper accounts of the inquiry's report. He contacted the MMSA for assistance

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and believed those accusations would be corrected if he presented evidence. On August 10, 1912, Lord wrote the Board of Trade about the hearing, specifying facts about the *Californian*'s location. He stated the investigators had not consulted logbooks or sought other ships in the area. Lord emphasized the distance between the *Californian* and *Titanic* would have delayed any rescue response if he had been aware of the sinking and the *Californian* would have been unable to reach *Titanic* survivors before the *Carpathia* did. He asked the board to reconsider its judgment against him so people would know he was not guilty of any wrongdoing regarding the *Titanic*.

The British inquiry report and public disdain ended Lord's career with Leyland & Company when its directors pressured for Lord's dismissal. Lord surrendered his commission on August 13. Leyland executives, who believed in Lord's innocence, stated he might be reinstated if the Board of Trade reversed its decision against him. Lord and MMSA officials unsuccessfully sought for the Board of Trade to reconsider Lord's evidence. The MMSA *Reporter* printed a letter from Lord, presenting information omitted from the inquiry and countering false charges regarding his conduct as *Californian* captain. Lord released a statement, declaring the *Californian* was not the ship seen from the *Titanic* and that he had not acted negligently. He stressed the improbability of implications he could have rescued the *Titanic*'s survivors and insisted he was a qualified commander who served with integrity and professionalism.

Lord's attempts to prove his innocence were mostly ignored. Public opinion blamed Lord for abandoning *Titanic* survivors. Newspapers and magazines criticized Lord, printing stories with incorrect information and attacking his character by labeling him a drunkard, liar, and coward. During the hearing, Attorney General Sir Rufus Isaacs had hinted Lord had been inebriated while commanding the *Californian*. Lord, who insisted he was always sober, offered additional evidence in letters from colleagues, including *Carpathia* Captain Rostron who told Lord that, in his opinion, Lord Mersey had acted unprofessionally. W. H. Baker sent Lord a letter saying he had heard crew members of the *Mount Temple* state that their ship had been near the *Titanic* and left without helping. The Board of Trade did not secure testimony and facts to verify any of these people's information. Lord contacted A. H. Gill, a Parliament member from Bolton, and went to the House of Commons on October 23, 1912, but was frustrated in his efforts to obtain justice.

Professional Survival

By February 1913, Lord resumed commanding ships, sailing for the Nitrate Producers Steamship Company. Frank Strachan, the Leyland Line's United States agent, had recommended Lord to that company's owner, John Latta. That year, Lord's dilemma attracted supporters such as Albert Moulton Foweraker, an attorney and yachting enthusiast from Cornwall. Foweraker wrote articles

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titled "A Miscarriage of Justice," which *Nautical Magazine* printed in several 1913 issues. He elaborated why evidence proved Lord could not have rescued the *Titanic*'s survivors. Prominent journalist Filson Young endorsed Lord in major periodicals, stating people's biases, not facts, had unjustly censured Lord.

In August 1913, Lord continued efforts to secure a new hearing of his evidence and referred to Foweraker's articles in his request to the Board of Trade. Lord commented that he suffered daily because of the false allegations and desired to prove his innocence to restore his reputation. He stated that if the inquiry had attempted to identify steamers near the *Titanic* they would have realized which one was the mystery ship and not have targeted him.

Lord commanded Nitrate Producers Steamship Company vessels for fourteen years, serving during World War I by ferrying horses and eluding submarine attacks on his ship. He retired in March 1927 when cataracts impaired his vision. During the next three decades, Lord did not dwell on the unfair incriminations he had endured in 1912.

Renewed Publicity

The movie *A Night to Remember*, released in 1958, and Walter Lord's book of the same title which it was based on, provoked Lord's outrage that long-forgotten accusations against him had resurfaced. He was incredulous that the film portrayed the *Californian* as being near the *Titanic* when it sank and that Lord had refused to help. Stating he wanted to clear his name, Lord consulted MMSA officials and asserted that government officials had wrongly maligned him in 1912.

That association's general secretary Leslie Harrison, who was born in July 1912, consulted Lord's evidence to familiarize himself with facts. Assured of Lord's credibility, Harrison defended Lord to the press, which had printed numerous articles critical of Lord based on what the film claimed had happened. Harrison wrote the film's producer, book's publisher, and Walter Lord, requesting they recognize Lord's evidence, but those individuals stated they considered the inquiry report factual. He complained to theater managers to stop showing *A Night to Remember*, but the film continued to be distributed commercially and to schools. Lord considered filing libel lawsuits, but poor health limited his activities. The stress weakened Lord, who had been widowed when his wife, Mabel, died in 1957.

Lord had a detailed affidavit of his experiences the night *Titanic* sunk notarized on June 25, 1959, hoping that the statement might be used eventually to exonerate him. Again, he emphasized the *Californian* had been stopped in an ice field from before midnight through dawn on April 14–15, 1912, and could not have been the steamer seen near the *Titanic*. Lord gathered documentation, such as his logbooks and charts, which the 1912 U.S. and British inquiries had not allowed him to submit as evidence, and presented them to Harrison.

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Posthumous Deliberations

Lord's January 24, 1962, death did not end the controversy regarding his command of the *Californian* in April 1912. His son, Stanley Tutton Lord, who had been born four years prior to the *Titanic* tragedy, defended his father's honor for the next 30 years until he died in 1994. Harrison also continued seeking public vindication for Lord. In early September 1963, Harrison contacted British Minister of Transport Ernest Marples, requesting he reexamine evidence from the 1912 inquiry and consider information that had became available since then in an effort to exonerate Lord posthumously.

For example, Arthur Swinson and Stanley Williamson wrote a British Broadcasting Corporation script, "The Other Ship," which discussed how Henrik Naess admitted to Norway's consul in Iceland that the *Samson*, a Norwegian vessel on which he had served as first officer in April 1912, had been near the *Titanic*. Naess stated that he and the *Samson*'s lookout had observed ship lights and rockets on April 14–15, 1912, and that those lights vanished. Without a wireless radio to receive messages, Naess said the *Samson* had quickly departed because the crew misinterpreted the rockets as possibly being from a ship with revenue personnel who had seen the Norwegians poaching seals. Naess only realized they had been mistaken when he learned about the *Titanic* after returning to port and looked at that date in the *Samson*'s logbook. His admission was classified and first publicly released in April 1962, several months after Lord's death.

By February 1965, the MMSA, frustrated because Marples had rejected Harrison's 1963 petition for a hearing, again prepared to request a new investigation of Lord to prove he had not acted dishonorably. The group made another attempt in March 1968 for the Board of Trade to review unexamined evidence, including an affidavit by science teacher Lawrence Beesley, a *Titanic* survivor, who stated that the ship he saw near the *Titanic* was not the *Californian*. Beesley also said he saw all the *Titanic*'s distress flares fired before the lifeboat he was in floated away from the *Titanic* at approximately 1:30 A.M. Crew members on the *Californian* had seen flares as late as 2 A.M.

Historical Perspective and Analysis

Government refusal to consider new evidence provoked several authors, many of them with seafaring experience, to present historical narratives addressing Lord and the *Californian* based on available primary resources. Peter Padfield, who had been a Merchant Navy officer, defended Lord in his 1966 book, *The Titanic and the Californian*, examining how the British inquiry failed Lord by focusing on unreliable witnesses, ignoring facts, misunderstanding coincidences, and distorting information. Padfield emphasized that Lord Mersey had purposefully concentrated on Lord to prevent criticism of British shipping from rivals,

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particularly Germans, and to obscure the Board of Trade's insufficient enforcement of emergency regulations. By holding Lord accountable for failing to rescue survivors, Padfield suggested the Board of Trade could avoid scrutiny of *Titanic* crew errors.

In 1968 John C. Carrothers, who served as an engineer for several shipping lines, reassessed the 1912 U.S. and British inquiries in a *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* article. Carrothers had previously published an April 1962 essay in that journal that was critical of Lord based on those inquiries' reports, then received a letter from Harrison that alerted him to evidence omitted from or misconstrued during the hearings. Carrothers's 1968 article emphasized facts that proved Lord had not been guilty of ignoring the *Titanic*. Carrothers explained how several witnesses' testimony was flawed, noted Lord Mersey's inexperience with sea vessels and navigation, and suggested reasons the Board of Trade focused on Lord, including an attempt to prevent negative publicity about prominent people, including White Star Line executive J. Bruce Ismay, surviving in lifeboats while so many passengers drowned or died from hypothermia.

The 1985 discovery of the sunken *Titanic* revealed that site deviated south by approximately 3 miles and east by 13 miles from the location specified in emergency messages Phillips sent. Using Lord's materials, Harrison wrote the book, *A Titanic Myth: The Californian Incident*, which was initially published in 1986 and reissued since with varying titles into the 1990s. Harrison examined Board of Trade files the Public Record Office made available to researchers. Among his many arguments supporting Lord's innocence, Harrison emphasized that both the U.S. and British inquiries relied on inaccurate locations for the *Californian* and *Titanic*. Unlike Padfield, Harrison did not think the Board of Trade inquiry intentionally tried to frame Lord for not rescuing *Titanic* survivors. He noted what he perceived as the incompetence of the people directing both inquiries and stressed that Lord Mersey and his legal peers misused their power because they had been confident of Lord's guilt and had no motivation to investigate if any other vessels might have been the mystery ship.

In 1990, the British government agreed to Transport Secretary Cecil Parkinson's request to reexamine the 1912 inquiry. Marine Accident Investigation Branch (MAIB) director Captain Peter Marriott asked James de Coverley, branch deputy chief inspector, to investigate. De Coverly concluded that the *Californian* had been a distance from 17 to 20 miles north of the *Titanic* and Lord could not have witnessed the sinking. Despite this acknowledgment of the ship's position, the MAIB report released on April 2, 1992, stated Lord had observed the *Titanic*'s distress signals. The report admitted Lord and the *Californian* would not have been able to reach the disaster site in time to assist survivors.

Also in 1992 Lieutenant Commander Craig McLean of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and reporter David L. Eno published "The Case for Captain Lord" in *Naval History*. Eno secured information in

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Norway and Iceland regarding Naess and the *Samson* that he stated proved that that vessel had been the mystery ship viewed from the *Titanic*. The authors presented facts about the *Californian*'s location, including a diagram showing how the Earth's curvature would have affected observations of flares from ships at varying distances. McLean and Eno suggested the *Californian* crew had simultaneously seen the *Samson* and flares sent from an unseen ship farther away, probably the *Titanic*. They determined both inquiries had wrongly accused Lord of seeing the sinking *Titanic* and failing to help.

In the early 21st century, Senan Molony, an Irish journalist and *Titanic* historian, examined evidence relevant to Lord and the *Californian* during the *Titanic* disaster. In his comprehensive books (2006, 2008), particularly *Titanic and the Mystery Ship*, Molony discounted allegations that the *Californian* had been the ship *Titanic* survivors stated they had seen near the sinking liner. He explained why various assumptions and statements the inquiries had relied on in 1912 were implausible, illogical, or inconsistent with facts. British reporter Thomas B. Williams (2007) also assessed records to write an account, *Titanic and the Californian*, favoring Lord, promoting his innocence and criticizing the faulty inquiry conclusions regarding the *Californian*'s location and Lord's character.

Conclusion

Most Lordites agree that the 1912 inquiries swiftly found fault with the *Californian* captain based on investigators' review of inadequate and flawed evidence. Those investigators' emotional reactions to the *Titanic* tragedy and impulsiveness to blame someone resulted in the persisting misunderstandings that continued to taint Lord's reputation even after his death. Not considering all relevant evidence, the investigators assumed the *Californian* was the mystery ship *Titanic* survivors saw and quickly decided Lord was guilty without allowing him the opportunity to defend himself and appeal their rushed judgments. The inquiry committees disregarded Lord's statement that the *Californian* had been stopped that night and did not seek information about other ships and captains in the North Atlantic's busy shipping lanes nor evaluate witnesses' testimony completely to determine possible reasons for differing accounts.

Both the investigators and many writers dismissed Lord's insistence that he had seen other steamers that night but not the *Titanic*. The immense size of the brightly illuminated *Titanic* would have easily differentiated it from other ships on transatlantic routes during 1912 because most of those vessels were a maximum of 7,000 tons with those over 20,000 tons being limited to 12 ships. Lord knew the ship he saw several miles from the *Californian* was not the *Titanic* because he had previously seen the *Olympic*, the *Titanic*'s sister ship, from five miles away. The sidelights on the ship Lord and his crew saw indicated that vessel was heading west, not east, like the *Titanic* had been traveling.

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Facts regarding the ships' coordinates, which were validated in the late 20th century, proved Lord had been telling the truth. Even if Lord had known about the *Titanic*'s distress, his efforts to reach that vessel would have required several hours for him to remove the *Californian* from the ice field and steam to the coordinates in messages and then continue searching for the *Titanic* when he could not find it at that site. At that time Lord lacked access to such modern technological devices as satellite imagery or sonar, which might have assisted rescue attempts. Neither inquiry addressed whether Lord's vision was a factor or if cataracts may have blurred his vision.

Knowing that he had done nothing wrong on April 14–15, Lord trusted that the inquiries would focus on shipping safety and how to prevent future disasters. His naivete made him vulnerable to politicians who lacked navigational experience and wanted to appease colleagues and public outrage by targeting someone easy to vilify. Their errors became deeply enmeshed in *Titanic* popular culture, which often appropriated and reiterated false information from the inquiries for entertainment purposes instead of recognizing and highlighting truths.

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3

The assassins of Archduke Ferdinand were funded by the Serbian government.

PRO	László Kocsis
CON	Steve Garrin

PRO

Napoleon unleashed nationalism on Europe and this led to the emergence of the Pan-Slavic movement among the Slavic people, which called for regaining lost Slavic supremacy in order to achieve unity of all Slavic peoples. Russia was the main ideological sponsor because it coincided with Slavic imperialist interests—unifying all Slavs under the tsardom of Russia and thus expanding the vast empire farther west, encompassing half of the "other half" of Europe. This is still reflected in the same three colors for the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Serbia, and Russia, adopted during the 1848–1849 Pan-Slavic congress held in Prague. The dream came true after World War II, when the Russian Empire, later the Soviet Union, seized control of half of Europe.

The Pan-Slavic movement considered the existence of Austria-Hungary as the main obstacle of uniting the territories inhabited entirely or partially by Slavs. The main focal point was the territorial unity of northern Slavic (Czech, Russian) and southern Slavic people, such as the Serbians, Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. The Polish left this ideology as they rightfully saw Russia as the biggest threat to their national survival and not Austria-Hungary. Northern Pan-Slavism was led by the Czechs, and the southern stream was led by the Serbs, who have naturally concentrated their efforts on the Balkans, home of the southern Slavic people, not only where the significant non-Slavic population such as the Albanians, Hungarians, Vlachs (Romanians), and Greeks had been ruled from the medieval ages by the three great powers in the region but also in Austria, which embodied the Habsburg monarchy. In 1867 Austria became Austria-Hungary, the kingdom of Hungary until 1526, the Ottoman Empire until 1913, and the Republic of Venicel each had its sphere of influence. The southern Pan-Slavic movement advocated the independence and union of the Slavic peoples in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire.

After the congress of Berlin of 1815, the Serbs gained autonomy from the decaying Ottoman Empire, but almost immediately after began seeking expansion to remove the other southern Slavs from under Serbian rule. The Pan-Serbian

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movement gained momentum after 1878 when Serbia regained independence from Turkey, after losing the epic battle of Kosovo in 1389. Austria feared that Slav nationalists would endanger its empire, and this fear was justified as Pan-Slavism in the Balkans, contrary to Poland or the Baltics, often turned to Russia for support. Russia's victories over the Ottoman Empire made it possible for Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Romania to become independent by the end of the 19th century.

Some Serbian intellectuals sought to unite all of the southern Balkan Slavs, whether Orthodox, Catholic, or Muslim, under their rule, transforming it into Pan-Serbism, an ideology that became prominent in the whole Serbian society and considered the supreme national goal. Pan-Serbism aimed at unifying all the Serbian people spread over the Balkans, and thus a Serbian-Nationalist movement was born. Pan-Serbism was fueled from anger over 500 years of Turkish rule, but it also became anti-Hapsburg, especially after Bosnia's annexation in 1908 by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Serbians considered Bosnia a part of their homeland and saw the annexation as a territorial conquest from Serbia, although in reality the Ottoman Empire left Bosnia under Austrian administration since 1878. The Pan-Serbism went even further, asserting the Serbian supremacy or preeminence over all Slavic people or nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula and asserting its right to conquer all the Slav lands just south of the Danube.

Kept at bay by Austria in the north, the Serbs directed their efforts toward the south on the Ottomans, and toward the east on the Bulgarian borders. After a stalemate with the Bulgars in 1885, they joined forces with the Bulgars and Greeks toward defeating the Ottoman Empire in first Balkan War in 1912. The Serb intelligentsia and diplomacy meanwhile were claiming that Macedonia had the essential Serbian identity, just as the opposite was claimed by the Bulgarians, which led to the second Balkan War in 1913, ending in a Serbian victory with the help of its allies: Greece, Romania, and Turkey, the latter seeking revenge over Bulgaria for previous territorial losses. Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece, Southern Trace was seized by Greece, and Turkey could hold Rumelia, its last foothold on the European continent. Greatly strengthened and with morale at its peak, in 1914, right after Pan-Serbism had been directed northwest toward Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed to seize as much territory as possible from the monarchy, with the help of Russia. By 1914 Pašić had articulated a policy that Serbia would seek to incorporate all regions that contained Serb and other southern Slav populations, laying the foundation for what would become Yugoslavia. The idea was to unite lands that were or had historically been Serbian or where a significant minority of Serbs lived. The promoters of this idea cited a favorite slogan in the Balkans: "only unity can save the nation, in this case the Serbs."

In Austria-Hungary, southern Slavs were scattered among several entities: Slovenes were living in the Krajina region of Austria, and Croats were inhabiting Istria and had an autonomous province called the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, in

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personal union with the kingdom of Hungary, since 1100. In other parts like Bosnia-Herzegovina they lived mixed with Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, being under direct Austrian control. Croats were dominating the Austrian autonomous kingdom of Dalmatia. In Austria-Hungary, the idea of Austroslavism was attractive, which sought to unite Austrians with the Slavic peoples outside of the state of Serbia.

The greater Serbia ideal was formally launched by Serbian minister Ilija Garašanin's work, called the Načertanije, created in 1844, which aimed at uniting the Serbian people from across Eastern Europe. This plan, hypothetical in the extreme, was taken quite literally by later extremists, such as the terrorists in the organization that came to be known the Black Hand.

Nineteenth-century Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić claimed that all southern Slavs that speak the štokavian dialect are Serbs who speak the Serbian language, emphasizing what united southern Slavs rather than the religious differences that had divided them. Therefore, it has often been suggested that the Muslims of Bosnia are the descendants of Serbs who converted from Orthodox Christianity to Islam under the rule of the Ottoman Empire; a similar claim was made by the Croats but with Catholic, therefore Croat, origin.

Ironically the Habsburg Empire at the beginning supported certain unification efforts among the Slavs, financing the formation of the Matica srpska (Serbian Mother) in 1826 and supporting the Serbian Orthodox Church, but it soon came to oppose Pan-Slavismas, a detrimental factor to its own unity. The government in Vienna became suspicious when these institutions turned into political propaganda machinery aimed at secession and Serbian expansion into Austrian territory.

As Pan-Serbism was the creator of Yugoslavia, it also had the biggest role in its final dissolution. The memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts from 1986 set in motion the Pan-Serbian movement of the late 1980s by claiming alleged systematic discrimination against Serbs and Serbia, culminating in the Serbs of Kosovo becoming the victims of genocide, Yugoslavia being under Croatian-Slovene hegemony, and the Serbs being oppressed in Yugoslavia as a nation. The oppression was especially brutal in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija and in Croatia, where their status is "the worst ever as far as recorded history goes." The memorandum claimed that Serbia was being economically exploited, with much of her wealth being drained off and redistributed to the other republics. The existing borders between the Yugoslav republics are claimed to be drawn arbitrarily by dominant Croatian and Slovene communists, motivated supposedly by anti-Serbian feelings. The Croatians and Slovenes accused Serbia for apathy toward non-Serbian interests, for example, in the case of the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes ceding Istria to Italy, a move that angered local Croatian citizens and left Slovenia with no access to the sea after World War I.

The Serbian society claimed the necessity of the breakup of Yugoslavia on greater Serbian lines was to readjust Yugoslavia and to redress the alleged bias against Serbia. The greater Serbia of the early 1990s included all or most of Croatia,

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all of Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and also naturally called for the abolition of the autonomy of Serbian provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, rejecting the existing boundaries as the artificial creation of Tito's partisans. This led to the rise of Slobodan Milošević, who in turn supported the extremely nationalistic groups, insisting on the demand for "all Serbs in one state." The means of achieving it was the widespread use of terror and ethnic cleansing to ensure that ethnically homogenous territories could be established, without opposition from potentially disloyal minority groups. The ideal didn't take into account, however, that the borders of present Serbia are still questionable, on similar grounds, since the vast majority of Albanians, Bosnians, or Hungarians who are citizens of Serbia living mainly in Kosovo, Sandhzak, and Vojvodina regions want, naturally, to live in their respective national states. When Kosovo broke away, Serbia used this time as a softer ethnic cleansing in Vojvodina to hold this territory, making psychological pressure unbearable for the Hungarian minority and forcing them to emigrate from their ancestral land and bringing hundreds of thousands of Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia.

The original idea of Europe-wide Pan-Slavism has vanished after the 1990s, failing to establish and harmonize Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but it still has an appeal in Russia, Serbia, and Slovakia. As a result of the wars accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of southern Slavs became victims of genocide, committed by their fellow Slav "brothers," mostly in Bosnia, with the great majority of the perpetrators being Serbians. The accused or convicted leaders, most of them Serbs, were tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICFY) for war crimes and crimes against humanity, proving that the chauvinistic irredentist drive that led to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and the two world wars can cause only sufferings and offers no solutions even one century after.

International Developments in the Power Relations, before the Assassination

The French–Russian secret alliance enlarged later with Britain and the entente cordiale in 1907 convinced the Emperor Franz Joseph that only Germany could offer suitable support for Austria. The 1908 annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire sparked an international crisis, Russia having felt itself betrayed by Austria, who in turn promised free access for the Russian fleet through the Dardanelles, even in cases of war. In exchange for the annexation, however, Austria-Hungary gave up the Sandzhak in 1909, and Britain finally agreed, also fearing Mediterranean rule threatened by the Russian presence. Germany put pressure on Russia and the Ottomans to accept annexation, and the sultan received serious monetary compensation for it from Austria.

The annexation was bitterly opposed by Serbia, who targeted Bosnia as the future most probable area of territorial expansion. The annexation was also a

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priority opposed by the Hungarian politicians of the dualist monarchy, considering it an unnecessary provocation for Slavic nationalism. It has been proven that both the Serb and the Croat nationalists were working on the creation of a greater Serbia and greater Croatia, respectively, and both wanted to incorporate Bosnia fully into their empire. Although outraged by the annexation, which also profited Serbia, it took possession of the Sandzhak together with Montenegro after the Austro-Hungarian withdrawal from that region as an exchange for the annexation, shortly after Serbia apparently took a conciliatory position. On March 31, 1909, it committed itself without sincerity to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Austria-Hungary, to drop its attitude of protest with respect to the newly annexed provinces, and to maintain good neighborly relations with the monarchy. The acceptance was carried out mainly for diversion purposes in order to distract attention about its real goals—that of the conquest of Bosnia and many more Austro-Hungarian territories. The annexation further weakened the Ottoman's prestige as the day following it Bulgaria declared its full independence, so the potential enemy lines had been drawn fairly close to Istanbul.

In 1911 the Balkan alliance was created under Russian hegemony, which principally was directed toward the liberation of the people under Ottoman rule but also against Austria-Hungary. The Romania participation in the second Balkan War was signaling Romanian expansionist goals into Transylvania at the expense of Hungary. In June 1913 Serbia and Romania concluded a secret agreement in Bucharest for the annexation of large Hungarian territories. Hungary's Prime Minister Tisza István tried to forge a Hungarian–Romanian understanding, but this hurt Russian and French interests, leading to the assassination of the Hungarian Greek Catholic bishop in Debrecen. The Russian diplomacy promised Transylvania for Romania, while Vojvodina and any other Hungarian or Austrian territory the Serbs would be able to conquer for Serbia.

Prior to the assassination in 1914, Serbia had begun preparations for war. In 1911 it set up three listening posts on the Austro-Hungarian border and drew up military cartography of the border region. The Serbian border guard officials also had the unofficial tasks of organizing revolutionary groups in Bosnia, such as the Narodna Odbrana, and forming contacts with Bosnian agitators in order to both enroll volunteers and to raise an insurrection in the event of war with Austria-Hungary. In the following years, a series of assassination attempts were made against Austro-Hungarian officials in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, culminating in the Sarajevo events of June 1914.

The International Political Objective of the Assassination—Irredentism

Austria-Hungary received the mandate to occupy and administer the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the Treaty of Berlin in 1878,

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which also recognized Serbian independence, while the Ottoman Empire retained official sovereignty. Under the same treaty, Serbia was at last recognized by the great powers as a fully sovereign state, as the kingdom of Serbia. Initially Serbia was content to live within its smaller territory, which encompassed around two-thirds of the ethnic Serbian population. This annexation was viewed with envy by Serbia who hoped to seize Bosnia, but having no military power, it organized subversive organizations like the Narodna Odbrana. This semisecret society called the Defense of the People was part of the institutional network of the Pan-Slavic nationalist movement dedicated to achieve its nationalistic goals by means of assassination.

By 1911 the organization has split tactically. The political leaders in the Serbian Radical Party preferred a more passive approach for the time being with Austria, concentrating on preparing Serbia for the future struggle, but some nihilist army officer members grew impatient, and the more zealous conspiratorially-minded ones founded a new secret society in the kingdom of Serbia in May 1911, the Black Hand (Crna Ruka). The purpose of the nihilist group was to recruit and train partisans for a possible war between Serbia and Austria and eventually free Bosnia from Austria. They organized spies and saboteurs to operate within the empire's provinces including Bosnia and Herzegovina. The society officially known as Unification or Death encompassed different extremely nationalistic ideologies, being similar to the Russian People's Will and the Chinese Assassination Corps, which considered assassination the most suitable means for achieving political goals.

Members of this death squad comprised Serbian army officers who were dissatisfied with the 45-year-long rule of the Obrenović dynasty and especially the authoritarian and outrageous rule of King Alexander I and his wife, Queen Draga, and they murdered him in cold blood in 1903. Alexander's downfall was his policy of strict neutrality in the 1897 Turkish-Greek war, when he should have supported the Greeks, according to the Serbian army's opinion. The 26-year-old king was considered a fool garbed by a wicked seductress, Draga, who was 15 years older than Alexander and was the widow of a Czech engineer and a lady-in-waiting to Alexander's mother, Queen Natalija. The queen also bitterly opposed the marriage, but she was sent into exile by her son, the former king, Milos, who resigned earlier and also quit his office of the commander of the army. Alexander I's many arbitrary and unpopular acts were blamed on Draga's influence, and the prospects that the widow's brother would be nominated heir to the throne in case the marriage should be proven fruitless inspired the Black Hand leader Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević, nicknamed "Apis," to become the perpetrator of the June 1903 coup, which resulted in the butchering of the royal couple in their palace at Belgrade. The assassination had brought the rival King Petar Karađorđević to the Serbian throne, which was considered much more nationalistic and therefore suitable for the purposes of the army.

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In 1909 Austria began to apply pressure to the Serbian authorities to deal with the anti-Austrian elements in their society. The Serbians, with no one else to turn to, had no choice but to comply, so the movement temporarily took a step away from direct action toward education and winning the hearts and minds of the people. In the first Balkan War Russia backed Serbia, the mainly Slavic nations of the Balkan, including Romania, in the name of Pan-Slavism but also Greece against the Turks, while the Western powers included Great Britain, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and Italy that were interested in keeping Turkish territorial integrity. The 1912 London agreement divided the contested territories inhabited by predominantly Muslim or other Slavic people like the *vilayet* of Sandzhak, Kosovo, which included Skopje, Kumanovo, and Tetovo, now part of the Republic of Macedonia, as well the whole of Macedonia between the victors. Emboldened by successes in the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, during which it seized Kosovo and northern Macedonia, Serbia in 1914 wanted to break Austria-Hungary's southern Slav provinces off and whatever it could conquer from the rest so they could be combined into a greater Serbia, which eventually would be called Yugoslavia.

Why Was Franz Ferdinand and Assassination Chosen?

Given the timing—the year of 1914—and the series of Serbian successes even in the years preceding it, it was clear that Serbian politicians were determined to achieve their political goals at any cost, and now, without delay or hesitation. The archduke and heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand, through his Czech fiancée, was becoming increasingly a supporter of a trialist monarchy, including the Slavic people of the monarchy under Czech leadership or together with the resurrection of a greater Croatia, including Dalmatia and Bosnia. The realization of such a trialist confederation, by combining the Slavic lands within the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a third crown, would have made greater Serbia impossible to achieve, with its envisaged borders, so Franz Ferdinand became the only logical target.

This was becoming even more evident in the light of the series of tragedies suffered by the family of the Habsburg Emperor Franz Joseph. The queen, Elisabeth of Bavaria, was killed by an Italian anarchist a few years before their only son, Rudolf, was found dead with his Czech girlfriend Vetshera in Meyerling after a mysterious, supposedly suicidal act. The emperor himself was old, serving already for 66 years, at an age of 80 in 1914, so he was expected to die soon, which did happen two years later in 1916. The heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand planned to create a Slavic kingdom within the monarchy as a bulwark against Serb irredentism, and therefore he was perceived as a threat by the same stream of irredentists. Gavrilo Princip later stated to the Austrian court in Sarajevo that prevented Franz Ferdinand's planned reforms was one of his motivations.

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Technically, the governor of Bosnia Oskar Potiorek was the first target, but the commissioned murderer, Bosnian Muslim Mehmedbašić, failed to prepare the assault from fear and probably remorse. On March 26, 1914, the organizer of the plot on the field Danilo Ilić informed Mehmedbašić that Belgrade had scrapped the mission to kill Potiorek and its plans now were to murder Franz Ferdinand, so he should wait for new orders. The assassination was ordered by the head of the Intelligence Department of the Serbian Army, Colonel Dimitrijević (Apis) acting in his official position, as he confessed to the Serbian Court set up in Saloniki in 1917. Major Vojislav Tankosić took part in the plotting. He was a prominent member of the Black Hand, who was in charge of guerrilla training in the Serbian army by that time. He reached an agreement to transport arms from Belgrade to Sarajevo with fellow Bosnian and former guerrilla fighter and known arms smuggler Milan Ciganović, who promised help in recruiting volunteer murderers. At first, Tankosić provided the assassins one pistol to practice with, the rest of the weapons being delivered later, on May 26. Franz Joseph, the old emperor, was ill, and rumors spread that the heir apparent would not go to Bosnia, therefore the operation was temporarily halted, but after the emperor recovered the operation started again.

Franz Ferdinand made an unfortunate choice by visiting Sarajevo. He was somehow forced to do so, but because of his "unsuitable" choice of consort, he could not take his wife with him on official visits, excepting military missions. That's why he had chosen Sarajevo as the place to inspect the troops, on the 14th anniversary of their morganatic marriage. His love for Sophie made him blind to the dangers, and he decided to visit the turbulent, recently annexed province in an open car, unprotected, amid the warnings of possible assassination attempts. The timing, June 28, was also very unfortunate since it was also the date of Serbian national mourning, called Vidovdan or Saint Vit's Day, when the first battle of Kosovo was lost in 1389 and the medieval Serbian statehood ceased to exist. The anniversary evidently called for patriotic acts eventually resembling those of Miloš Obilić, the victorious sultan who had been assassinated on that same day, as a deserter walked into the sultan's tent, leaving him unprepared.

Another reason for these actions was the Serbian tradition of assassination of royals or important politicians, a tradition that dates back as early as 1389 and continues to the present day. Among a series of failed attempts against Austrian officials, in 1903 the Black Hand, in fact led by Colonel Apis, stormed the Serbian Royal Palace and brutally assassinated King Alexander I and Queen Draga, shot 30 times then eviscerated and mutilated their body parts and threw them out the window. The royal guard general Petrović was also killed. Tankosić organized the subsequent murders of Queen Draga's brothers. In the five years prior to 1914, lone assassins—mostly ethnic Serb citizens of Austria-Hungary—made a series of unsuccessful assassination attempts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina against Austro-Hungarian officials. The most famous of these was Bogdan Žerajić's attempt on June

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15, 1910, which aimed to kill the iron-fisted governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Marijan Verešanin. Žerajić was a 22-year-old orthodox Serb from Herzegovina who made frequent trips to Belgrade. Just 12 days before the attempt, Žerajić had made an aborted attempt on the life of Emperor Franz Joseph. The failed assassination attempt and the subsequent suicide of Žerajić gave inspiration to future Serbian assassins, including Princip and his accomplice Čabrinović. Princip stated that "Žerajić was my first model. When I was seventeen, I spent whole nights at his grave, reflecting on our wretched condition and thinking of him. It was that place where I made up my mind to perpetrate an outrage, sooner or later."

Colonel Apis, as member of the general staff of the Serbian army, decided to become a specialist in terrorism. In 1911 he organized an attempt to assassinate Emperor Franz Josef. When this failed, he turned his attention to the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand. When he heard that Franz Ferdinand was planning to visit Sarajevo, he sent three members of the Black Hand group, Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović, and Trifko Grabež from Serbia, to assassinate him. The assassins' motives were consistent with the movement that later became known as Young Bosnia, encompassing individuals, groups, and organizations like the Narodna Odbrana, and the Black Hand, who favored the violent destruction of Austria-Hungary to make way for the unification of the southern Slavs with Serbia.

Apis had personal expertise in assassinations; the Serbian Parliament praised him as "the savior of the fatherland" after his 1903 rampage. Similar recognition was granted by many to the assassins of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Gingic in 2003, considered a traitor, who had handed over national hero and war criminal Slobodan Milosevic to the ICTY in the Hague, for trial on charges of genocide and war crimes.

Before that, Milosevic successfully assassinated his opponents with his secret police, as in 2000 his mentor and close personal friend the former Serbian President Ivan Stambolić, also a greater Serbian nationalist, made his way to the Yugoslav presidency. The murder of the ex-friend was carried out by eight special operations unit officers. In spite of, or as praise for, the assassinations carried out "in the name of the Serbian nation" by Milosevic targeting less radical or less nationalist politicians, he was considered to be the savior by many who had eliminated those considered too soft on minorities and those who opposed his policies in any way. Nowadays ICTY-imprisoned Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Šešelj compared Gingic's assassin Zvezdan Jovanovic, a former lieutenant colonel in the police and member of the feared paramilitary unit, the Red Berets, with Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassin, saying "he would enjoy the same fame and glory that Princip has in Serbian history."

Another recent example is the 25-year-old Serbian immigrant Mijailo Mijailović, born in Sweden who became the assassin of Swedish foreign minister Anna Lindh in 2003, apparently because he hated the minister for backing the NATO air strikes

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against Serbia during the 1999 Kosovo War, which he considered an "injustice in the world."

Serbian Prime Minister Pašić in 1914 supported the main objectives of the group and the plot to kill the heir, but allegedly didn't want to go that far immediately as he feared it would lead to a war with Austria-Hungary. Therefore, he allegedly gave instructions at the last moment for the arrest of Princip, Čabrinović, and Grabež if they attempted to leave the country. However, his orders were not implemented and the three men arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina where they joined forces with the fellow conspirators. This story seems untrue, since it presumes that in a centralized state the prime minister cannot control the border guards. And if he had opposed the plot, why wouldn't he have waited until Serbia's defeat in 1917 and tried the masterminds such as Apis only after the defeat of the country?

Serbia didn't care much for the foreign public opinion, being aware of the backing of Russia. This was apparent in 1995 in Bosnia, where the Serbs took hostage 370 peacekeeper troops and used them as live shields, leading to the first real-combat air raids of NATO. History has repeated itself in the respect that the court of the Hague has established in 1999 and given the utmost responsibility of trying the Yugoslav Serbian ex-president Milosevic in the ethnic cleansings and crimes against humanity committed in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Croatia; but only four years prior, in 1995, the same Milosevic was representing the Serbs in the peace talks taking place in Dayton, Ohio, and was praised by the West for stopping Bosnian Serb leaders Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadžić. This inevitably draws the conclusion that the latter were acting in close cooperation and with the approval of Belgrade, otherwise why would Milosevic have represented them at the peace talks in Dayton? Similarly, the highest level Serbian official involvement was happening in 1914, in Bosnia as well, thus confirming the direct responsibility of Serbia.

The Serbian Government's Involvement in the Assassination and Its Russian Backing

Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, were shot dead while traveling in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by Princip, one of a group of six assassins coordinated by Danilo Ilić, after a careful planning of the murder was conceived at Belgrade. The murderers received the shotguns and the hand grenades from active Serbian officers and officials. The dispatch of the criminals and of their weapons to Sarajevo was arranged and effected under the control of the Serbian frontier authorities. In 1917 Apis, in his written statement to the Serbian Court, stated that he had ordered the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. In the assassination process, he used not only his official power over elements of the Serbian military, but also some Black Hand members. Leaders of the Black Hand in turn had penetrated the Narodna Odbrana and used the organization to infiltrate the arms and assassins into Sarajevo.

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Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, moments before they were killed by an assassin working with the Black Hand terrorist group. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

The Guns that Started World War I

Four handguns were recovered from the members of the Black Hand, including the one that was used by Gavrilo Princip to shoot Archduke Franz Ferdinand. They were all exhibited at the subsequent trial, and after that, they were given to Father Anton Puntigam, a Jesuit who had planned a memorial to Franz Ferdinand, possibly through an orphanage at Sarajevo. Obviously after World War I, this became impossible, and the Jesuits kept the guns at their headquarters in Vienna.

In 2004 the guns were handed over to the Heeresgeschichtliches, the museum of military history, in Vienna, but there were soon claims that one of the guns was not a genuine one, and that another had been substituted. Since then various collectors have claimed that they own the actual gun Princip used.

The car in which Franz Ferdinand had been traveling when he was shot also survived. It was owned by Count Harrach and lent to Franz Ferdinand, but after the shooting the Harrach family did not want the car back, and it ended up in the Heeresgeschichtliches, the museum of military history, in Vienna. During the 1990s the Harrach family tried to get the car back through a court challenge, but this failed as it had been handed over to Emperor Franz Josef, who had, in turn, given it to the museum.

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The Austro-Hungarian investigation of the assassination rounded up all but one of the assassins and also much of the underground channel that had been used to transport the perpetrators and their weapons from Serbia to Sarajevo. Under interrogation, the assassins fingered members of the Serbian military. Three of the assassins, who came from Belgrade, Serbia, confessed to the involvement of active duty members of the Serbian army and Frontiers Service. The events of June 28 have proved the existence of a subversive movement in Serbia, whose object was to separate certain portions of territory from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This movement, which came under the purview of the Serbian government, subsequently found expression outside the territory of the kingdom in acts of terrorism, through a number of assassination attempts and murders. Far from fulfilling the formal obligations contained in its declaration of 1909, the royal Serbian government has done nothing to suppress this movement, rather it has been guilty of tolerating the criminal irredentist activities against the monarchy of the various unions and associations, allowing the glorification of the assassins.

The Russian backing of Serbia's actions came to light when Apis revealed that the Russian military attaché had agreed to protect Serbia from Austria-Hungary and to fund an assassination attempt against Austro-Hungarian targets. Although the Russians tried to deny their involvement, the assistant military attaché, who took over while the head attaché was on vacation, admitted their involvement with Apis.

There is evidence that Russia was at least aware of the plot prior to June 14, since on June 1, 1914, in Emperor Nicholas's meeting with King Charles I of Romania at Constanza, Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov mentioned that he was convinced that if the archduke (Franz Ferdinand) was out of the way, the peace of Europe would not be endangered. After its publication, the entente apologists argued that "out of the way" might not have necessarily meant assassinated.

What was apparent is that the Serbian government carried out subversive propaganda and has tolerated every manifestation of hatred against the monarchy and contempt for its institutions. Serbian officials, whether at home or abroad, had made hostile statements toward the monarchy prior to the assassination. So the German and Austro-Hungarian claims that the assassins were funded by the Serbian government were later fully proved. This proof was strengthened by the events following the assassination.

Within the following two days, Austria-Hungary and Germany advised Serbia that it should open an investigation, but secretary general to the Serbian foreign minister Sava Grujić, in his official position, replied falsely on June 30: "Nothing had been done so far and the matter did not concern the Serbian Government." He acted so with evident Russian backing as the declaration was made after receiving assurances from Russian Foreign Minister Aleksander Izvolsky and Tsar Nicholas II that Russia would solve the Serbian question by bringing about the downfall of Austria-Hungary, once it had rebuilt its army.

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Izvolsky was particularly upset with Austrian foreign minister Alois Aehrental, whom he perceived to have tricked him into the secret talks held at Buchlau (Buchlov) before the 1908 annexation. Germany tried to put a halt to the escalating verbal conflict by asking Russia to intercede with Serbia, but its request was ignored. The Russian backing for this provocation was evident when Austria-Hungary and Germany asked Serbia directly and through her ally Russia to open an investigation into the Sarajevo outrage; Russia and Serbia flatly rejected these requests.

Following the assassinations, Serbian ambassadors to France, Milenko Vesnić, and to Russia, Spalaiković put out statements claiming that Serbia had warned Austria-Hungary of the impending assassination. Serbia soon thereafter denied making warnings and denied knowledge of the plot by its Prime Minister Pašić. The truth, however, is that Pašić was fully aware of the assassination, as Serbian education minister Ljuba Jovanović wrote in his book *Krv Sloventsva*. In late May or early June 1914, Pašić reviewed the impending assassination plot with members of his cabinet. On June 18 a generally worded telegram ordered Serbia's ambassador to Vienna Jovanović to warn Austria-Hungary that Serbia had reason to believe there was a conspiracy to assassinate Franz Ferdinand in Bosnia. On June 21, 1914, Jovanović met with Austro-Hungarian finance minister Bilinski, stressing in general terms the risks the visit may bear justified by the inflamed public opinion in Bosnia and Serbia, stating that "Some serious personal misadventure might befall him. His [FF] journey might give rise to incidents and demonstrations that Serbia would deprecate, but that would have fatal repercussions on Austro-Serbian relations," but the finance minister took no action based on these vague and misleading remarks.

Jovanović went public in 1924, stating that the warnings were made on his own initiative, but an ambassador never warns another country from his own initiative about such a serious question, because he is immediately dismissed, and the person is probably tried for high treason. Moreover, normally an ambassador wouldn't say that "Among the Serb youths (in the army) there may be one who will put a ball-cartridge in his rifle or revolver in place of a blank cartridge and he may fire it, the bullet might strike the man giving provocation [Franz Ferdinand]." Jovanović's account changed back and forth over the years, while Bilinski did not speak openly on the subject, but his press department chief confirmed that a meeting had taken place and included a vague warning.

The July Ultimatum and the Serbian Reaction

The Serbian involvement was strengthened by the country's further attitude toward the consequences of the assassination. On July 23, Austria-Hungary delivered a demarche to Serbia, known also as the July Ultimatum. The monarchy waited with its dispatch until 6:00 P.M., when the Franco-Russian summit would

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have ended. The demarche contained 10 enumerated and some additional demands in the preamble and was completed by an annex comprising sufficient criminal evidence, describing the findings of the criminal investigation into the Sarajevo events in which assassins sent from Serbia killed the royal couple and wounded 20 people. The ultimatum called for the destruction of the anti-Austrian terrorist and propaganda network in Serbia, based on Serbia's 1909 declaration to pursue a good neighbor policy.

The ultimatum did not include any explicit threat of war, only a threat to recall Austria-Hungary's ambassador if Serbia did not accept the demands within 48 hours. The note demanded that the Serbian government give an official, precisely worded assurance that admitted the existence of anti-Austro-Hungarian propaganda and the participation of Serbian officers and functionaries in it, and that this proclamation should be published as an order of the day by the king to the army and also on the first page of the July 26 issue of the "Official Bulletin of the Army." Serbia was called to condemn and "suppress with all the means at its command this criminal and terrorist propaganda and express the most sincere regrets for such involvement of Serbian officers and officials and its dreadful consequences," which have endangered the friendly and neighborly relations, to the cultivation of which the Royal government had most solemnly pledged itself by its declarations of March 31, 1909. Serbia should warn future perpetrators that the Serbian government would crack down against such activities with utmost rigor.

The note accused Serbia of orchestrating anti-Austro-Hungarian propaganda and terrorist actions, assertions proven by evidence, while Serbia rejected many of them, asking for further evidence of his involvement. In the end, Serbia grudgingly and seemingly accepted most of the demands but didn't want to implement many of the measures promised or as they were formulated in the demands, using ambiguities and reserving its right to declare anything after the transmission of the answer. After receiving a telegram of support from Russia, Serbia mobilized its army and responded to the letter by accepting points 8 and 10 entirely and partially accepting, finessing, ingenuously answering, or politely rejecting the other demands 1–7 and 9. It rejected point 6, asserting that it would have compromised its sovereignty.

The 10 listed demands addressed to Serbia can be grouped into the following five categories. The first group of demands was that Serbia should suppress publications that incite hatred and contempt, eliminating from public instruction in Serbia those teachers and methods of instruction that served to foment propaganda against Austria-Hungary. The Serbian reply stated that currently it was impossible to control its press given Articles 12 and 22 of its Constitution, but it would pass a bill against inciting hatred. Without specifying any deadline, it was unclear whether this bill would ever be passed, and if so, if it would ever be implemented or enforced. In fact, major newspapers were always under some government control, so this assertion is in fact untrue.

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The second group of requests was to dissolve the terrorist organizations like the Narodna Odbrana active in Bosnia, confiscate their means of propaganda, and prevent these societies from reforming under new names. Serbia should remove from the military service and the administration in general all officers guilty of such propaganda, some names being expressly provided by Austria-Hungary. Such organizations were the Black Hand and the White Hand (Bela Ruka) formed in 1912 by Colonel Petar Živković, involved also in many coups like that of March 27, 1941. The main one, the Narodna Odbrana, had its central committee located in Belgrade, had organized paramilitary forces, and expressed a need for the protection of the nation. Its 1911 pamphlet asserted that hatred of Austria-Hungary was not the aim of the group, but instead it was a natural consequence of the desire for independence and unity of Serbs within a single state and presented six main points among, which the second was "registration and enlistment of volunteers"; the third, "formation of volunteer units and their preparation for armed action"; the fourth, "collection of voluntary contributions, including money and other things necessary for the realization of its task"; the fifth, "organization, equipment, and training of special revolutionary bands for special and independent military action," which now would be considered the bylaw of any terrorist organization. The Austrian demarche also called for the change of political rhetoric after June 28 and for the termination of the hostile propaganda, but as propaganda was not yet a crime in Serbian law, it remained unclear how many officers should or would be removed.

The third group of demands focused on the acceptance of the collaboration of organs of the Austro-Hungarian government carried out in Serbia for the suppression of the subversive movement; and under point 6, Serbia should begin a judicial inquiry against those perpetrators of the plot who are on Serbian territory, with organs delegated by the Austro-Hungarian government participating in the investigation. Point 6 was later rejected by Serbia, calling it a violation of international law. This in fact is not the case since police cooperation in transboundary crime investigations is commonplace; moreover the drafts of the Serbian reply had originally contained the acceptance of this point with reservations, but after receiving Russian assurance that Serbia would be supported even if it did not fully comply with the demands, their reply became tough.

The Serbian reply stated that it would cooperate with the Austro-Hungarian police so long as this was consistent with international law, criminal procedure, and good neighborliness, but in its characteristic ambiguity avoided any clear answer in order to gain time. Serbia said that it would open an inquiry, but an involvement of Austro-Hungarian officials in this inquiry would be unconstitutional and a violation of the national criminal law. Serbia primarily expressed surprise over the "presumably supposed" involvement of its citizens in the Sarajevo assassination, which was clearly a lie since the plot was organized on high official level by the intelligence of the military. Prime Minister Pašić knew and

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approved it, so it was unclear why he had taken no action. Another response was that Ciganović was an Austro-Hungarian citizen so he was not under its jurisdiction. The Serbian reply stated falsely that Serbia had no proof that the Narodna Odbrana and similar societies carry out paramilitary activities, but if it could be proven it would nevertheless disband them, thus maintaining a free hand in every aspect. The Serbian reply also failed to address aspects such as confiscating the means of propaganda of these organizations and preventing them from reforming under new names, suggesting that really nothing would have been done.

The fourth group of demands asked Serbia to arrest Tankosić and Ciganović immediately, as they had been identified as the assassins. Serbia replied that it had arrested Tankosić but stated that Ciganović could not be found. Austria-Hungary pointed out that the reason he could not be found was because the Belgrade chief of police had told him to go into hiding. Such practices are well known even today, when Belgrade conceals the biggest Bosnian war criminals of 1992–1995 by not revealing the hiding places of Mladic and Karadžić, the most wanted by the ICFY, who are still at-large. Only very recently Belgrade seeking European Union accession gave in partially to the demands, "finding" former republikas Sprsak President Karadžić, but not general Mladic who may leak sensible political and military information to the judges.

In fact Serbia released Tankosić promptly after arresting him and he returned to his unit. Another perpetrator, Mehmedbasic, escaped to Montenegro where he was arrested. Austria-Hungary asserted its right to extradite him, but Montenegrin authorities instead allowed him to "escape" to Serbia where he joined Tankosić's unit. Another mind of the plot, masterspy Rade Malobabić, the Serbian military intelligence's top agent against Austria-Hungary, was arrested on his return from Austria-Hungary's Bosnia after the assassination, but was later released and given a commission to run an army supply store. He was, however, executed after the Saloniki trial, but on charges of perceived high treason, not because of his involvement in the Sarajevo plot.

In the last group of demands Serbia formally agreed to act in order to prevent the illicit trafficking in arms and explosives over the Austro-Hungarian border but didn't address the request for the dismissal and severe punishment of the Serbian borders service officers who assisted the assassins in smuggling the weapons to Sarajevo.

This noncompliance with the demarche was subsequently considered to be a legitimate *casus belli* against Serbia. The rejection of the ultimatum by Serbia is an indirect proof of Serbia's involvement as it pursued this outcome of the plot. Austria considered with good reason that the facts had been proven and if this was not admitted by Serbia, the defendant had to prove the contrary. As it could be foreseen, Austria-Hungary recalled its ambassador.

In fact Serbia admitted tacitly its guilt and bad intentions by ordering general mobilization on July 25, before sending any response that was sent only

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just before the deadline expired. Serbian reservists were transported on tramp steamers on the Danube, apparently accidentally, and made a provocation by crossing into the Austro-Hungarian side of the river at Temes-Kubin, so the empire's soldiers fired into the air to warn them off. Given the extremely tense political situation, with the rejection of the demarche, this incident was blown out of proportion, and Austria-Hungary declared war and mobilized its army on July 28, 1914. Under the Secret Treaty of 1892, Russia and France were also obliged to mobilize armies if any of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy had mobilized.

That is exactly what Serbia wanted to provoke, backed by Russia and driven by Pan-Slavism and the slogan of liberating the oppressed Slavic people of the Austrian monarchy, it in fact was looking to be the main power in the Balkans and acquire the rest of Poland (Galicia) and use the Czechs as pawns in the German region stretching from the Baltic to the Danube and Alps. Russia mobilized immediately, evoking the treaty with France, and soon all the great powers of Europe were at war, except Italy. Italy was invoking a clause in the Triple Alliance Treaty that only bound it to enter in case of aggression against one of the treaty members, and so it remained neutral, for the time being, but it changed sides in 1915 to fulfill its irredentist goals.

In 1916 Serbia and Romania were defeated and in 1917 Russia too, asking for armistice, and Austria-Hungary thought the war had been won. Romania was secretly both an ally of Austria-Hungary until 1916 as well as of Russia, the opposing forces having no knowledge of this double agent behavior. Russian ambitions were clearly shown by its promise of upper Hungary (today's Slovakia) and northeastern Hungary-Karpatalja or Zakarpatska oblast (today in Ukraine) to Czechia, which was to be ruled by a Russian crown prince. After the victory of 1916, Austria wanted to annex Romania, but the Hungarians vetoed this. Hungary supported the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia. After being in the East, Poland, Ukraine, and the Baltics becoming independent, and the unjustified intervention of the United States on the side of the entente decided the war otherwise, rescuing the Soviets in November 1918. This intervention led to a false sense of victory among the British and revenge of the French who, among others, made the Pan-Slavic dream come true, creating Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and greater Romania, which broke up shortly and every time thereafter. These newly created French satellite states "had the task" of eradicating German and Austro-Hungarian influence in the region, weakening the latter so much that they could never recover. France forbade the continuation of the monarchy, forcing Emperor Karl to abdicate in 1918, when he tried to get crowned as apostolic king of Hungary.

The concept of "greater Serbia" was put in practice during the early 1920s, under the premiership of Pašić, who, using tactics of police intimidation and vote rigging, diminished the role of the oppositions, mainly those loyal to his

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Croatian rival, Stjepan Radić. He created a centralized power in the hands of the Serbs in general and Serbian politicians in particular, a policy continued unabated by other Serbian politicians, most recently by ex-Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, father of failed efforts to make a unitary Serbian state during the 1990s. This experiment has cost hundreds of thousands of lives in one of the world's worst genocides since World War II, adding to the many million victims of the useless world wars in Europe.

Crime as Revealed by the Sarajevo and Saloniki Trials and the Capture of Serbian Archives

The Sarajevo investigation of the crime revealed that the plan of murdering Franz Ferdinand was directly concocted in Belgrade by Gavrilo Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović, a certain Milan Ciganović, and Trifko Grabež with the assistance of Major Tankosić. Members of the Black Hand group under interrogation by the Austrian authorities claimed that three men from Serbia—Dimitrijević, Ciganović, and Tankosić—had organized the plot.

The highest level involvement of Serbia stands as evidence of the fact that Narodna Odbrana agents reported their activities to their president, Boža Janković, who in turn reported to the Serbian prime minister Pašić. The Narodna Odbrana as a terrorist organization could not be maintained with its headquarters in Serbia if the Serbian government would not accept its goals. None would risk a diplomatic row, economic and political sanctions, and isolation as those imposed against Yugoslavia, in fact Serbia, between 1991–1999, just for the sake of maintaining an organization if it had no serious intentions to use it.

This presumption is further strengthened by Pašić's refusal of extradition of the three men accused of masterminding the plot. He told the Austro-Hungarian government that he was unable to hand over the three men as it "would be a violation of Serbia's Constitution and criminal law." At the Sarajevo trial the three assassins from Belgrade were instructed to try to take all blame on themselves. Čabrinović and Princip claimed that the idea of the heir came from a newspaper clipping announcing Franz Ferdinand's planned visit to Sarajevo. The defendants refused or were unable to provide details under cross-examination, which meant that they were instructed to do so.

The Narodna report evidences of another conspirator from the military, Serbian Major Kosta Todorović, listed by the Austro-Hungarian Redbook as boundary commissioner and director of Serbian military intelligence services for the frontier line from Rada to Ljuboija in 1913. The Austrians later confiscated the Narodna report, as well as Pašić's handwritten notes, and additional incriminating documents. Pašić's handwritten notes from the briefing, estimated to have taken place on June 5, 1914, included the nickname of one of the assassins ("Trifko" Grabež) and also the name of Major Tankosić.

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Further evidence is that during the 1917 Saloniki trial, the Serbian prosecutor cut off the speakers if they were speaking about the Sarajevo assassination. Serbia published no clarification of their confessions with regards to the Sarajevo attack, because it would have been incriminating; therefore, as usual it executed the hired executives. At trial it was forbidden to talk about Sarajevo, in spite of or exactly because of that, and the trial and execution of the masterminds was exactly staged and done because of the prospects of a détente, which seemed to be the best solution to alleviate Serbia's defeat in World War I. This was obvious in 1917, when the whole county was under Austro-Hungarian occupation and its government was being exiled; therefore, the trial was held in French-held Saloniki, in Greece. Pašić started to fear that the perpetrators may tell of his involvement and full knowledge of the plot to a court and execution of the perpetrators in 1917, after a mock trial.

Due to the suppression of Apis's confession and of the Saloniki trial transcripts by Serbia, Rade Malobabić was initially not closely linked to the Sarajevo attack. He arrived in Sarajevo on the eve of the attack and gave the final go ahead for the operation to Danilo Ilić. In 1914, Malobabić was the Serbian military intelligence's chief undercover operative against Austria-Hungary, as revealed by Serbian documents captured by Austria-Hungary during the war. They describe the provision of arms, munitions, and agents from Serbia into Austria-Hungary under his direction.

Another officer, Ilić, recruited the Serbian teenagers Vaso Čubrilović and Cvjetko Popović shortly after Orthodox Easter on April 19, 1914, for the assassination, as evidenced by their testimony at Sarajevo. Three teenagers—Princip, Grabež, and Čabrinović—were Austro-Hungarian citizens; in fact Bosnian Serbs living in Belgrade, who testified at Sarajevo after Easter said that they were eager to carry out an assassination. They also testified that Tankosić, directly and through Ciganović, provided the weapons and ammunition. The four pistols supplied to the assassins were found, having serial numbers 19074, 19075, 19120, and 19126. Princip used pistol 19074. Tankosić also provided training, a special map with the location of gendarmeries marked, contacts on a special channel used to infiltrate agents and arms into Austria-Hungary, and a small card authorizing the use of that channel. He also provided money and suicide pills in case the perpetrators would be caught. Tankosić confirmed to historian Luciano Magrini that he provided the weapons and was responsible for training the assassins and he initiated the idea of the suicide pills.

The planning of a direct action against Austria-Hungary came in late 1913, when Ilić came to a listening post at Užice to speak to the officer in charge, Serbian colonel C. A. Popović, to recommend it. Popović passed Ilić on to Belgrade to discuss this matter with Chief of Serbian Military Intelligence Colonel Apis. During this January 1914 meeting, various possible Austro-Hungarian targets for assassination were discussed, including Franz Ferdinand. Soon after their

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meeting, Apis's right-hand man Tankosić, called a Serbian irredentist planning meeting in Toulouse, France, where they enrolled Mehmed Mehmedbašić, the son of an impoverished Muslim noble from Herzegovina.

The conspirators traveled along the Sava River to Šabac where they contacted Popović, who in turn, passed them further to Serbian Captain Prvanović, and filled out a form with the names of three customs officials assassins to receive discounted train tickets for the ride to Loznica, a small border town. After reaching Loznica on May 29, Prvanović summoned three of his sergeants to discuss the best way to cross the border undetected. Čabrinović handed over the weapons to Princip and Grabež. Princip told Čabrinović to go alone to Zvornik, to make an official crossing there using Grabež's identification card and then go on to Tuzla and link back up.

On May 30 Prvanović's sergeants led Princip and Grabež with the weapons by foot to Isaković's Island, a small island in the middle of the Drina River on the border. A Sergeant Grbić passed the terrorists into Austro-Hungarian territory from agent to agent, from safe house to safe house in the Narodna Odbrana network. After weeks of hiding, Ilić handed over the weapons only the day before the assassination, on June 27, 1914. Until that day he had kept secret the identities of the hit men from Belgrade, as well as those he had recruited locally. On the morning of June 28, Ilić walked on the street from assassin to assassin encouraging all seven of them to bravery.

Princip killed Franz Ferdinand on the Appel Quay, near the Cumurija Bridge. Franz Ferdinand hadn't learned from the case of Julius Caesar, who didn't wanted to go to the senate on March 15, 44 BCE, but to overcome rumors about his bad health, he ignored a report handed to him warning him about the impending assassination plot. Anti-Serb rioting broke out in Sarajevo in the hours following the assassination until order was restored by the military. This showed Bosnian sympathy for Austria-Hungary rather than for Serbia, and history repeated itself in this sense as well during the 1992–1995 Bosnian wars, when Bosnians defended heroically their capital, Sarajevo, from the Serbian siege, which lasted three years.

The adult defendants, facing the death penalty during the October 1914 Sarajevo trial, portrayed themselves as unwilling participants in the conspiracy. Veljko Cubrilović, a Narodna Odbrana agent, stated that he was acting from fear of a revolutionary organization capable of committing great atrocities known to exist in Serbia and also because Princip warned him "If you betray us, you and your family will be destroyed." Cubrilović acted because "he was more afraid of terror than the punishment of the law." Princip said that he was a Serbian nationalist who wanted to free his country "by means of terror."

The court was acting in full accordance with the Austro-Hungarian law, sentencing the perpetrator Gavrilo Princip to 20 years in prison as a minor, the others, Čabrinović and Grabež, got lighter sentences on the same grounds. Only

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three adults—Ilić, Čubrilović, and Jovanović—were sentenced to death by hanging; the rest of the defendants got lighter charges up to 10 years in prison or were acquitted as a sign of Austro-Hungarian forgiveness.

The Weaknesses of the Alternative Theory of the Black Hand

An alternative theory to the Sarajevo attack states that it wasn't as much the Serbian military intelligence but the Black Hand that organized the plot. To show the weaknesses of this theory, it should be noted that the Black Hand was formed by people in the Serbian military to counterbalance the impact of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, which was backed by Bulgaria. However, the Black Hand was ineffective in the end because its former president died and wasn't replaced, so it had no leadership, no active secretary. The casualties of the Balkan War and its aftermath caused disorganization within the Black Hand, and by early 1914 it was operating almost completely at the behest of Apis. The conspiracy under the name Black Hand also penetrated the Narodna Odbrana in Bosnia. The overlap in membership between the Serbian military and the Black Hand was intentional to make most evidence ambiguous in case it would be discovered and to avoid responsibility.

Apis confessed that he ordered the operation in his capacity as chief of the general staff. As such, it was not at the impetus of the Black Hand itself, as the organization's constitution, which required assassinations to only be carried out on a vote by its Supreme Council, was not in effect. Although some Black Hand leaders were involved, this does not disprove official involvement, since precise administration or recording was and is still not a Balkanic feature. The chain of command was simple: the intelligence department → Black Hand member officers → assassins. This is a widespread path of action around the world, where secret police formations have killed political dissidents abroad this way. The refusal of extradition of Milan Ciganović resembles that of the present day protection of Bosnian war criminals Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadžić, whose extradition the international community has requested since 1996. Recently the psychiatrist Karadžić was allowed "to be found" in Belgrade in July 2008 in order to ease the pressure mounting on Serbia for a decade, but Colonel General Mladic is still on the run.

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CON

On the balmy Sunday morning of June 28, 1914, the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the nephew of Franz Joseph I, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, who was visiting Sarajevo to review Bosnian military maneuvers, and his wife Duchess Sophie, were gunned down by a young Bosnian Serb named Gavrilo Princip, in league with several young Serb nationalists. Coincidentally it was also the Archduke and Duchess's wedding anniversary and, perhaps more ominously, Vidovdan, or St. Vitius Day, commemorating the Battle of Kosovo

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in 1389 when the Serb lords were humiliated by the forces of the Ottoman Turks. Although the Second Battle of Kosovo in 1448 would play a more decisive part in the ascendancy of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, the 1389 defeat was a bitter one that future generations of Serbs would consider the defining moment of their collective identity.

While Princip and the other erstwhile conspirators could not have imagined the magnitude of their actions at the time, the ramifications of the murder in Sarajevo were cataclysmic; a spark that contributed to igniting the First World War and the last gasp for many long extant European empires. The identity of the assassin who cut short the lives of the Archduke and Duchess was never in doubt. However, the role of the Serbian government, if any, in the assassination continues to be debated amongst historians to this very day.

It is our position, as will be explicated below, that Princip acted alone and was neither directed, nor supported, by the Serbian regime. The young Bosnian-Serb was motivated solely by the nationalist passions of the day, which were further exacerbated by his own emotional instability. While he may have procured the assistance of some figures in the Serbian army, he acted in his individual capacity when he fired the shots that took the lives of the heir presumptive to the Hapsburg throne along with his wife, the mother of their young children. Further, it is unlikely that Princip was even acting in tandem with the nationalist groups with which he was associated at the time of the assassination.

Princip's Background

Gavrilo Princip was born in 1894 to a Bosnian Christian peasant family in Gornji Oblaj, a small and impoverished village in the outlying provinces. Princip left his home at the age of thirteen years and received his early education in Sarajevo, later completing his studies in Serbia. Already as a young man Princip had become acutely aware of the vulnerability of Bosnia to foreign rule, whether by the Turkish overlords or the Austrian dual monarchy. The nationalist movements that had previously emerged in Italy and Germany culminating in unification influenced Princip as well. He soon became a member of the Young Bosnian movement, a loose confederation of youthful nationalists, about which more will be said. If one's library and literary tastes provide an insight into one's political inclinations, Princip's personal collection of anarchist literature, including the works of Michall Bukanin and Peter Kropotkin, disclose a preoccupation with revolutionary thought and sympathy for armed terrorist crusades.

Historical Background

In order to place Gavrilo Princip and his political activities in context, it will be necessary to first establish the historical background that gave rise to the radical

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nationalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric that encouraged and inspired young men like Princip to embrace a culture of politically motivated violence. In 1907 a series of international crises undermined the relative stability that Europe was then enjoying. Germany, who looked upon Austria as its sole reliable ally at the time, was compelled to allow the Austrians free reign in the Balkans. In 1908 the Austrian foreign minister Alois von Aerenthal met with his Russian counterpart, Alexander Izvolsky, and the two statesmen agreed that Russia would acquiesce to Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In return, Austria would support Russia's efforts to gain access to the Turkish Straits enabling Russia to send its battleships through the waterway.

Without waiting for the Russians to benefit from their stake in the agreement, in October 1908, Vienna unilaterally announced its annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Needless to say, the Russians were infuriated, and the Serbs, who themselves had hoped to take possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were similarly outraged. As the crisis spiraled, Germany pledged its unconditional support to its confederate Austria, forcing the Russians to back down. The Russians, still reeling from defeat in the 1905 Russo-Japanese War, were hardly in a position to aid the Serbs. Both their army and navy had proven incompetent against



Gavrilo Princip, suspected assassin of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, is hustled into custody in Sarajevo in 1914. He was a member of the Black Hand Secret Society which sought to create a greater Serbia through violence. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

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the forces of the Empire of Japan. The humiliating loss had ignited a revolution at home.

In 1911 Italy went to war against the then ailing Ottoman Empire seeking to annex Tripoli on the Mediterranean coast of north Africa. The Turks were soundly defeated and a peace treaty signed in 1912 awarded Tripoli to the Italians. In the aftermath of Italy's swift victory, several small Balkan nations were emboldened to press their demands against the Ottoman Empire. Under Russian patronage, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece had formed the Balkan League. In 1912, the Balkan League launched a successful military offensive against Turkey. Under the terms of the Treaty of London (May 1913), the defeated Ottoman Empire lost all territory in Europe except for the area immediately adjacent to the Turkish Straits.

As this First Balkan War drew to a close, both Austria and Russia intervened. The Russians supported Serbia's demand for access to the Adriatic Sea, while the Austrians urged the formation of a new Balkan state, Albania, to contain Serbia's expansion. An international conference held in London in 1913 agreed to Austria's demand. The creation of Albania represented not only a setback for Serbia, but for Russia, as well. Once again the Russian role in determining the future of the Balkans was marginalized.

Having been denied access to the Adriatic, Serbia demanded part of Bulgaria's share of Macedonia as compensation. Bulgaria steadfastly maintained that its role in the First Balkan War entitled it to even more of Macedonia. These internecine disputes amongst the Balkan states eventually led to the outbreak of a Second Balkan War in 1913. Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey joined together to defeat Bulgaria. At the conclusion of the conflict, the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913) required Bulgaria to cede land to Rumania, while Serbia and Greece gained most of the Macedonian territory.

While the crises in the Balkans had been serious, they did not lead to more wide spread hostilities. However, the post war political situation remained precarious. Russia's ambitions in the Balkans and the Turkish Straits had been frustrated. The Czarist government felt compelled to support Serbia more effectively in the future, while the Kaiser proclaimed Germany's unerring backing of Austria.

An eager and inspired Gavrilo Princip had volunteered for Serbian military service in the Second Balkan War, but his offer of service was declined by a recruiting officer because the young man was "too small and weak." The rejection was like a dagger in Princip's heart which, together with his animosity toward the Hapsburg Dual Monarchy, produced a profound resentment and hatred toward the Serbian military establishment.

Emerging of Nationalist Groups

Many student groups emerged in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars championing the nationalist ambitions of young Serbs such as Princip. The aims of these

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groups were definitely not monolithic, but they did unanimously envision an independent Yugoslavia, a South Slav autonomous state, and an immediate realization of that vision.

Foremost among these youth movements was *Narodna Odbrana*, or the National Defense Society, which had been organized in 1908 in response to the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austrians. The ideology of *Narodna Odbrana* was predicated on vehement opposition to Austrian subjugation and the promotion of a strong sense of Serbian national identity. Training its members in paramilitary techniques was likewise a significant aspect of the Society's program. Recruits from Serbia as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia were enlisted to its ranks. The stated aims of *Narodna Odbrana* were ostensibly modified in 1909 when the Society alleged its commitment to peaceful coexistence with Vienna. Consequently, the movement appeared to espouse a more culturally orientated agenda. The reality was, however, that *Narodna Odbrana* remained a belligerent and radical force. Indeed, in 1911, a National Defense Society publication originating in Belgrade asserted, in pertinent part, that "while the *Narodna Odbrana*, evolving with time, has adjusted itself to changes in the situation, it continues to maintain the links formed at the moment of the annexation and remains the same as it then was. Today demands quiet work, fanatical, indefatigable, and incessant, on the tasks and duties required as a preliminary preparation for the fight with rifles and heavy guns."

Under the aforementioned circumstances, the Austrian government was able to compile convincing evidence of *Narodna Odbrana* terrorist activities in Bosnia. The Austrians concluded that the Society was responsible for the murder in Sarajevo and made this formal charge in the court verdict. Since then, however, new evidence has come to light that indicates that the *Narodna Odbrana* was not responsible for the crime, or at the very least, not solely or directly culpable.

A secret Serbian organization which had infiltrated the *Narodna Odbrana* and used National Defense Society to further its own political agenda proved a willing and effective facilitator of the conspiracy. This association was called *Ujedinjene ili Smrt* or "Union or Death," more popularly known as the "Black Hand." The Austrian court charged with the prosecution of the assassins implicated certain "military circles" in Belgrade in its indictment. However, the court was not then aware of the existence of the Black Hand which these so-called "military circles" had organized and which was clearly implicated in the murder.

Most of the initial organizers of the Black Hand had been soldiers in the 1903 revolution that installed Peter Karageorgevich on the Serbian throne. Before the Balkan Wars, the Black Hand had promoted the Serbian cause by organizing armed bands and circulating propaganda materials in Macedonia. In Bosnia it had operated through the *Narodna Odbrana* and a nationalist group known as *Mlada Bosna*, "Young Bosnia." Revolutionary cells modeled on the Black Hand were established in Bosnia and controlled by the Central Committee located in Belgrade.

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The new generation of South Slavs represented the backbone of "Young Bosnia": an amorphous nationalist movement rather than a clearly defined political organization. Its adherents did not constitute a single homogenous body. Rather, they were planted in various and diverse youth groups including agricultural cooperatives, choral societies, and numerous student organizations. However, they did share a common goal—liberation from Hapsburg rule and the introduction of sweeping social reforms. What they could not agree on was a course of action that would concretize these objectives.

While the aims of these nationalist groups were diverse, Princip and his colleagues eagerly embraced the idea of Yugoslavia as a South Slav independent state, and rejected gradualism and reformism as a viable means to achieving the desired end. Violence, they reckoned, would surely provoke further Austro-Hungarian repression and thereby increase South Slav hatred of the Hapsburg regime. Additionally, the employment of terrorism, tyrannicide, direct action—a decisive armed role by the individual actor in history—appealed to the radical Young Bosnians as well.

An Austrian diplomat described the atmosphere on the eve of the First World War as follows: "All who knew the country had the impression that an explosion was imminent. Especially in the schools, Pan-Serbian propaganda had created such chaotic conditions that a regular continuation of instruction hardly seemed any longer possible. Not only in Serbia itself but also in Austria-Hungarian territories inhabited by Southern Slavs, the conviction took root that the collapse of Austria-Hungary was near."

To be sure, the Black Hand had infiltrated the *Narodna Odbrana* and other nationalist groups, but its existence was not widely known outside government circles. It included in its membership an important contingent of the Serbian military and its operations were known to some foreign governments, but there was no direct link between the Serbian government and the Black Hand, per se. Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević, its leader, was the chief of intelligence in the Serbian army, a figure of striking physical build, a monomaniacal Pan-Serb nationalist, of overpowering brute strength, he was codenamed "Apis" after a divine bull in ancient Egyptian mythology. Dimitrijević had been the mastermind behind the strategy that led to Serbia's successes in the Balkan wars.

According to a published account that first appeared in 1924, Apis had told a friend that Major Vojislav Tankosić, Apis's right hand man, had complained to him that several Bosnian youths were eager to perform some "great deed" on behalf of their country. These young patriots were aware that Franz Ferdinand was scheduled to review Bosnian troop maneuvers in June, 1914, and they wanted permission to go to Sarajevo. Tankosic later insisted that he opposed the request. But Apis responded favorably and encouraged Tankosic to give them a chance. After further reflection Apis became convinced that it was essential to kill the archduke. But he was unsure of the youths' ability to successfully effect

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the assassination and tried, unsuccessfully, to restrain Princip to yield in favor of a more seasoned candidate for the job. Nevertheless, Gavrilo Princip was determined to go forward and he ignored Apis' request.

A month before the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, Princip had set out from Belgrade for a meeting with his fellow conspirators in Sarajevo. In order for Princip to cross the border between Serbia and Bosnia, he required the assistance of sympathetic agents, which he was given along the route, a route that had originally been laid out by *Narodna Odbrana* and was later used by the Black Hand. Once in Sarajevo, Princip met with his co-conspirators where they prepared the attack for a month hence.

Two members of the *Ujedinjenje ili Smrt*, acting under the cover of *Narodna Odbrana* and thereby eluding the detection of Austrian intelligence, played key roles: the aforementioned Major Vojislav Tankosić who provided the four revolvers and six bombs with which the group was equipped and Captain Rade Popovic who commanded the Serb guards on the Bosnian frontier and had seen Princip and his associates safely into Bosnia from Serbia some four weeks earlier. But the key figure behind both officers, and the driving force in *Ujedinjene ili Smrt* was Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijovic—Apis. His primary objective, and that of his organization, was not the federal Yugoslavia favored by the Young Bosnians but a Greater Serbia, with the expectation that the Serbs would dominate the Croats and Slovenes in the new state: 'the national ideal: the union of all Serbs.' At the time, Apis was in the grip of a fierce conflict with 68-year-old Prime Minister Nikola Pasic, a veteran politician who, like Apis, was a Serb nationalist, but unlike Apis, Pasic was cautious in his pursuit of Serb independence.

Apis and his claque in the Black Hand saw Pasic as an impediment to their goals. The prime minister's measured approach to Serbian autonomy was perceived by Apis and his like-minded military comrades as nothing short of treason. In 1914 the generals had forced Pasic out of office. While he was reinstated in short order, it required the intervention of the Russian and French governments on his behalf. This constituted a defeat for the bull-like Apis, necessitating some act of vengeance. He may well have considered an assassination of the Austrian Archduke a means of precipitating the collapse of the Pasic government.

Relationship between Serbian Government and the Black Hand

The relationship between the Serbian government and the Black Hand was a contentious one. Belgrade wished to avoid an armed confrontation with Austria which conflict, they surmised, would necessarily be instigated by the provocation of nationalist groups such as the Black Hand. In addition, Premier Nikola Pasic and his supporters espoused a pan-Serbianism rather than the Yugoslav ideal that inspired the revolutionaries. Following the Balkan Wars and the newly acquired Macedonian territories under Serbian rule, the government of Pasic and

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the military authorities broke ranks over the administration of these lands. The Black Hand sided with the military, which explains in part why the latter was available to assist the Black Hand in its homicidal design.

The Black Hand has been characterized by some historians as an autonomous state in its own right. To be sure, Premier Pasic feared their power while he was careful to keep his apprehensions close to his chest lest the revolutionaries target him: he was keenly aware of the Black Hand's intentions concerning the archduke. But it is clear from all available archival documents that Pasic did not facilitate or authorize the attack. And there is even supporting evidence revealing Pasic's unsuccessful attempts to thwart the assassination. Prior to the murder, Pasic had ordered the frontier guards to halt the would-be assassins from crossing the border, and he had instructed the Serbian ambassador in Vienna, Jovan Jovanovic, to alert the Austrian government to the inchoate plot, of which Pasic had become aware in late May, 1914.

Ambassador Jovanovic was himself an ardent Serb nationalist and he was not inclined to carry through the mission assigned to him by Pasic. Instead, the ambassador met with the Austrian finance minister, who was not in a position to act on the proffered information. Jovanovic was also intentionally vague, confiding in the Austrian minister that "some young Serb may put a live rather than blank cartridge in his gun and fire it." No further details were provided, even though Belgrade knew the names of the conspirators. In all fairness to Pasic, he could not have known then how his message was diluted in the transmission. On the other hand, in the summer of 1914 Serbia was preparing for an election in which the political future of Pasic would be decided. It would not have been prudent for Pasic's party to alienate a large voting block who would consider him a traitor to the nationalist cause.

Unwilling to risk war with Austria and fearful of the powerful Apis and his organization, Pasic debated the options open to him: stop the conspirators at the border or warn Austria of the impending assassination. His decision was to walk a fine line and he consequently directed Jovanovic to act with caution yet never providing Vienna with a detailed account of the planned murder.

More significant is the official Serbian army publication, *Piemont*, which ran several articles highlighting the upcoming visit of Franz Ferdinand and linked it to the memory of "May 29, 1903." (The latter a reference to the coup d'etat led by Apis against King Alexander Obrinovic of Serbia culminating in the assassination of the monarch on June 11, 1903.) In such a highly charged atmosphere it is not surprising that young, emotionally and politically immature figures such as Gavrilo Princip would be caught up in the nationalist frenzy.

Princip did not approach *Narodna Odbrana* for money or armaments. Instead he and his co-conspirator Nedeljko Chabrinovich contacted the Black Hand leadership who expressed its approval of the assassination plot. The intervention of the Black Hand enabled the two Bosnian-Serbs to cross the border

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and arrive in Sarajevo where they linked up with other radical youth awaiting the Archduke's fateful visit.

The key figure in the planning and execution of the attack was the aforementioned Apis—Dragutin Dimitrijević. His nephew, Dr. Milan Zivanovich, later explained the Colonel's motivation for supporting Princip and his co-conspirators. The archduke and heir presumptive to the Hapsburg throne favored a policy known as "trialism" in dealing with the restless Southern Slavs. Trialism envisioned the creation of a third state within the Hapsburg Empire consisting of territories inhabited by the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs. The Archduke was convinced that such an arrangement would satisfy the national aspirations of the South Slavs and put an end to the threat of insurrection by the Serbs. In fact, the Hungarians were vociferously opposed to any change in the composition of the Dual Monarchy, and the Southern Slav nationalists rejected the idea, perceiving in trialism an end to their vision of an independent Yugoslavia.

Some historians argue that the Serbian nationalists, rather than the government in Belgrade, had received false information indicating that the Austro-Hungarian army was set to attack Serbia. They point to the military maneuvers in Sarajevo as proof the Austrians were preparing for an imminent assault. After the Balkan wars, everyone knew that Serbia was militarily exhausted and would require several years to regroup. Franz Ferdinand, they surmised, planned to take advantage of this weakened condition.

Still other historians have even speculated that the Russian government was complicit in the assassination. This theory must be rejected in light of the fact that Franz Ferdinand was the leading Russian proponent in the Habsburg government.

Shortly before the June 28th murder, Serbian Prime Minister Nicola Pasic received an anonymous letter suggesting that the Austrian government might attempt to murder the archduke, who was never a beloved figure in the Habsburg inner circle, particularly after his marriage to Sophia, which had been vehemently opposed by the emperor. The benefit, the anonymous writer suggested, would be that Austria could blame the Pasic government for the murder and commence military actions against Serbia.

Austrian Government's Response to Assassination

In Vienna the Austrian government responded to the murder by sending a legal expert to Sarajevo to collect evidence aimed at securing a successful prosecution. In July 1914 five of the assassins were placed on trial, the sixth defendant having managed to escape to Serbia. The defendants consisted of Princip, who committed the murder, Chabrinovich, who had tossed the bomb that landed on the hood of the automobile in which Franz Ferdinand was driven, and three of their accomplices. The most vociferous and unremorseful member of the group was Princip, who boldly articulated his reasons for committing the murder: "I have

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no regret," he said, "because I am convinced that I have destroyed a scourge and done a good deed . . . I have seen our people going steadily downhill. I am a peasant's son and know what is happening in the villages. . . . All this had its influence on me and also the fact of knowing that he [the Archduke] was a German, an enemy of the Slavs. . . . As future Sovereign he would have prevented our union and carried out certain reforms which would have been clearly against our interests."

After protracted hearings the court found the defendants guilty. The Kingdom of Serbia and the military intelligence service were deemed aiders and abettors in the crime. The verdict read in part:

> "The Court regards it as proved by the evidence that both the *Narodna Odbrana* and military circles in the Kingdom of Serbia in charge of the espionage service, collaborated in the outrage . . . There is no doubt that both the *Narodna Odbrana* and the military circles on the active list in the Kingdom of Serbia knew of the aims of the outrage and were prodigal of all possible assistance and all possible protection to the perpetrators for whom they actually procured the means of carrying out the assassination." (Albertini 1953: 68)

To be sure, the tribunal was correct in its assertion that military circles in the Kingdom of Serbia were, to a degree, conspired in the assassination. But the court erred in tying these military circles to the *Narodna Odbrana* and, by extension, finding the government of the Kingdom of Serbia complicit in the murder of Franz Ferdinand.

In conclusion, the extent to which the government of Serbia was behind the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand has been argued by scholars for almost a century. There has not been one shred of evidence that the Kingdom of Serbia either instigated or orchestrated the attack in Sarajevo. At best, one may infer from the message Prime Minister Nicola Pasic attempted to transmit to Vienna that his regime was aware that some sort of conspiracy was afoot. But had his regime planned the demise of the Archduke, he most certainly would not have then sought to undermine the plot by informing the Austrians of its existence.

One might contend that Apis and the Black Hand were part of the Serbian government by virtue of the fact that Apis was the head of Serbian military intelligence. This argument cannot be sustained. The relation between the Black Hand, in general, and Apis, in particular, concerning the Pasic administration was, to say the least, fraught with tension. And more to the point, on June 14, 1914, Apis reported to a meeting of the Black Hand about the plan for Sarajevo a fortnight later. The committee members surprised Apis by rejecting the plot out of fear that such an act would inevitably lead to war with Austria, a position consistent with Pasic's. Subsequently, Apis tried through intermediaries to reach

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The Fate of the Black Hand

Nearly four-and-a-half years after the assassination, World War I ended and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had collapsed. Sarajevo became a part of the new kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which later became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Of the original group of members of the Black Hand who carried out the assassination, only two had survived: Mehmed Mehmedbasic and Vaso Cubrilovic, the former having escaped and the latter having been released at the end of the war.

Cubrilovic became a hero in Yugoslavia and went on to become a teacher and then a university professor in Belgrade. After World War II, he was appointed as minister of forests in the federal government. Another member of the Black Hand, although not involved in the actual assassination itself, was Ivo Andric, who was Yugoslavia'a ambassador to Germany when the Germans invaded in 1941. He went on to write the famous *Bosnian Chronicle* and was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961.

The Yugoslav government in the 1920s and 1930s did much to commemorate Princip's actions, even naming the Latin Bridge, close to the site of the assassination, Princip Bridge. A set of footsteps on the ground marked the movement of Princip just before he shot Franz Ferdinand. Winston Churchill famously wrote in *The Unknown War* (1932), "Princip died in prison, and a monument erected in recent years by his fellow countrymen records his infamy and their own."

the relevant parties and have them abandon the scheme. But, despite his influence the directive was ignored.

Midway through the Great War, as Gavrilo Princip lay dying of tuberculosis in an Austrian prison, he was interviewed by psychiatrist to whom he declared that in going to Sarajevo "he only wanted to die for his ideals" and while he had been happy to accept the Black Hand's weapons he was not willing to obey the instructions not to use them. The smoking gun is clearly in Princip's hand and regardless of who may have procured the weapon, the young Bosnian Serb acted of his own volition and without any ties to the Serbian government.

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4

The deaths of over one million Armenians in Turkey were due to a Turkish government policy of genocide.

PRO James Frusetta
CON Cenap Çakmak

PRO

The Armenian genocide is contested history. Such historiographical debates are not rare, but few are so profoundly divisive and politicized. The history of the *Aghed* ("catastrophe") and its portrayal as a deliberate attempt by the Ottoman state to exterminate the Armenian people has become a core element in the identity of the Republic of Armenia and diaspora. The Turkish government and many Turks oppose what they perceive to be a one-sided and inflammatory portrayal of events in the final years of the Ottoman Empire that ignores Turkish suffering.

This political debate has spread to international arenas. Twenty-one countries officially acknowledge the Armenian genocide, with recent debates over recognition within the legislatures of the United States, Sweden, Bulgaria, the United Kingdom, and Israel. U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi in 2007 advocated the passage of a bill officially recognizing the genocide. Several European states (most notably France) have criminalized denial of the Armenian genocide. Given that the European Parliament and Council of Europe both formally recognize the genocide, there are ongoing debates over the official Turkish position in relation to the country's application for membership in the European Union.

Historians critical of the use of the term *genocide* have suggested, quite rightly, that political recognition does not confer scholarly accuracy. While acknowledging the moral, political, and legal debates, the focus here will be on the historical evidence (and debates over this evidence). Scholarly discussion on the question has become particularly fruitful in recent years, as the broader study of genocide and ethnic cleansing has expanded. The Armenian massacres have thus received fresh interest from historians as a subject of scholarly inquiry. Given certain unique elements of the Holocaust, there is considerable interest in the perceived utility of the Armenian case in comparative and theoretical studies, and the result has been a flood of specialized monographs and comparative works released in the past 15 years. The majority of recent English-language work has broadly bolstered the position taken by many (but not all) historians that the Armenian genocide was an act of genocide undertaken by the Ottoman government.

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At the same time, as noted below, scholarship has raised new questions about how to best understand these events.

In resolving whether these deaths represent a state-sponsored genocide, there are four key questions to address: Is it accurate to describe these events as "genocide"? What was the larger context of the Armenian massacres? Was the government deliberately responsible for the deaths? What was the ultimate intent of the deportations and attacks against civilians and disarmed military units? Even among historians who agree that the Ottoman state carried out a policy of genocide, there remain significant disagreement and debate about details. In this light, scholarly critiques of the genocide argument could and should be engaged where possible in a healthy dialogue.

Wide-Reaching Massacres Occurred 1915–1918

Just as both sides of the scholarly debate over the Armenian genocide are frequently motivated by contemporary politics, the use of the term genocide has political overtones. For historians, however, the question is whether or not these events can best be described in such a fashion. For example, were the events of such sufficient scope as to destroy (or potentially destroy) the Armenian nation?

Many historians argue that the events of 1915–1918 fit the legal definition set forth in Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide: "genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." Within this definition, the term genocide is warranted—but, as some critics note, the convention is an extremely broad definition. Although Article 2 sets a standard in international law, the Armenian genocide does not fit some scholarly definitions. For example, the Holocaust historian Steven Katz defines genocide as applying "*only* when there is an actualized intent . . . to physically destroy an *entire* group" (1994: 128). Similarly, the political scientist Guenter Lewy (2005) argues that there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate intent on the part of the Ottoman government to commit the complete destruction of the Armenian people. Both arguments reflect the continued problem of creating a universal definition of genocide for scholars and its utility in relation to similar terms such as democide, cleansing, or ethnocide. Despite its flaws, the definition as provided by Article 2 has the merits of international recognition and standing (albeit in legal and political circles) and thus serves as the threshold here.

What were the series of events that have come to be known as the Armenian genocide? Even before and in the first months of World War I, the Ottoman government led by the Young Turk movement (İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, or Committee for Unity and Progress) was suspicious of Armenian loyalty and, some historians argue, had already taken steps that would lead to the massacres. For example, the paramilitary forces of the Special Organization (Teşkilatı Mahsusa)

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were created before the Balkan Wars to deal with separatism and counterinsurgency operations. In August 1914 the Special Organization was expanded and, in subsequent months, was used to seize strategic border areas, securing them in some cases through attacks on civilians (including Armenians). Within the government, orders were given to monitor prominent Armenians and warnings were given that the group was subversive and disloyal. Such orders reflected that a separatist movement did exist, although the extent and support for such among Armenians remains in dispute. The presence of Armenian volunteers fighting alongside and within the Russian army (often Russian citizens themselves) was further considered evidence of disloyalty and potential danger.

Such concerns increased in December 1914 when the Ottoman invasion of the Russian Caucasus ended in disaster and with the near destruction of the Ottoman Third Army. Russian forces counter-invaded, a process that included attacks on Muslim civilian populations by irregular forces. The result was increasing fear that Armenian rebels were engaging in sabotage and guerrilla operations, enflamed by (false) accusations that Armenian "treason" had been responsible for the Ottoman defeat. In the spring of 1915, Armenian recruits in the Ottoman military were removed from combat units, disarmed, and placed in labor battalions (many of which would be subsequently executed). At the same time, the Special Organization, army, and police moved to confiscate weapons owned by Armenian civilians. Numerous incidents of assault, torture, and murder of civilians were reported, usually but not exclusively against adult men.

Arrests, local deportations, and massacres occurred on a relatively small scale into April 1915, when conflict erupted in the city of Van. Declaring the Armenian residents of the city to be in rebellion for offering to meet only part of a military conscription quota, the Ottoman army besieged the town, and open fighting erupted. Arguably as a security measure and in response to the events in Van and to the threat of Allied landings in Gallipoli, the government arrested hundreds of Armenian leaders in Istanbul (many of them intellectual figures rather than politicians) over April 24 and 25. April 24 has accordingly become the official day of remembrance for the event of the Armenian genocide, since these leaders would be first deported and the overwhelming majority executed months later. Policies of "punishment" for the Armenian population now gave way to policies intended to secure Anatolia from the threat of secession.

The Tehcir Law (the Temporary Law of Deportation) of May 1915 accordingly stipulated the removal of Armenians from "war zones" to a series of camps in the Syrian Desert. The policy was quickly extended to Armenians living in provinces behind the fronts (ironically enough, resulting in the transportation of Armenians from central Anatolia to Syria, closer to Ottoman lines against the British in Mesopotamia). Although rail transport by boxcar and cattle car was provided on some occasions, hundreds of thousands of civilians (including women and children) were forced to march all or part of the distance to the

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relocation camps. Inadequate shelter, food, and water were provided, decimating the marchers; despite sporadic offers of aid (including from U.S. and German diplomats), the Ottoman government refused to allow foreign third parties to assist with the relocations by providing aid. Columns were subject to attacks by irregulars and bandits; others were attacked by Special Organization units or victimized by the guards assigned to the columns. Vahakn Dadrian (2003) argues that the camps themselves were used as sites for deliberate "mass killing." At the very least, the camps were a form of passive execution as a result of privations. The bulk of the deportations occurred over 1915–1916, but the process continued through World War I.

There is considerable debate over the existence and accuracy of contemporary evidence for the massacres. Contemporary British, French, and Russian accounts were undoubtedly colored by the desire to castigate the Ottomans with wartime propaganda. "Neutral" accounts (including that of U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau) are sometimes criticized for not being eyewitness accounts. Some eyewitness neutral accounts (for example, by Protestant missionaries) are similarly questioned as showing bias toward the Christian population. Similarly, bias is ascribed to the accounts of Armenian survivors, often recorded decades after the events or posing methodological problems as oral sources. Although postwar trials by the Ottoman government provide a wealth of information, they were arguably influenced by political expediency and the need to placate the Allies and limit the severity of the imposed peace treaty. While stipulating such scholarly concerns, significant contemporary documentation does exist as written by Ottoman authorities as well as their wartime Austro-Hungarian and German allies (the latter including thousands of military advisers and attaches in Anatolia, some of whom condoned or advised on the deportations and massacres).

Given the preponderance of information, there is broad agreement that the deportations and massacres did occur, although there remains considerable debate over specific actions, sources, and the total number of casualties. It is possible to confirm the severity and scale of the massacres as being such as to warrant the scope of the term genocide. Ascribing such, however, raises the question of context and intent.

The Armenian Genocide Took Place in a Larger Context

One criticism frequently raised against defining the massacres as a state-organized genocide was the nature and severity of conflict in the region. This includes not only the interstate conflict of World War I, but also insurgency and counterinsurgency operations, banditry, renewed fighting in 1918–1923, and widespread famine and disease that corresponded with these conflicts. In this light, critics argue, Armenian deaths occurred in the context of "civil war" (rather than genocide) in which Turkish deaths and suffering are ignored. Such criticisms are well

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Henry Morgenthau and the Ottoman Empire

One of the critics of the Turks during the war was Henry Morgenthau (1856–1946), the U.S. ambassador to Constantinople. Born in Mannheim, Germany, from a prominent Jewish family involved in the cigar industry, he immigrated to the United States with his parents when he was 10. He studied law and went to work for a law firm.

Becoming interested in labor rights and a supporter of Woodrow Wilson, he took up his position in the Turkish capital in November 1913. One of his concerns, with the outbreak of World War I, was that if the Ottoman Empire entered the war, it could cut off foreign access to the Jewish settlers in Palestine. However, when war started and the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the German side, Morgenthau found himself increasingly critical of the lack of action over the killing of Armenians and other Christians. Because of this he resigned his position and later was involved in a secret mission to mediate a separate peace between the Allies and the Ottomans. After the war, he became heavily involved in work for Greek refugees. His son, also called Henry Morgenthau, became the U.S. secretary to the treasury under Franklin Roosevelt.

taken in stressing the context of the events. Focusing too closely on the deportations and massacres of 1915–1918 neglects earlier anti-Armenian pogroms in the 1890s and 1900s, as well as continued conflict after 1918. Even more significantly, it neglects the sustained cleansing of Muslims (including but not exclusively ethnic Turks) from southeastern Europe and the Caucasus as former Ottoman territory was lost to the Russian Empire and to the independent states of Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria from 1800 to 1923. Although resolving here that Armenian genocide itself did occur as a distinct process, it should and can be placed in a larger context that recognizes a larger process of massacre and cleansing against both Christians and Muslims.

Recent historiography has taken odds with the long-lasting ideas that the Ottoman Empire went into decline after 1699 and the persistent stereotypes denigrating its society, politics, and accomplishments. This does not mean there were not significant problems, notably the state crisis in the early 19th century known as the *kurdzhaliistvo* (Bulgarian for the "time of the brigands"), when central control over much of the empire collapsed and provincial military forces turned to banditry and warlordism. Local Muslim rulers (many not ethnically Turkish) contested for power with the sultan and the central government of the Sublime Porte, and both Muslim and Christian peasants suffered during the breakdown of governance. The subsequent decades of the 19th century were marked by continued policies of modernization of the military and the recentralization of authority in an attempt to address problems of inefficiency, corruption, and lagging technical development.

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Efforts at reform were spurred by continued Russian pressure in the Caucasus and the growing demand by many of the empire's Balkan subjects for independence. The Russian Empire was the strategic victor in its eight wars with the Ottoman Empire over the 18th and 19th centuries, annexing much of the latter's territory in the Caucasus. The adoption of the nation–state ideal—the vision that states should represent an ethnic group—saw successive Serbian, Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Albanian movements seek to end Ottoman suzerainty over their claimed homelands and transform the local multiethnic and multireligious society into homogenous nations. Secessionist trends were aided by foreign intervention. True, the European great powers (particularly Great Britain) did consistently act to prevent the final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. But they also frequently intervened for their own commercial and political benefit or to support local uprisings—claiming the legal right to intervene on behalf of the sultan's Christian subjects. The loss of territories thus followed a pattern: The trigger was usually an uprising within the empire by one of the Christian populations (Muslim uprisings also occurred, but, with the exception of Bosnia in 1875, rarely prompted foreign intervention). Repression of the uprising, frequently brutal and including attacks by irregulars and local Muslim militias on civilians, prompted foreign intervention up to and including military force to secure specific rights for a local Christian population. Acknowledgment of local self-government and autonomy within the empire led, over time, to secession and the declaration of independence during a future round of Ottoman state crisis. In several cases in southeastern Europe, this pattern was recognized such that local revolutionaries arguably sparked confrontations with the Ottoman government they knew they would be unable to win, but they believed the resulting bloodshed would ensure great power intervention on their behalf.

As Justin McCarthy (1995) argues in *Death and Exile*, these successive losses of territory caused millions of Muslims to flee to Anatolia in the *Muhajiria* (from the Arabic *muhajir*, or "refugee"). Much of this flight occurred when Muslim populations privileged within an Islamic state were now incorporated within either an Orthodox Christian Russian empire or Christian nation–states in the Balkans and feared either a loss in status or persecution. Such fear was not unjustified, as massacres (and countermeasures) by Christian irregular forces occurred throughout these conflicts. The refugee waves were resettled within the empire and frequently were employed against new uprisings; *muhajir* groups participating in the Armenian massacres most likely *did* see these events as the continuation of earlier, anti-Muslim cleansings.

Successive political movements in the 19th century attempted to redefine the empire and address the concerns of its constituent population, including the non-Islamic minorities. The early Tanzimat reformers of the 1840s and the Young Ottomans of the 1860s hoped to modernize the empire and transform it into a parliamentary and increasingly secular state. Sultan Abdülhamid II's

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encouragement of Pan-Islamism in the 1890s turned to attempts to revitalize the Islamic Caliphate and define the empire along strict Islamic lines. The failure of each movement to transform the empire and resolve core problems helped propel the Young Turks to power through two coups d'état in 1908 and 1913. To reform what remained of the Ottoman multinational empire, the Young Turks advocated the concept of the nation–state and the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a Turkish state. The loss of Libya, Albania, Macedonia, and western Thrace in the Italo-Ottoman War of 1911 and the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 provided fresh incentive, as the empire was now reduced to a core of eastern Thrace, Anatolia, and its restive Arab territories in the Middle East.

The Young Turks, with justification, saw the presence of non-Muslim (and now non-Turkish) inhabitants in the remaining territories as, in the words of Robert Melson, "threatening and alien minorit[ies]" (1992). As discussed below, the presence of minorities was perceived as threatening the remaining core of the empire. Taner Akçam (2004, 2006) has argued persuasively that the need to remove minority groups, including the Armenians, was discussed and debated openly by elements of the Young Turk movement prior to World War I. Although it is not necessarily conclusive that the genocide was planned, it is highly suggestive of a widespread perception that the empire's minority population was a crisis in waiting.

Given these concerns, it is important to note that during the Armenian deportations, similar actions were taken with respect to other minority groups, including both Greeks and Assyrians. Although the respective historiographical debates have not reached the prominence or intensity of that of the Armenian genocide, some historians have proposed that both cases should be treated as genocide (particularly with reference to the Assyrians, who suffered proportionally almost as much as the Armenians did). Even some Muslim groups such as the Kurds, Bosnians, and Albanians who were living within the empire were internally resettled, sometimes forcibly.

Finally, there remains the question of defining the ending point of the genocide. While much of the literature focuses on the events of 1915–1918, Ottoman wartime policies merged into the postwar conflicts in eastern Anatolia. Western historiography generally stresses the formal end of World War I on November 11, 1918. This neglects the continuity of conflict in much of Eastern Europe, as a series of not unrelated conflicts raged: civil wars in the former Russian Empire, the Baltic states, Finland, and Hungary; civil unrest in the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; the wars of Soviet Hungary and the Greco-Turkish War. The collapse of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus resulted in the emergence of (briefly) independent states. Border clashes broke out between the new Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaijani states, complicating the pattern of ethnic violence in the region (particularly with Soviet intervention). In 1918 the Democratic Republic of Armenia (formerly Russian Armenian, now briefly

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Armenian widows and children, about 1915. (Library of Congress)

independent) launched an invasion of the Ottoman provinces of Van, Erzurum, and Trabzon in revenge for the Ottoman massacres, the attack tolerated by the postwar French Occupation Forces. Nationalist Turkish forces invaded Armenia in turn in 1920, invading Kars and Ardahan (and leading independent Armenia to acquiesce to Soviet takeover, in part for protection from invading Turkish forces). Such fighting is indeed close to the critical portrayal of the massacres as occurring within a context of "civil war" in which casualties were inflicted on all sides. This does not mitigate the events of the genocide, in that this phase of violence occurred significantly later. But, and in parallel with policies of cleansing and massacres of both Turkish and Greek civilians during the Greco-Turkish War of 1921–1923, it represents an aspect of the history of ethnic violence in this period that is frequently forgotten.

Recognizing that significant actions against Muslims took place—including events that can also be identified as genocide—does not diminish or excuse the Ottoman government's involvement in the Armenian genocide of 1915. It does, however, argue for the need for scholarly attention to the systematic massacre, deportations, and flight of Muslims along the Ottoman frontiers. The fear of fragmentation, given the existing pattern of minority separatism in the empire, was, arguably, a legitimate fear.

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Massacres Were the Policy of at Least Segments of the Ottoman Government

Establishing that massacres occurred in an environment of violence and conflict begs the question to what extent the massacres were organized by the Ottoman government. Archival data detail involvement at both levels. In Istanbul, the Ministry of the Interior (headed by Mehmet Tâlât) and the Ministry of War (led by Enver Paşa) directed provincial governors to undertake the deportations. Although some wartime records were subsequently lost or destroyed, there remains a considerable correspondence on the part of the central government that details its involvement. In the field, units of the Special Organization, police, gendarmerie, and (more rarely) the army were tasked with rounding up and escorting the deportees, as well as disposing of the property the deportees left behind.

Here, again, critical assessments of the genocide make the valid point that the Ottoman state cannot be treated as a monolith. As with any state, the empire's government was fragmented between various factions, organizations, and institutions, and not all were equally involved in the massacres. In the same way, although Vahakn Dadrian argues for the root culpability of the Young Turk movement in planning the genocide (likening it to the role played by the Nazi Party in the German organization and carrying out of the Holocaust), there remained factions within the movement. This can be seen by the mixed reactions by elements of the state apparatus to the massacres. Some army leaders openly questioned or refused to be involved with the deportations (although others actively supported them). In several cases, provincial governors (such as Tahsin Bey in Erzurum, Mazhar Bey in Ankara, and Reşit Paşa in Kastamonu) refused to undertake the orders, questioned if they should be carried out within the province, or requested that the orders be limited to adult men and exclude women, children, the elderly, and the sick.

Critics have advanced, in some cases, the reverse argument—that in fact the gendarmerie and military units involved in the genocide took actions that were not approved by the state. Here, too, this raises the significant point that "wild" massacres and cleansings likely occurred (as in most cases of genocide or ethnic cleansing). But the duration of the events and the fact that the central government did not step in to stop them (even if hampered by the need to wage war simultaneously on three fronts) suggest that the government supported "wild" actions—which were, in any case, undertaken by state officials. The overall picture is complex, but it still remains a picture in which elements of the state ordered, carried out, and tolerated the deportations and massacres.

That said, was genocide the intent of the state, or did the deaths emerge out of ongoing conflict throughout the region? Many historians argue that Ottoman policy in the 1890s and 1900s represented antecedents that led to the wartime massacres—what Dadrian refers to as a "proto-genocidal" policy. In this argument, World War I

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created conditions under which an existing ("intentionalist") policy could be carried out. Donald Bloxham (2005) gives an equally compelling "functionalist" argument in *The Great Game of Genocide*. Acknowledging existing nationalist sentiment and discussion, Bloxham argues that the crisis of World War I provided conditions for the radicalization of policy and sentiment and for the widespread toleration (even support) of the massacres by Ottoman officials and citizens. There is valid debate regarding at what point government policy became one of outright genocide. Even if, however widespread the casualties, the deportations were not originally intended as genocide, the Ottoman government did not halt operations or provide additional security, shelter, food, or transportation. This suggests that even if much of the Ottoman state had not been involved in planning or supporting genocide, ultimately tens of thousands of civil servants, police, and military personnel became complicit once the deportations began killing hundreds of thousands of people.

The Goal Was the Elimination of the Armenian People from Anatolia

At first hand, the logic of the 1915 massacres is elusive. Not only did the massacres deny the Ottoman Empire a source of manpower in a time of war (many Armenians having served bravely in the army in the campaigns of 1914), but it also created internal conflicts with what had until the late 19th century been referred to as the "most loyal *millet*," the Armenians. Critics rightfully question what motivation the empire could have had to sustain a lengthy and costly campaign of massacres and deportations. If the goal was to exterminate the Armenian people, then why did the state undertake deportations (however ultimately lethal) instead of immediate murder? Moreover, why were the Armenian communities in Istanbul and Izmir generally left intact (albeit with elements of their leadership imprisoned and executed)?

Past service to the Ottoman state by the Armenian *millet* was now overshadowed by recent events, such as the instance of an Armenian delegation presenting a petition in 1877 to the British and Russians, wherein they demanded extensive changes (including autonomy) in the Armenian-inhabited provinces. In the context of the 19th century, the pursuit of autonomy was normally a step toward an independent state and the secession of territory. An independent Armenian state (and Greek claims on Greek-inhabited areas of the Anatolian coast and eastern Thrace) would effectively divide the core of the empire. And certainly, there were movements among the Armenians (although of disputable size, and almost certainly not extending throughout the entire population) that sought autonomy. In this light, the logic of successive governments' increasing portrayal of the Armenians as "traitors" and as scapegoats for the problems of the society can be understood (if not condoned). Major massacres in 1895–1896

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and 1909, in which tens of thousands of Armenians were killed, were thus "collective punishment" for the group's perceived treason.

As noted above, before World War I, there were considerations by Young Turk leaders of the need to remove minorities from strategic border zones—not only the Armenians, but also Greeks and others. At the beginning of the war, tens of thousands of Greeks were forced to evacuate the coast and were either deported internally (in marches not unlike those of the later Armenian massacres) or encouraged to immigrate to Greece proper. This expanded to the perceived need to remove minorities that could threaten the secession of territory, most notably the Armenians.

This did not necessitate the complete annihilation of all ethnic Armenians—although the deportations came close to achieving this. It did require the elimination of the Armenian people *as a group* from eastern Anatolia. Individual Armenians could survive through conversion to Islam and assimilation; strikingly, Taner Akçam (2004, 2006) argues that Ottoman officials saw no need to deport or eliminate Armenians from areas where their population was smaller and less dense. This fits, in his arguments, a broad policy in which *all* non-Turkish minorities (including other Muslim groups) were to be relocated to ensure that minorities remained less than 5 percent of a given provincial population. This explains the relative preservation of Armenian communities in western Anatolia that were likely viewed as nonthreatening enough to warrant deportation (particularly given the larger number of foreign observers in those regions who would have witnessed the events firsthand).

In this sense, the Armenian genocide was undertaken to remove a perceived threat to continued Muslim, Turkish, or Ottoman rule over the eastern regions of Anatolia. Unlike the Holocaust, the Young Turks did not perceive the question in a racial sense, nor did they take it to the extreme of defining the Ottoman Empire's problems in a monocausal fashion. For example, while Armenians were frequently used as scapegoats for the state's problems, they were not (as the Nazis did with the Jews) portrayed as a universal and global conspiracy undermining civilization. As long as the nation was removed or eliminated, individual Armenians or families might be tolerated if they were assimilated into Muslim society.

This argument does not fully explain the brutality and bloodshed of the deportation and massacres, because nonviolent removal could have achieved most of the same goals. Scholars have accordingly raised relevant questions regarding the possible desperation felt by state officials, the depth of extreme nationalist anti-Armenian sentiment among planners, the extent of control over the deportations, and the larger questions of violence, anger, and ethnic conflict in Ottoman society in eastern Anatolia. Stipulating that the goal of the Armenian genocide was the removal of the Armenian people from Anatolia does not fully explain the extensive violence and brutality, but it does fit the definition of genocide.

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Conclusion

Given these four issues, it is resolved here that although the events in question remain complex and there are valid academic debates over the details, the death of over 1 million Armenians was the result of Ottoman state policy. Reasonable historical evidence exists that the massacres took place, that they were the design (or outgrowth) of government policy, and that they were undertaken for the specific purposes of defending the state—albeit in a complex period in which the Armenian genocide was one part of a larger mosaic of ethnic cleansings, massacre, and violence.

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CON

Whether the perishing of a sizable Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire of late 18th and early 19th centuries constitutes commission of the crime of genocide is a controversial issue of historical scholarship. While a large group of historians and international criminal lawyers rush to call the truly saddening events a genocide, a minority of historians and—quite understandably—Turkish scholars meticulously refrain from any labeling that will require reparation by the Republic of Turkey, which is seen as the successor of the Ottoman state, allegedly responsible for the Armenian genocide.

Those who are unfamiliar with the subject need to recall that there is in fact no denying from even the Turkish side that many Ottoman-subject Armenians died, were killed, or were deported in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The controversy is more about the nature of the incidents; more precisely, Turks argue that the deaths were simply part of the wartime conditions and had nothing to do with genocide, whereas Armenians are quite sure that the deaths of their relatives was the first genocidal campaign of the 20th century.

Identifying the incidents really matters for both sides—the Armenians and the Turks. For the Armenians, there is no room for further discussion as to whether the deaths were part of a genocide act. This steadfastness and resolve on their stance further determine the very backbone of the sense of being an Armenian. Armenians pay particular attention to the observation of the anniversary of the genocide and ensure its worldwide recognition. On the other hand, Turks feel that attempts to have the allegations recognized as genocide by the international community are part of a greater conspiracy that will undermine Turkey's national interests in the global stage.

That perfectly explains why it is not surprising that the issue of whether the deaths of Armenians in the early 19th century is the outcome of a killing campaign organized and executed by the Ottoman authorities or simply part of conspiracy or plot to put the Turkish state into a difficult position attracts a great deal of attention by historians and international lawyers. This is the exact reason for why similar events such as the French killing campaigns in Algeria or rapid elimination of the native population in North America have gone untouched with special reference to the crime of genocide while disappearance of a large Armenian population became subject of an ongoing debate that focuses on this particular crime.

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As noted earlier, most historians and international criminal lawyers tend to see the events under review as genocide. Some even attribute Hitler's eagerness to exterminate the Jews during World War II to the reluctance of the international community to make the Ottomans pay for the genocide they committed against the Armenians, implying that this reluctance served as an incentive. It is tempting to jump to such a conclusion; and unfortunately, this is what this group of historians and lawyers did without inquiring into what genocide really means and whether it is possible to take these events under this heading.

As opposed to the majority group, I firmly believe that Armenians who lived in the Ottoman territories during 18th and 19th centuries suffered a lot and that many were unjustly killed, deported, and subjected to inhumane treatments of various sorts but that we cannot speak of an Armenian genocide for at least three reasons.

Above all, the notion of genocide is not part of our daily language. For this reason, its usage requires certain prior identifications and determinations. To this end, it differs from commonly used notions like massacre, extermination, annihilation, or the like. One may freely use the latter, while use of the term genocide is subject to certain restrictions. Second, commission of the crime of genocide can only be confirmed by a competent international court. This is the greatest shortcoming of the alleged Armenian genocide. Third, historical data are still inadequate to prove that the deaths were genocide. Even if these data seem to be convincing, they need to be verified and taken as the basis for a judgment by a competent judicial body before proceeding with describing the deaths as genocide because of the substantiated genocidal acts.

A thorough and integrated review of historical data will show that the deaths were actually part of intercommunal conflicts, which were common in other parts of the war zones during World War I. Therefore, pro-genocide historians are actually wrong because of their limited focus on the deaths of Armenians while ignoring deaths of the Turks in the same period of time. An integrated approach that will take the latter into consideration will reveal that hundreds of thousands of Turks were also killed by Armenians during the period where a large number of Armenians died of famine, diseases, revengeful acts, or plain killings.

The G-Word and Its Inappropriateness for Frequent Use in Daily Language

The term *genocide* was first coined by Raphael Lemkin (1944), a Polish Jew who spent tireless efforts to ensure that the Holocaust by the Nazis during World War II would be recognized by the international community in a different category of crimes. That is to say, it is not a usual or regular word that has followed the etymological path of any other words extensively used in daily languages. Unlike others we frequently use in our daily lives, the term genocide

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connotes an exclusive situation or set of incidents that require certain substantiations and verifications.

Mostly for this reason, its usage is usually discouraged in daily language, and only experts in the relevant fields are viewed as partially competent or authorized for its use. Particularly the media, the state authorities, and scholars pay particular attention to whether it is appropriate to define a certain incident as genocide, considering the repercussions of such an action. In recognition of this delicacy and sensitivity, many are prone to refer to the notion of genocide as "G-word," which recollects that this is such a strong term that it requires prior meticulousness and attention.

Carefulness—and some may even call it timidity—in use of the G-word is visible in most controversial and contentious cases. For instance, the ongoing conflict in Darfur, a war-torn region in Sudan, is not recognized as genocide by the international community because of the strength of the notion and serious repercussions involved in recognizing the incidents as genocide. It should be recalled that even the United Nations Special Commission set up to investigate the international crimes committed in the region concluded that although most heinous crimes have been committed against civilians, the acts by both parties did not constitute commission of the crime of genocide. This is particularly important because the head of the commission, Antonio Cassese, a renowned scholar in the field of international criminal law, was criticized for this conclusion; but interestingly, he does not hesitate to recognize an Armenian genocide committed by the Ottoman Turks. What is not understandable here is Cassese paid particular attention in not using the G-word in regard to such a grave situation like the one in Darfur whereas he almost assumes that the Armenian genocide did actually happen without paying the same attention and utmost care to the historical evidence.

This is in fact the general attitude of those who tend to see the deaths of Armenians in early 19th century in the Ottoman territories as genocide. Despite the restraint that is strongly needed before using the G-word, scholars and politicians, who argue that there was an Armenian genocide committed by the Ottomans, are not so careful. Particularly, the parliaments that proceeded with recognition of the alleged Armenian genocide did not consider the exclusive meaning of the term and the subsequent repercussions of that recognition.

Lack of prior inquiry in the recognition of the alleged Armenian genocide at a number of parliaments as to whether the deaths were really an outcome of a genocidal campaign sponsored by the Turks shows that this issue bears a political dimension. It appears that countries with a substantial Armenian population are more prone to recognize the alleged genocide, whereas states that have good ties with Turkey refrain from any actions or policies that will upset Turkish authorities.

This is most blatantly visible in the United States, where politicians with no administrative positions pledge to spend tireless efforts to ensure official

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recognition of Armenian genocide, whereas political figures with influential administrative positions act more rigorously in an attempt to keep relations with Turkey smooth. Especially local administrations—specifically states with large Armenian populations—proceed with swift recognition, while the central government considers the strategic importance of Turkey and its probable role in preservation of American interests in the Middle East.

This suggests that both recognition and lack of recognition of the so-called Armenian genocide are based on a certain political preference rather than legal inquiries or a thorough review of historical facts and evidences. The question here should be to what extent it is wise to use the G-word for achievement of some political goals.

Crime of Genocide and International Law

The same word can have different meanings in daily language and in legal literature. From a criminal law perspective, conviction is possible only if the relevant action is properly defined as a crime under a certain legal system. To this end, it is possible to use a certain word in daily language without considering what it actually means; however, the very same word may fall into a category of crime only if it meets the criteria set to regard it as a punishable offense. For instance, one may call a certain act a massacre, but that does not necessarily mean that the perpetrator of this act will get conviction on massacre charges.

Yet this does not discourage us from using such words or notions indiscriminately simply because they are part of daily language and are used frequently. But the word or notion of genocide is quite different. It is not a word of daily language nor is it appropriate for frequent or common use, as it describes a particular and extreme criminal act.

This brief explanation and clarification should suffice to suggest that in describing a set of actions as the crime of genocide, one should remain extremely cautious and consider whether these actions constitute this crime under proper international legal instruments. Description based on daily usage is not possible considering that the G-word is not one that can usually be used freely by all in different and often uncertain meanings.

To put it differently, the word genocide is only meaningful when it is considered from the international law perspective. This means that it cannot be used freely to describe any particular situation without final judgment by an international legal body. Because it is a crime that is clearly defined under international law, and only subjects convicted of a crime by a competent judicial body are considered to have committed the relevant crime, without a proper international judicial decision, deaths of Armenians may not be defined as genocide.

This implies that in order for a particular situation to fall into the category of the crime of genocide, the relevant acts need to meet the requirements and

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criteria set out in an authoritative definition developed through a competent international legal mechanism. Such a definition is provided by the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The definition was subsequently borrowed by the statutes of the international criminal tribunals, created to deal with the international crimes committed in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, and the Rome statute, establishing the first permanent international criminal court.

> The said convention provides:
> [G]enocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
>
> (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) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (United Nations 1948)

What distinguishes the crime of genocide from other types of crimes and offenses and places it in a special and unique category in this definition is the emphasis on the "intent to destroy." According to the definition, intent to annihilate a group of people should be visible to substantiate the crime of genocide. However, this intent does not necessarily have to be directed against the entire group. The definition states that if there is intent to destroy "a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" "in whole or in part," *and* if the intended action actually takes place, the crime of genocide is considered to have been committed.

In addition to the restrictions in terms of indisputable presence of intent to destroy and commission of the said acts against a certain group, attempts to restrict the size of the group through the acts contained in the definition are not legally regarded as part of genocide. In many cases, acts spelled out in this definition are not considered part of a genocidal campaign because these acts do not seek to "destroy" an existing group, but rather they are committed to restrict the size of the group.

Presence of "intent to destroy" is best visible if there is a clear policy pursued to wipe out a certain group "in whole or in part." This will lead to the conclusion that in order to hold a state responsible for having committed the crime of genocide, presence of a genocidal policy drafted *and* successfully implemented against the targeted group should be legally proven.

In short, substantiation of the crime of genocide requires proof of the presence of two most important and interrelated elements: first, there has to be intent

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Armenian refugees, most likely deported from Ottoman Anatolia, at Novorossiisk, Russia, in 1920. (Library of Congress)

to destroy a racial, ethnical, religious, or national group in part or in whole; second, at least one of the acts considered genocidal needs to be actually committed with such intention. I will further discuss whether the deaths of Armenians in the early 19th century in the Ottoman territories fall into the category of genocide with particular reference to these two major elements. What I would like to stress here is that a legal verdict on the commission of genocide has to be released taking the above definition along with the two elements outlined in this definition into account.

Getting back to our particular issue, in order to speak of an Armenian genocide, above all, we need to have a judicial decision taken by a competent international legal body holding that the deaths were genocide. Such a decision also needs to consider these two basic elements of the crime of genocide. In other words, an international legal body should first prove that the Ottoman state had pursued a particular policy to destroy the Armenian population in whole or in part and also actually committed genocidal acts to achieve this goal.

The question that stands here is this: Is there such a decision taken by a competent international legal body? The answer is simply "no." Without such a decision, it is not proper to speak of an Armenian genocide because, as I pointed out earlier, this is not a term usable in daily language. The word genocide refers to a particular and exclusive type of crime, and its presence is proven through a legal verdict alone.

The most important—and one may say the easiest—way of adjudicating the genocide claims is to hear the claims before the International Court of Justice

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(ICJ) if allegations are directed against a state. Article 9 of the Genocide Convention of 1948 provides:

> Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute. (United Nations 1948)

Therefore, it appears that requesting the ICJ adjudication will undisputedly resolve the issue of whether the deaths of Armenians on Ottoman soil in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was genocide from at least an international law perspective. But until such a resolution has been achieved, claims suggesting that the deaths were genocide obviously are still pending.

But if individuals are accused of having committed genocide, setting up an international criminal tribunal or court vested with the authority to prosecute international crimes will be the most appropriate means to deal with such a situation. In our case, no such option was employed. Therefore, no decision has been made by either the ICJ or a competent international criminal tribunal confirming that there was an Armenian genocide committed by the Turks in the 19th and 20th centuries.

It should be noted, however, that there appeared to be a possibility of establishing an international criminal tribunal to prosecute war crimes in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 convened by the victorious powers of the war. At the conference, a commission was set up to address the crimes committed during the war. It concluded that individuals should be held responsible for violations of the laws and customs of war and of the laws of humanity, with an additional view that an international criminal court should be created in the cases where the accusations against the suspects were directed at more than one state.

At the conference, the victorious powers also discussed Germany's surrender and negotiated a treaty where they dictated the terms. The deliberations at the conference also included the issues concerning the prosecution of high-level officials and war criminals from the defeated powers for "crimes against the laws of humanity." At the end, the Treaty of Versailles was concluded with Germany on June 1919. The treaty provided establishment of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal to prosecute Wilhelm II of Germany for initiating the war. However, Kaiser fled to neutral Holland, which refused his extradition.

The Treaty of Versailles also created the Commission on the Responsibilities of the Authors of War and on Enforcement of Penalties to investigate the responsibility for initiating the war and the violators of the laws of war. The crimes considered by the commission included rape, use of poisonous gas, murders, massacres, and waging aggressive war, for which it proposed a tribunal consisting of 22 members. The commission completed its work and submitted its report, which consisted of a list of 895 alleged war criminals.

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A similar path was followed through the Treaty of Sevres, which was never enforced. This brief explanation suggests that although the Allied Powers considered prosecution of international crimes committed in World War I, they never took this issue seriously, missing a great opportunity that would put an end to current discussions on the alleged Armenian genocide.

But I would like to stress that accusations directed against Germany in regard to the commission of international crimes in World War I were far more serious than those directed against the Ottoman Turks. For instance, in a letter addressed to the Austrian Kaiser Wilhelm II, Kaiser of Germany, wrote:

> My soul is torn, but everything must be put to fire and sword: men, women and children and old men must be slaughtered and not a tree or house be left standing. With these methods of terrorism, which are alone capable of affecting a people as degenerate as the French, the war will be over in two months, whereas if I admit considerations of humanity it will be prolonged for years. In spite of my repugnance I have therefore been obliged to choose the former system. ("What Punishment Fits" 1919)

Despite this, so-called Armenian genocide becomes popular in the present time because of political reasons, whereas no reference is made to German atrocities in the same period. This undoubtedly proves that the Armenian genocide claims are promoted for political reasons, which are taken into considerations by national parliaments proceeding with recognition of an Armenian genocide.

Do Historical Facts Really Support Armenian Genocide Claims?

Those who allege that Ottoman Turks committed crimes of genocide against the Armenians in early 20th century believe that a verdict by an international tribunal is not needed to confirm their allegations simply because there are plenty of historical evidences on this matter. Mostly for this reason, promoters of the alleged Armenian genocide pay particular attention to keep the issue away from adjudication of an international court.

But it should be noted that their overreliance on historical findings to make their point is also groundless because while they consider the facts or evidences supporting their claims, they fail to take the stories of the other side into account. In other words, assessing the whole story from the perspective of murdered Armenians will simply be misleading because there are so many Turks killed by Armenians in various parts of the Empire; but their stories were ignored by the supporters of the Armenian genocide claims.

More important, historical findings and facts should be rechecked for the purpose of determining whether these would suffice to call the deaths of Armenians in the early 20th century genocide. Two particular and most important

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criteria of genocide should be taken into consideration. Otherwise it would not be appropriate to describe the deaths as genocide just because many Armenians were slaughtered or massacred.

Central to reaching a decision as to whether a set of actions constitutes the crime of genocide is whether the relevant actions have taken place under a preset and well-defined plan drafted by the state or state authorities. To this end, in order to speak of the presence of genocide, there should be a state policy pursued for a specific purpose of destroying a certain religion, national, racial, or ethnic group *and* this policy should be actually implemented and result in whole or partial destruction of the targeted group.

In our case, there is no indisputable evidence suggesting that the Ottoman state or statesmen had drafted a well-crafted plan to annihilate the Armenians in the territory of Ottoman Empire. More important, there is also no evidence indicating that such a policy—if ever drafted—had been implemented to wipe out the Armenian population.

Supporters of the Armenian genocide claims often cite the deportation decision made by the Ottoman authorities as an indication of their coercive decisiveness to send them to this deadly journey. They assert that deportation or displacement of such a large population would mean nothing but death for hundreds of thousands people because of the conditions prevalent at that time.

This explanation seems a bit logical and reasonable given that most of the casualties were attributed to this journey, which became a deadly walk for many Armenians. But the Ottoman state or the state authorities should not be accused of devising a plan of genocide to exterminate the Armenian population just because they made such a decision. This might be a terribly wrong decision; but this does not necessarily mean that it could be taken as clear evidence for the existence of an intention to destroy Armenians in whole or in part.

This was a decision that the state authorities of the time considered would be the best solution to the ongoing problems in the regions with a substantial size of Armenian population. Many Armenians suffered because of this decision; but that does not indicate liability of the state authorities for preparing a great plot to eliminate all Armenians.

Those who allege that Armenians were subjected to a genocidal campaign by the Turks also make reference to the trials and conviction of several Ottoman officers, who were executed because of crimes committed against Armenians, at Ottoman courts. True, some military and administrative officers were tried and executed in connection with offenses against civilian Armenians; but this does not suggest that they were responsible for commission of the crime of genocide. There is a broad set of war crimes, none of which may be considered as genocide; therefore, these trials might be relevant to such offenses.

More important, because such trials were held by the Ottoman state, this could actually prove that there was no centrally devised plan to annihilate the

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entire Armenian population. If there had been such a plan, the state could not have held its own officers responsible for these offenses.

It should also be noted that the Armenian people and the Turks have coexisted peacefully for centuries in the Ottoman territories. That is to say, there has never been a culture of hatred or enmity held by Turks against the Armenians. Even though there was some hidden or indirect hostility between the Greeks and the Jews, most subidentities were tolerant of one another. Among these subidentities, Armenians were the closest to the Turks in terms of cultural and lifestyle similarities. A foreigner would have difficulty discerning an Armenian from a Turk even as late as the 19th century.

In return, Armenians have never considered rioting against the administration, mostly held by Turks. For this reason, they were referred to as the "loyal nation" (*Millet-i Sadıka*). Considering this loyalty, late Ottoman sultans appointed some high-level Armenians to influential posts. Even Abdulhamid II, who is abhorred by Armenian diaspora, had affinity with Armenians and reserved some crucial positions for leading Armenian figures. Despite an assassination attempt plotted by Armenian terrorists against him, Abdulhamid II has never considered wiping out the entire Armenian population, nor did he remove influential Armenian figures from government posts.

Of course this cannot be taken as an assurance that Turks would never commit the crime of genocide against Armenians. But this very crucial fact implies that historians should consider the particular nature of relations between Turkish and Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire when making generalizations about the Armenian genocide claims. That is to say, if there has been no source of conflict or tension for centuries between these communities, then there should be no particular reason for the breakout of a deadly conflict that left millions of dead people.

At this point, recalling the tensions between conflicting communities in two most important and legally confirmed genocides will be illustrative. In regard to the Holocaust, it could be said that the Jews had suffered from certain stereotypes held by a substantial group of German people and that there had been no peace between these two communities. Hitler successfully mobilized the anti-Semitic sentiments to ignite a genocidal campaign against the Jewish population. Likewise, in Rwanda, Hutu extremists exploited the long-standing tension with the Tutsi minority and justified an extremely violent campaign by which they aimed to wipe out the Tutsi identity. Extremists made particular references to the alleged abuse by Tutsis, whose identity was formerly promoted by colonial Belgians.

But in the case of Armenian deaths, there was no such motive that could be used by the Turks and the Ottoman authorities. What happened was: a conflict broke out between the parties because of the war conditions and the subsequent deportation of a large Armenian population, which resulted in the deaths of

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hundreds of thousands of Armenians. It would be explanatory to recall once more that an almost equal number of Turks had been slaughtered by Armenians in their hopes of having an independent state of their own, encouraged by the Russians, who occupied a substantial part of the eastern Ottoman territories.

Most historians are prone to focus on what happened to the Armenians during early the 20th century because their minds are set on investigating the facts about the alleged Armenian genocide. This is a legitimate yet insufficient inquiry because it misses the details of the other side of the whole story. A brief survey of what happened to the Turks in the same period of time and of crimes committed by the Armenians against the Muslim population will prove that the killings were not genocide but rather a wholesale conflict that left many Muslims and Armenians dead in the warzone. The fact that nothing harmful was done to the Armenians living in other parts of the Ottoman state confirms this, as there was no such conflict in Istanbul or other provinces in Marmara or the Ege region.

Therefore, an integrated historical approach should consider the whole picture to have a more accurate depiction of what happened. Supporters of Armenian genocide claims often fail to take the war conditions into account and the fact that the Ottoman state lost authority in eastern and southeastern parts of the country, where most of the massacres took place. It should be once more noted that these atrocities were committed by both sides; considering that the death toll was growing and proved not to stop growing any time soon, the Ottoman state decided—for better or worse—to relocate the Armenian population in an attempt to put an end to the clashes.

The process of relocation was unfortunately deadly, with countless sad stories of not only famine and excessive heat, but also of revenge attacks by armed Kurds, who chased the deportees and caught many Armenians defenseless on their way to another place of habitation.

Conclusion

The issue of Armenian genocide remains one of the most controversial historical debates because of its political dimensions. Since genocide charges are not acceptable by the Turkish government and the Armenians are prone to base their identities on the genocide claims, there is no apparent prospect for a lasting resolution to the issue to which both parties can agree.

That being said, the genocide allegations are not well grounded because of at least three fundamental reasons. Above all, because it is a rather technical and legal term, genocide is not appropriate for use in daily language. In other words, one cannot use this word freely to define a certain set of actions as genocide because it requires a legal verdict by a competent international legal body. Second, without such a decision, whether the relevant actions are genocide will remain pending. In our case, there is no such decision confirming that the Armenian

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New York Life Settles the Armenian Claims

After a long and grueling legal battle, on January 27, 2004, a "Settlement Agreement" was signed by the New York Life Insurance Company with descendants of policy holders who had been killed in Armenia in 1915.

Overall some 8,000 to 9,000 Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire had purchased life insurance policies, and after the killings in 1915, the New York Life Insurance Company used a local attorney to track down policyholders and their families. Payments were made to about a third of the policyholders. However, there were problems with many other payments because of the inability of some of them to furnish death certificates and other paperwork.

The 2004 settlement involved the payment of $11 million to the heirs of 2,400 policyholders, $4 million in costs to the four law firms who brought the case, $2 million to cover the costs of the advertising of the case and the hiring of agents to track down heirs, and $3 million to a range of Armenian charitable organizations.

population was subjected to a genocidal campaign at the hands of Ottomans. Third, historical research often focuses on one side of the whole story to see whether the deaths were genocide. A thorough investigation inclusive of massacres committed by Armenians against Muslims will show that what happened in the early 20th century in the Ottoman territories were brutal killings, but not genocide.

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5

The British had shipped weapons aboard the *Lusitania*, in effect using women and children as "human shields" for a war cargo.

PRO Ardhana Mudambi
CON Justin Corfield

PRO

Both in Ireland and in the United States, the sinking of the *Lusitania* served propagandists' purposes to convince constituents of both nationalities to support Great Britain against Germany in the Great War. At the outbreak of the war, Irish nationalists naturally supported the kaiser against the common enemy. The Crown, therefore, trying to undermine these sentiments, had, even before the sinking, vilified German U-boat crewmembers as savages who set out for rape and pillage (Molony 2004: 12). With the tragedy came the opportunity to prove their claims by vividly painting a mass murder scene that had occurred only 12 miles off the shore of Ireland. Leaflets called Irishmen to send out soldiers in the names of the women and children who had died so close to home due to German depravity.

Although the United States held an ostensible position of neutrality, the sinking rapidly changed American attitudes as well. The *New York Times* quickly depicted the sinking as a wanton massacre of American civilians ("Sinking Justified" 1915). A two-page spread featured prominent Americans who had lost their lives in the sinking. Subsequently, another two pages featured the burials of these victims. Americans, some of whom had previously sympathized with the Germans, now detested the kaiser for his uncivilized war tactics. The death of innocent women and children could not be acceptable in Western warfare (Schmidt 2005: 75).

On May 7, 1915, off the coast of Kinsale, Ireland, 1,201 men, women, and children of the 1,959 passengers lost their lives when U-20, a German submarine, sank the *Lusitania*, a supposed British cruise liner traveling from New York to Liverpool, England. Among the victims were 128 Americans. In sinking the cruise liner, Germany had ostensibly acted against International Cruiser Rules, which allowed nations to destroy enemy ships only when carrying contraband, defined as "munitions, that is weapons or goods that could directly aid an enemy war effort" (Schmidt 2005: 75). Cruiser Rules also mandated that such destruction

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should occur only after allowing the crew and passengers to disembark. The *Lusitania* was ostensibly a civilian ship carrying civilian passengers, including those from a neutral country and, therefore, should not have been sunk in the first place. Hence, the sinking was a heinous German act of willful murder, or was it?

According to German officials, the sinking of the *Lusitania* was indeed a heinous act of wanton murder, but not a German one. Accordingly, the *Lusitania* carried contraband and was under the authority of the British Admiralty, thereby giving Germany the right to destroy the cruise liner without regard to the passengers. Germany further accused the Crown of using Americans as a "cloak," thereby transferring the sin of murder to the British. U.S. Secretary of State William Jenkins Bryan echoed German sentiments. Bryan condemned the British for "relying on passengers, including men, women, and children, of the United States to give immunity to a vessel carrying munitions of war." Bryan defended German rights to prevent contraband from reaching the Allies and paralleled British use of the *Lusitania* to transport contraband to the placing of "women and children in front of an army" (quoted from Schmidt 2005: 80). In effect, the secretary of state accused the Crown of having used women and children as shields for its munitions.

In response, the Crown conducted an investigation of the sinking, concluding that "the whole blame for the cruel destruction of life in this catastrophe must rest solely with those who plotted and with those who committed the crime" (Molony 2004: 184), thereby, denying charges that Great Britain had carried contraband upon the ship and placing guilt squarely upon the kaiser's shoulders. Subsequent Irish and American swings favoring the British demonstrate that world opinion sided with the Crown.

However, this section's discussion goes against common perception, arguing that the British had shipped weapons upon the *Lusitania*, in effect using women and children as human shields for war cargo. First, the section demonstrates that the British investigation must be disregarded due to its lack of substance. Then, the section reviews *Lusitania*'s original purpose as a warship for the admiralty. Next, it demonstrates the ship's further metamorphosis in order to carry contraband during World War I. Finally, it presents proof of armaments upon the ship.

British Investigations

Although British inquiries to determine whom to blame for *Lusitania*'s destruction demonstrated that the British had not violated international laws (i.e., had not carried contraband upon the ship), British investigations cannot be trusted. First, the British could not afford negative publicity and, therefore, had no choice but to hide unfavorable truths. Furthermore, the actual investigation demonstrates a superficial treatment of the sinking. Finally, the Crown has kept various related documents out of public reach.

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First, British inquiries cannot be trusted because the loss of moral support of its own people, the Irish, or especially the Americans, could mean losing the war. Although President Woodrow Wilson claimed neutrality, in actuality, he lent great support to his Anglo brethren. By 1917, U.S. exports to Germany had been virtually eliminated. From 12 percent of total exports in 1914, the total percentage of exports to Germany had dropped to less than 1 percent by 1917. On the other hand, exports to Great Britain had increased from 25–33 percent of total exports, demonstrating that Wilson's neutrality was nothing more than lip service. In spite of America's aid, by *Lusitania*'s sinking, the British was down to six weeks of food and was in dire need for armament (Schmidt 2005: 78–79). Undoubtedly, the Crown could not afford U.S. support turning to Germany, and after *Lusitania*'s sinking, Americans were out for blood.

Further demonstrating that British investigations could not be trusted, the actual inquiries exhibit a superficial treatment of the sinking. Only three years earlier, after the *Titanic*'s sinking, British inquiries spanned 36 days with more than 25,000 questions asked to pertinent individuals. In contrast, the investigation covering the *Lusitania* encompassed a paltry 103 pages (including title pages and an index of witnesses), a result of only 2,312 questions asked (Sauder 2005: 105). If indeed the British were innocent victims, why wasn't a more thorough investigation conducted akin to that of the *Titanic*?

Finally, British investigations are unreliable because the government successfully made key documents related to the sinking disappear. For instance, when Admiral Graham Greene asked about the ammunition carried by the *Lusitania*, Oswyn Murray of the admiralty responded "Curiously enough I had some difficulty in laying my hand on any document containing the exact facts" (quoted from Preston 2002: 384). Hence, information concerning ammunition was hidden.

Of course, this argument brings us to the question of present day. Have these missing documents been released? Can a conclusive statement be made regarding the issue of contraband by researching these papers? Unfortunately, the Crown continues to keep the evidence under lock and key. While some of the previously missing papers were purchased by the Cunard archives, official files continue to be fleeting; one moment, they give leads to understanding the tragedy better, then they disappear. Blank sheets inserted in the official dossier give reason to suspect missing documents such as telegrams. Researchers doubt even the authenticity of newly released files. Hence, the British government can obviously not be trusted to give accurate information about the *Lusitania*'s destruction, and, therefore, her investigations are not to be trusted.

Churchill and the Sinking

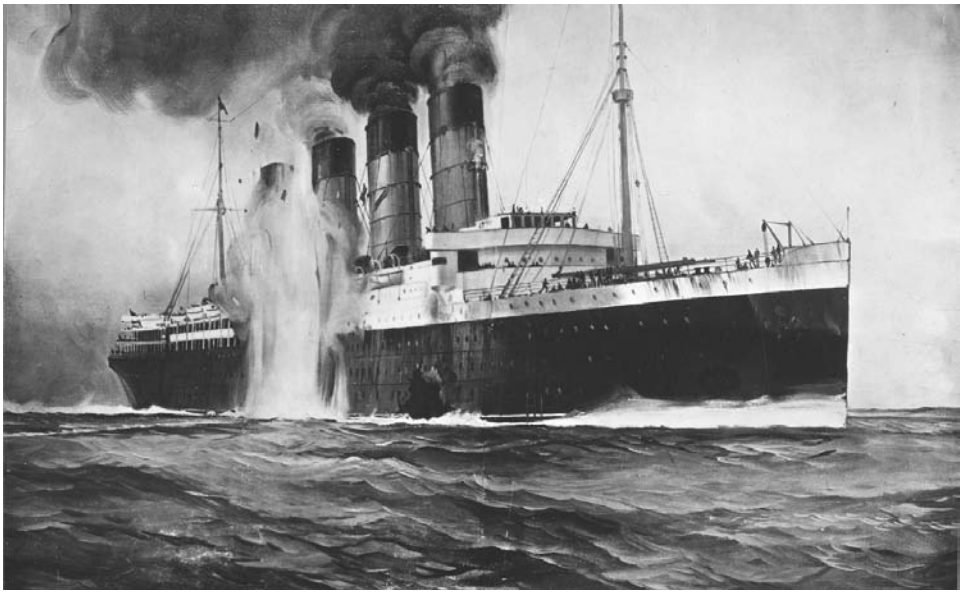
An additional argument against the idea that women and children were used as human shields for war cargo stems from the idea that the Crown purposely meant

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for the *Lusitania* to be attacked in order to draw the United States into the war. This theory of course, then worsens the blame placed on the British government since women and children now have been relegated from human shields to human sacrifices; this argument, in turn, however, supports the theory that the sinking was in fact the fault of the British. Although this section does in fact argue that the British government placed women and children in harm's way, it does not go so far as to claim that the government ensured their murder. However, a glance at the argument is worth the reader's while.

If indeed, the *Lusitania* carried important war cargo, why was the ship not further protected? An escort vessel was not provided. Furthermore, evidence demonstrates a paltry supply of information to Captain Turner, the ship's leader. If the admiralty had provided him with more information, the *Lusitania* might have avoided destruction. These questions suggest that the Crown may have purposely condemned the *Lusitania* to her death.

First, the *Lusitania*, like other similar ships, was expected to fend for herself using her immense speed. Even after her sinking, the admiralty did not provide further protection to other similar ships, citing the importance of speed as their first line of defense. This tactic continued as well through World War II. Furthermore, international laws dictated that passenger ships could not be destroyed without a stop and search for contraband, an issue discussed shortly. By providing naval support, the *Lusitania* would lose this privilege (Preston 2002: 399).



The Cunard passenger liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk by a German U-boat on May 7, 1915, off the south coast of Ireland, en route from New York to Liverpool, with the loss of 1,201 lives, 128 of them American. (Library of Congress)

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Furthermore, historians generally concur that little information was presented to Captain Turner, leaving him at a loss in his struggle against the German submarine U-20. Why did the British government not make a greater attempt to forewarn Turner, especially if the *Lusitania* contained necessary war cargo? Overall, this lack of action resulted from a failure in leadership. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, liked to know everything transpiring and to make decisions alone. During *Lusitania*'s travel, he was more occupied with embroiling Italy in the war as an ally than with the ship. The second in command, Admiral Fisher, by admission, was near a nervous breakdown and could not at the moment handle the pressures of the *Lusitania*. Other officials, beneath the two, were far too scared of Churchill to act alone; hence, the upshot was a vulnerable *Lusitania*.

The bulwark of the Lusitanian conspiracy theory is none other than Churchill, at the time a young nobleman with grand political ambitions and very slowly developing prudence. On February 12, 1915, he commented to Walter Ranchman, president of the Board of Trade, that "it is most important to attract neutral shipping to our shores in the hope especially of embroiling the U.S.A. with Germany" (quoted from Preston 2002: 395). Churchill could undoubtedly have been ruthless enough to perform such a horror. He was one of the first to support bombing military targets within populated areas, using poison gas against enemies, and violating Dutch and Danish neutrality in order to enter Germany. He even suggested sacrificing loyalty to his long ally Portugal by presenting it as a bribe to bring Spain on to the side of the Allies. Most condemning, after *Lusitania*'s sinking, Churchill believed the tragedy had in fact worked in Britain's best interests.

Nevertheless, wouldn't Churchill have, after a more careful inspection, opted for other, more promising venues to defeat the Germans? After all, embroiling the United States in the war would have actually given the Germans the upper hand. As previously stated, by 1917, the British were in dire need of food and armament, and one-third of America's total exports were in fact to Great Britain. If Lady Liberty had entered the war immediately (which fortunately for Great Britain, she did not), the new participator would in fact have wanted to keep her ammunition for her own use, thus opening the possibility for Germany to triumphantly invade a helpless Great Britain (Schmidt 2005: 80). While holding true to Churchill's eventual belief that the sinking of the *Lusitania* actually aided Great Britain in terms of propaganda, the upshot of the sinking could not have been predicted. Hence, to believe that *Lusitania*'s torpedo was in fact the result of British conspiracy is more a topic left for the imagination and film screen than for a historical argument.

Creation and Metamorphosis of the *Lusitania*

The creation and later metamorphosis of the *Lusitania* in themselves strongly suggest that the ship carried munitions. First, the liner was built only after the government lent a large sum of money to the Cunard Steamship Company in

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exchange for future naval use. Furthermore, during the war, passenger sections of the liner were gutted by the admiralty to create additional cargo space. Hence, the *Lusitania* had a clear naval purpose.

Suggesting that the *Lusitania* did in fact have ammunition on board, the liner was built under government subsidy for naval use during war. Why would the government spend money on a ship and then not use it during war? British enthusiasm for the construction of the *Lusitania* was partly to show up the much younger German Empire since in 1897, the latter with its construction of Kaiser Wilhelm der Crosse, had in fact challenged the Crown's position as the ruler of the seas. As the Crown's naval prowess was a sine qua non of its claim as the world's paramount power, it could not allow another empire to demonstrate itself stronger in the waters.

Hence, the British government made an agreement with Cunard Steamship Company's chairman Lord Inverelyde in order to build two new cruise liners that could, during war, provide the trump cards the British needed to win. It offered the company a loan of 2,600,000 pounds at 2.75 percent interest for the construction of the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania*. The Crown also offered an additional annual subsidy of 150,000 pounds to maintain the ships ready for war. In turn, the Cunard Steamship Company had to agree to certain conditions:

1. Cunard had to remain a wholly British company for the next 20 years, thus, prohibiting any other nation from benefiting during war from Britain's investment.
2. The British government, at will, could appropriate the two liners during war.
3. The vessels must be equipped to fit 12, six-inch, quick-fitting guns.
4. Coal bunkers were to line the ships in order to absorb enemy gun fire.
5. Not less than 50 percent of the crew had to belong to the Royal Navy Reserve or the Royal Navy.

Given the money and prestige connected to the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania*, how likely would it be that the British would not use its auxiliary cruisers in event of war? In fact, it did very openly use the *Mauretania*, first as a trooper and subsequently a hospital ship. But what about the *Lusitania*? Was the British government going to allow their invested money to sink by allowing the liner to serve only passengers? Of course not (Sauder 2005: 10).

Furthermore, the *Lusitania* was repeatedly listed as a Royal Navy ship. One could find the *Lusitania* in *Jane's Fighting Ships* for 1914. Furthermore, in *Brassey's Naval Annual 1914,* the *Lusitania* could again be found as a "Royal Naval Reserved Merchant Cruiser" (Preston 2002: 386). Of course, the key word here is *reserved*, meaning that the *Lusitania* might not be used for war purposes, but its subsequent metamorphosis demonstrates otherwise.

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The Admiralty's Trade Division decided to use the ship as an express cargo carrier for priority government supplies. The admiralty transformed the majority of the third-class accommodation in the lower forward section of the ship into a warehouse for additional cargo. This metamorphosis significantly aggrandized the forward cargo hold. Other sections of the ship as well were placed on hold for the admiralty's use; the British government specially insured this special, noncommercial space. The remaining room was of course used for passenger accommodation, permitted on *eastbound* trips (Peeke 2002: 43). Furthermore, the ship's captain received direct navigational orders from the senior naval officer in New York or Liverpool preceding every departure, hence placing the ship under the admiralty as the Germans had claimed when defending their right to sink the ship.

Finally, although the Cunard Steamship Company was losing nearly 2,000 pounds on every trip, the admiralty would not allow the *Lusitania* to abstain from its scheduled runs. What did the *Lusitania* carry that made its run so important? What were in fact the "priority government supplies"? If the cargo was anything but food, the British had in fact violated Cruiser Rules, and common sense does in fact dictate that the supplies were more than just food. Hence, the British did in fact use women and children as human shields for their war cargo.

Proof of Munitions

As aforementioned, the British by 1917 were in dire need of armament. Within two months of the war, Lord Kitchener alerted senior government ministers that the Redcoats in France were using more ammunition seminally than the British factories could produce. Their arms stocked would last for only three months, and the British were in desperate need for alternate suppliers. Hence, to believe that munitions were not stored in the additional cargo space of the liner would be counter-intuitive. However, history does not always follow intuition.

According to rules set up by the Hague Convention of 1907, by which all Western nations were bound during war, neutral countries were not allowed to supply belligerent nations with any sort of war cargo. However, the United States's neutrality was only skin deep. U.S. banker John Pierpoint Morgan, Jr., craftily set up an exchange between himself and the admiralty. The Admiralty Trade Division (the same division that created the additional cargo space in the *Lusitania*) placed purchase orders for munitions with J. P. Morgan. The banker, in turn, using a facade of nonexistent companies, provided the goods. Ships that the admiralty controlled became the method of transport. Their passengers became sitting ducks for German U-boats.

In order to clear customs, the British filed a false manifest with D. F. Malone, the U.S. Collector of Customs in New York, in which all mentions of ammunition were omitted. Malone, President Wilson, and the new secretary of state Robert

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Lansing knew of the prevarication; however, they tacitly approved the operation. To prevent further suspicion, the ship always filed a second manifest after leaving U.S. waters, more specifically outlining cargo. This second manifest could enumerate "machine parts, metallic packages, or possibly furs or extra large quantities of . . . cheese or butter" (Peeke 2002: 45). Machine parts were obviously those used for rifles and guns; large amounts of fur, cheese, or butter were not of paramount importance during a war and were obviously covers for something else. When a cover is required, the actual identity has to be illegal.

In reality, the items proven to be transported on ships such as the *Lusitania* included military goods such as gun cotton, artillery shells, bullets, fuel oil, brass, copper, metallic powders for making ammunition and explosives, fuse mechanisms for shells, vehicle parts, uniforms, motorcycles, airplane parts, and so forth, all illegal war cargo.

Furthermore, the second manifest for the *Lusitania* included weapons and ammunition including 2.4 million rounds of bullets. Upon a dive sponsored by American businessman F. Gregg Bemis Jr., two cases in the bow section of the ship revealed 15,000 rounds of .303 bullets. Rifle cartridges and shrapnel cases were also listed on the manifesto. Hence, even if nothing further was on the ship, the *Lusitania* did carry contraband, and passengers were, therefore, converted into human shields.

Controversy over Munitions

Much of the controversy over the contraband rests with the kind of contraband carried by the *Lusitania*. The argument rests over whether it had guns or if the furs and cheese were really furs and cheese, and whether witnesses were honest or guileful in their recollections. This section looks at these controversies, subsequently arguing that these details are in fact superfluous.

First, the argument exists that the British government was not to blame because the main witness who testified that there were guns aboard the ship was found untruthful. Gustav Stahl testified upon German instigation to the U.S. government that there were guns aboard the ship and later was arrested for perjury. No other passengers recalled seeing mounted guns nor found them elsewhere. A movie made in New York about the *Lusitania*'s departure also did not capture the guns. Finally, customs officials did not recall them (Preston 2002: 386–87). However, if the guns were in fact hidden, most passengers would not have seen them, and a film depiction certainly would not have captured them. Custom officials, as previously discussed, were already in J. P. Morgan's pockets. Hence, to believe their words would have been naive.

Some historians argue that the guns were in fact hidden to be mounted when necessary since the deck was equipped with six-inch gun rings. However, to mount these supposed guns would have taken 20 minutes. Furthermore, there was little need for guns since, as aforementioned, the *Lusitania*'s best and foremost

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line of defense was her speed. Hence, most probably *loaded* guns ready for immediate use did not exist on the ship. Nevertheless, this argument does not preclude the transport of unloaded guns for later British use.

Furthermore, some historians argue that the furs and cheese noted to be hiding contraband were actually furs and cheese. For instance, some furs washed up on the Irish coast following the sinking. Furthermore, the German government could never find any conclusive data supporting the accusation of contraband not listed on the manifest being smuggled aboard. However, why would Britain, in the middle of a war in which she was running out of food, want to carry furs home? While a few furs may have truly existed as a decoy, the idea that the British authorities would use up precious cargo space with furs rather than food (which would not have had to be hidden) or armament makes little sense.

Finally, historians such as Diana Preston argue that although contraband was clearly in the ship, as stated in the second manifest, the Germans still did not have the right to torpedo the ship. In accordance with international laws, the Germans should have allowed for the evacuation of the ship and then searched it. After securing the lives of the passengers, they would have, indeed, been within their rights to destroy the ship. However, an honest look at this reasoning quickly demonstrates the holes in this theory.

The British had long been ignoring international rules. They had used neutral flags to confuse the German U-boats. They had created an illegal blockade, preventing food from reaching the European continent. Some 750,000 German civilians, including women and children, died as an upshot of this blockade! The British also arbitrarily changed the list of illegal goods, seizing random items such as cotton and oil, making shipping for neutral countries prohibitively expensive. Furthermore, under Churchill's authority, as the Germans allowed crews to disembark their boats before subsequent destruction, the crews would illegally attack the U-boats by ramming into them or by using hidden weaponry. Captain Turner of the *Lusitania* had in fact those instructions as well (Schmidt 2005: 76–77, 79).

Were the Germans not within their right to protect their own people? Had Churchill's actions not forewarned the kaiser against normal, gentlemanlike behavior? As U.S. Secretary of State Williams Jennings Bryan said upon his resignation, "Germany has a right to prevent contraband from going to the Allies," and undoubtedly, she had a right to do so without fearing British guile.

No doubt, the British rested on beliefs that Germany could not overtly go against established Western traditions of protecting innocent women and children. (The British, of course, had caused the death of many through the blockade, but the direct connection between the British and the deaths of innocent German civilians was less apparent.) Therefore, juxtapositioning women and children with illegal contraband protected the ship, and regardless of whether or not the contraband included loaded guns or undocumented ammunitions rather

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The *Lusitania* Medal

Much British propaganda after the sinking of the *Lusitania* focused on the "*Lusitania* Medal," which was minted by the Munich metalworker Karl Götz. He made about a hundred of these, which showed the ship with the message "No Contraband" yet the ship's deck clearly showed planes and weaponry, barely leaving enough room for passengers.

Reports of the medal were published in the British press soon afterward with claims that although the ship was shown carrying planes (which were not on board), no mention is made of the civilian passengers who certainly were on board. The German government questioned Götz and found that he had made the medals in an effort to be critical of the British claims that the *Lusitania* was purely a passenger vessel. But the German authorities decided that they would prevent distribution of the medal.

However, although the Germans had prevented its distribution in Germany, the British did get one of them, and Gordon Selfridge, the owner of the department store Selfridges, made some 250,000 copies, which were then sold to increase awareness of the incident and also to raise money for British wartime charities.

than furs and cheese, the mere fact that contraband existed meant that women and children had been used as human shields to protect war cargo.

Conclusion

> A ship carrying contraband should not rely upon passengers to protect her from attack—it would be like putting women and children in front of an army.
>
> —William Jennings Bryan

How would Americans or the Irish have felt if the British has whisked away innocent civilians to stand in front of the trenches, blocking the bullets? Would they have still argued that the Germans should not have fired? Would historians quibble over the color of their clothes or how well loaded the British guns were (not whether they were loaded, but how well)? As this section demonstrates, arguments over whether or not the British used innocent women and children as shields for a war cargo amounts to analogous mockery. There are only three important facts in question.

1. The *Lusitania* was in fact built as a naval ship.
2. The *Lusitania* did, by confession in the second manifest, carry contraband.
3. Common practice dictated that the Germans would not fire against women and children.

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Whether or not there were loaded guns in the ship or the supposed furs and cheese were actually additional contraband hardly alter the aforementioned three facts. Nevertheless, however wrong the British were, their tendentious newspaper articles, brochures, and so forth helped anger the U.S. and Irish public against the Germans. The subsequent British victory helped, in turn, to turn the propaganda into history.

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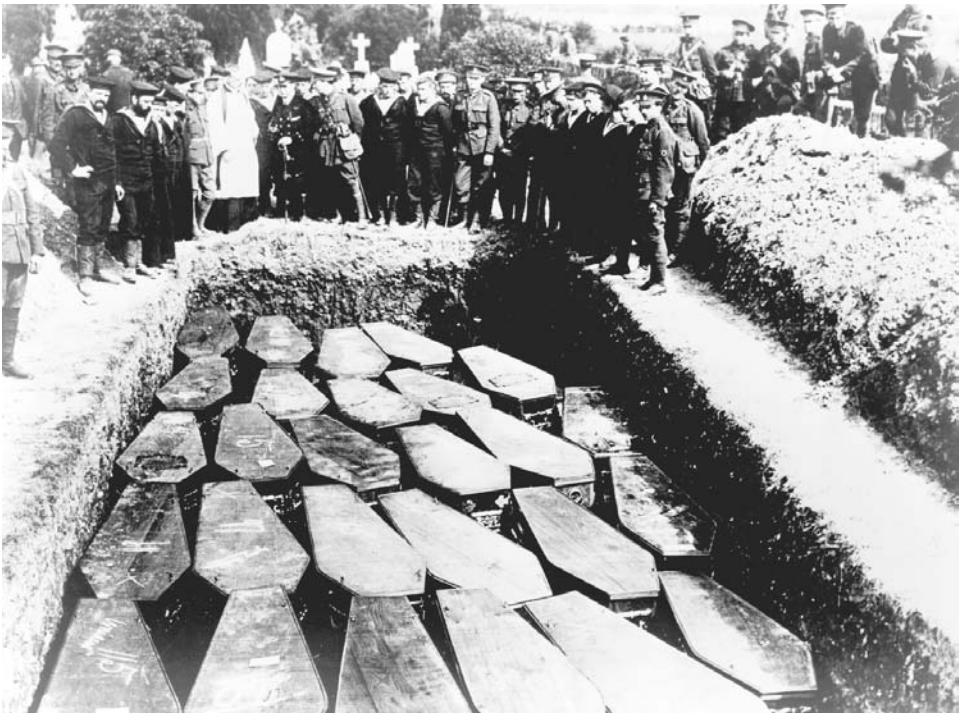
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CON

Since the sinking of the British Cunard liner *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, with the loss of lives of 1,201 men, women, and children, there has been much debate over whether or not the British government was deliberately using the passenger liner as a way of shielding the otherwise hazardous operation of bringing war materiel across the Atlantic Ocean. Evidence that the ship was carrying military supplies emerged immediately after the sinking, being published in the *New York Times* in its coverage of the sinking itself. As a result of this, there were some recriminations soon after the sinking of the liner, but the transporting of weapons was soon lost in the other horrors of World War I such as the loss of 19,000 British soldiers on one day of battle just over a year later on the first day of the Battle of the Somme.

It was the publication of Colin Simpson's best-selling book *Lusitania*, in 1972, that led to the accusation that the British government deliberately used the *Lusitania*'s passengers as a human shield becoming an "accepted fact." Indeed the sinking of the liner is also often cited as the major reason for the United States entering World War I, in spite of the fact that the U.S. declaration of war on Germany did not come until April 6, 1917, nearly two years after the *Lusitania* was sunk, and there were many other reasons for the eventual U.S. declaration of war, although British propaganda did make much of the sinking of the vessel and the large number of U.S. civilians who died as a result.

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Victims of the *Lusitania* sinking, after recovery from sea, are buried in Ireland in a common grave. The *Lusitania*, a passenger ship, was sunk by torpedoes from German U-boats in May 1915. (Library of Congress)

Rather than a deliberate use of the passengers on the *Lusitania* as a human shield, transporting war materiel across the Atlantic was so important to the British war effort that callous disregard of the passengers seems far more likely. Indeed the plans to use the *Lusitania* for transporting war supplies goes back to its original construction, as well as that of many other large vessels, with the cost being subsidized by the British government.

The *Lusitania* itself was built at Clydebank, Scotland, and it was launched in June 1906, being able to make her maiden voyage to New York in September 1907. The company that owned the ship was the Cunard Line, which had been established in 1839 as the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Cunard had long been involved in transporting passengers, but also had a mail transport contract dated from 1840. This contract required that Cunard ships would be developed so they could easily be adapted to carry guns at time of war, and indeed 11 Cunard ships were requisitioned in the Crimean War in the 1850s. Some Cunard ships were also chartered by the British government in the Boer War in 1899–1901, adding significantly to the Cunard Line's profits during that period. However, in both these occasions there was very little risk to Cunard—the Russians not having a significant Crimean fleet

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(the war being largely to stop this from happening), and the Boer Republics not having navies (and indeed both being landlocked).

Thus by the time of the construction of the *Lusitania*, there had been a long history of ships in general, and Cunard ships in particular, being requisitioned for the Royal Navy. There was nothing unusual in the British government providing low-interest loans to help Cunard build the *Lusitania*, nor in some of the crew also being members of the Royal Naval Reserve, and this was well known at the time of construction. Undoubtedly if there was a war, the *Lusitania* would serve as a troopship as many other passenger ships had done for the British at time of conflict. She could also be turned into an armed merchant cruiser, and indeed was officially listed as one, even though she was never fitted with these guns. The German government had a similar strategy to encourage their merchant navy to build liners and other large ships, although for them the nature of their war effort would be different from that of the British.

When war broke out in 1914, the British Empire depended on its control of the shipping lanes around the world. One hundred years earlier, this had led to the British defeat of Napoleon, and it was what had made the British Empire so prosperous. British domination of world trade and the ability of the ships of the Royal Navy and its allies to enforce their control of the seas were vital to the British war effort. It would ensure that food and raw materials would come to Britain, and also that Australian, New Zealand, Indian, South African, and Canadian soldiers, as well as those from other colonies, could easily get to the

Daniel Dow, Captain of the *Lusitania*

Prior to its fateful voyage, the captain of the RMS *Lusitania* was Daniel Dow. He had been born at Castle Bellingham, Ireland, on January 18, 1860, his father starting as a farm laborer and then becoming a carter. The family had then moved to Ireland, where his father had become a land agent.

Daniel Dow, the future ship captain, had started his career working for the ship *Baroda* in 1876. After five years with them, he married Margaret Cramb from Scotland, and they had a son. He also started working for Cunard. In September 1910 he was appointed as master of the *Mauretania*, and in March 1914 was appointed master of the sister ship, the *Lusitania*. Early in his command of it, he was involved in rescuing people from the *Mayflower.*

With the start of World War I, Daniel Dow, in charge of the *Lusitania*, was ordered by the British Admiralty to fly flags of neutral countries on the ship to try to prevent the ship from being attacked by submarines. Often it was the U.S. flag, largely because the ship was carrying many U.S. passengers. However, he found this extremely stressful and stopped sailing in the *Lusitania*. He later sailed the *Royal George* in the Indian Ocean, and went on to become involved in local politics in Liverpool. He died on January 20, 1931.

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Western Front in France and Flanders. The Germans also recognized that they had to disrupt the shipping if they were to inflict damage on Britain. To this end, they used individual ships such as the SMS *Emden* in the Indian Ocean and also the submarines in the Atlantic Ocean.

Throughout World War I there were regular passenger liners traveling from the United States and Canada to Britain and back, and these brought civilians and people who were helping with the British war effort, including soldiers and nurses coming to Britain to enlist. The Germans recognized that these ships were clearly helping in the British war effort to the extent the Imperial German Embassy in Washington, D.C., took to advertising in newspapers that "travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk."

The idea that the British government used the civilian passengers on the *Lusitania* deliberately as "human shields" has often been raised. Certainly the *Lusitania* did carry weapons and ammunition, and even though this was downplayed by the British at the time, it was known to military planners on both sides that all British ships crossing the Atlantic to the British Isles were likely to be bringing supplies. There were indeed gun mountings on the *Lusitania*, and the crew of the ship caught three Germans on board photographing these. They were arrested as spies and held in cells, and all three died when the liner was sunk (this accounts for the death toll being 1,201 rather than 1,198, as cited in many sources).

If it had been a conscious effort of the British to conceal the military supplies, the British government would have been using the passengers as a human shield. Instead they were so desperate for their war materiel to be carried across the Atlantic, the use of the *Lusitania* was done callously, because the ship was available and had large storage areas. The choice of the ship was therefore merely convenience rather than deliberate concealment or design.

Indeed the *Lusitania* was listed in *Jane's All the World Fighting Ships* as an auxiliary cruiser in its 1914 edition, along with the sister ship *Mauretania*. This clearly marked it as a British ship that could be used in the war effort. If the British government was deliberately using the passengers on the liner as human shields, the authorities would never have designated it as an auxiliary cruiser, the mere name indicating its potential use by the military.

At the time of the *Lusitania* sailing, the British war effort was desperately short of artillery shells. These were being used by the British artillery to shell enemy trenches, and were being fired at such a rate that production in Britain alone could not keep up with the demand. This situation was exacerbated with so many British factory workers serving in the armed forced. For this reason the British had sought to source more artillery shells and other explosives from the United States, and also from Canada. These shells would have been the ones transported on the *Lusitania*.

The greatest advantage of storing war materiel on the *Lusitania* was due to its design, which was also, incidentally, the reason why the ship would later to

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sink so easily. The original liner was well designed by naval architects so that it had a number of water-tight compartments. Thus if one of them was punctured either by an accident, collision, or torpedo damage, the ship would not sink. The massive bulkheads protecting the compartment walls were so strong that they could cope with the pressures in times of crisis. However, the *Lusitania* was built before the tragedy of the sinking of the RMS *Titanic* in April 1912, so the lessons learned from the faulty design of the *Titanic* could not have been incorporated into the design of the *Lusitania*, although all ship crews were wary of icebergs.

Essentially to use more of the below-deck space for storage—in the case of the voyage in May 1915 of artillery shells and other war materials—some of the watertight compartments were merged by the removal of some of the bulkheads. Also to aid in the speed, important changes had been made in the design to allow the coal to flow more easily from one of the compartments to the engine. It was this adaption that had led to a much larger storage area becoming available. When the ship set sail, the compartments would be separated, but as the coal was needed, the connecting doors would be opened, allowing coal to flow from one area to another. In theory the doors could be closed, but with a large tonnage of coal forcing them open, it would not be possible to close them when at sea—and not without a large amount of work on land, if there was still considerable coal in storage.

The adaption meant that if a torpedo did hit, or if ship were damaged in any other way, flooding of that part of the ship would lead far more easily to the vessel sinking. This alteration clearly endangered the ship far more than had been the case, and Diana Preston (2002) argues in her book that it was one of the major causes for the *Lusitania* sinking when it finally was hit by a German torpedo. There were also indications that there may have been a secret explosive powder carried on board the ship, which was the real cause of the second explosion, and some have suggested that the coal dust may have became flammable. That the torpedo might have hit the artillery shells or other war supplies could easily account for the rapid sinking, but even if this was not the case, the removal of some of the bulkheads was clearly going to be a problem.

Much is made of the fact that the *Lusitania* was secretly carrying weapons, but on its final voyage this fact seems to have been quite widely known. The arrest of the three German spies is important—it is known that some German Americans had made a previous voyage on the ship and were so worried that they did make contact with the Imperial German Embassy in the United States, which then placed its infamous advertisements in the *New York Times* alongside that of Cunard's advertising.

Certainly weapons were listed on its original goods manifest, although the number of them and what exactly they were is in some doubt. Indeed two separate cargo manifests were lodged by Cunard with the U.S. Customs authorities.

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One was lodged before the ship had actually departed and the other afterward. This has led to accusations that Cunard was deliberately seeking to mislead the New York harbor authorities and the U.S. Customs Service, and there is probably some truth in this. British companies during the war often would submit conflicting inventories and manifests in order to confuse German spies thought to be operating in the New York docks, and British intelligence was aware of German Americans operating in a number of important positions in the United States. The military cargo on board the ship was no real secret—and indeed was noted in the *New York Times* on May 8. There were even authors claiming that it was carrying large supplies of gold, possibly as much as $5 million in the precious metal. Yet none of the authors who have accepted this have ever answered the question as to why the gold would be carried from the United States to Britain, rather than the other way around, which seems more logical.

At that time, *Jane's All the World Fighting Ships* and similar books were used to identify ships, and the British were keen on disguising the *Lusitania*, which, as mentioned before, was listed as an auxiliary cruiser in the book. To help confuse the issue, the name *Lusitania* on the bow of the liner had been painted out, as was the case on many other vessels during war. This would not change identification by submarines, who did not rely on the names—and would never be close enough to read them anyway. But it might briefly confuse spies in the docks, or at any rate create a situation of some doubt for them, although some might argue this would not have caused much of a problem as the who passengers were sailing had seen the advertisements in newspapers for the sailing of the *Lusitania* with their safety disclaimers, and a telephone call to the Cunard office would have confirmed this.

It also appears that the funnels of the *Lusitania* had been painted a type of dusky gray, almost black—previously they had been Cunard's colors of red, with a black stripe across the top. Although some books cite this as a fact, there is some doubt. Certainly the logbook of the U-20's Kapitänleutnant Walther Schwieger, on the submarine that sank the *Lusitania*, stated that the funnels had been painted black. Some authors have commented that this was self-serving and that Schwieger could easily have altered his logbook—and this is certainly possible. *Lusitania* enthusiast Eric Sauder (2005) spent a long time trying to get confirmation for the information in Schwieger's logbook. To complicate matters further, film footage and photographs of the *Lusitania* on earlier voyages have often been portrayed as being taken on her last voyage, and these (even though they are in black and white) suggest the Cunard colors were used earlier in the war.

George Henderson, who was six when he saw the *Lusitania* in the distance from the Old Head of Kinsale, remembered them as being black. And work by archaeologists to locate the funnels has been unable to answer the question conclusively. However, it does appear that Walther Schwieger's logbook was probably accurate. Able Seaman Leslie Morton, an 18-year-old lookout, in his account

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of the *Lusitania*, does mention that he was detailed to paint the lifeboats with gray paint, which again suggests that if this was done, the funnels might also have been painted. The most conclusive evidence emerged from a letter by Alice Loynd, a passenger on the *Lusitania*, who mentioned that in letters "we found that the *Lusitania* has been painted a different color. The Funnels are black, and the boat where it was white is now . . . grey" (Sauder 2005).

However, whether or not the funnels were painted, certainly to help confuse submarines, a compass platform had been added to the top of the bridge, and another was also added between the first and second funnels. There was also a pair of luggage cranes added to the aft deckhouse. Combined with these changes, and the fact that the *Lusitania* flew no flags—British or otherwise—during her last voyage provides evidence to back up the argument that the Germans knew that the British were using the *Lusitania* and other vessels to carry supplies, and the British therefore set out to conceal the *Lusitania*'s identity. Indeed on a previous recent trip across the Atlantic, German Americans traveling on it were concerned for their safety, and on a transatlantic voyage in early March 1915, a month after the Germans had declared all the seas around the British Isles to be a war zone, later stating that any Allied ships in the area could be sunk without warning, the British Admiralty had given the *Lusitania* very specific instructions on how to avoid submarines and even sent two naval vessels to help escort the *Lusitania*, although this did not in fact happen as the *Lusitania*'s captain was worried that the approaching ships could be German and successfully evaded them.

Therefore, if the British had actually wanted the *Lusitania* to be able to be spotted and identified correctly as a passenger liner from the Cunard Line, well known for sailing back and forth across the Atlantic, with large numbers of civilians, Americans and others known to be on board, with these passengers serving as human shields, it would be totally counterproductive to disguise the ship at all. The name would have been left on the bow, and everything possible would have been done to show that the vessel was the *Lusitania* as it could then be clearly identified by German U-boats as a civilian vessel and one they would recognize could potentially be carrying many U.S. civilians. The changes in the profile of the ship were to disguise its appearance sufficiently to confuse any German submarines, which the *Lusitania* could then easily outrun.

The British and the Cunard management clearly regarded the *Lusitania* as safe because, up to that point, no large passenger liner had been sunk. In spite of the disguise, it would be quite evident to all that the vessel was a passenger liner, even if submarines would have—it was hoped by the British—some trouble identifying her correctly. Safety essentially lay in the speed of the *Lusitania*, which was capable of going 21 knots (39 km) per hour. This was less than her previous prewar speed of 26 knots (48.2 km) per hour, as boiler room 4 in the vessel had been shut down to help reduce costs. However, it was almost twice the speed of submarines, which at that time could travel at only 11 knots (21 km) per hour.

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Some authors have confused the issue slightly more. This is because there are a number of theories over the actual sinking of the *Lusitania*. Indeed it should be remembered that the vessel had almost completed her voyage across the Atlantic without incident when she was sunk off the coast of Ireland. Because of fog in the region, the *Lusitania* had actually slowed down to 18 knots. Certainly the weakening of the bulkheads to allow the coal to be used more easily was a major problem when the torpedo hit the ship. However, queries are raised over why the initial blast on the ship was so significant. Raimund Weisbach, the torpedo officer on the U-20 submarine that fired the torpedo, felt that the explosion was far larger than he had expected it would be. This has led to the theory that the torpedo hit some of the war materiel, including explosives—possibly secretly stored gunpowder—and that this ignited and then exploded, causing major damage. Apart from Weisbach's account, there are also the memories of many of the surviving passengers who have stated that there were two explosions on the ship, the first being cited as the one when the torpedo hit the *Lusitania*, and the second initially thought to have been a second torpedo. The log of the U-20 shows only one torpedo was fired, but there were again suggestions made that the log had been altered. Firing two torpedoes into a civilian liner would clearly cause it to sink quickly and result in far more deaths than would otherwise be the case. Therefore, there are arguments that the logbook is wrong. However, what many authors now suggest is that it was the explosives on board that ignited, causing the second, and more damaging, explosion, which led to the ship sinking so quickly. This seems plausible, although some authors cite slightly different reasons for this happening.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* with so many civilians and crew losing their lives did result in much criticism of Germany and what was seen as the German callous attitude to civilians, coming after the propaganda about their attacks on Belgian women and children, which had done so much to incite anger against Germany earlier in the war, resulting in many contemporary accounts referring to the Germans as the "Huns." The British government did not mention the carrying of artillery shells or cartridges, although Herman Winter, the assistant manager of the Cunard Line, was quoted in the *New York Times* on May 10, 1915, as stating that there were 4,200 cases of gun cartridges on the vessel, although he did state that these were for "small arms, packed in separate cases." Thus the storage of weapons of sorts was known soon after the sinking and published in a major world newspaper.

In summary, therefore, it seems that the *Lusitania* essentially only sunk after having slowed down toward the end of an otherwise uneventful passage. The British had used it for bringing war materiel from the United States, and the *Lusitania*, designated as an auxiliary cruiser, was clearly meant for this kind of work. However, the British had gone to some effort to disguise the appearance of the ship to make the German submarine crew think, if they did see it,

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that the liner was not the *Lusitania*, but rather another unidentified vessel sailing across the Atlantic. It was the change in the bulkheads that caused the ship to sink so quickly with such a high loss of life. This action by the British government, and also by Cunard, was certainly reckless, and indeed callously put at risk the civilians, and indeed all on board, but it was not a deliberate attempt by the British to use civilians as human shields.

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6

Woodrow Wilson's neutrality in World War I was so blatantly pro-British that he forced the Germans into attacking U.S. shipping.

PRO Walter F. Bell
CON Justin Corfield

PRO

The position that Woodrow Wilson's neutrality during the early years of World War I was largely responsible for the German attacks on U.S. shipping was widely popular among scholars and writers in the 1920s and 1930s who were influenced by the post–World War I disillusionment Americans felt toward Europe and which experienced a revival in the 1960s during the Vietnam War. It derived from the view that the U.S. position in the war on the Allied side was unnecessary and served no constructive purpose and that the administration of President Woodrow Wilson could have avoided war with Germany had the president and his advisers been as firm with Britain in asserting U.S. rights to trade with Germany as they were with the Germans regarding submarine warfare and the safety of Americans on the high seas. Wilson was inherently sympathetic to the cause of Britain and the other entente belligerents (the Triple Entente included Britain, France, and Russia). Because of his anglophile outlook, the president was vulnerable to (or supportive of) British efforts to lure the United States into the war. Because of his support for the Allies, Wilson lacked credibility with the Germans as a potential mediator of an end of the war—a perception that undermined the president's own efforts to bring about an end to the war before the United States was drawn in.

Wilson's pro-Allied (particularly pro-British) bias developed in the context of the growing Anglo-American friendship in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These ties were cultural and economic as well as diplomatic. The United States and Britain had cooperated on a number of international issues. Britain had supported the United States in the Spanish American War, including American acquisition of the Philippine Islands; had allowed the United States to take the lead role in constructing the Panama Canal; and backed continuing U.S. interventions in the affairs of Cuba and other nations in Central America and the Caribbean. Advocates of overseas imperial expansion in the United States saw Britain as a kindred

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spirit. At the same time, there were growing suspicions in these same circles of German expansionism.

There were also powerful ties linked to common language, cultures, and political systems. The U.S. political system derived from that of Great Britain as did the U.S. justice system. Intellectually, Americans identified with the writings of Shakespeare and Charles Dickens, the poetry of Byron and Shelley, and the political philosophies of John Locke, John Stuart Mill, and Jeremy Bentham.

These diplomatic and cultural ties were reinforced by close economic ties. Britain and the United States had been each other's best trading partners since the end of the War of 1812. British capital had financed a large portion of U.S. economic development in the 19th century. Moreover, the largest American banks—particularly J. P. Morgan—had close financial relationships with their counterparts in Britain and France.

President Wilson, a historian and political scientist before entering politics, had expressed admiration for Britain's constitutional system and expressed his beliefs that the United States and the United Kingdom shared common democratic values. When faced with the outbreak of war in August 1914, he referred back to his own historical writings to find a parallel with the War of 1812 with Britain—a war that Wilson believed had been forced on President James Madison by popular pressure and extremists in Congress and had been contrary to U.S. interests. He viewed Napoleon in 1812 and Wilhelm in Germany in 1914 as threats to civilization and to U.S. national security.

This analogy with the War of 1812 would govern Wilson's maritime rights policy throughout the period of U.S. neutrality from August 1914 to April 1917. It was based on three assumptions: (1) that U.S. security would be endangered by a German victory; (2) that the maintenance of U.S. maritime commercial rights did not justify a break with Britain; and (3) the Wilson administration must not allow public opinion to govern U.S. foreign policy.

Wilson's views were reinforced by his closest advisers. Edward M. House, although he did hold a position in the administration, was the president's closest friend and political confidant and shared Wilson's views concerning the need to conciliate the British. Most of the president's cabinet backed his decision, particularly Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo (also Wilson's son-in-law). The U.S. Ambassador in London, Walter Hines Page, was a close friend of the president and was stridently sympathetic to the British cause. Both House and Page had a cordial relationship with British Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, who would prove to be adroit in heading off stronger U.S. measures against the blockade. Another high administration official with pro-British sentiments was State Department Counselor Robert Lansing, who would formulate the legal framework for Wilson's neutral rights stance.

The only exception to the prevailing pro-British sentiment among the senior administration officials was Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan. Bryan

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was a pacifist and staunch advocate of strict neutrality. Bryan was probably the most powerful political figure in the Democratic Party. Wilson had appointed him secretary of state as repayment for supporting Wilson for the democratic presidential nomination in 1914. Generally unschooled in international affairs, Bryan had become an object of ridicule in the administration, and his influence declined steadily after the onset of the war.

Early in the war, Wilson was determined to keep the United States out. In 1914 and early 1915, the greatest danger, in the view of the president and his advisers, lay in a confrontation with Britain over the rights of Americans to trade freely with both sides. The initial sticking point was the Declaration of London. A product of the London Naval Conference of 1908–1909, the powers intended it as a definitive set of rules to govern the maritime relations of neutrals and belligerents. It defined items that were considered contraband of war and therefore subject to seizure by a blockading belligerent. The declaration restricted the definition of contraband to items—such as arms, ammunition, and the raw materials required for their manufacture—that were clearly defined. The declaration had wide support in the United States but had been hotly debated in Britain, even though British negotiators at the conference had agreed to it. None of the signatories to the declaration had ratified it. When the war broke out, it was not in force.

Although the Wilson administration sought to gain the promise of both camps to support the Declaration of London, it soon became clear that the British, who controlled the seas, would not abide by it. A British Order-in-Council issue on August 20, 1914, proclaimed that food and oil (both items excluded by the Declaration of London) were "conditional contraband" and subject to seizure. Furthermore, the British Admiralty announced that the Royal Navy would mount a "distance blockade" that would close the North Sea approaches to the Netherlands and Germany and would implement the Doctrine of Continuous Voyage, which would permit them to take ships bound for neutral ports in countries neighboring Germany (mainly the Netherlands) if they believed the ultimate destination was Germany.

These measures clearly disregarded established international law and constituted a blatant violation of maritime neutral rights. Yet Wilson and his advisers, in the end, acquiesced to the British measures. The State Department prepared a protest note that bluntly cited Britain for violating international law. When they received the note, however, Wilson and House temporized and decided to pursue informal negotiations to try and modify the blockade. Wilson's main concern, again, was to avoid a major controversy with the British government.

Because of this concern to avoid controversy with Britain, the Wilson administration's foreign economic policies were also skewed toward the Allies. In August 1914, the U.S. economy was in a depression, which the outbreak of war threatened to make more acute. The threat of disruption to the cotton trade, which was vital to the economy of the U.S. South (a major part of the democratic

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Wilson's political constituency), was particularly severe. As part of their August Order-in-Council, the British had restricted cotton shipments not only to Germany but also to Dutch, Norwegian, and Italian ports. Cotton prices tumbled and enraged cotton growers who demanded that Wilson take action against Britain. In response, the British War Cabinet, at the strong urging of Foreign Secretary Grey, agreed to purchase all of the surplus cotton at market price. As the war continued, Allied orders for cotton pushed exports above prewar levels. The threat of a confrontation over cotton had been defused.

The U.S. economy also benefited from Allied purchases of U.S. raw materials and munitions. Beginning in early 1915, the value of war-related exports to Britain and her allies experienced a major increase. The value of explosives shipped from the United States to Britain and France rose about fifteenfold ($2,793,530 to $32,197,274) between March and November 1915. Similarly, the value of exports of iron and steel more than quadrupled during the same period (Tansill 1938: 55). The ripple effect of these war orders in terms of jobs created and growth in business and banking sectors was decisive in moving the United States out of a depression and into an economic boom. These orders and the benefit to the U.S. economy were instrumental in binding the United States to the entente camp.

Benevolent neutrality toward Britain was also reflected in the Wilson administration's stance toward loans to Britain and France. At the war's onset, Secretary of State Bryan (who desperately wanted to keep the United States out of the war) urged Wilson to prohibit private loans to the belligerents. Bryan feared that a financial interest in the success of a debtor at war would generate pressure to enter the war to protect private financial interests. Initially, Wilson shared Bryan's concerns and imposed a ban in August 1914. As the war continued, however, pressure to reverse the ban grew as British and French credits dwindled

Senator Gerald Nye and the Neutrality Acts

Gerald Nye, one of the main proponents of the Neutrality Acts passed between 1935 and 1937, was a U.S. senator from North Dakota. Born in 1892 in Wisconsin, his father was the owner of a small newspaper and when he was six, Nye remembered seeing soldiers leaving for the Spanish American War. The family members were strong supporters of Robert La Follette and were against U.S. involvement in World War I. He reminded everyone that both his grandfathers had served in Wisconsin units during the American Civil War.

Initially Nye had contested a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a progressive republican in 1924. He failed in his bid, but in the following year when Senator Edwin Ladd died, Nye, having become editor of his newspaper, turned up to take down the governor's statement. He was shocked when the governor announced that he had nominated Nye to fill the vacancy. It was in Washington that Nye was appointed to the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry.

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and their ability to buy war materiel in the United States began to shrink. American bankers, led by the J. P. Morgan Company with the support of Undersecretary Lansing in the State Department, pressured the administration to lift the ban, citing the danger of the decline of exports and injury to the economy if the ban stayed in place. In August 1915, Wilson lifted the ban and stated that he would neither support nor oppose loans to belligerents—a step that in effect gave bankers the blank check they had sought. By not opposing private loans to Britain and France, Wilson had further sanctioned indirect support of the Allies.



President Woodrow Wilson with Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, January 1913. Bryan, a pacifist and opponent of internationalism, resigned from Wilson's hawkish administration in 1915. (Library of Congress)

Pro-Allied sentiment in the United States was also bolstered by a highly successful British propaganda campaign. This operation cast the Germans as barbarians with no regard for international law who wantonly butchered civilians (including bayoneting babies) and ruthlessly exploited the resources of the areas they occupied. The centerpiece of this campaign was the report of the Bryce Commission on German Conduct in Belgium. Released in May 1915, the Bryce report detailed a long and highly sensationalized list of German atrocities, which included reports of the murders of thousands of civilians including women and children, the burning of hospitals, and thousands of rapes.

The Bryce report had far-reaching effects among the U.S. public and made a deep impression on President Wilson. The report was given credence by the reputation of its author—Viscount James Bryce—a respected British publicist who was known as a friendly critic of the U.S. political system. Bryce had many friends in the U.S. social and governing establishment, including Theodore Roosevelt. Wilson himself had a long-standing acquaintance with Bryce and had the highest regard for his opinions. Neither the president nor any other of his friends in the United States had any reason to suspect that either Bryce was now so senile that his ability to judge evidence was impaired or that his intense patriotism would make him a willing propaganda agent for the British government. Bryce's reputation as a scholar and his unimpeachable character seemed a safeguard against conclusions dictated by war hysteria.

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The Bryce Commission's allegations were supported by reports from Ambassador Page in London and Minister to Belgium Brand Whitlock, both of whom were stridently pro-British and anti-German. Wilson and his advisers either ignored or dismissed reports received by the State Department from consular officers in Belgium and Germany that reports of German misconduct in Belgium were either exaggerated or false. The Germans themselves showed little sensitivity to public opinion in the United States. Incidents such as the execution of nurse Edith Cavell for espionage in 1915 unwittingly reinforced growing anti-German feeling among the U.S. public.

The greatest boost to anti-German sentiment in the United States, however, was the sinking of the British passenger liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine on May 7, 1915, with the loss of over 1,000 lives, including 128 Americans. The timing of the incident, coinciding with the release of the Bryce report, constituted a serious blow to German-American relations and a turning point for U.S. neutrality.

The torpedoing of the *Lusitania* took place against a backdrop of increasing German resentment over the United States' growing munitions trade with Britain and France and the failure of the Wilson administration to uphold established international law in the face of a British blockade, which had defined food as contraband and as a result caused increasing food shortages and hardship for the civilian population in Germany. Ambassador James Gerard in Berlin and the German ambassador in Washington, Count von Bernstorff, were warning the State Department that elements in the German government, led by the navy, were agitating for wider use of submarine warfare against Allied and neutral commerce on the high seas and for a submarine blockade around the British Isles. It would be difficult for the moderate leadership, led by Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, to keep them in check unless the United States acted to force Britain to modify the blockade.

Despite these warnings and Bryan's efforts to reverse the president's course, Wilson and his advisers had not foreseen a confrontation with Germany over submarine warfare. Prior to the war, the submarine, as new technology, had not figured in the planning of either camp. Scholars of international law did not give the use of submarines against commerce much consideration. The law of nations had long mentioned the right of merchantmen to carry defensive armament. As submarines were vulnerable to even the smallest caliber of cannon and would be at risk if they were abiding by the rules of cruiser warfare, they were not considered useful as commerce raiders. The tactic of attacking a submerged submarine without warning had not been addressed. Early U-boat successes against British warships in the North Sea led many German naval officers, led by Secretary of State for Naval Affairs Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, to recognize the submarine's potential as a threat to British commerce. Tirpitz and his followers pointed out that, as Germany had no other recourse with the Allies controlling the shipping

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lanes, the navy should employ unrestricted submarine warfare against Allied shipping and neutral ships carrying contraband.

The first signs of trouble between Germany and the United States over the U-boat issue appeared in February 1915 when Germany declared a war zone around Britain. Any Allied ships within that zone were subject to being sunk by German submarines. It was inevitable that a British ship with Americans on board would be sunk, bringing on a confrontation. On March 28, the British steamer *Falaba* was torpedoed and sunk by a U-boat in the Irish Sea, killing 105 people including one American. The *Falaba*'s sinking shocked the president and his cabinet. A strongly worded protest note written by Robert Lansing condemned the sinking as a violation of international law and demanded that German submarines adhere to the rules of cruiser warfare. Despite heightened tensions, Secretary Bryan prevailed on Wilson to negotiate with the Germans. Even so, U.S. insistence on strict German adherence to the Wilson administration's interpretation of international law in contrast to the Wilson administration's comparatively mild reaction to Allied violations was a sure source of trouble in the future.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, with the loss of 128 American lives, made clear to the president the dangers involved in his pro-Allied "benevolent neutrality." The Germans could not have picked a more high-profile target. It was one of the largest of Britain's passenger liners and a symbol of British power and pride. It sailed from New York on May 1 bound for Liverpool. Despite warnings from the German embassy in Washington that it would be subject to attack without warning and that neutral citizens traveled at their own risk, the liner had no escort and sailed with nearly 200 Americans on board. In addition, Bryan had warned Wilson that the *Lusitania* was carrying ammunition and begged the president to keep Americans off the ship. (There are allegations, never proven, that the British Admiralty, led by First Lord Winston Churchill, deliberately set up the *Lusitania* to be sunk in the hopes that the United States would enter the war on the Allied side.)

The Wilson administration's response to the crisis brought on by the *Lusitania*'s sinking illustrates the extent to which U.S. neutrality had slanted toward Britain. Despite Bryan's efforts to effect a compromise, the U.S. notes to the German government sounded a stern demand that Germany disavow the sinking, punish the officers responsible, take responsibility for the sinking, and pay an indemnity for the loss of American lives and property.

Wilson resisted Bryan's efforts to affect a compromise by prohibiting Americans' travel on belligerent vessels or to impose a ban on shipping war materials on any passenger vessels in exchange for a German agreement to refrain from attacking these ships. The president brushed aside German arguments that the fact that the *Lusitania* was carrying munitions and troops made it a legitimate target. Nor would Wilson link his demands for German concessions to any quid pro quo on his part to step up pressure on Britain to relax the

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blockade (although he hinted informally to von Bernstorff that German agreement to give up the submarine would be an encouragement for him to do so).

The hard line Wilson took toward the Germans, including the threat to break diplomatic relations if the Germans did not meet his demands, caused Secretary of State Bryan to resign in protest in June 1915. Bryan's resignation reflected his frustration over his inability to move the president toward a more balanced neutrality. During the crisis, Wilson relied increasingly on the advice of the pro-Allied counselor Lansing, who drafted the U.S. notes. Wilson generally accepted Lansing's narrow definition of the law of the sea. Lansing's position that German submarines must follow the rules of cruiser warfare made no allowance for the nature of submarine warfare and put administration policy in a straitjacket.

Another crisis followed in August 1915 when a U-boat torpedoed and sank the British passenger steamer *Arabic*. Again the American reaction was to demand that Germany disavow submarine warfare. The crises surrounding both the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* incidents ended when Ambassador Bernstorff announced that German submarines would not sink passenger liners without warning and without providing for the safety of noncombatant passengers as long as the ships did not resist or try to escape.

Bernstorff's *Arabic* pledge, which he made without instructions from his government, effectively ended the first German-American crisis over submarine warfare. The German decision to back down reflected the temporary ascendancy of Bethmann-Hollweg and the moderates in the German government over the hard-liners concentrated in the German navy. War with the United States had been averted at this time because Germany had not yet produced a sufficient number of submarines to make a blockade of Britain effective and because the Army High Command, which held the balance of power in Germany, did not want to risk war with the United States. The continuance of this uneasy balance of forces in Germany depended on the course of the war and the U.S. ability to induce Britain to relax the blockade.

Between August 1915 and the end of 1916, however, the position of the German moderates regarding unrestricted submarine warfare continued to deteriorate. This decline was due, in part, to rising popular discontent due to growing food shortages related to the blockade. High casualties and frustration with the stalemate on both Eastern and Western Fronts were triggering calls from the army for steps to bring about a quick military solution. Increasingly, the military and their right-wing civilian supporters saw the submarine as a panacea to their problems. They called for an unrestricted submarine war against Allied and neutral commerce that would starve Britain and France into making peace.

The only way the Wilson administration could undercut this trend in Germany was to take steps to induce Britain to relax the blockade and allow noncontraband goods and food into Germany. There were thorny issues that threatened the Wilson

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administration's "benevolent neutrality." Americans were deeply upset over the seizure of U.S. merchantmen carrying cargo that the State and Commerce Departments regarded as noncontraband items. Particularly contentious was the British publication in July 1916 of a "blacklist" of companies that did business with Germany; their products were to be subjected to boycott by the Allies, and their assets in the Allied belligerent countries would be confiscated. Despite bluntly worded protests from the State Department, the administration never considered either embargoing the flow of war supplies to Britain and France or cutting off loans to Britain and France. The economic boom in the United States was too closely tied to trade with those countries, and public opinion, though opposed to U.S. entry into the war, was still predominately sympathetic to the Allies.

Wilson understood that a prolonged war would increase the possibility that the United States would be pulled in. The only way the president could see out of his dilemma was a compromised peace, with the United States as the arbitrator. Even on the issue of a mediated settlement, Wilson and his main emissary and confidant Colonel House viewed Britain as the main avenue for convening a peace conference.

The administration's main effort to induce Britain to support a U.S. peace initiative began in the winter of 1915–1916 when Wilson sent House to Europe to probe the belligerent's receptivity to possible peace mediation. House visited Berlin and London. The most significant development came in his talks with Foreign Secretary Grey, which resulted in the House-Grey memorandum. Drafted by Grey, the memo stated that the president was ready, on hearing from France and England that the time was right for a peace conference, to issue a public call for such a meeting. If the Allies accepted Wilson's offer and Germany did not, then the United States would "probably" enter the war against Germany.

The gist of this document was that the Wilson administration tied its hopes for mediating a compromise settlement of the war to the willingness of the Allies to follow the U.S. lead. Grey encountered intense opposition to the memo from both members of the British War Cabinet and from the French, and no peace message ever came from the Allies. Nevertheless, to many postwar critics of Wilson's neutrality policies, the House-Grey memorandum seemed designed to provide a path to war rather than a path to peace and a way out of Wilson's predicament.

Throughout 1916, Wilson continued to seek ways of moving the warring camps toward a peace conference and a compromise settlement. The centerpiece of these continuing efforts was his speech before the League to Enforce Peace on May 26 in which he stated the principles that should form a broad outline for a settlement and appealed to the Allies to call for a peace conference. The speech was basically a call to the British and France to act upon the understanding between Grey and House. Wilson also called for an association of nations to enforce a settlement.

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This address reflected the president's continuing belief that acting through the Allies constituted the best means for U.S. mediation of a settlement. Wilson was careful not to say anything that might offend Britain or France. There was nothing concerning war aims or freedom of the seas. The Allies' failure to respond to Wilson's appeal led him to conclude that they were no more interested in peace than the Germans, and that independent efforts at mediation might be the best avenue to engineer a settlement.

By this time, it was too late. Neither side was interested in a compromise peace. Mounting casualties on both sides and the immense sacrifice of lives and treasure made a compromise peace increasingly difficult. Britain and France believed that their bargaining position was weak and that a peace conference would undermine their interests. In Germany, the faction favoring resuming submarine warfare and achieving military victory was gaining the upper hand. Led by Admiral Henning von Holtzendorff, the German hardliners argued that victory in Europe could be achieved even if the United States entered the war. Germany had to act immediately before the growing threat of starvation related to the blockade forced Germany to her knees. There was widespread feeling that with more U-boats now available and with Britain's domestic economy deteriorating, the time was now right to undertake an unrestricted U-boat campaign. They did not trust Wilson's motives in seeking mediation or his ability or willingness to end the blockade.

For the rest of the year, Wilson was preoccupied with the 1916 presidential election campaign. He was in a close campaign against Republican Charles Evans Hughes and did not want to undertake any measure that might adversely affect his chances for reelection. He did not fully realize that the political balance in Germany was shifting and that the United States was close to war with Germany.

It was in the context of the hardening of positions on both sides that Wilson's attempt at independent mediation in December 1916 failed. The initiative began in conjunction with a November 26 message from Bethmann-Hollweg transmitted through several neutral governments proposing that the Allies agree to send representatives to a conference to discuss peace terms. The German chancellor's action was probably an act of despair in the face of the political reality that the supporters of a military solution were gaining the upper hand in the government and that Germany was about to commit political suicide with the U-boat weapon.

Although reluctant to appear that he was cooperating with Germany (he had actually been drafting a message since three weeks prior to the appearance of Bethmann-Hollweg's message), Wilson felt that he had to act. On December 16, he issued an appeal for all belligerents to state their war aims. The Allies reacted negatively. The initial German reaction was conciliatory but right wing, and militarist elements in Germany almost unanimously did not want to use the president as a mediator. Wilson moved ahead with his celebrated "Peace without Victory"

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address to the U.S. Senate on January 22, 1917, in which he offered conditions—mainly freedom of the seas—that he believed would attract the Germans.

It was already too late. The Germans did not respond to Wilson's proposals because they had already set their course. On January 8, in a meeting at the German Imperial Headquarters at Pless, Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff informed the kaiser that the army now supported unrestricted submarine warfare. The conferees decided that the new campaign would commence on February 1, 1917.

With that decision made, the slide toward war between Germany and the United States became inexorable. With the sinking of a number of U.S. vessels in February, Wilson made the decision to break diplomatic relations with Germany at the end of that month. On April 2, Wilson asked Congress for a Declaration of War on Germany—an action Congress took on April 6, 1917.

In retrospect, a strong case can be made for the argument that Wilson's pro-British "benevolent neutrality" was doomed to fail and that the president, by believing that his pro-British orientation would avoid war, was guilty of monumental self-deception. Because he failed to consider alternative courses seriously, a confrontation with Germany was virtually unavoidable. From the beginning, Wilson relied on advice from senior members of his administration, as well as his close confidant Colonel House, who were pro-Allies and who, in many cases, had ties to economic interests with a stake in an Allied victory. Exports of munitions and raw materials to Allied nations and loans to Britain and France rendered U.S. prosperity dependent on the Allies.

Wilson and his advisers acceded to flagrant British violations of international law and the law of the sea. The British use of a legally questionable definition of food as contraband and the equally questionable doctrine of continuous voyage denied Germany imports of food and led to threats of a famine that forced Germany into a war-winning strategy with unrestricted U-boat warfare that was almost unachievable. In their application of international law, the president and his advisers used a double standard where they demanded that German submarines adhere strictly to rules of cruiser warfare while they looked the other way at British violations. Invoking international law against the U-boats was questionable in any case as the use of submarines as commerce raiders had never been addressed in the law of the sea.

With his anglophile orientation, Wilson also undermined his credibility with the Germans as an impartial mediator, thus crippling his attempts to bring about a compromise solution to the conflict that could have prevented a German-American confrontation. Ironically, Wilson wanted to keep the United States out of the war and believed that a peace dictated to Germany by the Allies would have disastrous long-term consequences, but he refused to take steps toward strict neutrality that would put the United States in a stronger position as a neutral and impartial mediator. It is a tragedy that the healing peace that Wilson

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believed essential to civilization's future eluded him because of his administration's lack of neutrality.

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CON

When World War I broke out, the U.S. government was keen to maintain its neutrality, and indeed it did not enter the war until April 6, 1917, when it declared war on Germany. However, there were some doubts, with claims that the government of Woodrow Wilson supported the British so openly that the Germans felt they needed to start attacking Atlantic shipping. From 1934 until 1936, the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, better known as the Nye Committee, met in the U.S. Senate to study the involvement of the U.S. government in the war, with many U.S. politicians arguing that Wilson was blatantly pro-British in his policies and actions so that German attacks on shipping became inevitable and thus precipitated the U.S. declaration of war on Germany.

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, was a major news story around the world, including in the United States. When war broke out four weeks later, with the Austro-Hungarian Empire declaring war on Serbia on July 28, this precipitated a series of alliances with

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the Russians mobilizing their army and then Germany declaring war on Russia, then France, and invading Belgium; and Britain, declaring war on Germany; after which Japan entered the war, declaring war on Germany.

For most Americans in July and August 1914, the war held no great fascination. The wealthier Americans on the east coast (especially in New England) tended to support Britain and France through ties of ancestry and through France's help in the War of Independence, which had led to a close bond between the two countries, as seen in gesture of giving the Statue of Liberty to the United States. But this feeling was never universal among those on the East Coast of the United States, where there were many Irish Catholic families who detested the British and would support anyone who opposed them because of their rule over the whole of Ireland. There were also many German Americans who supported Germany, but also some who had fled Germany to escape its militaristic government or its domination by the Prussian state. Other German Americans wanted nothing to do with the fighting in Europe, the wars there being essentially the reason for their migration to North America.

Beyond the East Coast, many Americans in the Midwest and also on the West Coast had absolutely no interest in the events in Europe. Some were from Scandinavian countries, which remained assiduously neutral throughout World War I, and others whatever their ancestry, had moved to the United States because it represented the opposite, as they saw it, to the bickering countries of Europe arguing over borders, minority groups, enclaves, and extraterritorial jurisdictions.

On August 4, 1914, Woodrow Wilson issued a formal proclamation that the United States would remain neutral in the war. He noted:

> [T]he people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. . . . Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to ally it. . . . Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of duty as the great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to be a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend. . . . The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

He warned that if U.S. citizens did not scrupulously avoid taking sides in the war, Americans would "be divided in camps of hostile pinion, hot against each

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other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action" (quoted from Maxwell 1914: 141–42).

Over the next two-and-a-half years, Woodrow Wilson certainly tried to keep the United States absolutely neutral in the conflict, although many Americans took sides, either emotionally or through actions to aid one side or the other. Indeed Herbert Hoover, himself of Swiss ancestors who had migrated from their home in Germany to North America in 1738, had been sent to Europe where he was involved in providing relief aid through the American Relief Committee in London. His Committee for the Relief of Belgium and Northern France helped provide aid for about 10 million people living under German rule and would gain him the reputation that would lead to his appointment as secretary of commerce in 1921 and election to the presidency in 1928.

And during those two-and-a-half years, there were many incidents and pressures that pushed Wilson toward entering the war on the British side, but he chose not to do so. In fact, his view on involvement in the war naturally changed as the nature of the war itself changed. Within those 32 months, Wilson's own views changed. By May 1915 and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Wilson was increasingly pro-British, but he soon became angered by the British government and its general attitudes that by the middle of 1916, Wilson was much more in favor of continued neutrality. These shifts in policy would certainly not have been the case if he were doing everything he could to bring the United States into the war on the British side.

From an overview, there were strategists who argued that a British or French victory would be far better for the United States. Both these countries were considered "content." They had large empires and were basically "satisfied" with the situation in the world at large. This allowed the United States, through the Monroe Doctrine and other policies, to dominate the Americas because Britain and France had no interest in upsetting the situation. By contrast, a victory for Germany in the long term would result in victory for a "discontented" nation, which might then strive to have colonies. These are certainly viewpoints that were later raised by R. E. Osgood in his book *Ideals and Self-Interest in American Foreign Policy* (1953). This attitude might be cynical, but it also belies the fact that the Americans were also keen for their merchant navy to overtake that of Britain, as looked possible until the American Civil War and the actions of the Confederate raiders had changed the situation in the 1860s. Thus a war between Britain and France, against Germany, leading to all three countries exhausting themselves, might prove to be in the United States' long-term interest.

The initial German invasion of Belgium and France, and the atrocity stories run by British newspapers, certainly angered many Americans, as they were later shocked by the execution of the British nurse Edith Cavell, who was shot as a spy by the Germans in October 1915. The question in the minds of many Americans was with whom did they identify during that period of the war. There were still people in the United States who remembered the destruction of

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the American Civil War, and many more who heard about it from their parents and grandparents. Yet for the United States to enter the war on the British and French side meant that it would be allying itself with Belgium and Russia, a situation that some Americans would have found untenable.

Belgium had a terrible record of human rights abuses in the Congo (modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo), which had been unmasked by Edmund Dene Morel in 1900 and brought to the attention of even more people around the world by Joseph Conrad in *The Heart of Darkness* (1902). Up until 1908 the king of Belgium directly ruled Congo as the Congo Free State, but international pressure forced a change with the creation of a colony controlled by the Belgian Parliament. The German invasion of Belgium, until the horror stories of the atrocities by German soldiers, did little to win sympathy for the Belgians. And similarly for Russia, many Polish and Jewish Americans would not support a war that would help maintain the Russian Empire from which so many of them had fled after generations of persecution. The United States in 1914, as it had done for so many years before, and as it does today, prides itself on being a focus for democracy in the world, and Wilson would certainly not have relished entering a conflict to support dictatorships, which, if they had entered World War I in 1914, they would inevitably have done.

Many pointed to the increased trade between Britain and the United States, especially in armaments, as being an important factor that helped sway Wilson. Father Charles Coughlin later drew parallels between the arguments for war and the profits that would be made by the emerging military-industrial complex. Certainly the U.S. economy did do well during the first years of the war, selling vast amounts of armaments and other products to the British. They also extended lines of credit, and as an example, exports of explosives that were worth $6 million in 1914, rose to $467 million two years later. However, the simple argument that Wilson was anxious to drag the United States into the war to help trade balances is wrong because, while it could do well *selling* weapons to the British, once it entered the war itself, the U.S. government would incur the costs of furnishing and equipping an expeditionary force at great expense to the U.S. taxpayers. The companies associated with the military-industrial complex may have wanted war, as Coughlin argued, but that did not mean that Wilson did. And during the late 1920s and early 1930s, these companies and interest groups, rather than Wilson, became the focus of the criticisms that would lead to the introduction of the Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939.

There was more trade with Britain than with Germany during the first 32 months of World War I. This was not engineered by Wilson either because he supported Britain or because he wanted to encourage attacks on shipping so that war might start. It was dictated by history—there had always been more trade between the United States and Britain than between the United States and Germany, mainly because of geographic circumstances. The British had imposed a naval blockade on Germany, which, because of its position, was unable to use the North Sea ports or

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those captured from Belgium. Most of their navy was unable to "break out" from the encirclement by the Royal Navy, as seen by the Battle of Jutland and other engagements when they tried so to do. Thus for any U.S. companies to trade with Germany, they would have to get through the British naval blockade, and this in itself would cause tensions. The use of mines by both sides complicated things further and made it even more hazardous for any ships to try to reach German ports.

When the German government announced, on February 4, 1915, that they had declared the waters around the British Isles to be a "war zone," it meant that they could sink any enemy merchant vessels at sight. Six days later, the U.S. government stated that the Germans would be held to a "strict accountability" for any U.S. lives or property lost. Thus all Americans had, as they had since the start of hostilities, been advised to use ships from neutral countries. The situation was complicated because the British were not averse to "reflagging" some of their ships with neutral flags. Again this was not of Wilson's doing, but it did lead to increased tensions with Germany.

In previous conflicts, enemy ships regularly attacked merchant ships of their rivals, as was common with the Confederate raiders in the American Civil War. However, the Confederates and others beforehand generally took the crew of the ship they were sinking as prisoners, who were then released in a neutral port. For a submarine, it was impossible to take the crew of a ship they were sinking, and even more so if this was a passenger liner. Furthermore, the submarines were nowhere nearly as efficient as the U-boats of World War II, and the British instructed their ships to fire on or ram any German submarine. With many British merchantmen armed, the Germans claimed that changes in the rules of international law meant they could sink foreign vessels on sight, and without warning. This happened with the *Lusitania*, which went down with the loss of 1,201 men, women, and children. In response to this, on June 10–11, 1915, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan did ask in statements published in the *New York Times* why U.S. citizens continued to travel on British ships. As he wrote, "The question is not whether an American citizen has a right, under international law, to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he or not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible" (quoted from "Mr. Bryan's Defense" 1915). It was a clear indication that the Wilson administration, while obviously horrified by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, was still keen on avoiding war.

In response to protests from Wilson, the Germans said that they would try to prevent anything similar from happening again. However, in March 1916 the channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed in the English Channel. In spite of its name, it was a French ship, and it managed to reach port with none of the U.S. passengers killed, although some were wounded. Robert Lansing who was then secretary of state, urged the United States to use this as an opportunity to declare war on Germany, but Wilson rejected this.

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Woodrow Wilson campaign van, 1916 presidential election. Among the slogans, "Who keeps us out of war?" (Bettmann/Corbis)

In fact rather than deciding to support the British in the war, Wilson had been keen to try to prevent war. Throughout late 1916, Wilson was involved in peace moves, which might have succeeded because the Allies were suffering badly from the war. The French had failed to break the Germans at Verdun, and in the Battle of the Somme, the British had, likewise, not been able to break the German lines, suffering massive casualties. On the Eastern Front, the Russian army was in turmoil and being driven back on many fronts, with the Germans in control of Poland and a considerable part of the Baltic, resulting in massive tension in the Russian capital of Petrograd. So there was certainly a possibility of the various sides at least considering a ceasefire and a peace conference.

One of the influencing factors on Wilson's policy during this time was undoubtedly the presidential election in November 1916. Theodore Roosevelt had decided not to stand and split the republican vote, and this left Wilson against Charles Evans Hughes in what was clearly going to be a close election result. Wilson's democrats used the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War," while Hughes campaigned on the slogan of "America First, America Efficient." The end result was Wilson getting 9,126,868 votes to 8,548,728 for Hughes, with Wilson securing 277 Electoral College seats to 254 for Hughes. Wilson won California by less than 4,000 votes, and a loss there would have cost him the victory. Although Wilson won and had a majority of 53 to 42 in the senate, he only had a slim majority in the House of Representatives (216 to 210). As a result Wilson remained cautious.

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The Black Tom Explosion and the End of Isolationism

One of the causes of U.S. involvement in World War I was the Black Tom explosion on July 30, 1916, in the harbor of Jersey City, New Jersey. It was a major munitions dump, and in spite of the United States being neutral, it was allowed to sell war materiel to the Allies.

The explosion took place just after 2 A.M., and it set off a series of fires, causing property damage valued at the time at $20 million. The explosion sent shrapnel in various directions and even damaged the Statue of Liberty. It is believed that seven people were killed, with hundreds suffering small injuries.

The bombing was connected to a Slovak migrant named Michael Kristoff who had the help of two guards of German ancestry. The event, and especially the damage to the Statue of Liberty, estimated at $100,000 and led to access to the torch being closed to the public—led to increased anti-German feeling in the United States.

Although Wilson had hoped that his moves for peace might help the Allies, in the end, he was upset that the British were reluctant to take up his idea. His dislike of the British position was increased when, in July 1916, the British had issued their "blacklist" of companies that had been involved in trade with Germany or had German connections. Wilson saw this as a deliberate attempt to interfere in U.S. domestic economic policies, and he wrote to Colonel Edward House, "I am . . . about at the end of my patience with Great Britain and the Allies. This blacklist is the last straw" (Jones 2001: 79). The result of this was that Wilson decided to go back to his original declaration of August 1914 in which the U.S. government would reflect total impartiality in the war. In December 1916, the Germans stated that they were interested in a negotiated settlement, but the new British Prime Minister David Lloyd George was against this. He felt that only a defeat of Germany could lead to peace. A ceasefire with a strong Germany would lead to another arms race, and then another conflict.

While this was happening, the U.S. government was also bolstering its military potential so that if it did become involved in World War I, it would do so from a position of strength, and likewise if the war ended, the United States would be able to defend itself. Thus the U.S. navy started construction of a number of battleships. This in itself was significant because if the U.S. government were preparing to enter the war in support of the British, then smaller and faster naval vessels that could chase German submarines would see the U.S. taxpayers' money spent more effectively. By contrast the battleships could challenge the British fleet.

In February 1917, the German ambassador to the United States left, and the U.S. ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, was recalled (or technically asked to leave by the Germans), severing diplomatic relations. But Wilson was

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still keen on avoiding war. Indeed Edward House noted in his diary: "The president was insistent that he would not allow it [German actions] to lead to war if it could possibly be avoided. He reiterated his belief that it would be a crime for this Government to involve itself in the war to such an extent as to make it impossible to save Europe afterward" (quoted from Hoover 1958: 4). Certainly Wilson was more anti-German at this point, and House added that Wilson "spoke of Germany 'as a madman that should be curbed.' I [House] asked if he thought it fair to the Allies to ask them to do the curbing without doing our share. He noticeably winced at this, but still held to his determination not to become involved if it were humanly possible to do otherwise" (quoted from Hoover 1958: 4). What changed Wilson was that Germany continued to attack merchant ships. On February 25, 1917, the *Laconia*, another Cunard liner, was sunk, with the loss of two U.S. women. It came only a day after the British had given the U.S. government the text of the Zimmermann telegram by the new German foreign minister. Arthur Zimmermann had taken over as foreign minister when the German High Command insisted on unrestricted submarine warfare as the only possible way of winning the war, after Gottlieb von Jagow had resigned. In the telegram, intercepted by the British, Zimmermann offered the Mexicans Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico if they entered the war. The suggestions were specious, but the publication of the telegram did increase the level of mistrust that Wilson felt for the Germans.

It was the Russian Revolution of February–March 1917 that would lead to the U.S. involvement in the war in two ways. First, the collapse of the Russian army and their front meant that the Allies were in danger of losing the war because Germany could send more of its soldiers against the British and the French in France and Flanders. This made it, for the British and French, all the more important for the United States to enter the war. At the same time it also meant that if the United States entered the war, it would now be doing so to support democracies (Britain, France, and now Russia) against dictatorships.

However, it was the continued attacks on the shipping lanes by German submarines that would to lead to the U.S. declaration of war. On April 6, 1917, the House of Representatives by 373 to 50, and the Senate by 82 to 6, voted "That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared." Wilson then signed this into law on the same day. He stated that the war was not an ordinary war, but a crusade "to make the world safe for democracy."

Thus it can be seen that Wilson was keen on avoiding war, and although he certainly did sympathize more with the British than with the Germans, both his public statements and also his actions, as well as his private comments, show that he did try to steer the United States away from intervention in what was then known as the Great European War, and subsequently as World War I.

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7

Mahatma Gandhi would not have been a world leader without the influence of Rabindranath Tagore.

PRO Rajini Pani
CON Rajshekhar

PRO

As contemporaries and leading torch-bearers of India's freedom struggle in the 20th century, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) and Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) generate not merely academic interest among commentators, but also controversy and debate on a range of issues. Gandhi, as the world remembers him, was an apostle of nonviolence, the architect of India's freedom, and even revered in some quarters as an incarnation of the Buddha. Tagore, in comparison, registers several million hits less on any modern-day Internet search engine, in spite of being a poet laureate. Although Gandhi stands among the world's illustrious leaders, Tagore is romanticized as a singer of songs and a dreamer of dreams from Bengal. He lives more in Indian memory and less in that of the world's, as India's and Asia's first Nobel laureate. But supported by relevant historical documents, an objective analyst is bound to catapult Tagore from unwarranted relegation to the position of a worthy forerunner to Gandhi and Gandhian policies.

Tagore was born before Gandhi and was, like him, a citizen with a conscience, a patriot, a campaigner for social justice, particularly for women and children, and one who had infinite faith in the good of mankind. In short, Tagore was, as critics have acknowledged, far more than a mere poet, just as Gandhi was more than a mere politician. Hence it would be appropriate to begin with the premise that although the coming of Gandhi was said to be like a thunderbolt out of the blue, Tagore's influence before him was like the coming of dawn in the mountains that permeated the thinking of a generation that produced philosophers and fighters for India's freedom. It is therefore more important to understand Tagore's side of the now famous Gandhi–Tagore debate.

Older to Gandhi by eight years, Tagore was, sociologically speaking, a product of history, positioned by the times to initiate pioneering projects and actions, from which Gandhi learned. The sheer volume and diversity of Tagore's creative life, spanning 60 of his 80 years, created a legacy, which Gandhi and an independent India proudly displayed. Admirers of Gandhi would therefore find it difficult to deny equal star status for Tagore as a poet, philosopher, artist, and educator.

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With 28 volumes of literary works, 2,500 songs, and 2,000 drawings, this legend inspired revolutionaries in Bengal, a state considered to be the eyes and ears of the Indian freedom movement.

In order to establish that Gandhi would not have been a world figure without the influence of Tagore, it would be necessary to illuminate those beams of overarching influence that led Gandhi to Tagore. Both of these men became important for India at one of the most crucial stages of the fight against colonialism. The French philosopher Romain Rolland (1924) aptly sums up their position as two great river-like souls overflowing with the divine spirit. Tagore's influence on Gandhi was subtle of expression, gentle, yet powerful. This was by no means easy, as Gandhi's style and response had a rustic resistance about it, almost as rough as the homespun clothes he wore. Tagore was spontaneous in his statements, foreseeing the unpredictable and always ready to accommodate the unforeseen. Gandhi's views, in contrast, were prescriptive to the point of being didactic. But what mattered more was Tagore's stance of carrying an argument to its logical end, with conviction. Gandhi was often driven to learn from Tagore. He acknowledged the lessons without reservation, leading him to coin the term "Gurudev" for Tagore, which means "venerable teacher." A modest Tagore did not aspire to be a national role model, and he was quick to publicly state that he could never have given India the political leadership that Gandhi provided. In fact, it was he who bestowed on Gandhi the immortal epithet of "Mahatma" or the "Great Soul," which became synonymous with the man who came to be regarded as the father of the Indian nation.

Fundamental Elements for Studying This Conflict-Ridden Relationship

The clash between Tagore and Gandhi was striking and almost inevitable. Tagore was the poet, Gandhi the political crusader; Tagore believed in art, Gandhi in action; Tagore celebrated fullness of life, Gandhi renounced it; for Tagore the ultimate quest was beauty, for Gandhi it was truth. The range of differences, therefore, on a wide array of topics went beyond the noncooperation movement and the *Charaka* (spinning wheel) issue, which most critics regularly deliberate about. The poet and the Mahatma were conditioned by differing attitudes and approaches and often found themselves exchanging arguments assailing each other's position. Although the attacks remained at the intellectual level, the very process of being questioned was essential for Gandhi, as in the normal scheme of things there were few people who ever challenged his beliefs during the early years of India's freedom struggle.

Gandhi invented "the politician as a saint" image through his lifestyle and public conduct. The public's portrait of him was like that of Christ and his followers. But few are aware that Tagore, whose work and fame preceded Gandhi,

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was seen as a carrier of exotic wisdom, often attributed to him for his physical appearance and demeanor—handsome, bearded, sage-like, quintessentially a mystical poet in the West. Tagore humbly accepted this image but sought to build his reputation on more solid accomplishments.

Tagore was not a politician, nor was he interested in wielding power over the lives of others, for good or for evil. But he had a clear and steady vision of man's destiny and unerring instinct. Tagore had no illusions about what is called progress in Western countries, which was at that time synonymous with luxuries and mechanized living. By progress he meant a continuous development of the human personality, both individual and corporate: "I believe in life only when it is progressive and in progress only when it is in harmony with life" (Tagore 1917). Gandhi found these qualities in Tagore worthy of emulation. But where the two figures differed was in their attitudes toward personal life. Tagore was more practical and worldly, advocating family planning instead of Gandhi's total abstinence. Hence, while Tagore's take on this issue appealed to the common man, many could not comprehend how Gandhi could, on one instance, advocate celibacy to a newly married couple on his Phoenix farm in South Africa, after he himself had fathered four sons.

That Tagore was intellectually more perceptive than Gandhi, and fair-minded at that, comes across more explicitly when compared with Gandhi's conservative instincts regarding the country's past traditions. Gandhi ignored reason and logic, depending more on spiritual instincts, often bordering on blind belief. Tagore, then, did not hesitate to blame Gandhi for exploiting this irrational force, which prevented the masses from progressing with the rest of the world. It was no surprise, therefore, that within a few years after Gandhi's death a large number of educated Indians began looking to Western liberalism for advancement rather than looking within the Indian system of beliefs.

This kind of blind faith also pervaded Gandhi's views on nationalism. Tagore had the greatest admiration for Mahatma Gandhi as a person and as a political leader, but he was also highly skeptical of Gandhi's form of nationalism. Consequently, guided by their respective life philosophies, each sought to express his ideas regarding India's freedom. Thus while Gandhi opined that India should be free in order to serve humanity and do it more actively and purposefully, Tagore believed that India should serve humanity in order to be free.

The basic difference in approaches was to manifest itself in each of their positions on internationalism. It was natural for Gandhi to insist on national organization before embarking on any form of internationalism, as he insisted on being a nationalist before becoming an internationalist. Tagore's view was diametrically opposite, as he held that a nation did not have to become strong and independent before raising its voice in the world. He argued that India, in spite of her penury and humiliation, could still come to the rescue of humanity. In fact, Tagore saw no meaning in political freedom when the mind was not free.

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Tagore Wins the Nobel Prize for Literature

On November 13, 1913, the Swedish Academy in Stockholm announced that Rabindranath Tagore had won the Nobel Prize for Literature. This was largely for his book *Gitanjali*, which was published in English, in a limited edition, and also in a public edition. Tagore was the first Asian to be awarded the prize, and the media were surprised at the announcement of the award, partly because many had not heard of him.

The first public comments on the announcement were made by the Swedish writer Per Hallström and the poets Erik Axel Karlfelt (who went on to win the prize in 1931) and Verner von Heidenstam (who won the prize in 1916). They commented that although Tagore's books "have only recently become known in the Western World, [they] show an original and poetical vein of great depth and undoubted literary merit." Hallström later became chairman of the Nobel Committee of the Swedish Academy for the Nobel Prize for Literature, a post he held from 1922 until 1946.

Gandhi and India in later years were to endorse this very thought when Tagore's haunting lines from his *Gitanjali* were sung at several national gatherings:

Where the mind is without fear
And the head is held high . . .
Into that heaven of freedom,
My Father, let my country awake. (Tagore 1924: 28)

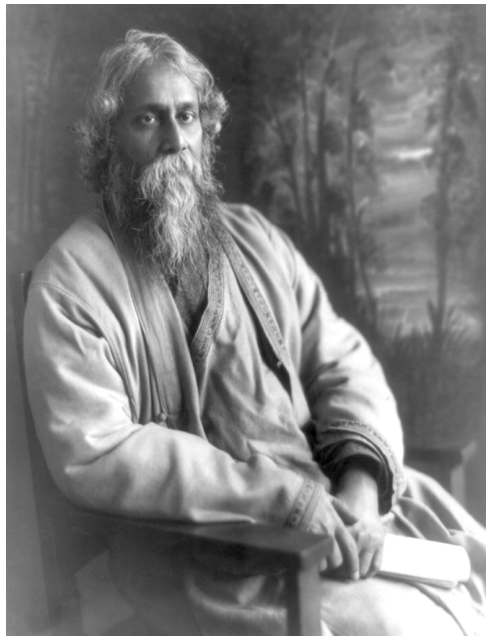
Tagore's reservations about patriotism were based on areas where India could have limited one's freedom to engage in ideas from outside the "narrow domestic walls" and failed to support the causes of people in other countries. From the time he received his Nobel Prize in 1913, Tagore stressed his international concerns and even denounced the excesses of nationalism not only in India but also in Japan, China, and the West. He went on to assert that contact with the West, especially with Britain, produced a kind of energy and a heat of enthusiasm in the minds of the Indian people that had lain dormant and inactive for some time. India's connections with the British, he maintained, helped her people renew their faith in their religion, in their philosophy and culture, and rediscover their country in a new spirit of hope and aspiration. Gandhi might have accepted the efficacy of Tagore's statement had he lived longer and seen the realization of his belief. It was unfortunate that Gandhi could not witness the international impact that his own philosophy would have, particularly on the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Nelson Mandela's struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Tagore's treatment of issues and policies was mellow and masterful, the result of a long intellectual introspection on the land, its people, and the past. Gandhi's

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reaction to issues was often impulsive. Seeking reason and in a quest for answers, Tagore posed a series of questions to Gandhi's curious statements. This was something Gandhi only comprehended later when he attempted to understand Tagore.

Tagore questioned the viability and sustenance of several of Gandhi's personal beliefs. Although he himself shared several of these, he differed from the extremity of Gandhi, which in the long run made the poet's views seem more practicable. On asceticism, Tagore accepted the ideal of simplicity and self-restraint, but he refused to glorify it. He seemed right when he asked Gandhi if the extreme lengths of the sacrifices he prescribed took into account the limitations of human nature. On suffering, Tagore believed that this was as much an aspect of life as pleasure was. Therefore, was Gandhi not overlooking the Vedic emphasis of *ananda* or bliss by overestimating the importance of suffering?



Rabindranath Tagore ranks among history's most renowned poets. His prodigious literary output and support for the cause of Indian independence made him a popular writer in his native Bengal and other provinces of British India in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. His international fame was sealed with a Nobel Prize in literature, awarded for his work *Gitanjali* in 1917. (Library of Congress)

Regarding patriotism, Gandhi sought instant patriotic fervor from Indians who historically had submitted themselves to centuries of foreign rule. For Gandhi, patriotism was the same as humanity. Tagore, on the other hand, believed that the complete man must never be sacrificed to the patriotic man, that humanity was rich, large, and multifaceted. His criticism of patriotism was a persistent theme in all his writings.

It appeared as if Gandhi had cashed in on *blind obedience* when he appealed to the momentary passion of youth when he called for a boycott of schools and the purchase of foreign cloth to register protest against the British rule. He even termed it a sacrifice. Tagore thought this to be shortsighted and that it dragged unconvinced students into the muddy waters of politics. He then questioned the exact nature of the sacrifice that the students were being asked to make. When Gandhi suggested that every patriotic Indian must spin cotton yarn as a religious duty, Tagore questioned the logic behind it, as it seemed as if Gandhi believed that spinning was the only panacea for all the ills of India. What was most

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unacceptable to Tagore was the fact that in the name of the nation and in the name of Gandhi as the national leader, absolute obedience and conformity were being demanded of the unsuspecting masses.

On the sin of the debilitating caste system in India, Tagore in the 1930s was more concerned about its divisiveness, both in Bengal and India as a whole. With his acute sensitivity and worldwide experience, he perceived its insidiousness with greater clarity than any other Indian, including Gandhi. When a terrible earthquake struck the northeastern state of Bihar in 1934, Gandhi attributed it to God's punishment for the Indian peoples' practice of untouchability. Tagore found that Gandhi was exploiting a terrible human tragedy, playing upon the fears of divine retribution for human sins, in support of a cause he was espousing. Trying to reason with Gandhi, he pointed out that the Mahatma was violating his own principle that the means should be as pure as the end.

On Gandhi's spinning as the means of attaining *Swaraj* ("self-rule"), Tagore felt that the call to self-rule was restricted to one narrow field alone. He wondered if this could be the new age of a new creation. Tagore put forth a more enlightened argument that even though there was plenty of home-spun thread during the Mughal invasion, this thread did not bind India together or prevent her from completely falling apart. When Gandhi insisted on the charka being an economic salvation for India, Tagore questioned what economic or mental profit could result from merely spinning.

On cooperation itself, Gandhi stressed the need for Indian self-sufficiency in every sphere before cooperation with the rest of the world. But Tagore saw the need for international cooperation and placed India in a position to deliver a message to the world and incorporate others messages in her own cultural repertoire.

The argument over English as the medium of education brought strange responses from Gandhi, who went to the extent of stating that boys studied English to get white-collar jobs, and girls to procure husbands with enviable economic and social status. However repugnant the thought may have been to Gandhi, young Indians have studied English long after the British departed from India, precisely for the reasons he had stated. Tagore has been proven right once again, for the world today looks to India as a reservoir of human resources communicating effectively through English.

Further, Tagore made a point never registered before—the West had misunderstood the East, which was the root of all disharmony between them. In order to set that right, the East could not reciprocate in the same manner. His age, the poet felt, was possessed by the West, made possible by the kind of mission for mankind that she had. Therefore, it was necessary for the East to go to her and learn whatever she could. A time would come, he believed, when the West would come to the East to learn from her and make it their home. His statement seems so prophetic of the present times where India occupies such a focal point of connectivity in a globalized world.

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Tagore even appears like a soothsayer of our times when one studies the experiment in global education that he undertook at his own world university in Shantiniketan and the programs at Sriniketan and Visvabharti universities. Truly great was his influence on Gandhi in this sphere, for the Mahatma was to replicate many of Tagore's principles in his educational plans.

Tagore's persistent questioning seems to have made a stance-changing impact on Gandhi. This was evident when the poet argued with Gandhi when he erroneously called Indian social reformers Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Lokmanya Tilak "pigmies" when compared with other Indian greats, as they had advocated thinking and writing in the English language. Openly confronting Gandhi, Tagore managed to get him to look beyond his narrow thinking and even squeezed out of him that argument-clinching *mantra* so often quoted in today's multicultural times: "I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any" (Gandhi 1968: vii).

Historical Proofs on Tagore's Role in Gandhi's Greatness

History bears witness to Tagore the trailblazer who established institutions and policies, many of which were consolidated by Gandhi later and even won him acclaim. Long before the historic Swadeshi movement of 1920, Tagore had begun to propagate the doctrine by opening a Swadeshi Store in Calcutta where he had assembled for sale from all parts of the country various articles of Indian manufacture required for daily life. Tagore even created a design for a typical "national" costume for the whole of India, as part of the Hindu Mela, to encourage the indigenous arts.

Tagore had experimented with various educational prototypes, beginning as early as 1901 when he established Shantiniketan. Rich new ideas were amassed during his 40 years as a school master in humble village surroundings. Tagore commenced experiments with what came to be known later as "community development" programs. He in fact produced the first manual on rural education and took a leading part in establishing the Indian National Council of Education in 1916. Many of his suggestions were accepted later by Gandhi. Gandhi even employed his first batch of teachers for his Basic School from Shantiniketan. Many of Tagore's initiatives between1892–1910, though unheeded at that time, later became the foundation for Gandhian educational initiatives.

Few people know that even before Gandhi had advocated and applied nonviolence, Tagore had hailed the advent of such an apostle in his drama *Prayoschitta* (Atonement), publicized in 1909, based on a novel written as early as 1883. The character in the play took on the leadership of his unarmed people in a nontax campaign against cruel eviction. All the elements of a regular Gandhian *satyagraha* based on truth, nonviolence, and fearlessness were depicted in this play, appearing to be a prelude to the actual Indian National movement.

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Gandhi arrived in India in 1914, and it took a while for him to identify a role for himself in the country, even though he had sown the seeds of an uprising in South Africa. But Tagore had stolen the march from him on many fronts between 1914–1916. In 1915, Tagore's relationship with British officials was considerably warmer than that with Gandhi. Nine days after Gandhi's Phoenix party left Shantiniketan, Tagore received the first governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, and in June that year the poet was knighted. For a few years until the Amritsar massacre of 1919, Tagore was able to influence the work of the councils of the Raj. But this was not through pandering to the British but through a justified criticism of their negative actions. He also renounced his knighthood soon after the Amritsar incident, months before Gandhi followed suit.

Tagore's world recognition in the early part of the 20th century made it that much easier for Gandhi to become a world leader. Critics would agree that Tagore's Nobel Prize for Literature, in a sense, put India on the mental map of the world. It carved a niche for Indian presence in England, in particular, for in his many essays and articles on Indo-British relationship, such as "East & the West" and "The Great & the Small," Tagore had paid generous tribute to the greater minds of Europe and England in particular. Tagore's repeated foreign tours attracted a stream of admirers of Europe to Shantiniketan. Among them were C. F. Andrews, W. W. Pearson, Romain Rolland, Erza Pound, W. B. Yeats, Earnest Rhys, and Albert Einstein. And it was at the initiative of the painter William Rothenstein that Tagore's *Gitanjali* became known to the West. Gandhi did learn from Tagore's Japan tour, where the poet appreciated the awakening of the Japanese people under Western influence and admired them for retaining the spiritual tradition of the East. In comparison, Gandhi's utilization of Western influence was very personal and not to the advantage of the greater numbers. Gandhi had lived with Englishmen both in England and South Africa for nearly 30 years, yet his policy was often confrontational as he believed that one had to stand up to an Englishman in order to gain his respect.

The most contentious issue in the Gandhi–Tagore debate, nonviolent noncooperation, would prove in the end that Tagore's predictions would come true. Tagore felt that Gandhi's call for open noncooperation had not been thought through clearly. He read a paper called "The Call of Truth" in 1921 at the Calcutta University Institute, in which he openly criticized Gandhi for exploiting the public sentiment as well as their excitement as a means of ensuring some quick political gain. He positively condemned the movement as a symbol of *himsa* or violence, as he thought it rested on the hatred of others and on a negative foundation. The poet also bitterly condemned the growing mood of lawlessness and indiscipline among the public. He argued that while millions were dying in the cold, it was inhuman to amuse oneself by burning clothes. According to the poet, cultural seclusion from the West was not good, as India could receive the best in the Western culture as an "awakening of India is a part of the awakening of the world." He added, "from now onwards, any nation which takes an isolated view

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of its own country will run counter to the spirit of the New Age and know not peace" (Tagore 2007: 545-565).

Noting the abrupt end to the noncooperation movement, one is automatically drawn to the example Tagore had cited in support of cooperation. He cited the success of Horace Plunkett's application of this principle in the economic reconstruction of Ireland. Tagore saw the benefit in applying the Irish experiment to India, but Gandhi merely dismissed the suggestion, stating that the Indian circumstances were different.

Over a period of time, however, Gandhi realized the truth in Tagore's arguments, especially as they pointed to the futility of the Mahatma's extreme measures. Some of this could be attributed to the poet's quiet involvement in the political aspects of the freedom struggle since the early 1930s. Tagore began making bold statements on the British-Indian relationship, which according to his remarks at a London Quaker meeting in 1931, was characterized by "the dark chasm of aloofness." His public tone brought Gandhi closer to the poet, after a decade of virtual estrangement. Though he continued to disagree with Gandhi periodically in private, there were relatively fewer open conflicts between them in the last 10 years of Tagore's life.

It is interesting to note how much Gandhi counted on the valuable opinion of his "Gurudev" during times of mental stress and trial. It was poignant to observe Tagore's presence at Gandhi's bedside at the Yaravada jail in Poona in September 1932, when the Mahatma broke his epic fast after protesting against the British prime minister's verdict on the Communal Award. Gandhi himself would write later that Gurudev was the richest find among the undreamt of treasures that the fast brought for him.

Scholarly interpretations of Tagore's legacy highlight the poet's indelible mark on his times, and subsequently on Gandhi. Leonard Elmhirst, the English philanthropist and social reformer who had worked closely with Tagore on rural reconstruction in India, found the experience brought together a resource base for Gandhi. Literary luminaries Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats located in Tagore's literary framework a whole people and a whole civilization that were immeasurably strange to them, yet they reflected their own images in his expressions. Even ardent Gandhi admirers Albert Einstein and Romain Rolland marveled at Tagore's innate ability to influence the freedom movement as an artist, without getting lost in literary sentimentality. Historian H. G. Wells remained enchanted by Tagore's unique explanation of how the 19th century had made the West feel racially superior, but that the East would manage to turn the tide by assimilating the sciences.

Fundamentally Tagore was humble, ever willing to learn from constructive criticism. This is where Gandhi appeared in a lesser light, particularly with regard to opinions on nationalism. In Dennis Dalton's (1993) view, Gandhi an unremitting nationalist, not merely endorsed nationalism but also dismissed all attacks on it. Tagore, while critical of the cult of nationalism and the unthinking

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sacrifices it demanded of the youth of India, was quite sympathetic to nationalism insofar as it was congruent with both "internationalism" and the ethos of Indian civilization. According to sociologist Ashis Nandy, a fear of nationalism was common to both Tagore and Gandhi. He believes that Gandhi and Tagore did not want their society to be caught in a situation where the idea of the Indian nation would supersede that of the Indian civilization.

The Gandhi–Tagore debate had the same kind of resonance as other controversies that would follow later: the Gandhi–Ambedkar, Gandhi–Nehru, and Gandhi–Godse debates. This debate was kept alive through the 1920s and 1930s by the poet's resolute opposition to charkha. Tagore simply pointed out that the charkha was being accorded a higher place than it was due. He criticized Gandhi in his 1925 article "The Cult of the Charka" (Tagore 2007: 730-744). Gandhi strangely went on to romanticize his belief by declaring that he would wander after his beloved Sita the charkha, and deliver her from the 10-headed monster from Japan, Manchester, and Paris (Gandhi 1956: 227-231). Although Gandhi's doctrine of noncooperation did not really set up a barrier between the East and the West, Tagore knew that it would be interpreted as doing so once Hindu nationalism was stirred. C. F. Andrews, the English missionary who was close to both the men, realized Tagore's prophetic warning when a frenzy of violence broke out unleashing rioters "like a bunch of swirling dervishes," as Tagore put it. Gandhi acknowledged his "Himalayan miscalculation" and fasted to atone for his mistake. A major point that Tagore scored with critics in this phase of the debate was when Gandhi prematurely declared noncooperation and promised self-rule within a year, only to immediately suspend it. The poet plainly was asking if the Hindus and the Muslims were supposed to just lie down peacefully after the British left India.

Writers have registered the fact that as more staunch and educated Indians came into the freedom fray in the 1930s, there appeared several cracks between them and Gandhi. The Gandhi–Nehru divide was a case in point. In contrast, Tagore's stance through all of these phases remained unchanged. His criticism of the British administration of India was consistently strong and grew more intense over the years. But his criticism did not mean a denigration of the Raj or Western culture. On the other hand, Gandhi's stand on several issues seemed disjointed, eliciting even unexpected remarks from him on various occasions. His quip in reply to a question asked in England as to what he thought of Western civilization was: "It would be a good idea." This was something that could never have come from Tagore's lips in spite of provocation.

Conclusion

A reasonable critic would accord an equally illustrious status to both of these stalwarts of the Indian freedom struggle. While Gandhi continues to shine brightly in the galaxy of the world's greatest, the path to that greatness was set by none other

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than Tagore. The framework for a comparison of the two men becomes possible only because basically they were not very different from each other.

Tagore owed a great deal to his travels and encounters in the West for which he believed he was privileged. He believed that his life followed the course of his celestial namesake the sun and the last part of those honors he owed to the West. He respected and rejoiced in the sweet appreciation from fellow human beings who were so different from him. Tagore regretted India's segregation from the rest of the world, and his message was that India, in order to find herself, must give of herself. The fruit of his advice is being borne in full, in India of the 21st century.

There was no reconciliation between Tagore and Gandhi on issues on which they held firm views. Both possessed deep emotional intensity, as was obvious in the exchanges they had on a series of issues between 1921–1925. And the controversies had no secrecy about them. But their intellectual honesty made them respect each other all the more. As time progressed, each considered the other a giant, towering above any other living Indian. They soon exchanged worthy praises. Tagore said that the spirit of the Mahatma was infused into the whole of India, chasing away the faintness. Gandhi said of Tagore on his 70th birthday that the poet's genius and purity of life had raised India in the estimation of the world. Gandhi on this occasion contributed to *The Golden Book of Tagore*, a global anthology sponsored by him, Einstein, Rolland, and the Greek poet Kostes Palamas among other greats. Tagore's composition "Ekla chalore" ("If nobody responds to your call, move along") was Gandhi's favorite song. Gandhi and Nehru expressed appreciation of Tagore's stupendous role in the national struggle and as a fitting tribute chose his song "Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka" ("The leader of people's minds") as independent India's national anthem. An added feather in Tagore's cap was that another composition of his "Amar Sonar Bangla" was chosen as the national anthem of the newly born nation of Bangladesh in 1971, proving the universal relevance of Tagore's verses. He thus becomes the only individual ever to have authored the national anthem for two different countries.

One has to be great in order to lead another to greatness. Tagore was great and had led the Mahatma to even greater heights of world renown. Bertrand Russell said it all when he wrote that what Tagore had done for Europe and America, by the way of softening prejudices and removing misconceptions, was worthy of the highest honor. Like the sun after which he was named (Rabi meant the sun), he shed light and warmth on his age, vitalized the mental and moral soil of his land, and revealed unknown horizons of thought. The Mahatma walked ahead led by the sun.

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CON

Mahatma Gandhi's (October 2, 1869 to January 30, 1948) association with Rabindranath Tagore (May 7, 1861 to August 7, 1941) has been a theme of intense historical debate in shaping rich contours of modern Indian history, which led to the controversies and notion that Gandhi would not have been a world leader without the influence of Tagore. Moreover, the proposition that Tagore was essential to Gandhi was further strengthened because Gandhi addressed Tagore as "Gurudev" (Godly Preceptor) in his correspondence, meaning *teacher and guide* in Indian tradition.

It is no doubt that Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, a Nobel laureate and illustrious painter, a play and story writer, novelist, poet, singer, educator, internationalist thinker, and politician, has many golden faces, has immensely influenced the sociocultural-political movement in modern India. But it would be utterly wrong to analyze Tagore's personality and thought as an essential element in creating Gandhi as a world leader. In fact, in reality, Tagore and Gandhi's thoughts of action are two different perspectives to view Indian sociopolitical problem under British colonialism, and both of them had different

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programs of action to ameliorate the conditions of Indian people suffering under British imperialism. If we accept that Tagore was important in making Gandhi a great world personality, it would be a historically prejudiced notion, negating the role of the individual in history in attaining greatness. Greatness is formed through commitment of inner consciousness to work toward a cause developed from one's own experiments as best fits the circumstances. As well as historically, it is also unnatural to accept the argument that Gandhi was known to the world only from his Indian experiment with the truth, negating his important work carried forward in South Africa since 1893 until his entry into the Indian political scene in the 1917 Champaran movement in Bihar.

Mahatma Gandhi's addressing Tagore as "Gurudev" was more related to paying respect to a world famous poet and Nobel laureate writer rather than considering Rabindranath as a guide and teacher. A title of respect is given to those who contribute in a significant way to the society and was part of Gandhi's personality. On another occasion, one finds that Gandhi, who himself was known as Mahatma in later years, gave the title of Mahatma to Arya Samaj leader Swami Munshiram in his correspondence, later known as Swami Shraddhanand of Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar (a holy place in present-day Uttaranchal state of India) in March 1914, a year before coming to India. It is also important to note that Gandhi used the word Gurudev (first time in 1914) for Tagore as well as for Rabindranath Tagore in most of his 1920 correspondence with Tagore. Moreover, for Gandhi, Tagore had been always a poet par excellence from Bengal and not a politician, as he always referred to Tagore as a great poet, intellectual, and writer but never mentioned him as a politician in his writings, despite Tagore's active participation in the 1905 antipartition Swadeshi movement in Bengal and Gandhi's firm knowledge about that.

It was from Gopal Krishna Gokhale that Gandhi publicly acknowledged on many occasions that he learned the nuances of politics, and he was his teacher, friend, philosopher, guide, and political guru. Gandhi's firsthand detailed acquaintance with Tagore came through C. F. Andrews's lecture on the poet at City Hall, Cape Town, South Africa on February 12, 1914. He informed his political master Gopal Krishna Gokhale through a cable to Poona, India, on February 18, 1914, showing appreciation for Andrews's efforts in highlighting the works of Tagore and values of higher Indian life (Gandhi 1998: 71). Gandhi accepted this fact, and while speaking at his reception ceremony given by British and Indian friends attended by luminaries of Indian independence movement such as Sarojini Naidu, Sachidanand Sinha, Lala Lajpat Rai, and M. A. Jinnah, at Hotel Cecil in London on August 4, 1914, expressed appreciation for the efforts of C. F. Andrews, stating: "Mr. Andrews have no notion what he did; how he worked in selfless zeal, preaching love for India through his Master—the poet-saint at Bolpur [in present day West Bengal of India] whom I have come to know through Mr. Andrews—Rabindranath Tagore" (ANC website). It is also important to note that Andrews

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"Mahatma" . . . What's in a Name?

The term *Mahatma* was used in India to describe a great and inspiring teacher and is a Sanskrit word for "Great Soul." In that context it was used by Rabindranath Tagore to describe Mohandas Gandhi soon after Tagore had won the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The term started to be used to describe people in theosophical literature in the 19th century, especially by Helena P. Blavatsky. It was often used to refer to people who had gained "higher" learning in northern India, especially Tibet, being used in the title of Edwin G. Scary's book *In Search of the Mahatmas of Tibet* (1937). It has also been used pejoratively, as in Edmund Garrett's *Isis Very Much Unveiled: The Story of the Great Mahatma Hoax* (1894).

The British newspaper *The Times* first used the term Mahatma to describe Gandhi in October 1920, and two months later, it remarked "his austere asceticism and other-worldliness have earned for him the name and reputation of a mahatma, i.e. of one on whom the mantle of wisdom of the ancient Rishis of the Vedic age has fallen. As such he is outside and above caste."

was first introduced to Gandhi through Gokhale and not by Tagore. Even after the Cape Town lecture by Andrews on Tagore, Gandhi wrote from Cape Town, South Africa, to Gokhale in India on February 27, 1914: "My present ambition you know. It is be by your side as your nurse and attendant. I want to have the real discipline of obeying someone whom I love and look up to." He expressed his desire to return to India and further said, "I'm entirely in your hands. I want to learn at your feet and gain necessary experience" (Gandhi 1995c: 360–61).

Moreover, before his final return to India on January 9, 1915, Gandhi had already secured the Indian Relief Bill from the South African government and British Empire in 1914 for indentured Indians and introduced his most powerful political weapon "Satyagraha" (Sat: Truth; Agraha: firmness, later also to be utilized in his Indian struggle) based on truth and nonviolence with firmness in 1906. He had practiced it in July 1907 when a resident Indian of Germiston (South Africa), Pandit Rama Sundara, was arrested, which made Sundara the first Satyagrahi prisoner in history and famous all over South Africa at that time (Gandhi 2003: 102, 128). In addition, before his arrival to India in 1915, Gandhi had been interviewed many times by the world press and news agencies such as Reuters and South African print media such as *The Natal Mercury*, *Rand Daily Mail*, *The Transvaal Leader*, *The Star*, *Pretoria News*, *Cape Times*, and *The Cape Argus* and was known by name in world politics, apart from his own weekly media venture in South Africa titled *Indian Opinion* (1903–1961). Gandhi had already conceived the idea of Indian home rule as a soul force before meeting Tagore and written a book titled *Hind Swaraj* ("Indian Home Rule") in November 1909, while returning back to South Africa on a ship, the SS *Kildonan Castle*,

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which was published first in his weekly *Indian Opinion* prior to Annie Besant's and Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Home Rule League movements in India in 1915 and 1916, respectively (Gandhi 2003: 211).

Gandhi's first visit to Shantiniketan (a university founded by Tagore in 1901) with his Phoenix ashram teammates after arriving in India was on February 17, 1915, one month after his arrival at Bombay and was attended by his friend C. F. Andrews, as Tagore was out of station. His first face-to-face contact with Tagore was on March 5, 1915. Within two days of his arrival, Gandhi received the news of the death of Gokhale so he had to leave for Poona after two days of his stay at Shantiniketan to pay his last respects to his political guru. His visit to Shantiniketan was to learn more intimately about the poet whom he had heard much about from Andrews and to gain knowledge about the learning institution of Shantiniketan, which could be helpful in establishing his own ashram. After Shantiniketan he also visited the Gurukul of Swami Munshiram at Hardwar on April 6, 1915, as well as Mohini Ashram and Ramakrishna Mission when visiting Rishikesh before establishing his own Sabarmati Ashram or Satyagraha Ashram near Ahmadabad on May 25, 1915 (Gandhi 2001: 329). During this visit to Shantiniketan, Gandhi strictly advised his teammates to scrupulously observe his own Phoenix Ashram rules of South Africa, which itself implies following one's own ideas rather than those of Shantiniketan. It even suggested that Shantiniketan staff and Tagore dispense with the services of paid cooks and cook their own food themselves, which was gladly accepted by the poet, and he also suggested that this experiment contained the "key to Swaraj" ("self-independence") (Gandhi 2001: 317–18). One important lesson he learned from his stay at Shantiniketan was that "the Scavenger's work would be our special function in India" (Gandhi 2001: 324).

Even after his visit to Shantiniketan and meeting with Gurudev in 1915, Gandhi preferred to give instructions, in March 1921, to fellow countrymen at Berhampur Municipal Corporation (in the present-day state of Orissa in India) at a reception for him, to follow the noble traditions of Gokhale and not of Tagore; and he rebuked the members of the organizing committee for welcoming him in English language and said that "Gokhale's supreme work consisted in spiritualizing the politics of the country and national form of education was not complete without the spinning-wheel and Hindustani" (Gandhi 1994: 484).

Gandhi, who had traveled widely to the West before beginning his political career in South Africa and India, was meticulous and farsighted in his planning of Sabarmati Ashram, and his ashram list of goods included the maps of India, maps of the Bombay presidency, map of Gujarat, and, most important, the map of the world, besides utensils and other household utilities, to embark on the final journey as a great leader against British colonialism developed from his own experiences of life and experiments with truth rather than on Tagore's philosophy and help (Gandhi 1994: 86–87). Even Gandhi's first experiment with

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truth in India during the Champaran movement (in Bihar, India) in 1917 was based on his own consent and thought devised accordingly and locally as the movement progressed to success without seeking help from Tagore. It is here that he first realized face-to-face contact with God, *ahimsa* (nonviolence), and truth, while meeting peasants protesting against land revenue policy of the government. He always believed more in his own experiences of life, so he decided in consultation with his coworkers at Champaran that nothing should be done in the name of the congress, which was a practical political strategy as congress was unknown in the locality (Gandhi 1994: 343–44). Even in his great work on his experiments with truth at South Africa titled *Satyagraha in South Africa*, first published in 1928, he does not mention Tagore, further proving that the poet was not essential to Gandhi, although Gandhi could have accommodated Tagore's thoughts and works as an inspiration for the book he published when he was in India after learning about Tagore's greatness.

Gandhi was convinced that because Satyagraha was successful in South Africa it should be tried in India. "I have no doubt," he said, "that the British Government is a powerful Government, but I have no doubt also that Satyagraha is a sovereign remedy," which he later successfully experimented with at Champaran in Bihar (1917) and in Ahmedabad and Kaira in Gujarat in 1918 (Chandra et al. 2001: 122).

Gandhi and Tagore: Two Sides of a Coin of the Independence Movement in India in Their Journey toward the International Stage

Gandhi and Tagore had different perspectives toward India's amelioration against British imperialism, and these could be found much before the first major nationwide Satyagraha in India against the Rowlett Act in March 1919 on the question of vernacular language versus English language. In January 1918, when Gandhi was seeking opinions of Indian leaders on this issue to formulate a policy to promote Hindi language as the only possible language for interprovincial intercourse and for all other national proceedings, Tagore wrote back to Gandhi that "of course Hindi is the only possible national language for inter-provincial intercourse in India. But . . . I think we cannot enforce it for a long time to come" (Tagore 1996: 736). And after the noncooperation movement (January 1921–February 1922), it was endorsed in the September 1920 Calcutta Congress Special Session and December 1920 Nagpur Congress Session against British rule, and the difference of opinion widened further when Tagore criticized noncooperation programs, including promotion of Hindi. While replying to Tagore's criticism Gandhi wrote:

> The Poet does not know perhaps that English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political value. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that without English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. . . . I cannot

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> tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives, not in their own vernaculars but in English. I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave. (Gandhi 1968: vii)

Gandhi wanted the Hindi language to serve as a bridge to different languages and cultures of India and said that major works of other languages should be translated into it, differing with Tagore's proposition of continuing with English language until an appropriate time arrived. In a July 9, 1938, article in *Harijan* (started in 1933, English weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh and supervised by Gandhiji) on "Higher Education," he further advocated for vernacular languages to build India on its own heritage and says:

> I must not be understood to decry English or its noble literature. The columns of "Harijan" are sufficient evidence of my love of English. But the nobility of its literature cannot avail the Indian nation any more than the temperate climate or the scenery of England can avail her. India has to flourish in her own climate and scenery and her own literature, even though all the three may be inferior to the English climate, scenery and literature. We and our children must build on our own heritage. (Gandhi 1994: 161)

Moreover, Gandhi was smart enough to understand the criticism of a personality like Tagore to the noncooperation movement and its political ramifications, so he was always prompt in replying to every questions raised by the poet, not forgetting to mention him as a "great Poet" or even recalling Lord Harding's given title to Tagore "The Poet of Asia" or as "Dr. Tagore," not recognizing him as a politician or even Gurudev. When writing to his friend and disciple of Gurudev C. F. Andrews on March 28, 1921, from Puri, whom he used to address "Charlie" with love, he wrote that "I'm unable to agree with the implications of Gurudev's letter reproduced in the 'Tribune' and sent to me by a friend for reply in 'Young India.' I have glanced through it once and I could not help thinking that he had not understood the simple beauty and the duty of non-cooperation" (Gandhi 1994: 483).

However, he promptly replied to the poet's criticism of the noncooperation program of boycotting government schools and said:

> Nor need the Poet fear that, non-cooperation is intended to erect a Chinese wall between India and the West. On the contrary, non-cooperation is intended to pave the way to real, honorable and voluntary co-operation based on mutual respect and trust. The present struggle is being waged against compulsory co-operation, against one-sided combination, against the armed

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> imposition of modern methods of exploitation masquerading under the name of civilization. Non-cooperation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil . . .
>
> Here I must differ from him. I have never been able to make a fetish of literary training. My experiences has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character-building is independent of literary training. I'm firmly of opinion that the Government schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and godless . . .
>
> He has a horror of everything negative. His whole soul seems to rebel against the negative commandments of religion. . . .
>
> I therefore think that the Poet has been unnecessarily alarmed at the negative aspect of non-cooperation. (Gandhi 1956: 219-221)

Tagore also objected to the burning of foreign clothes when a large number of his countrymen had to go seminaked; he could also not bring himself to believe that the spinning wheel was the panacea for all the economic ills from which the country was suffering. But Gandhi justified the bonfire of foreign clothes on the grounds that their use was sinful in a twofold way. It was sinful to buy and use them in as much as they were the product of sweat labor. For him, it was also sinful because it meant so much work was taken away from our own spinners and weavers. He also replied vehemently to the poet's argument that, instead of burning foreign clothes, it would have been better to have given them away to poor people to hide their nakedness as "I must refuse to insult the naked by giving them clothes that they do not need, instead of giving them work which they sorely need" (Suda 1963: 296–97).

Gandhi was a very farsighted practical statesman to understand the changes taking place in world history due to World War I, and in his journey as a world leader, he saw a great opportunity in supporting the Khilafat questions of the Ali brothers (Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali) in 1919–1920 to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity, despite knowing that through it, it would establish an old dying institution in Turkey as opposed to embracing the changes of time, all without taking any advice from Tagore. As he writes to Khilafat leader Mahomed Ali on June 29, 1919, "I need hardly say that you are never out of my mind, although we may not for some time come to meet face to face. I am in close touch with our public men, as also with those in authority regarding the *Moslem question*" (Gandhi 1994: 404). By supporting it, he became the first Hindu politician in modern India to attract the largest support base ever achieved by any Indian of India's significant Muslim community. However, interestingly, his Satyagraha pledge taken on April 7, 1919, to observe civil disobedience against the Rowlett Bill included distribution of Mustafa Kamal Pasha's writings (Turkey's nationalist leader working

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against Khalifat) and the prohibited literature included *The Life and Address of Mustafa Kamal Pasha*, apart from *Hind Swaraj*, *Sarvodaya or Universal Dawn*, and *The Story of Satyagrahi*, written by himself (Bandhu 2003: 76).

The difference that existed between Tagore and Gandhi was acknowledged by Tagore himself to Romain Rolland in June 1926. During his visit to Rolland in Villeneuve, Switzerland, June 21–29, 1926, Tagore speaks of his differences of thought with Mahatma Gandhi, and eminent writer Rolland captures the thought of the poet in his diary notes and writes, "He shows [poet] that in supporting the Indian Muslims as he did in the Khilafat affair Gandhi was not working, as he hoped, for the unity of India, but for the pride and force of Islam, factors which are at present emerging in violent Hindu-Muslim disturbances of which latter, cunningly supported by the British Government, are the instigators." He further writes that "Gandhi avoided a direct reply (as he often does) to the question of foreign cloth as an impure objects, and he believed in idolatry for the people of India. To which Tagore replies that this means he believes that the Indian people need lies, and if the people need lies, they have no right to liberty" (Rolland 1990: 61–62).

On the question of caste differences and untouchability, according to Tagore, "Gandhi has never sought to breach caste divisions [this is another of the points for which Tagore finds it hard to forgive him]. . . . No doubt for Gandhi this is a question of choosing the right moment. At present Gandhi wants to solve the political problem, which is relatively easy. He does not want to tackle the infinitely more complex and dangerous social problem yet" (Rolland 1990: 63). But for Tagore, how can one solve the political problem without first solving the social problem? It is like building one's house on sand. Tagore felt disappointed when Gandhi actively entered into Indian politics. He deplored that the overflowing wealth of Gandhi's love and faith should be made to serve political ends. Rabindranath felt exceedingly sorry that a precious treasure like the Mahatma "should be cast out on the frail barque of politics and subjected to the incessant lashing of the waves of conflicting and irritated passions" and regretted that Gandhi had wasted his spiritual resources upon political ends (Rolland 1990: 295).

Mahatma's difference with Tagore became a great public controversy over Gandhi's preference for instinctive faith over the claims of scientific inquiry when he pronounced that the devastating earthquake in Bihar in 1934 was a "divine chastisement" for the sin of untouchability. And Rabindranath Tagore reacted very strongly and criticized Gandhi not only for implying that God, in inflicting punishment upon sinners, was unable to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent, since an earthquake is indiscriminate in its destruction, but also for strengthening the forces of unreason which fostered the belief that cosmic phenomenon had something to do with the fate of human beings on Earth. However, Gandhi stuck to his position with his characteristic firmness and refused to entertain questions about the rationality of divine action and replied that "I'm not affected by posers such as 'why punishment for an age-old sin' or 'why punishment to Bihar and not

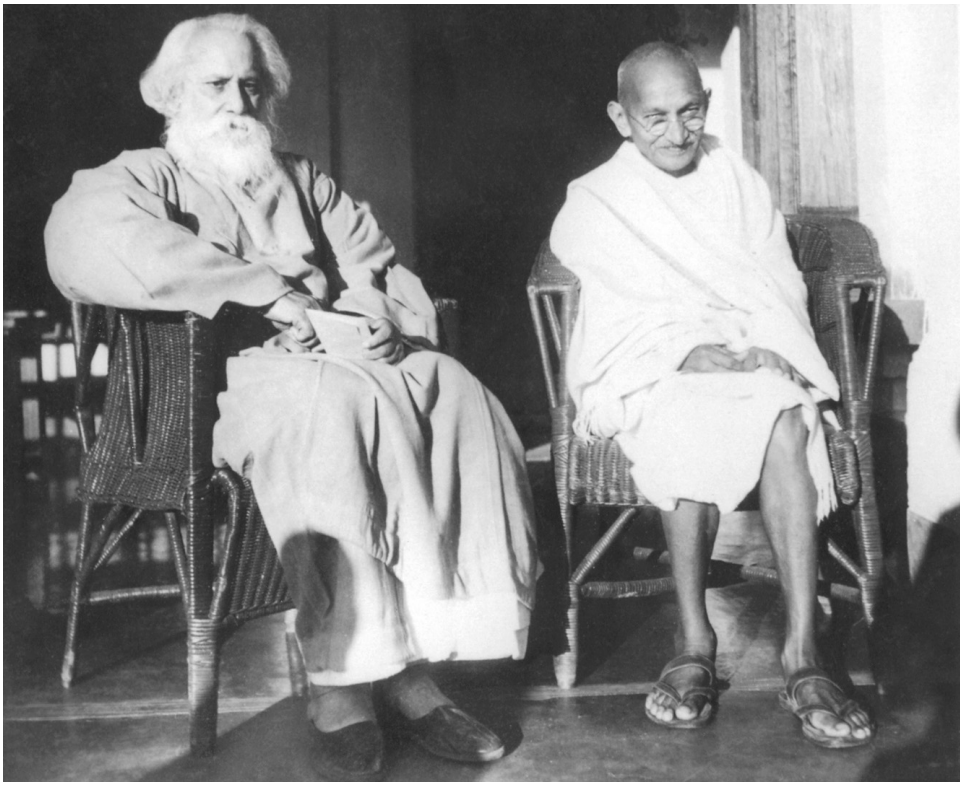
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to the South' or 'why an earthquake and not some other form of punishment.' My answer is: I am not God. Therefore I have but a limited knowledge of his purpose" (Raghuramaraju 2006: 88–89). Gandhi's answer of divine judgment to earthquake for the sin of untouchability was guided, seeing a vast populace of India believed more in divine faith and judgment of God rather than scientific inquiry, which might have prompted him as a practical statesman to utilize this great opportunity to strike hard in removing social evil from the Indian way of life through faith rather than going with Tagore's vision of reasoning. It is important to note that a year before the Bihar earthquake in 1934 he had started his weekly English magazine *Harijan* to raise the issue of untouchability and the depressed class. And two years prior to that, in August 1932, he had faced the political challenge and crisis of the communal award to that depressed class intended to divide the Indian community by Ramsay MacDonald and the British Empire, as well as the emergence and challenge of new leadership of downtrodden Indian society of B. R. Ambedkar, which ultimately resulted in compromise through the Poona pact of September 24, 1932, with Ambedkar.

For Tagore, India's real problem is not a political one but rather a social one. An avid reader once asked Gandhi in November 1920: "Dr. Tagore says in his book on 'Nationalism' 'no enduring political freedom can be built in this country on the quicksands of social slavery' . . . and I know that you too were of this opinion some time ago," to which Gandhi replied, defending his new position of political action differing with Tagore, that, "I adhere to my statement that amelioration of radical social evils meant an attainment of swaraj, but I did not then realize that the British Government was the greatest of all the social evils with which society was cursed" (Gandhi 1994: 486–87).

It is not to Tagore but rather to American writer Henry David Thoreau and Russian writer Leo Tolstoy to whom Gandhi acknowledges that he based some of his writings and to whom he owes some of his thought, such as from *Civil Disobedience*. However, in actuality the thought developed by Thoreau was taken from an English translation of the "Upanishads" that had found its way into the Harvard library in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the 1820s and was read by the young American writer. In it he found a concept of human dignity and endeavor that he gradually evolved into a theory of nonviolent social and political action. In the 1850s Thoreau, who demonstrated his belief in his own doctrine by going to jail in protest against what he considered an unjust law, spelled out his new concept in a pamphlet he titled "Civil Disobedience." Eventually this pamphlet found its way into the hands of Leo Tolstoy in Russia, who sent a copy to Gandhi in South Africa (Bowles 1969: 172–73). So the ideology that started from one place reached into the hands of a worthy torchbearer of Indian tradition and culture who began to practice it with his experiments with truth and who is always modest to acknowledge that "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills" (Gandhi 1948: 13).

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Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi at Santiniketan (West Bengal), February 18, 1940. (DPA/The Image Works)

More important, if Tagore had been essential to Gandhi's success as a world leader, then other imminent leaders of the world such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Nelson Mandela, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi would have also recognized Tagore together with Gandhi in guiding their political actions.

However, it was Gandhian philosophy in Martin Luther's vision that captured the imagination of an entire generation of Americans, particularly young Americans, who gladly found a path to relinquish their prejudices and inhibitions. When Gandhi suggested many years ago that it may be the blacks who deliver "the unadulterated message of non-violence to the world," he demonstrated once again his extraordinary insight into the mind of a true world leader that evolved through his experiences of life (Bowles 1969: 171).

How much Gandhi and Tagore's personalities differed from each other has been best described by Romain Rolland in his diary notes of June 1926:

> Tagore and Gandhi, two races of men and classes, one the aristocratic, the prince and other the popular Guru, the duel being between the prophet of religious and political action who scorns and debase intellectual values before

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> the divine word and moral values—and the supreme Artist, who lives in the firmament of his intellectual dream world. (Bowles 1969: 65)

However, these differences do not dispute the fact that Gandhi lacked any regard for Gurudev, which would be unnatural to his personality and philosophy to undermine and disrespect even enemies of his thought of action. Gandhi always wanted to place Tagore as a great poet and not as his political master and guide in his journey toward world leader. Moreover, it is interesting to note that it was not Tagore who was essential to Gandhi, but Tagore considered himself a disciple of Gandhi and wrote a poem titled "Aamraa Gandhi Mahaarajair Shishya" ("We are disciples of Mahatma Gandhi") when the Mahatma was visiting Shantiniketan to see ailing Gurudev in 1941, a few months before his death (Prasad and Tagore 2001: xiv).

Despite many differences on thought of action, Gandhi's reverence to Gurudev could be assessed from the fact that for a while he also considered accepting the presidency of Visvabharati to carry forward the works of the poet one month after Gurudev's death. As he wrote to Rathindranath Tagore on September 8, 1941, "If you and others want me to be President of Visvabharati, I must discuss the project with you. My whole soul is with you all in wishing to keep the triple institution (Visvabharati, Santiniketan and Sriniketan) fully worthy of Gurudev" (Gandhi 1998a: 303). However, due to his political engagement, constructive program, and old age, he refused to take the presidency of Visvabharati, and while congratulating the new president Abhanindra, he wrote to Rathindranath Tagore on September 19, 1941, "I would only have accepted the responsibility if I could not have escaped it. At my time of life the natural desire is to lessen the burdens, not to add to them" (Gandhi 1998a: 357). For Gandhi, the poet was himself an "institution," and he even felt the loss of Gurudev in 1944 after three years of the death of poet (Gandhi 1999: 407–8).

Gandhi was fully aware of his and Gurudev's work in the place of world history, even before his launch of the Quit India movement in August 1942. He wrote on August 30, 1941, that "Sarvodaya is for the Udaya—rise—of Sarva—all. Gurudev also longed to serve the world through India and breathed his last while doing so. He is gone but his experiment is unfinished. His mortal remains are no more but his soul is immortal like *ours*" (Gandhi 1999: 276). However, after the death of Tagore on August 7, 1941, when he was invited by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (president of All India Hindu Mahasabha) to preside over a meeting to pay tribute to Gurudev at Calcutta, he refused to participate because it conflicted with his engagement to raise money for Andrews's memorial fund (Gandhi 1999: 232).

Gandhi became a great world leader because of his experiments with truth through nonviolent political actions at South Africa (1893–1914), and in India through his programs of Satyagraha at Champaran (1917), Kaira (1918),

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Ahmedabad (1918), and the noncooperation movement (1920–1922), the civil disobedience movement (1930–1934), and the Quit India movement (1942); ultimately securing freedom from the British Empire. Tagore was not alive to guide him in the Quit India movement, and Gandhi had distanced himself from him a few years prior when Subhas Chandra Bose contested the election against Pattabhi Sitaramayya at the Tripuri Congress session in 1939 and differed with him in noncooperation programs in South Africa, Champaran, Kaida, and Ahmedabad. He would have not become a great world leader if his programs had failed and not secured freedom from the British colonialism. It would be a great historical injustice to assess Gandhi as coming out of the womb of thought of Tagore and making Tagore essential to Gandhi in making him a world leader; which would also undermine the personality and words of Albert Einstein on Gandhi, that, "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth" (Einstein 1985: 78).

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8

Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent.

PRO	Annessa Babic
CON	Arthur K. Steinberg

PRO

After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, communism no longer lingered as a theory or ideological threat. The turnover of Russia's regime its withdrawal from World War I—which coincided with the U.S. entry into the European Front—led to pandemonium throughout much of the Allied countries. The United States experienced this fear and hysteria of communism, its perceived infiltration into U.S. society, and its effects on political and moral order. The United States had a small number of radicals; most notably a small number of groups that caused a series of bombings in 1919. In April 1919 the post office intercepted several mail bombs, and in June eight bombs exploded in eight cities within minutes of one another. This suggestion that there was a national conspiracy of revolution and communism led 30 states to enact peacetime sedition laws. Revolution, which had been the founding of the American republic, now became a crime on the local and national levels.

These acts of suppression continued to escalate as Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and his assistant J. Edgar Hoover led a series of raids on suspected radicals beginning New Year's 1920. Approximately 6,000 people were arrested, most released, but about 500 noncitizens found themselves deported. The fears of this scare quickly subsided, as these things often do, but in May 1920 some of the greatest effects of the Red Scare erupted in Braintree, Massachusetts. There, police hastily charged two Italian immigrants with the murder of a paymaster and his guard. This murder, and subsequent arrest, not only put Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in history books but it also shocked the nation and world.

Early Life

Sacco immigrated to the United States at 17 from Torremaggiore, Foggia, and Vanzetti came to the United States from Villafalletto, Cuneo. They came to the United States in 1908; they did not meet until 1917. Circa 1917 the two immigrated to Mexico to avoid conscription into the army during World War I, and they came back to the United States in 1920. The duo settled in Massachusetts

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and quickly made roots in the local anarchist community. They most likely met through anarchist meetings under the discipline of Luigi Galleani. Galleani was an Italian anarchist who called for revolutionary violence. A handful of his supporters were arrested or questioned for their activities, and just two days before their arrest, Andrea Salsedo fell to his death while being questioned. This incident, along with the intense antianarchist campaigns spreading throughout the country, led many Galleanists to go underground for their own protection.

Politics of the Moment

As Sacco and Vanzetti were charged with the murder of the Braintree paymaster, the country stood in the midst of its own senses of social chaos. The ending of World War I brought more than just the fear of communism infiltrating and destroying American life. On January 16, 1920, the 18th Amendment was passed, making prohibition a national law, and on August 26 the 19th Amendment gave women the franchise. Also in 1920 the United States saw more urban dwellers than those in rural communities for the first time, and conservative Warren G. Harding won the presidency. Amid these political moments the gross national product stood at $91.5 billion, up from $35.3 billion in 1910, and the population rose to 105,710,620 (from 91,972,266 in 1910, a 14.9 percent increase). The increasing population in 1920 was about 5 percent more than the 1910 figures, but might have been greater had it not been for the immigration restrictions during the war years and restrictive immigration acts within the United States. Beginning in 1921 the U.S. Congress began systematically to restrict immigration from nonwhite, non-European countries. As early as 1790 Congress passed laws concerning newcomers, but the Immigration Act of 1921 restricted immigrants to 150,000 and 2 percent of the 1890 census. The 1890 census served as the starting point for this legislation because Frederick Jackson Turner declared the frontier closed as of 1890. Also, the 1890 census showed few, if any, immigrants from Asia and southern Europe. These pieces of legislation directly correlate to the rise of nativism inside the United States.

The ferocity of World War I birthed a new sense of patriotism throughout the United States. German Americans, socialists, anarchists, communists, and anyone who did not fit the ideal of the mainstream American faced the ugly wrath of suppression and becoming a target. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the Socialist Party were the center of many grassroots political discussions of the era. The IWW, primarily located in the northwest, fell under the leadership of Bill Haywood; Eugene Debs led the Socialist Party. These groups openly opposed U.S. entry into the war, and accordingly they became targets for local and federal campaigns seeking out individuals acting unpatriotic or un-American. In January 1919 building hostilities surmounted, and on January 21, 35,000 shipyard workers struck. In February a total of 60,000 Seattle area workers joined the ranks of

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strikers, and the sheer number and quick rise of unity among the workers accelerated already rising tensions throughout the nation.

The Seattle strike represented what World War I brought to the warfront and what the postwar world meant to the worker and typical American. Life and war were now mechanized, death tolls were higher, and as in the case of the strike, workers joined in larger groups of solidarity to voice themselves. In the initial shock of the strike, most denoted it at as a Wobbly action, but in later years that was reputed. Seattle Mayor Ole Hansen announced that he had equal numbers of city policemen and federal troops to quell the labor unrest. This announcement came from the fear that Seattle would be paralyzed from the strike. These claims circulated throughout national media outlets, and pressure mounted in Seattle to end the strike. On February 10 the strike ended because its leaders saw the potential for it to damage the labor movement and be unsuccessful. The mayor took credit for the strike, and he later used it as part of his public speaking engagements about the importance of quelling communism.

A series of bombs continued to fuel the communist fires in the United States. On May Day 1919 rallies and riots occurred throughout the country, with Boston, New York, and Cleveland hit the hardest. In April and June bomb plots were thwarted, but media coverage of the events increased the perceived need to seek and stop enemies and anarchists. As the fall of 1919 approached, tensions did not ease the average American's mind. In September the Boston police force went on strike, which fueled a panic that the Boston police force was being taken over by the "Reds," which not only overtook the city but also the nation. Within four days, the police commissioner announced that the striking police would be returning to their jobs, the strike ended, but labor unrest did not. In September, steel workers united across the country. The strike began with 275,000 and quickly rose to 365,000 employees. Yet, even with these large numbers of rising strikers, steel owners held fast, and by January 1920 fewer than one-third of the strikers held fast to their positions. The strikes ended without the owners conceding to a single worker demand.

In the midst of these strikes U.S. veterans united under the new front of the American Legion. The legion, which is now the largest and most active veterans' organization, began in Saint Louis in 1919, under the auspices of protecting veterans, promoting the nation, and seeking to lead the front against the "Reds" in the United States. The legion quickly built itself up as presence throughout the nation, and by the mid-1920s, fighting Reds became synonymous with the legion and the federal government's new offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The FBI compiled over 200,000 cards on radical organizations throughout the decade, and on January 2, 1920, the Palmer Raids arrested thousands in 33 cities.

By the spring of 1920 the national mood began to soften, and media attention began to shift its focus away from the suppression of Reds. In May several prominent attorneys issued their report about violations of civil liberties. Some

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of these attorneys were Harvard professors Dean Pound, Zachariah Chaffee, and Felix Frankfurter. Frankfurter later became a famed Supreme Court justice. This report also arose from New York State, removing several elected socialists from office, and momentary voices of reason continued to be heard as the fear of communism bred the horror of censorship, alienating the larger U.S. public. Unfortunately, these voices of reason did not come soon or loud enough for Sacco and Vanzetti.

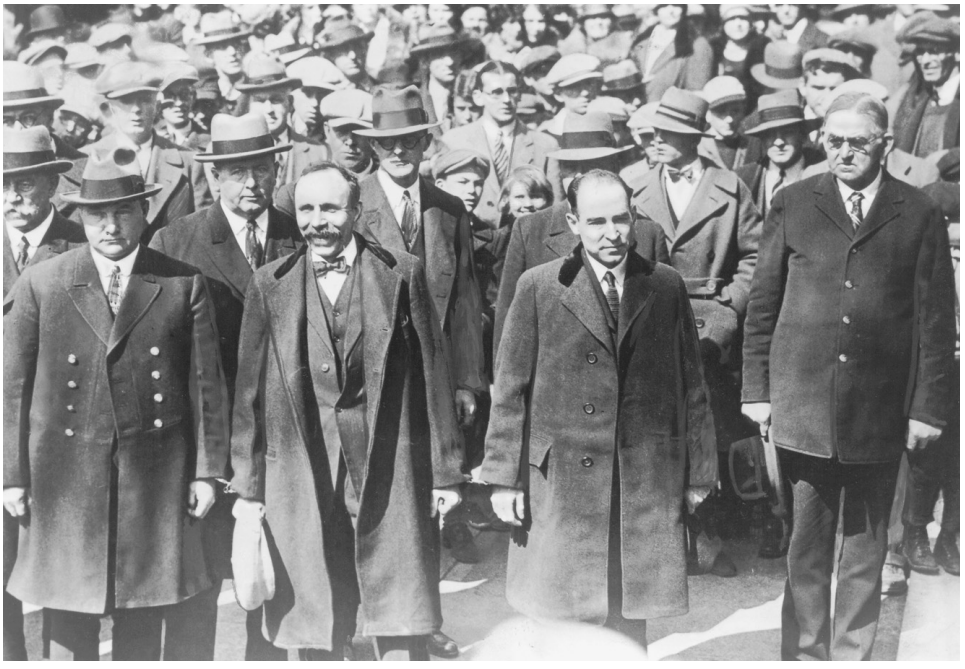
The Charges, Trial, and Conviction

On April 15, 1920, F. A. Parmenter and Alessandro Berardelli were gunned down in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Parmenter was a shoe factory paymaster, and Berardelli was his guard. Initial reports claimed there were two gunmen, who escaped capture, and reports noted that they took about $15,000 in cash. The crime itself was not that uncommon in postwar America. Robberies and other acts of lawlessness were common in working-class towns and communities in postwar America, as individuals scrambled to make ends meet, and criminal subcultures rose in the era.

Originally Sacco and Vanzetti had not been suspects in the crime, but three weeks after the shootings they fell into a police trap intended to nab a suspect in another Braintree crime. They were arrested at Boda's Garage, while attempting to obtain a car that fit the description of one seen near the crimes. The pair, both carrying weapons at the time of arrest, lied to police about their whereabouts and weapons. The basis of their arrests resided on the facts that Sacco owned a pistol like the one used in the Braintree shooting, and the two were attempting to reclaim an automobile that had been seen in the area of the murders. They knew little English, and they most likely lied to hide their Italian heritage. Racism raged in the United States, and prohibition had led to the quick rise of Italian mafia groups. Many Italians changed their names and continually fought the stereotype of being mobsters. They were officially indicted on September 11, 1920. Vanzetti was also charged with a December 24, 1919, robbery in Bridgewater. With the pending charges of the Braintree murders looming over his head, Vanzetti first stood trial for the Bridgewater crime in the summer of 1920. His standing trial for the crimes separately broke Massachusetts's court tradition, but as history would show, the Braintree trials were about to make national and international headlines. With historian's hindsight, the outcome of the Bridgewater trial set the tone and precedent for the Braintree crimes. Vanzetti was found guilty of the botched Bridgewater robbery, even though he had a sound alibi and witnesses to attest that he was not there. He received a harsh sentence of 10 to 15 years for attempted robbery with no injuries.

After the shockingly harsh ruling in the Bridgewater case, Fred H. Moore was brought in as the defense attorney. Moore suited the bill for a defense

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Bartolomeo Vanzetti (center left) and Nicola Sacco (center right), immigrant Italian anarchists convicted in a 1920 armed robbery and murder, enter the Dedham, Massachusetts, courthouse in handcuffs. (Library of Congress)

attorney on the case as his work on the West Coast in labor disputes with the IWW and the Ettor-Giovannitti case brought him fame. The recently formed American Civil Liberties Union hired him for his radical nature and political expertise. The latter reference derived from a 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts. When Moore took the case, he pulled upon his own socialist beliefs and the rising fear of anarchists in the United States. He grounded his defense on acknowledging the anarchist activities of the Sacco and Vanzetti, arguing that their arrests derived from political motives over judicial ones. Moore believed that the prosecution was following suit of federal authorities and targeting radical groups and individuals who did not blend with the U.S. ideal. During the trial, he attempted to connect the actions of the Braintree police to the likeness of the Palmer Raids in 1919. Moore utilized familiar grassroots techniques to build a public defense for Sacco and Vanzetti. He organized meetings, began new investigations, and pulled for union and international support of the duo. He even enlisted the help of the Italian government, much to the chagrin of U.S.-based anarchists. Although Moore's efforts would be in vain, they did turn the case into an international cause.

The actual trial lasted six weeks (beginning on May 21, 1921), a lengthy time period indeed, and on July 14, 1921, the jury found Sacco and Vanzetti guilty.

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Their guilty verdict came in the face of conflicting evidence; testaments to gang activity in Braintree (most notable the Morelli Gang), and a confession by Celestino Madeiros (a convicted bank robber) in 1925 to the Braintree murders did little for the defendants. Of the eyewitness accounts of the murders, the testimony fell apart on cross-examination. More so, the defense had several accounts stating that Sacco and Vanzetti were in Boston when the shootings occurred. To compound the controversy of the case, the prosecutor—Frederick G. Katzmann—continually brought the defendants' political actions into the courtroom. Clearly, he attempted to use politics as a motive for conviction.

The prosecution had seven eyewitnesses stating that Sacco was seen with the bandits after the Braintree murders, and when the defense cross-examined these individuals, none of them could concretely state they saw either defendant in the area of the crimes. As a side note, none of the witnesses were required to pick Sacco out of a lineup, and most could not identify him. Ballistic experts for the defense testified that the third bullet could not have been fired from Sacco's revolver, and the prosecution had a witness who attested that the bullet's scratches came from a defect in the Sacco's Colt chamber. Prosecutors claimed that a cap, with earflaps, belonged to Sacco. It was found at the scene, and testimony attributed its hole from the nail he hung it on at his place of employment. Sacco, in contrast, claimed that he did not own such a cap and when he tried it one he stated that it did not fit. The prosecutor argued that it did fit. Sacco testified that he was in Boston, at a consulate clerk's office, on the day of the shooting. The clerk, who saw several people per day, could not remember him. The prosecution hounded on this lack of memory as evidence that Sacco lied about his whereabouts, even though seven witnesses claimed seeing Sacco in a Boston eatery.

The evidence for and against Vanzetti followed the same trends at that for Sacco. Four witnesses placed Vanzetti at the crime scene; with one saying he was spotted at the train station, one saying he was driving the car, one declaring he was in the passenger seat, and one placing him in the back of a car a few blocks away. At the time of arrest Vanzetti carried a .38 caliber Harrington and Richardson revolver, which was also the weapon the guard had carried. Both guns had repaired hammers. Vanzetti claimed to have bought the piece at a local store, but he could not remember the name of the shop. Yet, during the trial Vanzetti testified that he bought the weapon from his friend Falzini for protection. He claimed the rise in hold-ups made him fearful of carrying cash from his fish-peddling business. Vanzetti testified that he went to Bridgewater to collect anarchist literature, but as with the gun story he could not remember where he went. At the time of his arrest he claimed he was in Bridgewater to collect the car that he and Sacco were arrested trying to retrieve. Moore omitted from trial testimony that Sacco and Vanzetti were actually retrieving the car so they could collect dynamite. The defense felt this revelation would have fueled the political fires already enveloping the case.

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Even more controversial than the conflicting testimonies and lies of the defendants was the behavior of Judge Webster Thayer. He had also sentenced Vanzetti to the extremely harsh ruling in the Bridgewater case. Judge Thayer made his contempt for the Italian duo evident as he continually threw out evidence and testimony in the case. The statements he threw out were from known anarchists and immigrants, mostly Italian. He stated the Madeiros confession was not substantial evidence to acquit Sacco and Vanzetti, and he vehemently declared it did not justify a new trial. Judge Thayer's actions demonstrated the rise of nativism in the United States, and his clear disdain for the Italian men can be linked to the continual and rising racial relations circumventing the nation. The Massachusetts Supreme Court reviewed the case but ruled in favor of the prosecution in 1926 (*Commonwealth v. Sacco and Vanzetti*, 255 Mass. 369, 151 N.E. 839 [1926]). Attempts to save the duo lasted until 1927.

Throughout the trial, and after, the actions of Moore captivated the local and national media. His use of media foreshadows later 20th-century trials that utilized the media to pull on public opinion and racism. Most notably, a comparison can be made to the use of media in the 1995 murder trial of O. J. Simpson. Simpson was acquitted of the 1994 murder of his ex-wife and her friend, but the use of media outlets certainly compares the sensationalism of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Also, Simpson was asked to try on a pair of gloves (found at the crime scene) and defense attorney Johnnie Cochran famously quipped "if they do not fit you must acquit." As the prosecution argued the cap fit Sacco, Simpson's prosecutors claimed the same.

Judge Webster Thayer

Webster Thayer was the judge who presided over the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Born on July 7, 1857, at Blackstone, Massachusetts, his father, Samuel Thayer, was a butcher. Educated at Worcester Academy and Dartmouth College, he then became involved in state politics, initially as a democrat and then as a republican. In 1917 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

Before his involvement in the Sacco and Vanzetti case, Thayer had been particularly critical of anarchists. At the end of a trial of Segris Zagroff in 1920, Thayer was angry that the jury had acquitted Zagroff, a self-confessed anarchist, and rebuked the foreman of the jury, claiming that the jury had clearly not listened to the evidence.

During the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, Thayer was once again accused of bias, and his actions were widely criticized. However, unlike the Zagroff case, some of the jury went so far as to praise Thayer. After the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, Thayer's house was bombed on September 27, 1932, and his wife and housekeeper were both injured. He moved to the University Club in Boston where he remained under guard until his death on April 18 of the following year.

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Moore raised the large sums of money needed to utilize the media largely from working-class groups, and when he offered a reward for information as to the real criminals, the defendants even questioned his strategy. In 1924 Moore was ousted as defending council, to be replaced with William Thompson. Thompson, a Brahmin, was well respected in Boston and he sought to protect the reputation of Massachusetts law and the defendants. Initially, he did not care for the political actions and opinions of the duo, but as the trial progressed he publically stated that he deeply admired their dedication and determination. Thompson attempted to downplay the political natures of the case, but the fires on this front had already been ignited.

Political and social circles continued to analyze the case, and law professors continually used the case in lectures and briefs. Felix Frankfurter, future Supreme Court justice, saw the case a test of the U.S. justice system. As the Sacco-Vanzetti appeal waned, on protestors, conservative and liberal alike, stood in defense of the defendants. These individuals rallied under the guise of protecting the American ideal of innocent until proven guilty.

Even after this much publicized retrial Sacco and Vanzetti were still found guilty and finally sentenced to death on April 9, 1927. Public outcry—and international protests in cities like Paris, London, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires—caused the Massachusetts governor to temporarily consider a clemency for the two men. He went so far as to appoint a committee on the matter—dubbed the Lowell Committee—and the committee claimed that the trials and judicial process had been fair and just in regard to Sacco and Vanzetti. The Lowell Committee got its name from A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, its most prominent member. Members of the committee remarked that witnesses seemed more certain of their testimony during the trial than they did immediately after the crimes. As criticism rose, Harvard alum even dubbed the university as "Hangman's House."

The duo faced their fate on April 23, 1927, when they died in the electric chair.

Aftermath

In the aftermath of the trial in Boston, the nation and the international community looked on with awe, shock, and wonder. After their execution, Sacco and Vanzetti received an elaborate funeral, somewhat similar to the spectacle seen with the initial martyrs of the Boston massacre. Sacco and Vanzetti's procession began on the north end of the city and ended at Forest Hill Cemetery. Their bodies were cremated there.

In 1927 the debate continued to boil about the innocence of the two men, vigilantism guised under the law and racist tensions continually colored the arguments. Yet, the horrors of the Sacco-Vanzetti case quickly faded into the

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background of the U.S. psyche as labor disputes increased and the economy tumbled. The October 18, 1927, coal strike forced the nation to begin reexamining itself. Colorado coal miners, under the IWW, joined in unison and urged miners across the nation to strike for their own rights and in protest of the Sacco-Vanzetti execution. In total 117 mines closed during the strike, and the federal government had to intervene on behalf of the mine owners. The fear of socialism continued to surge in waves, but by October 1929, the nation had to focus on the failing economy. Socialism, corrupt businesses, unchecked capitalism, and the government took parts of the blame. Yet, the uncertainty and disdain left behind by the Sacco-Vanzetti sensational trial did not quell racism and the Red scares of the post–World War II era from rocking the nation again.

Conclusion

Scholars and amateurs have continually reexamined the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. The most damning evidence surfaced in 1961 and 1977 with the aid of forensic science. In 1961 ballistic testing confirmed that bullet number three did come from Sacco's weapon, and in 1977 reports clarified that Bereradilli's revolver was a .32 and not a .38. This new evidence sheds a stronger shadow of guilt on Sacco, while seemingly exonerating Vanzetti. Scholars generally agree that Vanzetti was innocent of the Braintree crime, and that Sacco should not have been convicted under the circumstantial evidence given.

Yet, when Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted they did not receive a fair and just trial. They stood trial in a crowded court room, listened to prosecution witnesses give continually changing and flimsy accounts of the crimes, and watched as the reporters and onlookers spun the story for the biggest audience. When looking at the sensational nature of the trial, the onlooker can easily see how witnesses may have testified so they would have a slice of the glamour. More so, the rise of mafia units in the wake of prohibition—particularly Italian ones—heightened tensions against immigrants. Also, Italy stood as one of the causes of outbreak of World War I, which increased shaky Italian race relations in the United States. It is clear that in 1920 and 1927 the evidence did not support a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. At the time, the duo merely stood as a national sacrifice to show strength and determination for quelling anarchists, communists, and activities not directly correlated with the American sense of democracy.

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CON

The jury system entered American jurisprudence as a result of the Magna Carta of 1215, first signed by an English sovereign, John, and his assembled nobility. John had violated many of his common law obligations to the royalty of the English realm. The duties and obligations agreed upon by king and nobility under papal compulsion became a contractual agreement, and they are the foundation of the "due process" system memorialized in the American Bill of Rights and the U.S. Constitution.

An element of the Magna Carta was the granting of a criminal trial by jury of one's peers, usually composed of 12 men impaneled according to jurisdictional methods that do not violate the Constitution. The 12 chosen from a "pool" were originally of like kind in England and the American colonies; they were neighbors probably of similar trades and religion. Since their selection was from a small geographic area, their interests and prejudices were common. When an individual comes to court for a jury composed of his "peers," the law protects him.

Sacco and Vanzetti arrived in Boston, immigrants from Italy ca. 1919. They represented the new immigration, people from southeast and Eastern Europe whose whole culture was quite different from that of the old immigration. Their culture, habits, food, language, and smell caused consternation among the Brahmin culture of staid Boston. Massachusetts was not prepared for the self-proclaimed radicals espousing violence and revolution, especially from two Catholic Italian immigrants whose manner and presence were repugnant to the Boston Protestants.

Local society easily blamed these self-proclaimed disseminators of violence as tools of the same movement caused by violent immigrants from the nascent Soviet Union's godless communism. Americans remembered the Great War and

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tsarist Russia's treachery in unilaterally withdrawing from the war to the detriment of the Christian West. The United States had been so concerned that she sent aid to several monarchist tsarist Russians in an effort to defeat Lenin and his cohorts in their civil war. It was these anarchist immigrants who believed in terror and violence as a way to replace Western values with communism and bolshevism.

A. Mitchell Palmer, President Wilson's attorney general, used his federal legal authority to wage a war against the disturbers of American society. He feared the fabric of society was endangered. With wide public support, he attacked venues he perceived as propagating alien values. He used extrajudicial means and detained people without warrants, smashing offices of groups he believed subversive without any semblance of due process. In 1919 he instituted the Palmer Raids and arrested 249 alleged revolutionaries and anarchists who were placed on the "Ark," the *Buford*, against their will, for immediate deportation.

Societal fears were not confined to any one group. A man was sentenced to six months in jail without due process for stating Lenin was not stupid. In Chicago a sailor shot another who did not rise to the national anthem during this period, the Red scare. Anti-immigration sentiment was common. Sacco and Vanzetti were two Italian laborers who had immigrated to the United States before the political and social atmosphere became anti-East and-southern European.

The Sacco-Vanzetti affair erupted at a time when many "real" Americans opposed the influx of strangers. A murder occurred in Boston on April 15, 1920, where two unidentified men in Braintree, a Boston suburb, committed a robbery and murdered one security employee and wounded another responsible for the Slater and Morrill Shoe Companies payroll. The evidence indicated that on Thursday at 9:18 A.M. a train arrived carrying a strong box containing a $30,000 payroll for the plant employees. Shelly Neal, an American Express employee, transported the box to his office on Railroad Avenue. He observed a touring car; he thought it was a Buick, and was not certain as to its make, year, or license number. He never informed the court or attorneys to whom he made the observation because he should have been concerned with delivering the box contents safely and couldn't guarantee the veracity of his observations. He delivered the box to Frederick Parameter whose office was in the company building. The plan was to deliver one of the canvas bags to the shoe company management building.

Neal took the bag for the manufacturing plant up an internal staircase and left it with Parameter. Prior to delivery to the factory, he allegedly divided the $15,776 among the 700 factory workers, but no testimony was introduced that the funds had been distributed to the various employees. Could Neal and his possible confederates have taken the funds or part of the amount for their private needs? At 3:00 P.M. Parameter and guard Alessandra Bernardelli took their usual route up Pearl Street with the factory funds. Parameter carried a .32 calibers Colt and Bernardelli a .38 Harrington.

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They had to cross railroad tracks, and as they waited for the guardrail to rise, two men appeared with drawn revolvers. Parameter died and Bernardilli received four bullet wounds. The two unidentified men seized the two payroll boxes and climbed into a waiting vehicle that already had two passengers. As the vehicle sped away, someone fired shots in the direction of the getaway car.

None of the security people had their employment records examined for either a criminal or fiscal background check. Evidence may have indicated financial problems existed for one of the parties involved, an error committed by the defense attorney. Witnesses told police that the robbers and killers spoke Italian. None of the witnesses indicated they knew Italian or any language used in southern or East Europe, but did allege that the two fled in a Buick. Was it blue? What model was it? An Overland? James Bostock gave the police four shell casings with the hope that ballistics would identify the murder weapon, but no indication was presented that it belonged to Sacco, Vanzetti, or who fired it. No evidence was offered by the defense alleging that someone had stolen the guns.

Two days after the robbery and murder, two hunters discovered an abandoned Buick in the woods without license plates with the rear window shattered. No evidence was offered as to the reasons for the window's condition; there were no shell casings in or around the vehicle but a spare set of tires lay next to the car. Someone called the police to report a stolen and damaged vehicle. Police Chief Stewart believed the Braintree robbery and murder represented a pattern; a failed burglary occurred with a blue car on December 24, 1919. He sought to link the two crimes, but his opinion was conjecture. Again, unidentified witnesses swore the robbers spoke Italian. Their general description was "similar" to the appearance of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The chief, aware of the impending deportation of Ferruicco Coacci who also worked at Slater and Morrill, knew this admitted anarchist was scheduled to leave the United States on April 15. Coacci waited until April 18. Stewart believed he was involved in the Braintree incident because he was eager to return to Italy. The chief surmised Coacci participated because he had no money, which would provide the motive for his actions. There was also no evidence linking him to the Buick nor was any money found on him.

Stewart went to Coacci's rented house without a search warrant and met Mario Buda who informed the police of a Buick in a local garage. It was not being repaired. Stewart left and returned on May 1, but found everyone gone.

Chief Stewart persisted and located the car, an Overland, at the Elm Street garage where he found a Buick with an undamaged rear window. He asked the owner's wife to call the police when someone came for the vehicle. She did call Stewart secretly, she thought. On May 5, Buda appeared with three Italian friends, none of whom were described as Sacco and Vanzetti. They became nervous. There is some question whether Buda knew of the call to the police. Buda and another person hastily left the garage on a motorcycle. The others,

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Sacco and Vanzetti, took a streetcar but were arrested at the station because of Stewart's fast work.

They were taken to the police station and subjected to a lineup but were not identified as having been involved in Braintree. They spoke English, but to what degree is not known. When arrested, they carried anarchist materials and Sacco had a .32 Colt revolver. Even though Vanzetti had a weapon he denied, the police found it. His reason for carrying the weapon was that he was a fish merchant who carried large amounts of cash. He feared being robbed. When asked why he lied, he did not have an answer. Stewart now believed he had enough evidence to connect Sacco, Vanzetti, Buda, and Coacci with Braintree. Stewart then obtained a warrant.

Obtaining a warrant was only the beginning of building a case; Stewart realized he needed someone more skillful at interrogation. The state prosecutor, District Attorney Frederick Katzmann, conducted the interrogation. Katzmann had no evidence that Sacco had fired his .32 Colt, and Vanzetti again informed the prosecutor he had a gun to protect himself because he was fish peddler. Sacco and Vanzetti denied knowing Buda and Coacci or being at the Elm Street Garage. Sacco stated that he had been at work the day of the robbery, and Vanzetti alleged he could not remember what he had done that day or where he had been. This evidence was used against them in prosecuting the case.

On September 28, 1920, Sacco and Vanzetti were arraigned in the Dedham Courthouse and both pled not guilty. Bail was not requested and probably would have been denied because of the capital crime involved and their reputations. As a result, they remained in jail until some future date. While in jail, Moore, their attorney, spoke with Sacco's cellmate and obtained an affidavit from several inmates who said Sacco was not guilty. Sacco's cellmate Celestino F. Madeiros provided him with a note stating Madeiros had been at Braintree during the robbery and that Sacco was not there. If true, why would Madeiros involve himself since he certainly knew the penalty for murder would be execution if found guilty? Advocates of Sacco and Vanzetti's innocence told Moore the Braintree robbery was similar to those committed by the Morelli gang, but no investigation was conducted. An unidentified party informed Moore that he was in the Buick and Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with the robbery and murder.

Judge Webster Thayer requested the assignment of presiding over the Sacco-Vanzetti trial from the senior circuit judge in his district. He had graduated from Worcester and Dartmouth College and represented the Boston Brahmin class. He assumed the bench in this case in 1920 and once on the bench continually violated judicial canons pertaining to judges by his public expressions and attitude in the case: the fear of anarchism, destruction of the culture, socialism, and immigration, all of which he believed were threatening. His bona fides included admiration for Attorney General Palmer, who conducted raids to purge America of dangerous alien influences. On numerous

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occasions, in and out of court, Thayer expressed less than objective views about the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. He cautioned that the defendants were a threat to national security. As the trial proceeded, Thayer was not shy about expressing his attitudes publicly about the defendants, saying they should get what they deserve. However, attitudes toward his conduct were not universal. The *Boston Globe* supported the judge's conduct.

As trial judge, Thayer was responsible for the conduct of the trial and his expressions. He controlled the admission of evidence such as not to introduce facts detrimental to the character of the defendants. That they were active anarchists did not pertain to their trial for murder. He heard motions and either granted or denied them when legally relevant to the case (such as their having fled to Mexico to avoid the draft), controlled the conduct of the jury, attorneys, and the courtroom, and not express his personal views during the course of the trial. His denunciations included antiliberal comments, constant admonishments of the defendants' attorney, and denouncing a jury for acquitting Sergei Zagroff, an anarchist in April 1920. The judge had also tried Vanzetti for robbery in December 1919. This was extremely onerous because the defense attorney at the probable cause hearing had not offered any evidence to defend his client.

Fred H. Moore came from the West Coast, which had a culture quite different from Boston's. His reputation was enhanced by his appearance; he walked the streets of Boston in a broad brimmed cowboy hat and sandals. His reputation was of an excellent and passionate orator and defender. His conduct offended many staid Bostonians, and his outbursts in court were not uncommon. They proved effective for a time. He knew how to tailor comments to particular jurors and understood their personalities. His personality and Thayer's clashed constantly; they were constantly attacking each other. Motions, rulings, and comments about the admissibility of evidence and witnesses by the judge to the jury were tainted in many instances. Moore's objections were frequently overruled. Moore had represented Industrial Workers of the World (detractors dubbed the group "I Wont Work") members, who were also socialists and willing to use violence to make their points. This presence further irritated the judge who abhorred them.

Fred Moore met Sacco in jail on several occasions. Moore's career of defending socialists provided confidence. His approach for defending his client was not particularly orthodox for Boston. He intended to use public relations and he had the Sacco family available at all times for sympathy. Moore helped establish a defense fund, but the inability of the defendants to speak English at a truly coherent level made communications and understanding a problem. He sought the aid of organized labor and anarchist movements. Moore contacted Harvard Law professor Felix Frankfurter and Roger Baldwin, the head of the newly formed American Civil Liberty Union. Moore's tactics relied heavily on public support for his clients. He presented himself at every opportunity to any group that would listen to his case. In his efforts he found two people

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Felix Frankfurter and the Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti

Of the many people who came to the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, one of the most famous was Felix Frankfurter. Frankfurter was born in 1882 in Vienna, Austria, from a devout Jewish family, and when he was 12 his family moved to the United States, settling in New York. He graduated from the City College of New York and went into law, becoming an assistant of Henry Stimson, the U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York. Stimson was, soon afterward, appointed as secretary of war by Howard Taft. Frankfurter's views were more radical than those of Stimson, so he was forced to keep his own counsel.

After World War I, Frankfurter came to be interested in trade unionism and in radical politics and had sympathy with some labor leaders. In 1920 he was a cofounder of the American Civil Liberties Union and urged for a retrial of both Sacco and Vanzetti, being sharply critical of the role taken by Webster Thayer, the judge in the trial.

Felix Frankfurter became a close adviser of Franklin Delano Roosevelt after the 1932 presidential elections and in 1939 was appointed, by Roosevelt, to the Supreme Court. He remained an associate judge of the Supreme Court until 1962, being a constant supporter of judicial restraint. He died in 1965.

who stated that Vanzetti didn't look like the killer, but they refused to be subpoenaed.

Sacco and Vanzetti did not reject a jury trial. While its selection was unique, no evidence was introduced that any of the jurors had preconceived notions about the innocence or guilt of the defendants. Judge Thayer, in his haste and showing a lack of patience, literally pulled potential jurors off of the street. All were subjected to *voir dire*. The 12 reflected attitudes in the region. There were no Italian or union members. Fred Moore, the defendants' defense attorney, drew men from various jobs, hoping to draw a sympathetic jury. Given the political atmosphere, it was impossible. By June 4,500 men had been *voir dired* and only seven accepted. The sheriff was ordered to gather another 175 prospective jurors, bring them to court, and finally five were selected. As the trial proceeded, the jurors were not allowed any accommodations. Since they were sequestered, they didn't have clean clothes or toiletries, and deliberated in uncomfortable surroundings.

Fredrick Katzmann again appeared, as state prosecutor, opposing a change of venue, and was favorably disposed when he heard that Judge Thayer would preside. As a result of an interview with the defendants in jail, Katzmann had obtained information he could use at the trial. The state sustained the burden of convincing the jury "beyond a reasonable doubt," proving the defendants were the perpetrators of the crime for which they were being charged.

Prior to trial, Katzmann and Stewart rechecked the guns, bullets, shells, and cap found as evidence in the crime. They interviewed over 200 witnesses.

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Issues dealing with language were added to the mix. Most interviews concluded that Sacco and Vanzetti were not the murderers. Concerning identification, Sacco didn't smoke and another stated one of the murderers had a mustache. A witness informed the interrogators that Sacco couldn't stand blood and others said he was not the killer type.

On September 11, 1920, Sacco and Vanzetti were indicted for the robberies and murder at Braintree. Five days later, Buda, a suspect, went to Manhattan and procured a wagon and a horse. He packed the wagon with dynamite and 500 pounds of sash weights, wired a clock for noon, and departed. He left the cart in downtown Manhattan. When the bomb went off, cars were tossed through the air, trolleys blown off their tracks. Shrapnel from the explosion slashed those who were nearby. The area looked as if an unknown enemy had attacked it. Thirty-eight people were dead and dying while over 300 were taken to the hospital. The morgues were crowded. The authorities immediately blamed the anarchists, communists, and bolsheviki for the violence. To make matters worse, anarchist leaflets were found throughout the area.

Given the tense trial situation and the possibility of execution, Sacco and Vanzetti's memories and responses in court were confusing and didn't convince the jury of their innocence. Katzmann understood how to maximize human frailty and used it against the defendants. When they made contradictory statements, Katzmann decided it was due to their "conscience of guilt," a term never explained to the court. Katzmann's witnesses placed Vanzetti near the crime scene, but no evidence was introduced placing Sacco there. Mary Spaine and Lola Andrews made identifications, but not as to individuals. They would go no further than refer to a resemblance. They were certain that they had not seen the defendants shoot anyone.

The caliber of the weapon killing the guards was examined, but at that time ballistics science had not yet been perfected. Ballistics expert William Proctor could only say under oath that the bullet had been fired from a gun of that caliber. Katzmann did his best to confuse the jury as to minimize the testimony concerning the bullet's effect on jury deliberation.

On October 1, 1924, Judge Thayer heard a series of motions dealing with an abundance of matters. The court first ruled that the allegation that jury foreman Ripley had taken a gun into the jury room was hearsay. The court refused to enter this affidavit into evidence. At the same time, the other 11 jurors prepared affidavits, but Judge Thayer rejected the matter, stating "Damn them, they ought to hang them anyway."

Ray Gould, another witness, added little to the case. Moore referred to Roy Gould's indictment for a crime in 1911 for which he was never sentenced or served time. Moore discredited him, but he never served time. Moore successfully discredited other state's witnesses such as Melvin Corl.

Lola Andrews, a state's witness, identified Sacco and didn't deviate from her testimony, despite Moore's aggressive cross-examination. The examination

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was heated and he attacked questionable evidence. She charged that Moore attempted to bribe her. When she said she was not sure about her identification, she alleged that the sheriff compelled her to identify Sacco and Vanzetti. Evidence was presented that she was being abused at work because she was accused of trying to help Sacco and Vanzetti, Italians. Moore then challenged her affidavit and the court did nothing. He then contacted the district attorney, who did not act. This was especially important since she had initially stated she looked out the window and witnessed everything. But no evidence was offered as to the time because the sun could have put a glare in the window and it may not have been possible to make a good identification because of it.

Thayer determined that the conflicting testimony about the Buick was due to a "consciousness of guilt" rather than evidence in the affidavits offered by witnesses. He rejected the affidavits, stating the jury had the right to believe the investigators.

The judge then denied Carlos Goodridge's motion alleging perjury, but provided no legal rational. He stated the affiant's character was in question since force was alleged to obtain the affidavit.

Louis Pelser's affidavit stated the defendant Sacco resembled the murderer, but couldn't say he saw him commit the murder. He then stated that he was forced under threat of perjury by the district attorney to identify Sacco and Vanzetti as the criminal perpetrators. Pelser retracted the affidavit he had provided Moore. This was after stating he saw nothing and after the jury had been taken to the crime scene where they were shown the bloody clothes of the two dead men.

Moore's cross-examination discredited several other witnesses' testimony. He debunked the idea that what may have been the murder weapon was stolen. He informed the court that the weapon had belonged to someone other than the defendants. A chain of custody for the evidence was not established, putting the existence of the real weapon in doubt.

All the affidavits garnered by Moore and Thompson were retracted. Albert Hamilton, a ballistics expert, said that Sacco and Vanzetti had been



Judge Webster Thayer (center) leaves the courthouse after denying the appeal of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. (Library of Congress)

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framed. Hamilton informed the court that Vanzetti's revolver did not have a new hammer. He used his scientific skills to show the court that ballistically it was not possible to charge Sacco with the crime. Hamilton even brought another expert to court from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose own measurements indicated that the "so called mortal bullet never passed through the Sacco revolver." Hamilton's affidavit stated that an unknown person had tampered with his gun barrel. His affidavit, in conjunction with Proctor, was denied because it challenged government experts who worked for the U.S. Ordnance Department during the war. The judge informed the court that if the government's witnesses were not believable, then they would be guilty of perjury or malice. He went further by informing all parties that only by clear, satisfactory, and convincing evidence should a public official be challenged.

In his summation Katzmann worked with circumstantial evidence: Sacco was one of the shooters, Vanzetti sat in the Buick and was a conspirator; the prosecutor spoke about the defendants' "consciousness of guilt," their possession of anarchist material, flight to Mexico to avoid the draft, and that Sacco left his wife and child to fend for themselves. Katzmann's efforts were successful. The jury, no matter its origins, found the defendants guilty as charged by the indictments. The court then poled each juror, and each answered in the affirmative as to the question of guilt.

The defendants' only recourse was an appeal. Did they have the necessary grounds to appeal to the Massachusetts Supreme Court? Unfortunately for them, Judge Thayer would be instrumental in their efforts. For the next six years Sacco and Vanzetti's attorneys filed motions arguing that the witnesses were not credible or they were coerced; that there was evidence of jury misconduct, especially with the foreman and jury selection; there was a denial of due process; there was a failure of the court to allow the admission of testimony not known or accessible at the time of trial; among other salient evidence.

Judge Thayer was the court of first impression for the evaluation of the merits of appeal; since no judge wants to be reversed, how could he grant a new trial? The defendants filed their first motion in November 1921, arguing that the trial evidence was insufficient to warrant a guilty verdict. Thayer denied the motion, arguing that there was sufficient evidence and the jury had acted properly. There was no evidence about the *voir dire* of the 167 potential jurors other than the method of selection.

When the new evidence became available, Walter Ripley's conduct as foreman came into question. The defense attorney argued that Ripley had a weapon in his possession during the trial. Moore questioned the possibility that the jury during sequestration may have seen the .32 caliber weapon and shells. Viewing it and any discussion concerning it could have prejudiced them. Ripley also expressed a prior attitude about the guilt of the defendants. He told the other jurors that they were guilty. Since the court is bound to dismiss any potential juror

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with preconceived views about the case prior to trial, Thayer was obligated to remove Ripley from the jury pool if the court knew. If Ripley had lied under oath, he was then guilty of perjury and should be punished. But Ripley died after the trial and there was no way of proving the assertions made by Moore.

Another motion supported by an affidavit from William Proctor, a ballistics expert for the prosecution, was presented to the court. Sacco's attorney argued that Proctor had misled the court. The court denied this motion when Proctor said the gun belonged to Sacco but there was no proof he fired it. There was no evidence introduced that the weapon had been stolen or lost.

The denial of the numerous Moore motions ended his participation in the case. The new attorney, William Goodrich Thompson, took the case believing that the defendants were being tried on circumstantial evidence. He recognized that he would have to deal with Thayer's prejudice; he believed there was no evidence supporting the accusations. His belief was buttressed by Judge Thayer's ranting about the case with Attorney General Crocker about an attitude that did not become public until much later. Thayer said, "They are not getting a fair trial but I am working it so that their counsel will think they are" (Watson 2007: 257). At a Dartmouth game, Thayer is to have said, "Did you see what I did to those anarchist bastards the other day? I guess that will hold them for a while! Let them go to the Supreme Court now and see what they can get out of them" (Avrich 1991:).

Moore and Thompson cited 34 errors in the trial. They indicated and questioned: Judge Thayer's trial conduct, conflict over ownership of the revolver/revolvers in question, the lack of identification of defendants, the testimony about their political activities, testimony about the ballistics identification of the bullet, and Judge Thayer's bringing their political activities to the attention of the jury. Thompson even compared the case to the infamous Dreyfus trial in France where an innocent man was convicted on circumstantial evidence.

The appeal was denied and the Supreme Court decision stated that all the cited errors were within the discretion of the presiding judge. This was despite the record, motions, and affidavits obtained by Moore and Thompson, Joe Morelli's confession, and officer Jacob's testimony that he saw Morelli in a new Buick in the neighborhood at the time of the robbery despite the controversy about the lack of a license plate and other identification.

After the appeal to the State Supreme Court was denied, the Massachusetts governor formed a committee to investigate the Sacco-Vanzetti case with Judge Thayer being the first witness. The governor understood public attitudes and prejudices against foreigners and his respect for the judiciary caused him to act gingerly. No evidence was introduced about the missing Buick or its connection to the defendants, Celestino Medeiros (who had confessed to the murders in 1925) died, and nothing remained as to his potential testimony, Thayer's rejection of Moore's and Thompson's motions were ruled within Judge Thayer's discretion, the ballistic conflict testimony was stayed, all despite the fact that

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Massachusetts law stated that once a sentence had been announced there could be no stay of execution.

A total of eight motions had been filed concerning contradictory evidence. Any motions dealing with newly obtained evidence had to be submitted to the court for proof that it could not have been found at the time of trial. Attorney's incompetence or lack of due diligence would not be enough to reopen the case. In 1961 a ballistics test was conducted with new equipment indicating that Sacco's pistol had been used to murder the guard. Some authorities now believe that Sacco was guilty of killing the guard at Braintree.

They were executed on August 23. Two years after the execution Thompson interviewed Proctor and made inquiries about his responses in court. Proctor told him that Katzmann had prodded him when he refused to identify Sacco's gun as the one used in the murders. Proctor said in his interrogation that the murder bullet had come from a Colt, but he couldn't say with certainly that the bullet came from Sacco's weapon. Proctor signed an affidavit indicating that Katzmann had attempted to put words in his mouth. Proctor stated that if Katzmann had asked if bullet three had passed through Sacco's gun, he would have had to say no. The prosecutor's response was that the defense could have asked the question. Thayer had denied a motion to strike Proctor's earlier testimony, alleging Katzmann had conducted himself within the canons of the law.

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial represented the success of the U.S. juridical process. Despite Moore and Thayer's constant referral to their character, not admissible under all circumstances, the jury evaluated the evidence and came up with the correct verdict. They weighed the information provided by the state and defense and ruled.

Since the anarchists and pro-anarchist public fought for their release, they attempted to change the question of robbery and murder. Public opinion was the tool used to garner support for their cause. Few freedom advocates delved into the facts but instead relied on emotionalism in a time when bolshevism became a threat to the American way of life.

Their attorneys were not able to explain how the defendants knew the routines of the victims. Sacco was an employee of the Slater Company and received checks at designated a time. Who knew the path the guards would take to deliver the payroll better than an employee?

Stewart's instinct about Buda, the visit to his house, and Buda's reference to a Buick in a garage finally led Stewart to Elm Street where four men fled as the police arrived. Sacco and Vanzetti fled and were apprehended at a public transportation station, while their two colleagues fled on a motorbike, accounting for the four suspects.

Their interrogation by Stewart and Katzmann indicated Vanzetti's fears of having violating the law. The denied possession of a gun at a crucial time provided what the state needed to move forward. Combined with the ballistics

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problems, the lack of knowledge and Porter's repudiation of his testimony raised doubts about his testimony.

Witness identification was a problem. Many of those questioned, on the stand and off, were not absolute in connecting the defendants to the crime. For example, identification from the window of the factory was not absolutely positive because of the sun and glare from the sun. But worse, Moore's affidavits revealed something wrong. Affidavits were recanted and others obtained allegedly under coercion. Moore, as a knowledgeable attorney, should have had a witness in the room when the affidavits were prepared to deal with that potential problem.

Judge Thayer's conduct inside and outside of court, while reprehensive, was not beyond legal canons. His comments at the club, statements in court, and admitted prejudice were beyond the pale of the law. However, the State Supreme Court's investigation found his conduct within the rules of procedure. Those attacking his conduct must remember they functioned a century ago and may have been the standard.

The ballistics finding in 1961 proved Sacco's revolver had been used to commit the crime. The results of the ballistics test indicate the State of Massachusetts was correct in executing Sacco and Vanzetti.

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9

Warren Harding was murdered, rather than dying of food poisoning.

PRO Elizabeth D. Schafer
CON Kimberly K. Porter

PRO

President Warren Gamaliel Harding's sudden death on August 2, 1923, in a San Francisco, California, hotel stunned Americans. The next day, newspapers nationwide reported Harding's demise in front-page articles framed with thick black lines. As a train transported Harding's body from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., the press chronicled that trip then described associated memorial and funeral services that occurred during the following week. Photographs showed readers Harding's casket, First Lady Florence Kling Harding, administration officials, mourners, and other relevant images. Journalists had begun covering Harding's medical condition since late July when he had supposedly suffered food poisoning while on an official trip, according to his personal physician Charles E. Sawyer, who had given the press bulletins regarding Harding's health. After Harding died, newspapers printed Sawyer's explanation that Harding died from a cerebral hemorrhage without questioning him or the other physicians who had attended Harding in San Francisco about that diagnosis.

Accounts in the press at that time did not contemplate if any other causes might have been responsible for Harding's death. Initially, the grief-stricken populace expressed respect for Harding. However, speculation about why an autopsy had not been performed on the president soon provoked rumors that Harding, whose administration was characterized by scandals, might have been assassinated. People endorsing the belief Harding had been murdered identified various suspects, including Harding's wife, who had frequent access to the president and was often alone with him. Conspiracy theories also identified political enemies or individuals with motives to poison Harding. From the 1920s through the early 21st century, historians, journalists, and physicians, among others, have offered their opinions, examining feasible evidence as it became available. Some people have used this information to support their belief the 57-year-old Harding was killed, either through criminal malevolence or negligence.

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Medical History

Medicine shaped Harding's early years, especially alternative medical homeopathic practices using natural substances in an effort to boost patients' immune systems. His father George Tryon Harding had attended a Cleveland, Ohio, homeopathic school and worked as a physician in their community, Marion, Ohio, where laws permitted individuals to practice medicine after completing registration in their local probate court.

In the mid-1880s, Harding purchased a hometown newspaper, the *Marion Star*, serving as its publisher and editor. Charismatic, Harding easily attracted friends and supporters who encouraged his civic interests and participation in Republican Party activities. Despite public approval, in his 20s the emotionally fragile Harding spent time in a sanitarium for nervous breakdowns. Harding began courting Florence Kling who taught his sister Charity piano lessons. The pair wed in 1891.

In 1896, Harding's mother, Phoebe Harding, acquired a license to practice medicine and tended patients with homeopathic methods. After a toddler died in Phoebe Harding's care in 1897, local physician Charles E. Sawyer, an 1881 Homeopathic Hospital College graduate, defended her medical capabilities and said she was innocent of harming the child, despite a pharmacist's analysis revealing morphine in the powdered medicine she had given the boy. Grateful for his intervention, the Harding family established a friendship with Sawyer.

Florence Harding enhanced her husband's publishing endeavors with her business skills, and the pair prospered financially. She encouraged him to seek political offices. In 1899 Harding was elected to the Ohio legislature. By 1903, Harding became the state's lieutenant governor. His wife suffered a kidney ailment, resulting in surgical removal of one kidney in 1905. Sawyer served as her physician and actively supported the Hardings' political goals. Harding won a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1914. Six years later, Harding secured the U.S. presidency. Florence Harding convinced her husband to appoint Sawyer as his presidential physician so that doctor could continue treating her. Adjusting to Washington, D.C., the First Lady consulted a local psychic, Madame Marcia, who predicted that Warren Harding would die abruptly while president. She suggested circumstances of his death would be strange.

In the fall of 1922, Harding named Navy Lieutenant-Commander Joel T. Boone, a Hahnemann Medical College graduate, as Sawyer's assistant. Boone had also completed graduate work at the U.S. Navy's medical school. Harding indulged in late-night drinking, tobacco use, and poker games at the White House and did not pursue exercise beyond rounds of golf. Stresses impacting the Harding administration, including labor strikes, aggravated Harding's increasingly fragile health. He continued to endorse homeopathic practices, writing a foreword for *American Homeopathy in the World War* (1923), edited by Frederick M. Dearborn.

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Voyage of Understanding

Harding suffered influenza in January 1923, experiencing gastrointestinal distress, but resumed working before he recovered sufficiently, thus weakening himself physically. His wife had also been sick with a urinary tract infection and nephritis, swelling her kidneys. They both had access to homeopathic medications to mitigate pain associated with their ailments. Their illnesses concerned friends and associates especially when Harding decided to be the first U.S. president to travel to Alaska while in office. He envisioned his transcontinental trip, which he called a Voyage of Understanding, would enable him to interact with Americans and discuss his goals for the United States.

In the presidential railcar *Superb*, Harding and an entourage of cabinet members, staff, and assistants departed Washington, D.C., on June 20, 1923. He soon was immersed in a hectic schedule. Along the journey west, Harding presented speeches to crowds, sometimes in extreme heat or in downpours. Aware of two aides' suicides prior to the trip, Harding received more negative news during his travels of corruption by friends whom he had trusted. He was distressed that close associates serving in political positions he had attained for them had been disloyal to him. Harding suffered fatigue in Alaska, and the constant demands and shocks hindered his attempts to recuperate. He played cards, drank whiskey, and did not sleep much. Florence Harding briefly was sick in Juneau. Her previous nephritis attacks had worried Boone who had stored a coffin for her if needed on the ship USS *Henderson* transporting the presidential group between the mainland and Alaska.

Conspiracy Theories about President Harding's Death

It was Gaston B. Means in his *The Strange Death of President Harding* (1930) that raised the idea that President Warren Harding had been murdered. Means himself had been born in 1879 in North Carolina, the son of a lawyer. He graduated from the University of North Carolina and worked as a schoolteacher and then as a salesman before finding work with a New York detective agency.

With the outbreak of World War I, Means was hired to uncover plots about German involvement in espionage work. Soon afterward he was accused of enriching himself at the expense of a wealthy widow who died soon afterward. Means was cleared of her death. This did not stop him from being hired by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and then working bootlegging alcohol. His book on the death of Harding was a bestseller, but there were claims that it had been ghostwritten by a journalist named Mae Dixon. Means later became involved in the Lindbergh baby kidnapping of 1932, offering to act as a go-between with the kidnappers for the $100,000 ransom. He was later charged with grand larceny and sent to jail at Fort Leavenworth where he died in 1938.

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While traveling on the *Henderson* to Vancouver, British Columbia, Harding consumed crabs, a gift from the Sitka, Alaska, community. On land, he golfed on a local course but soon felt nauseated and his chest hurt. Sawyer examined Harding, treating the president's increased breathing and pulse rates with digitalis, a medicine made from foxglove. Harding had suffered a finger infection on the ship and asked Boone to lance the wound, saying Sawyer's vision was not sharp enough to perform that minor surgery. This choice caused a rift between the two doctors because Sawyer felt his position had been threatened and warned Boone not to provide medical care for Harding unless Sawyer approved the procedure.

The president hurried to complete scheduled appearances when he arrived on shore at Seattle, Washington. Harding, who did not wear a hat, rode in a parade and presented a speech while exposed to intense sunlight. No accounts mention that he possibly suffered sunstroke but, considering how his health soon worsened, a heat-related condition might have exacerbated other physical problems, including any toxin-related damage if he had been poisoned. The weakened Harding decided to cancel his trip to Portland, Oregon, and boarded the presidential train bound for California.

During the night, Harding again experienced pain in his chest and more nausea and requested Sawyer's assistance. Boone accompanied Sawyer to evaluate Harding and realized Harding's heart was functioning erratically and was dilated. Boone insisted the train speed nonstop to San Francisco, California. The U.S. Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, who also had a medical degree, witnessed Harding's physical distress.

San Francisco

When Harding reached San Francisco on July 29, Mayor James Rolph, Jr., welcomed him at the railroad terminal. Journalists covered Harding's arrival, the president waving to greet the crowd. Boone had wanted an ambulance to meet the train, but Harding refused, choosing to walk, instead of using a wheelchair, to the limousine, and the driver was assigned to take him to his local accommodations at the Palace Hotel. He climbed steps to enter the hotel, with one reporter photographing Harding in what would be the final image of the president while he was alive. Harding rested in his suite. His discomfort intensified during the afternoon, necessitating cancellation of plans for public appearances.

At a press conference that day, Sawyer announced Harding had been sickened by tainted seafood, attributing the president's illness to ptomaine poisoning involving harmful bacteria Sawyer believed had been transmitted from infected crabs. He assured reporters assembled at the hotel that Harding would recover, insisting the president just needed to sleep and relax. Harding's physicians released bulletins with medical information about Harding. They emphasized the bulletins would provide sufficient details about Harding to prevent speculation

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like that which had occurred when President Woodrow Wilson had suffered a publicly unidentified sickness in the fall of 1919.

Boone and Work contacted Ray Lyman Wilbur, who had served as the American Medical Association president and was the current Stanford University president, and he agreed to examine Harding while the president was in California. San Francisco physician Charles Minor Cooper, who specialized in cardiovascular medicine, also evaluated Harding. On July 30, despite assurances for disclosure, those doctors refused to specify what ailment had weakened Harding. Their secrecy caused journalists and the public to speculate about what might have caused the president's health to deteriorate quickly. Local journalists reported in the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Chronicle* that the ptomaine poisoning Sawyer had diagnosed Harding with had possibly provoked stomach and cardiac complications. The medical enigma surrounding Harding fueled theories and rumors, which provided the basis for later assertions that Harding had been murdered.

Official statements next reported Harding had developed pneumonia and suffered chest pains, high pulse rates, and cardiac problems. On July 31, the *New York Times* stated Harding's health had declined. That periodical said Harding's physicians had described his condition as grave and toxic. Other U.S. newspapers printed similar accounts describing Harding's poor health and his doctors' evasiveness in elaborating about his sickness. Later that day, despite the morning articles saying his condition was dire, Harding seemed better and read newspaper reports regarding his health. Instead of upsetting him, the newspapers' suggestions that he was extremely ill bemused Harding.

The next day, Sawyer reported Harding seemed to be recovering, stating the president no longer was feverish nor had congested lungs. Sawyer stressed that Harding's physical condition remained weakened and required extended rest for his recovery. Several prominent citizens offered their luxurious California properties as retreats for Harding's recuperation. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover secured a site near the Pacific Ocean where Harding could relax. The August 1 *San Francisco Bulletin* noted Harding's vital signs were returning to normal and the *San Francisco Examiner* commented that Sawyer had left the president's suite for an hour-long drive, remarking to journalists that Harding was regaining his health and had consumed some food and milk.

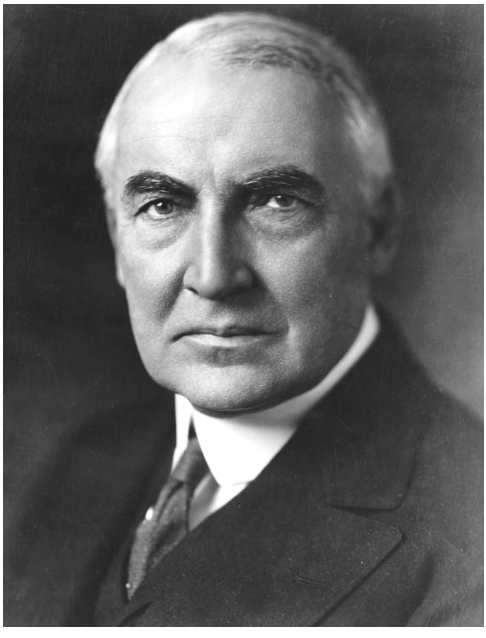
August 2, 1923

Accounts of the night Harding died have reiterated basic facts regarding his demise but have presented varied and often vague references such as the time of his death. Many of those details contradicted other information and could not be verified, enabling speculation about what really happened when Harding died and who witnessed his death.

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Although Harding remained in bed on August 2, he seemed stronger. The morning bulletin stated Harding was comfortable and would recover. Harding ate two eggs and talked with George Christian, Jr., his executive secretary, before Christian departed to deliver a speech for Harding in Los Angeles. During the day, Harding interacted with several visitors, including his sister, Charity Remsberg, who lived in Santa Ana in southern California. He remarked to her that he was exhausted. Two nurses, Sue Dauser and Ruth Powderly, who had worked in the White House, monitored Harding's vital signs. When Secretary of the Interior Work talked with Harding, the president commented he had survived his health crisis and was eager to continue his journey. That afternoon, his physicians agreed that Harding seemed to be stabilizing.

Most accounts concur that early in the evening the president's wife entertained him by reading aloud. She stopped while sharing a *Dearborn Independent* article about Henry Ford to fluff the pillows on which Harding was braced. Harding asked her to continue reading before a convulsion abruptly shook his body. Seeking help, Florence Harding left the suite to alert Sawyer in his nearby room. Harding's physicians hurried to assist the president, but he had already died when the men reached him.



Warren Harding served as president of the United States from 1921 to 1923. Though Harding promised a return to prosperity in his campaign of 1920, his administration was plagued by scandals. He died three years into his term, allegedly of food poisoning. (Library of Congress)

Some versions stated other people, including physicians, were in the room when Harding began to sweat, become pale, and experience spasms. Witnesses saw Florence Harding insert a finger in her husband's mouth, which she said she had done to prevent him from choking on chewing gum. Sawyer took Harding's pulse, and Nurse Powderly removed Harding's pajamas, which were soaked in sweat, and toweled him dry before redressing him. Agitated, Harding expressed confusion about the unpleasant physical sensations in his body, then calmed. Because Harding's pulse was steadier, Boone left for a break while Sawyer and the nurses remained with Harding. Soon thereafter, Harding died. The official time of death varied from 7:20 to 7:35 P.M., causing many people to wonder why presidential staff could not specify exactly when Harding died and if they were hiding information.

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A bulletin distributed to reporters in the hotel that night announced Harding's death. Most journalists were unprepared for that news, expecting instead to be updated on the president's recovery, which Sawyer had said was imminent. Many local reporters for San Francisco publications had made other plans that night because, accepting Sawyer's declaration that Harding was healing, they did not think there would be any breaking news about Harding to report. Stephen Early, representing the Associated Press, had been in the hall outside the presidential suite when Harding died. He telegraphed his report of Harding's death, and, during the night, the news spread across the nation and internationally.

Presidential staff began planning Harding's funeral. Florence Harding did not allow officials to conduct an autopsy of her husband. No known tissue, blood, or hair samples were preserved. She also denied casting of a death mask, a procedure traditionally performed for deceased U.S. presidents. Morticians from the N. Gray & Company started embalming Harding's body an hour after he died, preparing him for transportation within 24 hours of his death. Florence Harding privately viewed her husband in his coffin in the early afternoon on August 3. The funeral train then headed east, passing by several million mourners, to Washington, D.C., for a memorial ceremony before taking Harding to Ohio where he was buried in his hometown cemetery on August 10.

Medical Conflicts

The five physicians attending Harding in San Francisco signed his death certificate. They stated the president had died from cerebral apoplexy when a blood vessel burst in his brain after he had suffered a severe infection of his gastrointestinal tract and pneumonia. They noted Harding had also suffered from arteriosclerosis, which interfered with his circulatory and brain functions. The August 18, 1923, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* printed excerpts from the physicians' medical bulletins from July 30 through August 2, concluding with several paragraphs describing Harding's health history and condition the day he died. Wilbur published an article in the October 13, 1923, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* that reiterated the suddenness of Harding's death, especially because the president's pulse and temperature had remained near normal levels the day before he died.

Some people have hinted Harding died as a result of negligence and unprofessional medical treatment, which could be characterized as malpractice. Because Sawyer was a homeopath, many scholars have discredited his medical care of Harding. Sawyer might have unintentionally killed Harding due to his reliance on alternative medical practices and rivalry with other doctors. By forcing the other physicians, whom he perceived as competitors, to assume subordinate roles, Sawyer egotistically protected his status as Harding's main doctor in San Francisco and possibly ignored any suggestions the president suffered from

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coronary disease and needed applicable medical care available at that time for that condition.

Boone later commented that he and the other physicians who had examined Harding in San Francisco considered Sawyer's methods contrary to normal techniques. Sawyer's inadequate treatment relied on purgatives for indigestion and ptomaine poisoning instead of recognizing Harding was suffering heart-related problems. Sawyer focused on purging poisons from Harding's body, which became traumatized. Patients sometimes lose potassium, which affects heart rhythm, when given too many purgatives. Contemporaries referred to Sawyer exhibiting a physical and mental decline as he aged, which may have affected his ability to practice medicine. Sawyer did not correlate Harding's declining strength with his use of purgatives, which might have stressed the president's cardiovascular functions and provoked a heart attack. If he had been aware of his shortcomings, Sawyer might have urged Florence Harding to forbid an autopsy so his negligence would remain secret.

Contemporary Reactions

Soon after Harding died some people suggested he might have killed himself. The suicide theory blamed such scandals as Teapot Dome and the betrayal by corrupt friends, including Director of Veterans Affairs Charles Forbes, for provoking a despairing Harding to commit suicide. Supporters of this theory noted Harding had revised his will prior to the western trip.

Popular culture incorporated Harding death theories. A 1926 novel, *Revelry*, written by journalist Samuel Hopkins Adams, depicted a suicidal president. Adams created characters who shared similar traits as people in Harding's administration, particularly the fictional president, Willis Markham. Like Harding, Markham has a mistress and hides her sleeping pills in his medicine cabinet because he is afraid she might overdose. Sleepless, he grabs what he thinks are sleeping pills one night but instead accidentally swallows poison. Although Markham summons his physician, he decides not to reveal he was poisoned and request medical intervention that could save his life, preferring to die and not be confronted by various scandals that will damage his presidency. Adams's book became a bestseller with 100,000 copies sold and was adapted for dramatic performances both on stage and film, spreading the suicide theory.

Adams said he was aware of people familiar with the Hardings, including a respected judge who believed Florence Harding had killed the president. Rumors circulated about Florence Harding's possible motivations for poisoning her husband. Reporters analyzed her demeanor when Harding died, contemplating why she had remained calm despite her sudden loss. Although some people perceived her behavior as being courageous, others interpreted her response as that of an uncaring spouse. Contemporaries described Florence Harding as

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being a forceful, assertive person accustomed to receiving whatever she demanded and pursuing her goals with minimal regard of how she impacted others. Many people thought her actions were suspicious when she burned many of her husband's papers and asked correspondents to return letters in order to prevent them from becoming public. They concluded she was attempting to hide evidence by refusing an autopsy that might have revealed poison in Harding's system and a death mask that might have shown facial contortions caused by poison.

Some people believed Florence Harding and Sawyer might have conspired to kill the president. As the First Lady's accomplice, Sawyer might have purposefully mistreated Harding. The year following her husband's death, Florence Harding visited Sawyer's residence, White Oaks Farm, in Marion. He died at home on September 23, 1924, while Mrs. Harding was there. His family was surprised by his unexpected death with symptoms resembling those Warren Harding experienced when he died. Speculation that Florence Harding might have poisoned Sawyer reinforced many people's belief she was guilty of murdering her husband. When Florence Harding died from kidney disease on November 21, 1924, numerous facts regarding her husband's and Sawyer's deaths remained unclear.

The Strange Death of President Harding

Gaston B. Means, who had been employed as a U.S. Department of Justice investigator, arranged in summer 1928 for ghostwriter May Dixon Thacker to write a book titled *The Strange Death of President Harding*, which was published two years later and sold 80,000 copies soon after it was released. In early conversations with Thacker, Means emphasized his insider knowledge of the Harding presidency. He stressed he was aware of details regarding Harding's affair with Nan Britton and their daughter. Means also said he had information concerning premature deaths of people associated with the Harding administration. Most significantly, Means asserted Harding's wife killed the president with poison.

Means's book described how Florence Harding spent time alone with her husband the night he died. Means said the First Lady had told him that she handed her husband's medication to him and he swallowed all of it before dying. The former First Lady implied that she had poisoned that medicine. Means suggested two motives for her action. Means thought Florence Harding had murdered her husband to save him from suffering being discredited publicly for the unethical activities of his cronies. She wanted Harding's constituents to respect him, believing her husband would retain popular support among the grieving populace. Means also thought she might have poisoned Harding as vengeance for his womanizing, particularly with Britton. He declared she had expressed hatred for Harding and emphasized that her husband had to die as a

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result of his various transgressions and to save the Republican Party and the United States. According to Means, Harding was not regretful of her actions and viewed them as fulfilling her destiny.

Means characterized the president's widow as ambitiously desiring power and refusing to be dishonored by her husband's affairs and the greed of his associates. He said that he and Mrs. Harding had talked at the time of President Harding's funeral. They discussed how the Ohio Gang had manipulated and exploited the president and she feared his impeachment was inevitable. She perceived herself as the sole person who could protect her husband from his enemies' control by ending his life and thus safeguarding his legacy and honor. Means claimed Mrs. Harding consulted him about preventing any autopsies of the president.

He suggested Florence Harding had schemed with Sawyer to kill the president. In an epilogue, Means stated Sawyer had said in a conversation with Means that he was not involved directly with poisoning Harding. According to Sawyer, Florence Harding excused the president's secret service guard and nurses on duty, saying she and Sawyer would tend to the president. Sawyer left the couple alone for 10 minutes, returning to find the president dead. Implying the First Lady poisoned her husband, Sawyer ambiguously referred to a flawed poisoning in Vancouver.

Murder Theories

Means's book expanded speculation nationwide in the 1930s about Harding's possible murder and convinced many readers. The year after Means's book was published, John W. Gunn published a booklet, *Was President Harding Murdered?* (n.d.), and Frederick Lewis Allen discussed Harding being poisoned in his book *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (1931). Allen agreed that Florence Harding might have murdered her husband and been assisted by Sawyer. He acknowledged Harding's death could have resulted from suicide.

Many contemporary Americans wondered if the secrecy Florence Harding and her associates maintained about specifics of President Harding's death was their strategy to conceal truths about why he died. Most theories focused on poison as the cause of Harding's death. People developed variations of how Harding was poisoned. One theory speculated Florence Harding had initially attempted to poison her husband when they were at Vancouver, an idea compatible with Means's reference. The amount she gave him was insufficient to be fatal but did sicken the president. This account usually says she poisoned Harding's food and his reaction to what he consumed resulted in his physicians' assumption he had been food poisoned instead of realizing the president had been given poison.

After several days in San Francisco, Harding seemed healthier because his system had rid itself of the poison his wife had given him. Theorists thought

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Florence Harding took advantage of the time alone with her husband to give him a stronger, deadly dose of poison. She might have rubbed poison on his gums when she put a finger in his mouth. Because Sawyer injected Harding with digitalis, Mrs. Harding, or another poisoner, might have slipped a toxin in the hypodermic needle. Some people who endorsed this theory believe Sawyer was Florence Harding's accomplice or later realized she had murdered her husband, forcing her to poison him too so he could not incriminate her. In his 1939 book, *Fighting Years*, prominent editor Oswald Garrison Villard stated he believed Harding probably had been murdered, commenting about suspicious coincidences regarding Sawyer's death.

Other theories circulated. A cook claimed he had put croton oil on Harding's food. Some people suggested the Ku Klux Klan had ordered members to kill Harding because he possibly had African American ancestry. Assassins theorists identified included Madame Marcia whom people thought might have murdered Harding to preserve her credibility for her prediction he would die in an unusual manner. Several poisoning theories targeted various government officials as potential villains. Some plots accused that corrupt politicians killed Harding so he could not testify against them or threaten their continued pursuit of unlawful activities involving government resources.

Walter Thayer, who had been a secret service agent when Harding was president, collected evidence for a comprehensive, three-volume report titled "The Harding Poison Murder Case." Thayer theorized Harding had first been poisoned en route to Alaska. The president was poisoned again just prior to reaching Seattle. A third poisoning of Harding occurred on the train to San Francisco where he received a fourth dose of poison that killed him. Thayer stated the poisoners were German agents who acted on behalf of a Harding associate who wanted the president dead. He outlined how each poisoning coincided with the president's health lapses during the trip.

Views that Harding had been murdered persisted in the decades after his death. Technological advances in the 20th century extended debate whether Harding had been murdered. Radio and television broadcasts offered forums for people to explain their opinions about Harding's death. C-Span aired its *American Presidents: Life Portraits* episode about Harding from Marion, Ohio, in September 1999. Many of the viewers' questions regarded whether Harding had been murdered. The Internet provided people, primarily nonhistorians, a new medium to discuss their theories about the causes of Harding's death. People posted ideas about possible murderers and motives on Web sites. Some posters suggested organized crime figures had assassinated Harding. A few individuals claimed personal associations with Harding, such as a woman who said she was his relative and had genealogical evidence proving Harding had an African American ancestor, a reason she emphasized for some people to want Harding killed.

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Conclusion

The precise reason Harding died will remain unknown because an autopsy was not conducted immediately after his demise to clarify exactly what caused his death. No medical officials at the scene considered looking for poison in his system or saving tissue samples. Later assessments of contemporary medical reports by physicians suggested possible causes, but their hypotheses cannot be proven without physical evidence. Any 21st century exhumation of Harding's remains might not offer closure regarding toxins he might have ingested.

Rumors that Florence Harding killed her husband endured. Almost two decades after Harding's death, Adams encountered Ohioans, many of whom had known the Hardings and believed she was guilty. If she had not maliciously poisoned her husband, Florence Harding was so self-absorbed that she might have accidentally given him her medicine, including codeine, which might have contradicted or created a toxic mixture with his medications. Some theorists stressed that many homeopathic remedies involved traces of toxic substances, such as the morphine Harding's mother had mixed in medications, suggesting Harding might have built up sufficient levels of poison during his trip. They noted the symptoms Harding experienced were occasionally connected to poisons. Without an autopsy, those poisons could not be confirmed to be present in Harding's body.

Surrounded by strangers and friends, Harding was vulnerable to attack. Unavailable or conflicting information about people with whom he had contact contributed to murder theories. For example, some accounts named people who prepared Harding's meals and had access to his food, including Phillip Roemer, the Palace Hotel head chef, in addition to vague references to anonymous kitchen help. Several contemporary articles commented on physical stresses often associated with the demands of the presidency. Perhaps one of Harding's enemies took advantage of his weakened physical and emotional condition due to the toils of traveling, corruption revelations, and family history of poor cardiovascular health. Recognizing Harding's vulnerability, the murderer, whether a relative, associate, or stranger, inflicted a fatal dose of poison that overwhelmed Harding.

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CON

Shortly after the funeral, questions arose and conspiracy buffs started their theorizing. The funeral in question was that of Warren G. Harding, 29th president of the United States; the date was August 2, 1923; and the place was San Francisco's Palace Hotel.

Without doubt, the situation surrounding Harding's death led to questions. How had such a seemingly healthy man died so unexpectedly? With an illness obvious to the public for only a week, his passing seemed improbable. Had the president actually died from ptomaine poisoning from ingesting spoiled crabs? Or, more menacingly, had the president been murdered? Tensions had been high between him and his wife—Florence Kling DeWolfe Harding—almost from the day of their wedding. Had she finally had enough of his philandering? Rumors of his mistress Nan Britton and their infant daughter Elizabeth Ann, born October 22, 1919, had been circling the White House for years. Tales of other trysts abounded. Had her humiliation finally reached the point of no return?

Or, as others soon would have it, had the new widow poisoned her beloved "Wurr'n" to save him the humiliation of the scandals that would soon become known to all? Beyond the extramarital affairs, it was soon to become common knowledge that Harding had unwittingly appointed and then overlooked the actions of numerous corrupt officials. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall sold the nation's oil reserves at Wyoming's Teapot Dome for his own personal profit. Charles

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Forbes, corrupt director of the Veterans Bureau, callously diverted drugs from veterans' hospitals, skimmed the proceeds from sales of "surplus" goods, and gained considerable kickbacks from the purchase of supplies at exorbitant prices. Thomas Miller, the alien property custodian, accepted bribes with alacrity, ultimately earning himself a prison sentence. That Harding himself profited from these machinations has never been proven, and it appears that he learned only weeks before his death of the activities of Fall and Forbes. Had the First Lady poisoned the president in order to save him the ignominy of a failed presidency, possible impeachment, or the denial of the second term that he so desperately sought?

Others muttered about the possibility of the president committing suicide. Similar to those who theorized that Florence Harding had murdered her husband, suicide conspirators noted that the president had undoubtedly known that his presidency was about to collapse. Harding had proven himself a notoriously poor judge of character, appointing to office cronies from all-night poker parties and shallow friendships. His faith in "friends" generally proved in error, with the ultimate burden of their unscrupulous activities falling upon his shoulders.

With regard to Forbes's malfeasance, one estimate has his activities costing the taxpayers an approximate $200 million. That Harding was at least partially aware of Forbes's misbehavior is unmistakable. According to one witness, Harding ultimately confronted Forbes in the Oval Office, shaking, or alternatively strangling him, yelling, "You yellow rat! You double-crossing bastard!" (Trani and Wilson, 1977: 182). Indeed, not long after learning of Forbes's betrayal, Harding told Kansas newspaperman William Allen White, "My God, this is a hell of a job! I have no trouble with my enemies; I can take care of my enemies alright. But my damned friends . . . my God-damn friends, White, they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!" (Russell 1968: 558, 560).

That his soul was troubled about his friends and their antics became clear in a conversation with Secretary of Commerce, and future president, Herbert Hoover, as they traveled to Alaska on Harding's final trip. As Hoover recalled nearly 30 years later:

> [O]ne day after lunch, when we were a few days out, Harding asked me to come to his cabin. He plumped at me the question: "If you knew of a great scandal in our administration, would you for the good of the country and the party expose in publicly or would you bury it?" My natural reply was, "Publish it, and at least get credit for integrity on your side." He remarked that this method might be politically dangerous. I asked for more particulars. He said that he had received some rumors of irregularities centering around [Jess] Smith, in connection with cases in the Department of Justice. . . . Harding gave me no information about what Smith had been up to. I asked what [Attorney General Harry] Daugherty's relations to the affair were. He abruptly dried up and never raised the question again. (Hoover 1952: II-49)

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Clearly, matters lay heavy upon the president's mind, not only about the present, but also about the future of the Republican Party and his own personal fortunes.

Each of the theories gained adherents over the course of the decade following Harding's death. The suicide theory gained popularity with the publication of Samuel Hopkins Adams's *Revelry*, a purported novel that examined the death of President Willis Markham. Markham, innocent of the actions of his cabinet members and appointees and fearful of the nation's retribution upon him and his beloved Republican Party, frets about a fictionalized Teapot Dome scandal. Only by accident, however, does Markham take the wrong and fatal prescription. Realizing his error, Markham chooses to do nothing, ultimately succumbing to the medication and ending his grief over false friends.

Gaston Means's *The Strange Death of President Harding* placed the burden of the medicine chest squarely on the First Lady. According to the scurrilous work, Florence Harding had deliberately poisoned her husband. As to precisely why, Means was a bit unclear. She had poisoned him either to protect him from the forthcoming announcements of ill behavior by cabinet members and political appointees or else in retribution for his long-term affair with Nan Britton and their resultant child.

Or was it as pure and simple as accidental food poisoning incurred from crabs, fresh or canned, that led to the president's demise? That was the initial call by his homeopathic physician Charles Sawyer.

The President's Health

Despite a rather robust appearance—six feet tall, large-boned, and full-chested—Warren Harding could not claim the perfect health of a corn-fed Ohio country boy. Rather his health had always been somewhat delicate. In addition to the youthful maladies of mumps, chickenpox, and measles, Harding's constitution was beleaguered by frequent heartburn and indigestion.

Frazzled nerves also seemed to plague the future president. Indeed, while a young man of 24, Harding suffered a nervous breakdown, unable to attend to his work at the *Marion* [Ohio] *Star*. On November 7, 1889, he checked himself into the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan. Sponsored by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the vegetarian facility was run by J. P. Kellogg, inventor of corn flakes. In early 1890, Harding returned to Marion, 20 pounds lighter and with spirits significantly lifted.

His spirits, however, did not remain high, nor did his general health. Not too long after his marriage to Florence Kling DeWolfe on July 8, 1891, the Hardings moved in with his parents, both of whom were homeopathic physicians. For nearly six months, the newlyweds lived with his parents in order to spare his father late night trips to the younger Hardings' home to treat Warren's heartburn

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and sudden attacks of indigestion. And, on January 7, 1895, Harding again checked himself into the Battle Creek Sanitarium. He remained there until late February, briefly returned home, and then went back to the sanitarium for much of the remaining year. It appears he would regain his health under the Spartan diet and quiet of the sanitarium, only to again lose his composure upon returning home to a life of late nights, unabashed drinking, a poor diet, constant cigar smoking, and a perpetually bothersome wife. In 1896 and 1897, he again paid brief visits to the sanatorium, as he did for a few days in 1903.

Harding's discontinuation of Kellogg's treatments at the Battle Creek facility did not mean a return to health. Rather, he gathered his emotions, continued eating and drinking to excess, smoking and staying up until the wee hours of the morning, suffering heartburn and indigestion along the way. He also found comfort in the arms of at least two mistresses—Carrie Phillips and Nan Britton. The tryst with Phillips lasted from 1905 through 1919 and the one with Britton lasting from 1917 until shortly before the president's death.

Turning his health over to his father and a family friend, Charles Sawyer, a homeopathic physician, Harding remained relatively healthy over the course of the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1919, however, he told a senate confidant that he suspected he had some sort of heart ailment. Also in 1919, he noted to the same confidant—Senator James E. Watson of Indiana—that his urine contained traces of sugar and that his systolic blood pressure was occasionally as high as 175.

Throughout the campaign of 1920, Harding appeared hale and healthy, if not occasionally exhausted by the strenuous nature of presidential politics. By 1922, however, the strains of office were beginning to show to all who cared to notice. He was much more easily exhausted, complained of frequent chest pain, and often had trouble sleeping. While Sawyer was willing to suggest that all could be traced back to the president's notorious attacks of indigestion, both patient and physician suspected that the source of Harding's ill health lay in angina pectoris: acute chest pain or discomfort resulting from decreased blood supply to the heart muscle.

Outsiders who noticed the president's haggard look generally assumed that worry over the health of his wife—who had a severe kidney ailment—or the recent strikes in the railroad and coal industries weighed heavily upon him. While they may indeed have weighed heavily upon him, so was his own deteriorating health. His chest pains continued and his systolic blood pressure soared into the 180s. Still he did not sharply curtail his schedule, either socially or politically, as he was seriously considering a second term of office. During a social event, the president made the passing acquaintance of Emmanuel Libmann, a noted New York cardiologist. Libmann observed the president over the course of the evening, noting a frequent shortness of breath, as well as abrupt pauses in his conversation. The next day, Libmann predicted that the

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Funeral cortege of the late President Warren Harding leaving the White House, August 8, 1923. (Library of Congress)

president would be dead within six months. He was off by less than two months in his estimation.

A serious attack of influenza laid the president low in January 1923 and *may* have been accompanied by a mild heart attack. His recovery was slow, the impact long-lasting and noticeable to all. His valet Arthur Brooks confided to Colonel Edmund Starling of the secret service details that something was seriously wrong with the president. He could not sleep at night, nor could he lay flat. He could only drowse fitfully if propped up by pillows. Even then he had trouble catching his breath. Starling shared with Brooks that the president could no longer play a full round of golf, usually tiring out at the halfway point in the round.

Over the course of the spring, the president's health continued to deteriorate. His energy was nonexistent; his usually ruddy color had turned an ashen gray. He complained to Secretary of State Charles Evan Hughes that not only was he perpetually exhausted, but that his blood pressure consistently maintained 175, systolic. The time hardly seemed appropriate to commence a nationwide tour, but this is exactly what the president and his handlers wanted in light of the forthcoming election: a time to build support, a time to meet the common laborer and farmer, a chance to explain decisions that had been made and to test the waters on ones that would be made. Thus the "Voyage of Understanding" came into being and the president's life became more and more difficult to sustain.

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The Voyage of Understanding

The president's cross-country trip was not only to gauge the American public, but also to reinvigorate the exhausted man, restoring his health in the process. Scheduled to last slightly more than two months, the trip was to take Harding across the western United States and on to Alaska, returning to Washington, D.C., via the Panama Canal. While a two-month vacation from the presidency might shock modern sensibilities, the presidency was a much less intensive position in the early 20th century than it is today, and Harding had appointed quality cabinet members for the most part to carry on the day-to-day activities of his office. In the sultry, pre–air conditioning days of Washington, D.C., most individuals with the wherewithal to leave did so.

Prior to leaving on his lengthy tour of the western states, Harding arranged for Postmaster General Walter Brown to travel his proposed route and arrange for speaking engagements and assorted activities. When Brown returned from his foray, Harding complained to Colonel Edmund Starling of the secret service that the trip would be exhausting, just the thing he was hoping to avoid. Harding needed rest, and he knew it. Accordingly, Starling trimmed the schedule considerably, but not enough for the life of the president to be saved.

On June 20, 1923, President Harding, the First Lady, Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace and his wife, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work and his wife, Speaker of the House Frederick H. Gillett, Charles Sawyer and his wife, and a contingent of newspapermen, secret service men, aides, stenographers, and telephone technicians, meant to arrange for the amplification and transmission of the president's speeches, departed the capital. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and his wife were to join the party in Tacoma, Washington. Also joining the party was Joel T. Boone, a homeopathic physician meant to shore up the elderly and increasingly infirm Sawyer.

As the date for departure grew near, Florence Harding assumed a poise of concern for the president's health. She approached Starling and demanded that Sawyer and Boone be placed as closely to the president as possible at each stop. Adjoining rooms would be preferable, but if not available, the First Lady wanted to know the exact room number for each of the physicians, in case she might need them in an emergency.

Regardless of Starling's merciless paring of the schedule, the trip was still exhausting, even to the younger, healthier members of the party. The *Superb*, the Hardings' special railcar, stopped on a relentless schedule, exhausting the president, sallowing his complexion and dulling his senses. From West Virginia, through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, into the searing heat of summer, Harding appeared time and again at whistle stop after whistle stop. In the process, his lips grew blistered, requiring Sawyer to apply ice compresses to them. From Saint Louis on to Kansas City, Missouri, the president continued his constant

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speech-making, essentially doing nothing to ease the strain on his heart. William Allen White, a Kansas editor, met with Harding in Kansas City. White later recalled that Harding's lips were swollen and blue, his eyes puffed, and his handshake stiff.

As Harding continued across the nation, he kept a blistering pace: speaking, touring the site of the future Zion National Park, visiting soldiers in veterans' hospitals, and even taking the time to take the controls of a Kansas wheat binder for a few moments of farm labor. He also continued his "Voyage of Understanding" for the American people by speaking on the World Court, the 18th Amendment, railroad and transportation problems, taxation, law enforcement, social justice and labor, internal improvements, immigration, and Americanization. Each exhausting stop was calculated to explain to America what his administration had accomplished to date and what it hoped to accomplish if returned to office in 1924.

The trip west had taken a serious toll upon the president. He was not sleeping well and when he did manage a few minutes' sleep, it had to be taken sitting up. His complexion remained sallow while his breathing was shallow and somewhat rapid. Still, he had taken every opportunity possible to speak to the American people and was looking forward to the brief respite of sea travel to Alaska on the USS *Henderson*.

The trip to Alaska, a mere four days in duration, did provide some relief to the exhausted president. There were no speeches to deliver, no hands to shake, no feigned interest to be taken, no meaningless side trips to be endured. He did, however, exhaust his traveling companions. Unable to sleep, he played cards into the wee hours of the morning, much to the distress of the few bridge players among the party. His worsening heart, the excitement of the journey, and lengthening days kept him restless; he paced the deck if not playing cards.

At an inland stop in Fairbanks, Harding endured 96 degree temperatures as he delivered his prepared remarks. However, the fatigue etched in his face distressed the normally unastute Sawyer to such a degree as to recommend that the president take a direct rail route back to the *Henderson* rather than the planned-for auto trip via the rugged Richardson Trail. He felt the president needed at least two good days' rest.

Once aboard the *Henderson* and southward bound, Harding's restlessness continued. He paced the deck nervously, showed signs of moroseness, and could not sleep without the assistance of heavy sedatives. And when sedatives could not induce sleep, Harding again dragooned bridge players for late night/early morning sessions, exhausting his compatriots and forever ending Hoover's love of the game.

One night in a fit of restlessness, Harding wandered the decks of the *Henderson*. In his meandering, he came across Reddy Baldinger, former senate page for Harding and at one point a delivery boy for the *Marion Star*, who was

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eating a pile of fresh crabs. Baldinger offered to share his feast and the two men sat there in the night, cracking shells, digging out small bits of meat, letting butter drizzle down their chins. Gifts of crabs and other seafood came freely to the *Henderson*. On one occasion, not only did Harding become ill, but so did several members of the presidential party. These late-night meals of crabs would be blamed by some for the president's death via food poisoning.

Yet even before the crabs had digested, the press corps was noticing that all did not seem well with the president. One noted that the president was "not just tired or worn out. He is beyond being merely fatigued. He is an entirely exhausted man, and the sort of rest he requires is not that of a day, or two or three, but of weeks" (Murray 1969: 447). Although Sawyer insisted that a serious case of indigestion was to blame, Boone and Work had done a quick examination of the president and declared his heart to be alarmingly enlarged.

A stop at Vancouver revealed greater concerns about the president's health. While he manfully delivered a speech to 40,000 individuals gathered in Stanley Park, bareheaded, many of his party noticed his exhausted demeanor and near frail appearance. Later that day on a golf course, the president could not finish his round, playing the first through sixth holes and then quietly slipping to the seventeenth to finish out his round. A formal dinner found the president listless, delivering a forceless 15-minute speech. Concern for the president's health grew as he sought out every available moment to lie down and rest.

As the presidential entourage traveled into U.S. waters, Harding's health continued to deteriorate. When fog kept the *Henderson* from docking until several hours after its scheduled arrival, all believed that the day's events would be foreshortened. However, rather than simply starting at noon and forgoing the morning's scheduled activities, the president was kept active all day and into the evening hours. In mid-afternoon, Harding delivered what was to be a major speech about the Alaskan territory. However, he was listless, called Alaska Nebraska, and occasionally allowed his voice to fall to a mere whisper. He even dropped his speech, forcing Hoover to reassemble it on the spot. His traveling companions clearly understood that the president was ill.

While Sawyer continued to assert that the president's illness could be blamed on spoiled crabs that had induced acute gastrointestinal distress, his other physicians were not so inclined. In a quiet moment when Boone was alone with Harding—Sawyer was jealous of the Hardings' burgeoning friendship with Boone—he took the opportunity to examine the exhausted man. Along with Secretary of the Interior Work, Boone took the president's vital signs: his pulse raced at 140 beats per minute, his respiration had risen to 40 breaths per minute, and his heart seemed grossly enlarged. In consultation with Secretary Hoover, the physicians determined to contact one of California's leading doctors: Ray Lyman Wilbur, then the current president of Stanford University and soon to be president of the American Medical Association. He was to bring a heart specialist with him. He

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selected Charles M. Cooper. All stops between Seattle and San Francisco were cancelled as the patient sped south toward his physicians.

By July 29, 1923, a Sunday, Harding's condition had worsened. Still the president insisted that he would not be seen in a wheelchair or pajamas and accordingly dressed and walked from the station to a waiting car. Arriving at the Palace Hotel in the early part of the day, Harding was immediately sent to bed. It was abundantly clear to all, save Sawyer, that the president's condition did not derive from tainted crab, but rather resulted from coronary distress. Blood tests and x-rays revealed that beyond his heart woes, he was also suffering from pneumonia. With a pulse rate of 120 and a temperature of 102, things did not look well at all. Tuesday and Wednesday seemed to show improvement, so much so that Sawyer announced that he himself would soon be taking a vacation. On Thursday morning, the generally pessimistic Boone was even optimistic that the presidential party could soon leave California for Washington, D.C., and at least two months of enforced rest.

Although Boone, Wilbur, and Cooper attempted to stimulate the president's body via doses of digitalis and caffeine, Sawyer, the senior and official White House physician, continued his own personal round of treatments. Attempting to purge the president's body of the ptomaine poisoning he still believed to be the primary difficulty, Sawyer applied a variety of purgatives to his patient. Regardless of the assorted treatments, Harding seemed to be on the mend by Thursday. He sat up in bed and visited with a number of members from his entourage.

Early in the evening of August 2, 1923, the First Lady commenced to read an article to the president. From the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, she lifted his spirits with Samuel Blythe's "A Calm View of a Calm Man," an essay that lauded the president's steady, competent course of action. During her reading, the president suffered a seizure of sorts when he noticeably stiffened, showed untoward signs of irritability, began sweating profusely, and developed a very frightened look. Once he was calmed and his pajamas were changed for dry ones, Florence crossed the hallway to her own bedroom to rest. Sawyer stayed with the president for some time, most probably administering yet one more purgative to ease the poisons from his body.

What happened next is the material of conspiracy theories. Who was in the room at the time of Warren Harding's death remains a mystery. Was the First Lady even present to see her husband draw his final breath? The number who claim to have seen the president twist convulsively in death and then fall lax varies with the telling, as does the time of death. Did he die at 7:10, 7:20, or 7:30? Even the exact cause of his death is still debated by historians and conspiracy theorists. Was it ptomaine poisoning from bad crabs? Was it poison from an alternate source? Was it a heart attack? Was it a cerebral hemorrhage? And why did the First Lady refuse to allow an autopsy of her comparatively young—57 years of age—husband?

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The Harding Memorial

Following the death of Warren Harding, Vice President Calvin Coolidge was staying with his father at Plymouth Notch, Vermont. In the sitting room of the family house, Coolidge was sworn in as president by his father, a notary public.

Harding's body was brought by train from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., and his body was first taken to the East Room of the White House, and then lay in state on the same catafalque that had been used for Abraham Lincoln in 1865. Some 30,000 people filed past his body.

Then Harding's body was taken to Marion, Ohio, where his father lived. It was placed in a temporary vault at Marion Cemetery, as was that of his wife, Florence, who died in the following year. In 1931 the Harding Memorial, a large tomb, was formally dedicated at Marion for the Hardings. Herbert Hoover presided over the service. It remains open to the public.

Credible Conclusions

In the nearly 80 years since Harding's death, a number of volumes have been produced by historians exploring his presidential administration, as well as those that attempt to present a picture of his entire life. Since the president's papers became available for public scholarship in the 1960s, no academician has made a credible case for food poisoning or, for that matter, poisoning of any kind. Indeed, only Robert Farrell, in his *The Strange Deaths of President Harding* (1996), spends any pages on the poisoning or murder theories, and then only to debunk them. Francis Russell (*In the Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding and His Times*, 1968) passes over the controversies rather rapidly, noting only that the physicians present did not agree on a precise cause of death. Robert K. Murray (*The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration*, 1969) is similarly quiet on the controversies surrounding the death of the president.

Only in recent years has a new hypothesis been proposed relating to the death of Harding. Carl Sferrazza Anthony in *Florence Harding: The First Lady, the Jazz Age, and the Death of America's Most Scandalous President* (1998) offers the first reinterpretation of the tragedy in nearly three decades. And his argument is persuasive. According to Anthony's reading of the documentary evidence, Florence Harding and Sawyer returned to the president's room slightly before 7:00 P.M. There they joined naval nurses Ruth Powderly and Sue Dauser, who were changing shifts. In the first minutes after 7:00, Harding passed away following a quick convulsion where his mouth dropped open and his head lolled to the right. The First Lady did not at first believe her husband had died and implored Sawyer to do something to revive her husband. Sawyer reportedly ran from the room in order to retrieve a stimulant from his room cum office.

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When the stimulant did not revive the president, Florence Harding stepped into the hallway and asked that all the doctors come to the sickroom immediately. Within minutes Wilbur, Work, Cooper, Sawyer, and Boone were in room 8064. Each saw the case as hopeless, the president having been dead for several minutes. To appease Florence Harding, Boone opened the president's eyes, touched the corneas, closed the eyes once again, and turned to embrace the First Lady. The time was near 7:30 P.M.

As it came time to fill out the death certificate, Sawyer, as the president's chief physician, declared that the cause of death had been a cerebral hemorrhage. Starling, the secret service agent in charge of the scene, attempted to ascertain if the other physicians believed a hemorrhage was the cause of death. For hours he interviewed the physicians, attempting to determine if unanimity existed as to the cause of the president's death. More significantly, despite his having been the physician in charge, Sawyer refused to sign the death certificate. Did he know that the certificate was a misrepresentation of the facts and signing would be tantamount to committing perjury? Ultimately, Wilbur, a physician resident to California, signed the document, despite the fact that all but Sawyer felt that death had come as a result of cardiac arrest.

For Anthony, the death of Harding falls into the category of "negligent homicide" (Anthony 1998: 453). The First Lady pushed the president too much to complete the western tour, despite knowing he was ill. Sawyer treated the president for nonexistent food poisoning by applying assorted purgatives, which ultimately altered his potassium levels, leading to a heart attack. And, after the first attack on August 2, Sawyer continued to ply the president with purgatives, most probably leading to the second and fatal heart attack.

Moreover, despite Boone having serious reservations as to the treatment plan to restore the president's health, he did little to nothing to alter Sawyer's misguided efforts. Of course, neither did Wilbur, Work, nor Cooper, at least according to their notes and memoirs. They did apparently talk among themselves and years later with friends as to the misguided efforts of the homeopathic physician, but long after the patient and the doctor himself were dead.

In the end we are left with a dead president. His family history suggests a fatal heart attack, as does the quickness of his actual passing. Cerebral hemorrhage generally brings death within minutes; all involved said the president's death was instantaneous.

The First Lady might have been angry with the president for his many trysts, but she had lived with them for years and would have had no reason to finally draw the line and murder the man who gave her a significant station in life. Not enough of the scandals by which his presidency would be remembered were yet known. The First Lady had no reason to poison the president to save him from impeachment and disgrace.

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Harding himself was an unlikely candidate for suicide. Although he was cognizant of his own mortality—preparing a will shortly before leaving on his western tour—he looked forward to his continued involvement in politics and perhaps even a second term in office. He also looked forward to traveling and to writing again for his beloved *Marion Star*.

Thus, the blame must fall on the president's lifestyle and the medical care provided by Charles Sawyer. Had he not so fervently believed that the president had ingested tainted seafood, his course of purgatives would not have been prescribed, or they would have been more rapidly curtailed. But with his already weakened heart, the purgatives forced Harding into cardiac arrest.

Those seeking to find suicide or murder in the death of President Warren G. Harding should put away their convoluted conspiracy theories and accept the truth.

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10

Marcus Garvey was "railroaded."

PRO	Kelton R. Edmonds
CON	Tim J. Watts

PRO

Marcus Mosiah Garvey arrived in the United States from Jamaica in 1916 without significant contacts and with little money. Yet, by the early 1920s, the immigrant leader amassed the largest black movement in U.S. history. Shortly after rising to prominence, Garvey saw his organizational efforts devastated due to the combination of governmental repression, international opposition, and anti-Garvey campaigns by other African American leaders. Garvey's meteoric rise can be attributed to his charisma, organizational skills, and keen understanding of the time period. The economic, social, and political circumstances of blacks within the United States at the time of his arrival proved to be an ideal opportunity for Garvey to galvanize a mass movement. Conversely, his catastrophic and relatively quick fall exposed the collective power of his enemies as they systematically railroaded Garvey into isolation, thereby totally diminishing the effectiveness of his ideology and organizations.

Born in Saint Ann's Bay, Jamaica, on August 17, 1887, Garvey migrated to the United States in 1916 after exchanging a series of letters with iconic black leader Booker T. Washington, a man whom Garvey admired for his unprecedented efforts toward black nationalism. Unfortunately, Washington died before Garvey could meet him. Nevertheless, Garvey did not let Washington's death dissuade his vision as he quickly amassed capital and momentum in organizing one of the most successful movements of the 20th century.

As an adolescent, Garvey was able to nurture a love for reading while working on ships that sailed throughout the Caribbean and South America. While traveling aboard these ships, Garvey grew disheartened as he witnessed the deplorable living conditions of blacks throughout the Americas. He concluded that wherever he traveled, people of African descent were blatantly disrespected and systemically fixed at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Consequently, Garvey became dedicated to addressing the universal subjugation of people of African descent throughout the world. He constructed an organization to uplift blacks on a Pan-Africanist level, called the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Although organized in Jamaica in 1914, the

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UNIA flourished because of its volume and vitality in the United States. Garvey particularly appealed to millions of blacks who resided in northern urban centers in the United States, many of whom had recently migrated from the oppressive conditions of the rural Jim Crow South. While pursuing northern World War I industrial employment, blacks found major injustices in the North, sometimes as bad as the South, as they were subjected to economic discrimination, de facto segregation, and episodes of racial violence.

Garvey's timely and powerful oratorical abilities struck numerous emotional chords among African Americans. He offered African Americans a message that emphasized pride and self-esteem by celebrating the richness of African history. He appealed to African Americans with a message of economic prosperity through building and supporting black autonomous enterprises. Accordingly, Garvey offered successful examples of his economic strategy for blacks to support or immolate, as the UNIA owned factories, bakeries, a grocery store, and a noteworthy shipping fleet called the Black Star Line. Racial pride, however, was just as important as the building of "black wealth," according to Garvey. Garvey boldly asserted that racial pride for blacks centered on both understanding the rich history of their African heritage and the establishment of a glorious new empire on the African continent, which European imperialist powers almost totally controlled at the time. To implement his plan of redeeming Africa, as well as spread his economic ideals, Garvey relied on his newspaper, *The Negro World*, to promote his movement throughout the world.

Preaching total separation of blacks from all forms of white domination, his eloquent speeches and articles promised reclamation, hope, and prosperity to black people. Garvey even created the opportunity for blacks to invest financially in his movement, as he sold stock shares in the Black Star Line. Garvey originated the Black Star Line steamship fleet to transport black passengers and commodities to and from Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean. As membership skyrocketed to around 3 million, money began to pour in to UNIA divisions nationwide.

For as many people who praised Garvey's ideology and success, however, they were superseded by powerful forces that wanted him stopped and immediately removed from any influential platform. Indeed, Garvey accumulated a long list of vehement enemies, residing both inside and outside the United States. This collection of enemies resorted to unscrupulous and inhumane tactics to ultimately subdue and ostracize Garvey, destroying his rapidly growing movement. The systematic pursuit and persecution of Garvey ultimately resulted in his five-year prison sentence. This section explores the various enemies that Garvey accumulated during his rise to prominence; then it critiques how his enemies collectively discredited and railroaded Garvey, culminating in his notorious trial and conviction, which eventually led to the death of his movement.

Considering the magnitude of his successful movement, Garvey was bound to attract a number of powerful enemies within the ranks of African Americans.

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These enemies included black intellectuals, editors, civil rights leaders, political activists, and ministers. His self-appointed efforts to articulate the destiny and feelings of the masses created serious animosity among a number of the educated and affluent black community, particularly the "black church."

The black church remained at the epicenter of the African American community and black activism since the reconstruction period. Although some black preachers endorsed Garvey, numerous black ministers envied the UNIA's effect on their congregations, as black church memberships began to noticeably decline in regions with a strong UNIA presence. To sabotage the impact of the Garvey movement, some preachers resorted to misleading local police and political bosses, as they suggested Garvey was a threat to both black society as well as white society by preaching racial hatred. These exaggerations resulted in arbitrary harassment, threats, and baseless arrests of Garveyites.

In addition to black churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) became another major black institution that sought to discredit and disband Garvey's movement. The NAACP found that its movement, which was grounded upon integration, directly conflicted with Garvey's ideology of black separatism. Garvey countered NAACP criticism by suggesting the organization was not trustworthy because its leadership was nearly all white and he labeled it the "National Association for the Advancement of Certain People." Garvey argued "the NAACP was causing the trouble between the races in the South by giving the impression that the Negro wants intercourse with whites." Garvey suggested, "We stand for a clean cut Negro policy. . . . All we ask is a fair chance in the fields of industry and commerce and we can take care of ourselves" (Garvey and Garvey 1968).

One of the strongest voices against Garvey within the NAACP was the renowned W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the NAACP's *Crisis*. In fact, Garvey's war of words with Du Bois rose to epic proportions as they frequently exchanged criticism through their periodicals. Garvey stated "DuBois and his allies were planning the extinction of the black race through miscegenation" and were thus "the greatest enemies the black people have in the world" (Garvey and Garvey 1968:). Conversely, Du Bois offered a number of unflattering indictments against Garvey, as he labeled him "a little, fat black man, ugly, but with his intelligent eyes and big head, who was the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and the world . . . who was either a lunatic or a traitor" (quoted from Hill 1986a: 233).

In addition to Du Bois, another noteworthy African American leader who adamantly opposed the separatist Garvey movement was labor leader A. Philip Randolph. In his periodical, *The Messenger*, Randolph labeled Garvey as "the supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass, a monumental monkey," and an "unquestioned fool and ignoramus." Randolph's sentiments about Garvey were complemented by an influential group of African Americans that included Randolph's fellow labor organizer Chandler Owen, along with George W. Harris, Robert

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W. Bagnell, William Pickens, Julia P. Coleman, John E. Nail, Robert S. Abbott, and Harry M. Pace. This group of notable African Americans labeled themselves the "Committee of Eight" and poignantly petitioned the U.S. government to arrest Garvey and disband his "dangerous" organization.

When Garvey was eventually arrested on mail fraud charges, the Committee of Eight sent a letter to the attorney general on January 15, 1923, stating:

> Dear Sir:
>
> As chief law enforcement officer of the nation, we wish to call your attention to a heretofore unconsidered menace to harmonious race relationships. There are in our midst certain Negro criminals and potential murderers, both foreign and American born, who are moved and actuated by intense hatred against the white race. These undesirables continually proclaim that all white people are enemies to the Negro.
>
> . . . Its present and moving spirit is one Marcus Garvey, an unscrupulous demagogue, who has ceaselessly and assiduously sought to spread among Negroes distrust and hatred of all white people.
>
> . . . The UNIA is composed chiefly of the most primitive and ignorant element of West Indian and American Negroes. . . . In short, this organization is composed in the main of Negro sharks and Negro fanatics. . . .
>
> For the above reasons we advocate that the Attorney General use his full influence completely to disband and extirpate this vicious movement, and that he vigorously and speedily push the government's case against Marcus Garvey. . . .
>
> We desire the Department of Justice to understand that those who draft this document . . . sound tocsin only because they foresee the gathering storm of race prejudice and sense the imminent menace of this insidious movement, which cancer-like, is gnawing at the very vitals of peace and safety—of civic harmony and interracial concord. (Hill 1986a: 186)

In a *Negro World* article, Garvey called the eight signers "good old darkies" who had "written their names down everlastingly as enemies of their own race." Nonetheless, sentiments like those within the above letter epitomize the tenacious wide-scale campaign that culminated to crush Garvey.

Adding to the initial uproar, the one event that most dramatically strengthened black opposition toward Garvey was his publicized meeting with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) on June 25, 1922. Before meeting with the KKK, most of the attacks against Garvey from African American leaders were expressed in written smears through newspapers and magazines. After his meeting with the KKK, however, numerous black leaders went to extreme measures in undermining the Garvey movement, which they concluded as perilous to the race. What Garvey planned to accomplish from the meeting with the KKK and what other black leaders perceived of the meeting proved diametrically opposite.

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Garvey met with KKK representatives in Atlanta for two major reasons. First, he wanted to disarm the KKK, whose membership was peaking in the early 1920s, and who had initiated episodes of harassment and brutality of UNIA members in the South. UNIA members complained to headquarters that Klansmen suspiciously questioned members on the streets and even appeared at their homes to demand information about the UNIA. Garvey seized the opportunity to explain the similarities in the racial desires of both organizations. Garvey reassured the KKK that his organization opposed miscegenation or any social contact between races. There was significant speculation that the KKK liked Garvey's idea of an African homeland for blacks so much that the KKK agreed to donate money to actualize Garvey's idea of continental separatism. The KKK clearly misinterpreted the scale of Garvey's idea of an African homeland to mean a full-scale black exodus to Africa. At no time of his life did he plan mass or coerced migration. Garvey envisioned select colonization by pioneering people, with the means to establish themselves, and the initiative to help build up a vibrant colony. Ultimately, the UNIA and the KKK failed to reach any significant agreement; furthermore, a Klansman official actually testified against Garvey at his mail fraud trial the following year.

No other act of Garvey's career brought him more criticism and cost him more support than his KKK meeting. Nevertheless, Garvey remained unapologetic, as he continued to view the KKK as a possible enabler to the realization of his ideas. He stated, "Compared with the farce, hypocrisy and lie typical of most whites, we welcome the honesty of purpose of the Klan. They are better friends to my race, for telling us what they are, and what they mean, thereby giving us a chance to stir for ourselves." Additionally, he offered one of his most controversial assessments as he asserted, "Potentially, every white man is a Klansman . . . and there is no use lying about it. The KKK is a help to this movement by increasing the membership, by making the black man think of Africa" (Garvey and Garvey 1968).

Despite Garvey's justification for meeting with KKK officials, mischaracterizations flourished throughout many corners of black America. Numerous black leaders felt Garvey's oversimplification of "all whites" having the same mentality as the KKK as dangerous and would alienate those whites who were sympathetic to their struggle. Most black leaders chose to publicly oppose Garvey, even those black leaders who previously supported some aspects of his organization or philosophy. Carter G. Woodson completely ended his article contributions to the *Negro World* in the aftermath of Garvey's meeting with KKK officials. Similarly, one-time ally William Pickens began to shun Garvey as he refused to attend the August 1922 UNIA convention where he was being honored. Pickens declared, "Wherein I have thought Marcus Garvey to be right I have said so, regardless of the opinions of those opposed to him. Now that I know him to be wrong I say so." In a letter to Garvey, Pickens concluded, "I gather from your

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recent plain utterances that you are now endorsing the Ku Klux Klan, or at least conceding the justice of its aim to crush and repress Colored Americans and incidentally other racial and religious groups in the United States" (quoted from Avery 1989: 68). Subsequently, Pickens became a major force in the "Garvey Must Go" campaign. Black integrationists suggested that Garvey encouraged the Ku Klux Klan to brutalize blacks to cause them to want to leave the United States for Africa. Criticism against Garvey grew so significant that opposition even extended outside of the United States to European colonies in Africa.

European powers such as England, Belgium, Italy, and France communicated their concern to the U.S. government about UNIA activities in Africa. They found Garvey's philosophy and encouragement of African independence as unacceptable, particularly in light of the enormous economic benefits they were reaping from their colonized territories in Africa. European powers desperately wanted to deter the effectiveness of the Garvey movement; therefore, numerous UNIA members were harassed and arrested in various countries under petty charges.

Additionally, European powers were clever in promoting their displeasure of Garvey through native Africans such as Blaise Diagne, who was a Senegalese member of the French Chamber of Deputies. Blaise was manipulated by the French government to publicly reject Garvey "in the name of all Africans." Blaise stated:

> We French natives wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty and since she has unreservedly accepted us upon the same basis as her own European children. None of us aspires to see French Africa delivered exclusively to the Africans as is demanded, though without any authority, by the American Negroes at the head of whom you have placed yourself. (quoted from Rogers 1996: 162)

European powers also outlawed any UNIA activities in their colonies. In fact, European suppression combined with U.S. government efforts to subdue Garvey proved to be the greatest factor leading to the downfall of the Garvey movement.

Indeed, beyond its own desire to persecute Garvey, the U.S. government seized momentum against Garvey, already created by European colonial powers and by the plethora of anti-Garvey rhetoric and activism from black leaders. Accordingly, the U.S. government pursued its own design to persecute Garvey. Via the State Department, the U.S. government directed one of its first official blows by issuing an insidious statement, labeling Garvey "an undesirable and indeed a very dangerous alien, whose aim was to pit all of the Negroes in the world against the white people."

Various conclusions about the government's true motives have emerged from scholars of African American history in recent years. Scholar Derrick McKisick, in a personal interview in 2009, suggested that the U.S. government's true impetus

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for pursuing Garvey was grounded in its oversimplified notion that Garvey sought to remove all blacks from the United States to Africa. McKisick contends that U.S. officials were motivated against a black exodus for economic reasons, not moral reasons, as they were unwilling to part with blacks who were a needed homegrown cheap labor force at a time of heavy industrialization. Scholar William Boone, in a personal interview in 2009, asserted that U.S. officials were primarily motivated by racist reasons to stop a black exodus, as U.S. officials worried that a black exodus would radically disrupt the socioeconomic hierarchy grounded in white supremacy, where blacks served a needed purpose by being permanently fixed at the bottom.



Marcus Garvey, in uniform as the president of the Republic of Africa. Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to unite African peoples worldwide and encourage African Americans to return to Africa. (Library of Congress)

Whatever their primary motivations, federal authorities arrested Marcus Garvey and three of his associates on January 12, 1922, and indicted them on 12 counts of fraudulent use of the mail to sell Black Star Line stocks. The three Black Star Line officials charged with Garvey were Eli Garcia, George Tobias, and Orlando Thompson. The actual trial began over a year later on May 18, 1923.

The prosecution's opening statement included "the entire scheme of uplift was used to persuade Negroes for the most part to buy shares of stock in the Black Star Line . . . when the defendants well knew . . . that said shares were not and in all human probability never could be worth $5 each or any other sum of money." Even before the trial began, there was a heated exchange between UNIA lawyers and the federal judge presiding over the case, Julian Mack. The defense attorneys insisted that Judge Mack remove himself from the trial due to his membership in one of the major anti-Garvey organizations, the NAACP. Judge Mack admitted his association with the NAACP, yet refused to step down, claiming he would not be biased.

Two days into the trial, Garvey dismissed his lawyer and decided to defend himself. Although Garvey knew the move could be detrimental to the outcome of his case, he stood firm on removing UNIA Counsel General William Matthews.

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Garvey became outraged at Matthews's insistence to accept a plea bargain for a reduced charge. Garvey's co-defendants, however, maintained their original legal representation.

At times, Garvey effectively provided solid defense and cross-examination, however, courtroom onlookers characterized most of Garvey's efforts as blundering, legally incompetent, and even comical. Garvey's overt mistakes in defending himself were compounded by persistent condescending comments from Judge Mack. From the beginning of the court proceedings, Judge Mack's treatment of Garvey caused many interested in the trial to believe that Garvey was doomed.

The federal government provided a number of ex-Garvey associates and employees to testify for the prosecution. The judge allowed their testimonies to go far beyond the mail-fraud charges, as witnesses testified to unrelated matters such as Garvey's occasional horse race betting when visiting Jamaica in 1921. The prosecution also relied on the contrived accounts of former UNIA officer Adrian Johnson, who claimed officials of the international UNIA office were secretly paid large sums. Years later Johnson sued the UNIA, claiming he had hardly been paid at all for his year of services; thus showing that his previous testimony was erroneous.

During his defense, Garvey stated that his organizations were "more intent on the ultimate uplifting and salvation that was promised to the Negro race of America than in the paltry profits that might be realized from the stock investment." Additionally, one of the lawyers for Garvey's co-defendants reaffirmed Garvey's stance by lamenting that "If every Negro could have put every dime, every penny into the sea, and if he might get in exchange the knowledge that he was somebody, that he meant something in the world, he would gladly do it. . . . The Black Star Line was a loss in money but it was a gain in soul" (Ottley 1967: 220).

The government's official accusations, that the Black Star Line used the U.S. mail to defraud the public, seemed limited in light of the inconsistent evidence provided, especially the contradictory testimonies. To build its case, the prosecution provided various individuals who contended to be victimized by Garvey's organization. Only one of the prosecution's witnesses, however, purchased stock through the mail. There were even a number of the prosecution's witnesses who had not purchased stock at all. Nevertheless, the federal government consistently placed people on the witness stand who espoused negativity about Garvey or the Black Star Line, despite their lack of actual firsthand evidence to support the government's charges.

The key witness for the prosecution, Benn Dancy, unveiled an envelope mailed to him from the Black Star Line. Although the envelope was authentically addressed from the Black Star Line, Dancy could not provide any contents of the envelope. Furthermore, there were notable accounts from onlookers that Dancy's testimony was incoherent and inconsistent. The blatant ineptitude and

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contradictions within Dancy's testimony led to the exoneration of Garcia, Tobias, and Thompson. Yet Dancy's testimony, with its monumental flaws, was the key element in convicting Garvey. After being found guilty by a jury, Garvey received a five-year prison sentence on June 21, 1923. How Garvey was found guilty, yet his co-defendants found innocent of the same charges, revealed a level of prejudice and complicity between the federal government and the judicial system. In the face of witness coercion and shaky evidence, railroading Garvey into a conviction and isolation seemed paramount to all involved in the trial, including judge, jury, and prosecution. Historian Lawrence Levine contends that Garvey was guilty of nothing more than "poor management, inexperience, and bad judgment in choosing some of his associates" (1982: 134), as only Garvey of the four defendants was found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison.

Despite Garvey's courtroom mistakes, he, in addition to the lawyers for his co-defendants, masterfully exposed the prosecution's attempts in coaching witnesses to fabricate testimony, which was a definite basis for a mistrial. For example, prosecution witness Schuyler Cargill testified to being employed as a mail clerk under the supervision of "Mr. Prentice" in the Black Star Line offices in 1919. Soon after Garvey proved that Prentice was not working for the Black Star Line at the time that Cargill testified about, Cargill readily admitted that the prosecutor fed him the dates to further fabricate the case against Garvey. Despite this proven false testimony and obvious witness coercion, no mistrial was declared and the trial of Garvey and his co-defendants was allowed to continue.

In cases identical to Garvey's, those convicted of mail fraud were typically sentenced to probation or up to one year of incarceration. The fact that Garvey was given the maximum five-year sentence, based on such limited evidence and a questionable trial, exhibited the federal government's and judicial system's obsession with ostracizing him for as long as possible, in hopes of destroying his movement. Directly following sentencing, Garvey was held without bail for three months at Tombs Prison in New York, although legally Garvey should have been granted bail more expediently while his case was being appealed.

The trial of Marcus Garvey fully exhibited the power and rage of the forces that wanted to crush Garvey altogether. Beyond the government's insincere concerns that Garvey victimized members via mail fraud, his arrest and conviction unveiled the true intentions of his opposition, to discredit his Pan-Africanist philosophy and dismantle his movement, as the evidence against Garvey proved to be scant. In fact, while incarcerated in New York in June 1923, Garvey accurately concluded, "I am not here because I committed any crime against society or defrauded anyone, but because I have led the way to Africa's redemption" (Garvey and Garvey 1968). Garvey was released on bail in September 1923 on appeal. Garvey's appeal was officially denied on February 2, 1925, as he was imprisoned once again, this time in Atlanta.

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The impact of Garvey's arrest and conviction proved catastrophic, as his movement never recovered, signifying victory for the U.S. government and all of Garvey's enemies. Specifically, his legal proceedings resulted in the loss of valuable human resources. Governmental infiltration and successful efforts to sabotage Garvey's movement heightened his paranoia about those close to him. Accordingly, Garvey accused a number of noteworthy UNIA officials and members of being self-serving or disloyal. The government's attempts to create in-fighting worked masterfully and resulted in the resignations of notable UNIA officials. Those who resigned included Garvey's original trial lawyer, his three trial co-defendants, and their lawyers; all of whom felt unappreciated or attacked by Garvey. Unfortunately for the Garvey movement, these individuals also served as auditor general and the bulk of the UNIA legal staff. Garvey's overall constituency also dramatically declined throughout the United States as a result of his conviction.

Furthermore, after Garvey's conviction, the almost bankrupt UNIA soon became plagued with pending lawsuits totaling almost a quarter million dollars. The economic standing of the UNIA grew so dismal that the final ship in Garvey's fleet was sold in an attempt to cover some of the debt accrued. Compounding the troubles, the UNIA lost a number of major buildings such as liberty halls, office buildings, and publishing plants. Thereafter, the UNIA only functioned on a minimal basis as a shadow of its previous glory.

Financial disarray and severe membership erosion were directly related, and both could be attributed to the effectiveness of government repression. One of the severest blows to the organization and rank-and-file was the U.S. government's confiscation of records, which were never returned. Numerous members loaned significant amounts of money to the UNIA, but proof of their contributions was lost with the seizure of records. The loss of records led many members to grow so angry at the UNIA that many left the movement altogether. The shattering financial and record-seizing situation deterred potential investors as well, which prevented possible new income for the UNIA.

Garvey and others credit federal agents planted within the UNIA with spreading rumors that the Black Star Line and UNIA officials were embezzling funds. Many Garveyites, unaware of the government's efforts in sabotage, skeptically began to question UNIA leadership during the chaotic times. All of these combined effective forms of government infiltration and repression led to severe recruitment difficulty, not only in the United States, but also in the Caribbean and Africa. Most of the Garveyites who chose to leave the movement during this tumultuous time still maintained strong convictions in black nationalism as a philosophy or a goal, yet were moved to leave the UNIA over perceived poor management. Ultimately, due to legalities and harassment, Garvey was forced to base his headquarters outside the United States. Operating out of London and Jamaica, away from his powerbase in the United States, proved to be one of the final factors that led to the death of Garvey's movement.

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Race and the Federal Bureau of Investigation

James Wormley Jones was one of the first five African American agents hired by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and he was involved in the case that led to Marcus Garvey being jailed for mail fraud. He was born on September 22, 1884, at Fort Monroe, Virginia, the son of John and Sal Jones. His family moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, when he was young, but they returned to Virginia, with John Jones becoming a light housekeeper at Chesapeake, with James Wormley Jones attending Norfolk Mission College and the Virginia Union University.

In January 1905, Jones started working with the Washington Metropolitan Police Department, starting as a footman, and then rode a horse, and finally a motorcycle. He was later promoted to being a detective, and in World War I he served in the U.S. army, gaining a commission, and then serving in France.

Returning to the police when he came back to the United States, Jones was appointed to the FBI in 1919. He was responsible for infiltrating the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and there he sought evidence on Garvey. Jones resigned from the FBI in 1923 and went to live in Dormont, Pennsylvania, where he died on December 11, 1958.

Garvey became even more disheartened when he learned that his plan of setting up a colony in Liberia was thwarted. His plan of actualizing African independence and the "Back to Africa" movement began with acquisition of land in Liberia. In December 1923, before Garvey was released on bail, UNIA delegations traveled to Liberia to negotiate land acquisition toward the ultimate goal of black settlement. Garvey was adamant about establishing a homeland for blacks of the diaspora to visit or resettle. Initial UNIA negotiations with Liberian officials proved to be very promising. After Garvey's incarceration, however, Liberian officials completely changed their previous agreement. Then, when UNIA officials arrived in late 1924 with money and supplies, Liberian forces quickly apprehended them and sent them back to America. Intense coercion from European colonial powers such as England, France, Italy, and Belgium, in addition to the United States, became the catalyst behind Liberia's retraction of its initial goodwill toward Garvey.

The Liberian government punctuated their sentiments by declaring that they would immediately apprehend Garvey and surrender him to British authorities if he attempted to personally visit to resolve issues. Garvey, however, was never afforded the opportunity to personally attempt renegotiations with Liberia because he lost his court appeal. Thereafter, he was promptly apprehended by U.S. authorities on February 8, 1925, and taken to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. During his resulting two and a half years of imprisonment, the UNIA almost completely dissipated.

In a February 10, 1925 letter, one of Garvey's many messages that he offered while incarcerated, the fallen leader stated "If I die in Atlanta my work shall then only begin" (Hill 1986b: 98). Despite Garvey's justifiable paranoia, he did not die

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while imprisoned. Ostracism of a leader, sometimes an outcome as severe to a movement as death of a leader, would be Garvey's fate, as his imprisonment transitioned into banishment from the United States. Two years before Garvey's sentence was scheduled to end, President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's prison term on November 18, 1927, and within the next month he was deported as an undesirable alien. As his ship departed a New Orleans port, Garvey told onlookers, "Be not dismayed! . . . Africa's sun is steadily and surely rising, and soon shall shed its rays around the world. I live and shall die for Africa redeemed. Steady yourselves and go forward!" (Garvey and Garvey 1968).

The trial and conviction of Marcus Garvey for defrauding his followers destroyed his worldwide movement of black independence from white oppression. Garvey's conviction resulted more from his provocative concepts than from the evidence, which was slight. He organized a mass movement of people of African descent larger than any seen before or since. His millions of followers in the United States, the West Indies, Latin America, and Africa were considered a significant threat by the European powers that controlled Africa. Garvey not only pioneered the idea that "Black is beautiful," but he also set Africa's liberation from white domination as his goal. Unwilling to allow significant numbers of African Americans to exit the United States, and acquiescing to the anti-Garvey momentum, the federal government railroaded Garvey into prison on trumped-up mail fraud charges in 1925 and eventually exiled him out of the United States. By 1935, organized suppression, infiltration, and ostracism effectively led to the dismantling of the UNIA in every country.

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CON

Marcus Garvey was one of the leading proponents of African American racial consciousness during the 1920s. He called for equal rights for African Americans and an end to practices such as lynching. Garvey also encouraged African Americans to study and value their own culture and self-worth. He called for a return to Africa, in an effort to make that continent free of colonial domination and to establish true democracies.

Garvey caused many white Americans great concern. They saw him as a radical agitator who threatened the status quo. His rejection of accepted social practices made Garvey an object of suspicion. The World War I and postwar era was a time of great social upheaval, and some Americans saw Garvey as a part of that threat. Other radicals were persecuted with extralegal means. Garvey, however, received the benefit of due process. Although some questioned whether the charges against him were valid, Garvey was allowed to defend himself and to appeal his conviction. He was sentenced to a normal prison term, which was later commuted. Garvey was deported, which was, and is, the ordinary practice for an alien convicted of a felony.

Historical Introduction to the Time

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, American society underwent a series of upheavals. Much of the impetus was the growing importance of radical movements, especially those that championed labor and other oppressed groups. Movements such as anarchism, socialism, and Marxism sought to overturn the traditional social order. They called for changes such as government intervention and control over production and working conditions. The reformers also wanted workers to share in the profits of their labor. Labor unions grew in importance, resulting in many strikes. Many of these strikes ended in bloodshed. The radical organizations included groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), known as the "Wobblies" to their opponents. A number of the IWW's leaders were jailed or executed under questionable circumstances.

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Many of the more radical leaders were recent immigrants, causing further concern among the upper and middle classes. The United States experienced great population growth during this period, mostly through immigration. Most of these immigrants were not from Western Europe and other traditional sources of U.S. immigrants. Many came from southern and eastern Europe, with ideas and philosophies foreign to those traditional in U.S. society. Suspicion of these recent immigrants turned to alarm when they espoused anarchism and socialism and called for changes in the U.S. system.

Government and social leaders seemed to have their suspicions confirmed during World War I. The stresses of war caused social change throughout Europe. In Russia in particular, radical change took place. The Bolsheviks seized control of the country. They executed the tsar and his family and made peace with the Germans who were still fighting the Americans. Other European countries, such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, experienced revolt by the working classes and the overthrow of established governments.

Many in the United States feared radicals planned the same kind of changes in this country. During the war, legislation was passed that limited free speech and activities. Private organizations monitored the statements of individuals and reported violations to law enforcement. A number of Americans who opposed the war, such as Eugene Debs, were arrested and sent to prison for extended terms. Such harsh actions seemed justified by acts of terrorism conducted after the war ended in November 1918. On June 2, 1919, a number of bombs went off in eight cities, including Washington, D.C. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer was targeted by one, and his home was partially destroyed. On September 16, 1920, a bomb estimated to have 100 pounds of dynamite and 500 pounds of steel fragments was set off in front of J. P. Morgan's bank on Wall Street. Thirty-eight people were killed and 400 others were injured.

The federal government responded with raids against anarchists, socialists, and Marxists, and those suspected of being sympathetic to those movements. Hundreds were arrested and often given cursory trials. Many were deported, such as Emma Goldman. Public opinion was very much opposed to the radical movements.

Conditions for African Americans

African Americans were not generally considered likely members of the radical movements, but most white Americans were concerned about the development of new attitudes among African Americans. After all, African Americans were freed from slavery at the end of the Civil War, but their condition had generally worsened. Many blacks were kept in poverty and deprived of their civil rights. "Jim Crow" laws enforced the subservient position of African Americans in relation to whites. Although many progressives campaigned for greater equality,

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by 1915, a conservative reaction was taking place in American society. That year, the Ku Klux Klan was reborn in Georgia. It was inspired by the release of the film *The Birth of a Nation* and by the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jew convicted of raping and murdering a girl who worked at his factory. The Klan's program of anti-Catholic, antiforeigner, anti-Jewish, and anti-African American activities met with considerable approval in much of the United States.

For many African Americans, the failure of state and federal governments to protect them was embodied by the practice of lynching. In 1915, 56 blacks were murdered by crowds of whites. Lynching of African Americans reached a high of 76 in 1919 before beginning a gradual decline. The crimes of the victims of lynching ranged from being accused of rape or murder of white women to simply being disrespectful. Lynching was accompanied by race riots during the time period. A representative disturbance was the 1917 race riot in East Saint Louis. Beginning on July 2, 1917, the root causes were economic as well as racial. With the outbreak of World War I, U.S. industries began a major expansion. Workers were in short supply, which encouraged many blacks from the South to migrate to northern industrial cities. East Saint Louis was a center for manufacturing and had always had a small African American population. By 1917, the number of African Americans living there had increased many times over. Employers signaled they could hire blacks for less money and that they would do jobs white workers would not. To ease tensions, city authorities placed an embargo on the sale of guns to African Americans. Those entering the city were searched. Some light-skinned blacks were able to pass themselves off as white and carried weapons through police lines. Rumors flew that the African Americans were planning to massacre whites on July 4. On July 2, mobs of whites formed and attacked blacks they encountered on the street, before attacking African American neighborhoods. Firing broke out from both sides. By the time the Illinois National Guard put an end to the fighting, the official death toll was 39 African Americans and 9 whites. The real number of deaths was much higher. Congressional hearings into the riots resulted in condemnations, but no real changes. Many Americans were sympathetic to a cartoon printed shortly afterward. It showed an African American woman and her children appealing to President Woodrow Wilson for democracy in America, even while Wilson holds his promise to wage war to make the world safe for democracy.

Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887. By trade, he was a printer, but he became interested in labor and racial issues after being blacklisted following his participation in a strike. Between 1908 and 1912, he traveled throughout the Caribbean and observed the conditions under which blacks worked and lived. From 1912 to 1914, Garvey lived in England, where he met a number of African

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nationalists, studied philosophy, and read widely. He became convinced that blacks could only improve their condition by uniting to create economic power. He also believed blacks should become more aware of their racial heritage and adopt a stance of black nationalism. When Garvey returned to Jamaica in July 1914, he quickly founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities League (ACL). The UNIA was intended to create economic opportunities for blacks, while the ACL worked to end European colonialism in Africa. The slogan for UNIA was "One God, One Aim, One Destiny."

Garvey corresponded with Booker T. Washington in 1915 and learned about conditions in the United States. He arrived in America on March 23, 1916, hoping to raise money through a speaking tour for a school similar to Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Although Washington had died in 1915, Garvey visited Tuskegee and became acquainted with many African American leaders. He perceived what he believed was a lack of leadership among African Americans and soon embarked on a 38-state speaking tour to champion his philosophy.

In May 1917, Garvey and 13 others formed a division of the UNIA in New York. The East Saint Louis riot followed only two months later. Garvey was prompted to speak out against the discrimination and ill-treatment that caused the riot. Under the UNIA's auspices, Garvey began to work for the improvement of African Americans' conditions. He started to publish the widely read *Negro World* newspaper on August 17, 1918. By June 1919, UNIA had 2 million members.

In November 1918, Garvey came to the attention of federal officials when the British War Office asked for information about him and his connection with African nationalists in Great Britain. Emmett Scott, a black official in the War Department who had met Garvey, called him to Washington to discuss Garvey's work. He warned Garvey that comments in the *Negro World* about lack of unity of purpose among the racial groups were provocative. Even so, Scott tended to dismiss Garvey as a dangerous agitator.

Other federal agents were assigned to attend UNIA meetings and report back on what was said. Major Walter H. Loving, a retired black officer, had greater concerns than Scott, based on what his agents reported back. In January 1919, Loving sent word to his superiors that he believed that Garvey's speeches and editorials would have been considered seditious if he had spoken them during the war. Garvey had written that the black race would side with whichever side offered them freedom and liberty. With the peace, however, wartime restrictions began to be relaxed, although the federal government remained vigilant about agitators.

Some members of the Justice Department wanted to prosecute Garvey by early 1919, but the assistant attorney general in charge of prosecutions for sedition believed Garvey's statements were permissible attempts to influence government policy in a democracy. Most of the Justice Department's efforts during 1919 were directed toward monitoring foreign-born socialists, anarchists, and Marxists. J. Edgar Hoover was head of the General Intelligence Division, and

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he used his manpower to monitor those groups. It was only after the "Red Scare" began to decline that Hoover paid additional attention to African Americans like Garvey. The first five African American agents of what became the Federal Bureau of Investigation were hired to keep tabs on Garvey's messages to his followers.

Race riots in Washington and Chicago in July 1919 prompted the army's Military Intelligence Division and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to authorize the recruitment of "reliable Negroes" to attend meetings of African American organizations. The army in particular developed a sophisticated analysis of the mood of African Americans in 1919. Military intelligence determined that the regimentation of society during World War I had encouraged the development of a black identity. African Americans became more aware of their combined strength and that they were expected to sacrifice while receiving little in return. They were upset over lynchings in particular, along with Jim Crow laws and discrimination. The army supported the development of interracial organizations like the Urban League that could improve relations between the races.

Officials at the Justice Department, including Hoover, were concerned that black nationalism could merge with other forms of radicalism. Hoover favored indictments of African American leaders, including Garvey, but federal attorneys were opposed since they did not believe they could obtain convictions for the proposed crimes. The presumed danger of Garvey was rated as low.

During 1919, Garvey put his program of economic empowerment into practice. One of the most visible was the founding of the Black Star Line in June 1919. Based on the name of the famous White Star Line, Garvey intended this business to be an African American–owned and –operated shipping line. The company was intended to carry merchandise between the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. Donations from UNIA members enabled Garvey to purchase a ship shortly afterward. With much publicity, the SS *Yarmouth* was purchased and renamed the SS *Frederick Douglas* on September 14, 1919. Other ships followed. The shipping company, however, was never well run, and some of the ships that were purchased were found to be unsuitable.

Garvey also founded the Negro Factories Corporation as a part of the UNIA. The corporation was intended to produce all kinds of marketable commodities in factories all over the United States. The factories would be owned and operated by African Americans and employ African Americans at wages equivalent to those received by white workers. Garvey hoped the business would eventually include a chain of grocery stores, restaurants, and other businesses where blacks could receive service sometimes refused them by white owners.

Garvey's efforts were enormously successful. It has been estimated that more African Americans belonged and participated in the UNIA than in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. By August 1920, the UNIA had 4 million members. That month, the first international convention of the UNIA

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was held in Madison Square Garden. Over 25,000 people heard Garvey speak about his dreams on August 1. Garvey used other public events to raise race consciousness and pride among African Americans. From his headquarters in Harlem, Garvey organized massive parades and demonstrations of the UNIA. Wearing colorful uniforms, Garvey and other leaders of the UNIA were conspicuous at these events.

Garvey also included a "back-to-Africa" element in his philosophy. He believed that Africa should be freed from colonial rule and that its infrastructure should be developed. He developed his "Liberia Plan" to build factories, schools, and railroads in that country. By helping Liberia to develop economically, it could become a center to inspire democracy in the rest of Africa. At the international convention in 1920, the delegates adopted a constitution, a Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, and a national flag for the country they hoped to create in Africa. Garvey was elected provisional president of this African country.

Garvey's Arrest and Trial

Garvey's success in organizing African Americans obviously concerned many whites. Although some dismissed him as a buffoon or showman or conman, by 1920, Garvey wielded a great deal of power. His plans for the economic development of black purchasing power threatened white businesses, while his plans to keep the races separate was unacceptable to many African American and white liberals. Garvey had many enemies in the African American community. The most famous was W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois believed the future of African Americans lay in integration into mainstream American society. The dispute soon degenerated into personal attacks. Garvey believed Du Bois disliked him because his skin was a darker shade and he was from the Caribbean. Du Bois called Garvey stupid and intimated that he was profiting unjustly from the UNIA.

Federal agencies continued to investigate Garvey and whether he was guilty of threats to society. Public opinion had turned against the limits on freedom of speech dating from World War I, so federal agents could not simply accuse him of seditious speech. Investigations into the finances of the UNIA and Garvey's tax records found nothing. It was only in 1922 that a possible crime was uncovered, thanks to the U.S. Post Office. Garvey was arrested on January 12, along with three other officers of the Black Star Line. They were indicted on February 16 for mail fraud.

Garvey and his associates were accused of soliciting funds for the line by claiming to own a ship that had not been purchased. Fliers with a picture of the SS *Orion* were sent through the mail to members of the UNIA, with offers to purchase stock in the Black Star Line. The ship in the picture had the name "Phyllis Wheatley" on it. The Black Star Line planned to purchase the ship, but when the

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flier was sent out, it had not yet been bought. The flier indicated that it was already owned by the line, leading to the charge of fraud.

The investigation leading up to the trial brought charges of wrongdoing from many of Garvey's enemies. Some were former associates in the UNIA, such as Gwendolyn Campbell, Garvey's personal stenographer. She testified at the trial that Garvey and his wife dipped into UNIA funds for their own use. Other members accused Garvey of being a swindler. All of these charges became public when the trial opened on May 21, 1923.



Marcus Garvey leaves court handcuffed to a deputy, New York City, February 6, 1925. Garvey was sentenced to five years in Atlanta Penitentiary for mail fraud. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Garvey did not help himself in the months before the trial. When released on bail, he failed to deny that any wrongdoing occurred. Instead, Garvey blamed the others arrested with him. By doing so, he implicitly acknowledged that a crime had taken place without him being aware of it. Testimony during the trial, however, portrayed Garvey as an administrator who dominated his subordinates and did not allow anything to happen without his approval. This weakened his defense of not knowing.

Garvey also failed to enlist the aid of his followers. Whenever he spoke, he displayed such confidence that he would not be found guilty that the initial anger over his indictment dissipated. No demonstrations or efforts to get the federal government to dismiss the charge took place. Instead, Garvey enlisted the help of influential African Americans to work behind the scenes to try to prevent any trial from taking place. He had such confidence in his ability to beat the charges that he authorized the continued sale of stock in the Black Star Line.

In his opening statement, prosecutor Maxwell Mattuck concentrated on the legal issues of the case, not any political motivations for the government's charges. He charged that Garvey and his associates knowingly sold stock without any hope for the shipping line's success and without any intention of serving the African American people as a whole. The witnesses testified about Garvey's methods of administering the UNIA and other businesses. They also produced evidence that Garvey enjoyed a lifestyle beyond that of most black men, such as fancy clothing and traveling in first-class accommodations. The testimony also

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revealed that UNIA and Black Star Lines were approaching bankruptcy, either through mismanagement or because of theft.

The main evidence produced by the government was an empty envelope from the Black Star Line addressed to an African American named Benny Dancy who lived in Harlem. The government claimed it contained the flier with the fraudulent picture of the *Phyllis Wheatley*, with an offer to purchase stock. The evidence was weak, but Garvey was unable to shake the idea that the envelope had included a fraudulent stock offer.

Garvey decided after the first day of court to argue his own case. After firing his own lawyer, he was aided by the lawyers of his other defendants. They helped Garvey with legal strategy and went over the points to make in each day's testimony. Judge Julian W. Mack also helped Garvey by giving him careful instructions about his rights and privileges in court. The trial followed the normal procedures. Garvey's cause was undoubtedly hampered by his behavior in court. When confronted by unfriendly witnesses, he tended to be critical and aggressive and made personal attacks. His caustic questions also led some witnesses to give unfavorable opinions about his actions and honesty.

Garvey's final summation may also have made the jury question his motives. Although he stated that he had founded the Black Star Line to help his race, some jurors saw him as using race as a cover for shady business practices. The impression may have led to his conviction.

Judge Mack did his best to run a fair court. He even praised Garvey's summation of the facts at the end to the jury. In his instructions to the jury, Mack told them to find Garvey innocent if they believed he was motivated by racial patriotism or the desire to make a profit. They were only to find Garvey guilty if they believed he had been motivated by greed. In the end, Garvey was convicted of mail fraud while his co-defendants were found not guilty. Immediately after the verdict was announced, Garvey responded with "Damn the Jews." This anti-Semitic remark may have led Mack, who was Jewish, to hand down the most severe punishment possible. He sentenced Garvey to five years in prison, a $1,000 fine, court costs, and denial of bail.

Despite the concerns of governmental officials, no violence resulted from Garvey's conviction. Garvey's followers were upset, but remained law-abiding citizens. Garvey blamed his African American enemies, the colonial powers such as France, the Jews, and the whites. He did not, however, blame the federal government for an unjust conviction. Garvey was eventually granted bail on September 10, 1923, while his case was on appeal. Garvey spent the next few months traveling around the country, speaking to African American crowds and raising money for his appeal. He even led the fourth annual international convention of the UNIA in Harlem in August 1924.

Garvey hired the politically influential law firm of Battle, Vandiver, Levy and Van Tine to prepare an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals. The grounds

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were Judge Mack's technical instructions to the jury. Specifically, they argued that the federal government had not proved its case that Benny Dancy had received an offer from the Black Star Line to purchase stock. The Appeals Court turned Garvey's appeal on February 2, 1925. His attorneys immediately appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The higher court refused to hear the case on March 23.

Garvey was arrested on his way back to turn himself in to authorities, on February 5, 1925. He was sent to the federal prison in Atlanta on February 7 and began serving his sentence. Garvey's wife and followers waged a petition campaign to have him pardoned. By 1927, even many of Garvey's opponents had begun to question his conviction. African American leaders threw their support behind a pardon for Garvey. Liberals believed the conviction was unfair. Even segregationists supported Garvey's release; they shared some of his ideas about the separation of the races. On November 18, 1927, President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence to the time already served. Upon release, however, Garvey was subject to immediate deportation. Federal law required that an alien convicted of a felony would be deported after serving his sentence. Garvey had applied for U.S. citizenship, but had never been granted it. On December 2, 1927, Garvey was placed aboard a ship on its way to Panama and then Jamaica. He never again set foot in the United States.

The UNIA continued to function after Garvey's deportation. Many African American leaders of the coming decades were influenced by Garvey and his movement. Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Nation of Islam, was a follower of Garvey. Malcolm X's parents were members of UNIA and passed along much of Garvey's philosophy to him. Others have paid tribute to Garvey, including the Rastafarians, who regard him as a prophet.

Conclusion

Marcus Garvey's trial was fundamentally fair. He was not railroaded into prison, even if doubts exist about the crime for which he was convicted.

In the context of developments between 1910 to 1920, many Americans were concerned about social change and threats by radical groups to the existing order of things. Labor unions, socialists, and anarchists threatened the capitalist system under which the U.S. economy operated. Many leaders of these radical groups were foreign-born, leading to suspicions of those not born in this country. Terrorist acts linked to these groups helped increase the concern of authorities.

The events of World War I also caused more emphasis to be placed upon the protection of the status quo. The Bolsheviks overthrew the government in Russia and took it out of the war against Germany. They also executed the tzar and began a process to confiscate the means of production in that country. Bolshevik and socialist movements in other European countries threatened the

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existing governments, causing fears of a worldwide revolution. The federal government responded by limiting civil rights in the United States and by prosecuting those suspected of wanting to change the system.

African Americans during this time migrated in increasing numbers to the industrial centers of the North. They were looking for economic opportunity, but the changing relationships between the races made many whites uncomfortable. Blacks who wanted to change the discrimination and injustices under which they had suffered were viewed with suspicion by many whites. Lynching was only the most visible injustice suffered by African Americans. Racial riots, such as the one that occurred in East Saint Louis, made both blacks and whites fearful of what could happen.

Marcus Garvey entered into this situation. A foreigner, he preached a philosophy of black nationalism, economic opportunity, and return to Africa for African Americans. His message was extremely popular, attracting up to 4 million followers only four years after he had arrived in this country. Garvey inspired many African Americans to study their heritage and to take pride in their race. The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s flows directly from his preaching. Garvey himself had many faults. He was showy and domineering. He made many enemies among African Americans who wanted to integrate blacks into the mainstream of U.S. society. His separation of the races actually won considerable sympathy among white segregationists. Government agencies were suspicious of his success in organizing African Americans into a movement that could upset the status quo.

Garvey and the UNIA were under surveillance by government agents for years. This practice, however, was not unique to Garvey. Federal officials investigated Garvey for possible crimes under which he could be prosecuted, but this was again not unique. After the end of the war and the decline of the threat from radical groups, agencies were less able to persecute those who spoke out against government policies. Requests by Justice Department officials to have Garvey arrested were denied because prosecutors realized they had no case against him.

The crime for which Garvey was eventually tried was the fraudulent offering of stock through the mail. The charge was based on a technicality of whether the Black Star Line actually owned the ship its literature implied was an asset of the company. The government's case was weak, but Garvey was not denied any of his civil rights. He failed to use all the resources at this disposal to defend himself, such as making appeals to his followers to campaign to have the charges dropped. Garvey also harmed his case by deciding to represent himself. The decision, however, was his own. He did receive legal advice from the lawyers of other defendants and with considerable prompting from the judge at his trial. Judge Mack's praise of Garvey's summation and his instructions to the jury that allowed racial patriotism as a reason for acquittal were indications of his efforts to give Garvey a fair trial.

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The Atlanta Penitentiary and Its Famous Inmates

After being found guilty of mail fraud, Marcus Garvey was sent to the U.S. Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, and was there from February 1925 until November 1927. The prison took three years to build, and it covers 300 acres, with the capacity of 1,200 prisoners. Opening in 1902, Marcus Garvey is one of many famous inmates, and the prison had already become known around the world in November 1920. In the U.S. presidential elections of that year, Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist Party managed to get 919,799 votes while a prisoner in the Atlanta Penitentiary for having urged resistance to conscription in World War I.

Before Debs, Carlo Ponzi, the inventor of the famous Ponzi scheme, was in the prison from 1911 until 1913; and Julian Hawthorne, son of the famous writer Nathaniel Hawthorne, spent a year in the prison (1913–1914), like Garvey, on charges of mail fraud, after selling shares in a nonexistent silver mine. In May 1932 Al Capone was also sent to the prison before being transferred to another jail, and then to Alcatraz.

Garvey also was allowed to appeal his case. The appeals process took a year and a half, during which Garvey was allowed to speak and travel publicly. Garvey himself did not blame the government for his conviction, only its agents. He also blamed his white and black enemies, as well as international forces. The law firm that handled Garvey's appeal was well known and politically influential. The appeal itself was apparently handled without prejudice by the Appeals Court. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the appeal, which is more common than not.

Garvey's sentence was the maximum allowable, but it may have been provoked by his anti-Semitic remarks at the end of his trial. When his sentence was commuted after only two years, federal law was strictly followed in his deportation.

Although many may still question whether Garvey actually committed, or intended to commit mail fraud, he received a fair trial that followed the letter of the law of the day. His treatment by the legal system was completely in accord with the established rules and practices. This treatment is all the more amazing in view of the climate of the times.

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11

Franklin D. Roosevelt had knowledge of an impending Japanese attack and used Pearl Harbor as an excuse to spur American entry into World War II.

PRO Rolando Avila
CON Paul W. Doerr

PRO

As President Franklin Delano Roosevelt observed the unfolding events in Europe in the late 1930s, he became convinced that Adolf Hitler was dangerous and that U.S. assistance was crucial to defend Europe against a Nazi conquest. However, Roosevelt was constrained by the overwhelming isolationism that took hold in the United States after World War I. Working within this political reality, Roosevelt gradually increased U.S. involvement. He supplied the Allies with war materiel, and he began making preparations for U.S. military involvement. But, even after World War II broke out in Europe, the majority of Americans remained strongly opposed to direct U.S. involvement in the fighting. This fact ultimately convinced Roosevelt that the only way he could ever win over public opinion would be if the United States were attacked. Consequently, Roosevelt deliberately provoked Germany, Italy, and Japan, and when the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, it did not come as a surprise to Roosevelt. In fact, Roosevelt was aware of an impending Japanese attack and welcomed it with genuine mournfulness, because, although he regretted the U.S. sacrifice of lives, he believed it served the greater good in rallying support for U.S. entry into World War II.

Hitler was legitimately elected to German high office in 1933. However, only one year later, he became a dictator and began a small campaign of territorial expansion by reclaimed Alsace-Lorraine from France. Then, in 1939, Hitler initiated a much more aggressive campaign. He invaded Poland, which began World War II when Britain and France declared war on Germany. By 1940, Germany's Blitzkrieg (lightning war) had led to the German occupation of Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, and a part of France. Furthermore, Hitler had forced British citizens into the subways as he bombed Britain by air. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill asked Roosevelt for help, but even though Roosevelt agreed with Churchill that Hitler posed an obvious threat to the security of the entire world and could not be allowed to go on unchecked, Roosevelt

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explained that his hands were tied. Unlike many Americans, Roosevelt could see the bigger picture. First, the United States could not afford to lose its allies. Second, if U.S. allies fell, what would stop Hitler from setting his sights on the Americas? He regretted not being able to send troops to help halt Hitler's advance, but, much to his chagrin, the popular political sentiment was entrenched in isolationist ideology, which forced him to comply with the official policy of U.S. neutrality.

The Great Depression, which occurred after World War I, made it easy for Americans to ignore events in the rest of the world. Many Americans were struggling economically and could only see their own problems that they faced on a day-to-day basis. Isolationists believed that U.S. involvement in World War I had been a mistake, and they preached against repeating the same mistake of getting involved in foreign wars that cost much more than they gained for Americans. Instead, many argued, it was far preferable to allow the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans to isolate the United States from European and Asian wars. Perhaps the most notable sign of the great influence of these isolationist tendencies came at the end of World War I. President Woodrow Wilson's Treaty of Versailles was intended to bring an official end to the Great War, but the U.S. Senate rejected the treaty because many Americans felt that provisions in it made it possible for the United States to be drawn into another European war. Wilson took his case to the American people, delivering 40 speeches in 22 days, but his efforts, which brought on exhaustion and a stroke, were to no avail. Isolationism had taken hold and remained an indomitable force in American politics until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Roosevelt was well aware of the seemingly impenetrable wall he faced regarding isolationism. It was under these circumstances that he had to work his political adroitness to do what he felt needed to be done. In fact, several historians have accused Roosevelt of utilizing deceitful tactics to increase gradually U.S. involvement in the war. For example, the U.S. Congress had passed a series of neutrality laws in the 1930s to keep the United States out of war, but Roosevelt convinced Congress to revise the 1935 Neutrality Act, which prohibited loans and the sale of weapons to warring nations. Roosevelt made a strong case. First, he argued that the revision was the best way to keep the United States out of the war, because Britain and France would be able to win the war without U.S. troops. Second, the sale of weapons would be beneficial to U.S. businesses struggling with the depression, because the weapons would only be sold on a "cash and carry" basis. In other words, all weapons had to be paid in cash up front. Third, the responsibility for the transport of the weapons would fall squarely on the shoulders of the buyers, which meant that U.S. ships would not run the danger of transport.

In 1940 Roosevelt convinced Congress to pass the first peacetime military draft in U.S. history and urged them to increase the defense budget. Roosevelt

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argued that with World War II raging in Europe it was a good idea for the United States to be able to defend itself. However, historians who accuse Roosevelt of "duplicity" write that these troops were not intended as only a defensive force. Instead, the raising of these troops was part of Roosevelt's ultimate plan to send them to Europe. Also, by executive order, without congressional approval, Roosevelt transferred 50 old U.S. destroyers to Britain in exchange for 99-year leases on eight British naval and air bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda. Again, Roosevelt claimed that the transfer was merely a defensive measure, because the British needed the destroyers to combat German submarine warfare in the North Atlantic, and this was the best way to ensure British victory without sending U.S. troops. Also, the new bases acquired by the United States would give the United States greater security.

Isolationist opposition to Roosevelt's recent policies during his 1940 reelection campaign made it clear to him that he had still not won over enough popular support for his agenda. Roosevelt's critics accused him of plotting to take the United States into an unwanted war. The aversion for war was so strong, in fact, that at one point he came within four percentage points of Wendell Lewis Willkie, his opponent in the presidential election. In order to regain his lead in the polls, Roosevelt, choosing his words carefully, reassured the American people that he would not send American troops to any foreign war. This promise helped him regain the lead and he was reelected. Historians, however, have analyzed the craftiness of his words during his 1940 speeches. Some scholars have concluded that what Roosevelt did not say about war was much more important that what he did say. For instance, Roosevelt said that he would keep the United States out of foreign wars, but he did not explain that if the United States was attacked he would no longer consider the war foreign.

Still drawing the United States closer into war by degrees, Roosevelt explained to the American people in a radio fireside chat that his priority was to keep the United States out of the war. But, in order to do this and ensure a British victory, the United States had to do her part by being the "great arsenal of Democracy." In other words, it would now be necessary to give unrestricted aid to Britain, who could no longer afford to pay for the much-needed supplies. So, the "cash and carry" program was replaced by the "lend-lease" program, which no longer required payment up front. Instead, under this new program, Britain promised to return or replace the borrowed equipment and supplies after the war. Roosevelt explained it in a press conference as an analogy. He said that if a neighbor's house were burning it would be unwise for you to charge the neighbor for the use of your hose. Instead, it would be wiser to allow the neighbor to borrow the hose and save his house and yours from the threat. If neutrality had been debatable before the lend-lease program, it certainly no longer was. The United States was blatantly aiding one side of the war with no more plausible excuse than it merely being a business transaction under the previous "cash and carry" program.

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Some scholars have claimed that Churchill lured, or manipulated, Roosevelt into fighting. In 1941 Churchill explained to Roosevelt that American troops would be much more valuable to him in the fight than any equipment he could send. In fact, Churchill kept urging Roosevelt to send troops. If troops were not sent, he insisted, there was a real possibility that all could be lost. In August 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill had a secret meeting on the ship *The Prince of Wales* in Argentia Bay, Newfoundland, where, certainly, Churchill continued his petitions for help from his friend. Although Roosevelt kept the details of the meeting a secret, Churchill later disclosed some of the details to his countrymen when he spoke before the House of Commons. According to Churchill, Roosevelt had pledged to help Britain in the fight at the secret meeting.

However, the isolationist influence was still very strong in America. So, Roosevelt began to try to find a way into the war. For example, he ordered the navy to escort U.S. and allied ships and shoot German and Italian ships on sight. Roosevelt's undeclared war waged on the high seas, however, failed to push Congress to the formal declaration of war he sought. So, Roosevelt came to the sad realization that the only way that poplar opinion would support entering the war was if the United States were attacked. It was necessary for an enemy to strike first, and Roosevelt continued taking steps to increase tensions between the United States and Germany. Roosevelt froze German assets, occupied Iceland with American troops, and began aggressively attacking German submarines. But Germany did not declare war on the United States or launch a massive attack.

So, Roosevelt turned his sights on Japan. At Roosevelt's request, Commander Arthur McCollum drew up an eight-point plan to provoke Japan to "commit the first overt act." Taking ideas from the plan, Roosevelt froze Japanese assets, closed the Panama Canal to Japanese shipping, began making threats to be carried out if Japan did not stop pursuing a Pacific empire, and imposed an embargo. Without excusing the atrocity committed by Japan at Pearl Harbor, arguably, more than any other measure, the embargo prompted Japan to attack the United States. The embargo left Japan with the choice of attacking while it relied on dwindling war materiel or waiting to attack after it was out of the resources and could, therefore, be easily crushed.

After all, Roosevelt's new trade policy categorized Japan as an enemy of the United States. While the United States openly sent free supplies to its European allies under the lend-lease program, Roosevelt refused to sell scrap metals, petroleum, and other products and equipment to Japan that it desperately needed. In fact, the embargo damaged U.S.-Japanese relations to such an extent that many American government officials believed the United States was deliberately provoking an imminent attack. Behind closed doors, Roosevelt mentioned to his cabinet that he was seeking a way to maneuver Japan to fire the first shot. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson recorded that Roosevelt's dilemma was how to accomplish this without allowing too much damage to the United States. The

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U.S. navy was tracking Japanese ships all over the world, and six days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt ordered Admiral Thomas C. Hart, the naval commander in the Philippines, to send three small boats into the path of a Japanese fleet in an effort to provoke a fight. Some historians have speculated that Roosevelt sought to sacrifice the small fleet in order to save Pearl Harbor from attack, but his plan failed, because the small boats were unable to reach the advancing Japanese fleet.

As the drums of war began to sound, Admiral J. O. Richardson, commander of the Pacific Fleet, flew to Washington to explain to Roosevelt that the concentration of ships in Hawaii was not a good military strategy. Richardson suggested alternative and safer ways of stationing the fleet. However, to Richardson's surprise, Roosevelt disagreed with his expert opinion, and the disagreement turned into a heated argument. Within a short time after the two men met, Richardson was dismissed and replaced by Admiral Husband E. Kimmel. After evaluating the harbor, Kimmel also informed Roosevelt of its weaknesses, but Roosevelt was adamant about his decision to place the ships where he wanted them. In fact, more than 90 U.S. ships were stationed at Pearl Harbor. But, mysteriously, none of the U.S. aircraft carriers were in the harbor on December 7. Why? Was it a coincidence? They had all been sent on far away missions, and, consequently, all remained in tack to fight another day. The USS *Saratoga* was off the coast of San Diego, California. The USS *Enterprise* was at Wake Island, and the USS *Lexington* was sailing toward Midway Island. Japan may have very easily seen the concentration of U.S. ships as a window of opportunity that was too good to pass up. More cynical writers have asserted that Roosevelt used the concentration of ships as bait to entrap Japan.

On the Sunday morning of December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor was not on alert nor was it prepared with the necessary equipment to defend itself. For example, the commanders had requested more airplanes to better defend themselves and scout the area around the islands, but their requests were repeatedly denied. So, Japan did, in fact, launch a surprise attack on the largest U.S. naval base in the Pacific. It was a surprise for the Hawaiian residents and U.S. military presence in the harbor. Before dawn a wave of 183 Japanese torpedo planes attacked the harbor. Half an hour later, a second wave of 167 planes assailed U.S. ships that lay side by side anchored in the harbor. Explosions, fire, and smoke filled the air. Ships were leaking oil that burst into flames and badly burnt sailors who jumped in the water to escape sinking ships. The Oahu airfield was also hit. Many pilots were shot as they tried to board the planes. Death and destruction rained down on Hawaii for about two hours. Twenty-one ships were sunk or damaged, about 3,000 aircraft were destroyed, about 2,000 people were wounded, and over 2,400 people were killed. On the USS *Arizona* alone, 1,177 sailors died as they went down with the ship.

Roosevelt's defenders have denied a conspiracy. These historians have detailed the horrible tragedy at Pearl Harbor and have argued that Roosevelt

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Battleships (right to left) USS *Arizona*, *Tennessee*, and *West Virginia* burn after being bombed and torpedoed by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. (Library of Congress)

would not have been capable of such inhumanity. Also, they have claimed that Roosevelt loved the navy, and he would never have allowed it to be destroyed. However, these historians have failed to take into account that no man has ever known the future with absolute accuracy. Certainly, Roosevelt had no way of knowing the extent of the damage that would occur with an attack on the fleet. Perhaps, he had hoped for and expected far less damage. In any case, the next day, Roosevelt went before Congress and asked for a declaration of war in retaliation for the "surprise attack." The American public was stunned and outraged. Under the circumstances, Congress had no choice but to grant his request. From hence forth, "Remember Pearl Harbor" became a rallying call for all Americans.

Yes, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, was caught by surprise, but Washington, D.C., was not. There were many warnings of the attack—warnings that were not shared with Pearl Harbor high command—which could have prevented or at least minimized the tragedy. By August 1940, Lieutenant Colonel William F. Friedman had secretly cracked "Purple," Japan's highest diplomatic correspondence code using a decryption system nicknamed "Magic." Immediately, the U.S. military began monitoring Japanese coded communications. Months before the attack, for example, military intelligence compiled a series of messages, which requested a mapping (or plotting) of the harbor into sectors, the location of ships, and ship movements from Japanese operatives. On November 14, 1941, the intercepted message informed operatives that U.S.-Japanese relations were at an all-time low

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and requested two reports weekly detailing information about all ship movements in the harbor. Nagao Kita, the Japanese consul general, responded to the requests from Tokyo on a regular basis. Shortly before the attack, Japanese agents were ordered to destroy all their records and decoding machines, but, astonishingly, Pearl Harbor high command was left in the dark about all this.

Why? Well, some writers have blamed the military chiefs, who made maintaining Magic a secret a top priority. Military chiefs argued that maintaining the secret that the code had been broken was worth even more than Hawaii! Interestingly, many command posts all over the world were supplied with machines for decoding Purple, but Pearl Harbor was never given one. In fact, Pearl Harbor high command asked for a machine to decode Purple, but the request was denied. So, Pearl Harbor was left at the mercy of Washington for alerts. Some historians have exonerated the military chiefs of a calculated cold-blooded maneuver that led to the sacrifice of Americans and pointed rather to the bureaucratic mess that led to ineffective communication of vital information. Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor, Warning and Decision* (1962) supports this view of communication confusion. The entire process of intercepting, compiling, translating, and communicating important information surely did involved bureaucracy. But, in spite of the bureaucratic confusion that existed, enough critical messages got through the mess to Washington and Roosevelt to sound the alarm.

In October 1941 intelligence officers Captain Alan Kirk and Captain H. D. Bode found out by reading decoded messages that the Japanese were plotting to bomb Pearl Harbor. They went through the required levels of command in order to relay the message to Hawaii. Unfortunately, Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, their senior officer, declined their request, terminated their intelligence work, and reassigned both men to other duties. In December 1941 three Navy junior officers received attack information and they attempted to inform Pearl Harbor, but their messages were censored. Unfortunately, the censored records led the National Security Agency to conclude in 2008 that these "winds" messages did not reach Washington before the Pearl Harbor attack, and, therefore, Washington was not guilty of sitting on this particular warning. Instead, the real story is that the "winds" messages did not reach Washington or Pearl Harbor before the attack because they were not allowed to do so. Much importance has been placed on Purple. But there were many other sources of information that pointed to a Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For example, an intercepted message alerted the military that Tokyo would be using the radio to transmit an "East wind, rain" message. The message would be transmitted three times at the end of a weather report. "East wind" stood for the United States and "rain" signified a diplomatic split. In other words, the transmission of this embedded message would signal to all Japan that the war against the United States had begun. Just as predicted, the message was delivered shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

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There were also other warning signs. In early January 1941, a navy memorandum stated that an attack on Pearl Harbor was extremely possible if war broke out. On January 27, 1941, American ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew sent an urgent message to Washington that he had reliable information that in the event of war Japan intended to attack Pearl Harbor, but Pearl Harbor had not been informed. On November 27, the Navy and War Departments issued a warning that Japanese aggression was imminent. On December 6, a Japanese coded message revealed that Japan had reached the conclusion that the United States was asking for a fight. However, none of this information was ever passed on to the Pearl Harbor high command, and these two specific messages would become a special focus for later investigations.

Unfortunately, after years of investigation, the U.S. government pinned the guilt for the disaster on Pearl Harbor's commanders Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Walter C. Short, who served as scapegoats for more than 50 years. After all, it was reasoned, they were directly charged with the protection of Pearl Harbor. However, on October 30, 2000, Congress expunged the guilty records of both commanders and posthumously gave them back their highest ranks, because, in the opinion of Congress, they were not given critical information. Some critics of the congressional action are upset because they feel that Congress had overstepped its bounds by trying to change history with legislation. Other critics have contended that the exoneration of Kimmel and Short has had the undesirable effect of shifting the blame on Roosevelt and his subordinate Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. But, conspiracy theories surrounding Roosevelt's guilt were not new in 2000. They have been around ever since the attack in 1941. And they remain a matter of debate throughout the successive high-level military inquires (the Roberts Commission, the Hart Inquiry, the Army Pearl Harbor Board, the Navy Court of Inquiry, the Clarke Inquiry, the Clausen Investigation, and the Hewitt Inquiry). In 1946 Congress also conducted its own investigation in an effort to answer the all-consuming question of who was to blame for the tragedy.

In 1945 journalist John Chamberlain introduced the conspiracy theory to a wide audience when he wrote an influential article in *Life* magazine in which he accused Roosevelt of knowing about the attack and allowing it to happen so that the United States would be drawn into World War II. The popular obsession with the topic has shown no signs of abating. In the December 15, 1999, issue of the *New York Times*, Richard Bernstein again raised the question of foreknowledge in an article titled "On Dec. 7, Did We Know We Knew?" And, again on April 18, 2004, another *New York Times* writer Joseph E. Persico wrote an article titled "What Did He Know, and When?" By the date of this writing, conspiracy books, Web sites, and pod casts were dedicated to the "Back Door to War" theory.

Some studies have defended Roosevelt at every turn. The chief weakness of most of these works, however, has been that in attempting to address conspiracy charges, they too often have written off Roosevelt's masterly crafted duplicity

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as mere blunders of a flawed hero. In other words, they have claimed that the best way to describe Roosevelt's role in the attack on Pearl Harbor was not conspiracy, but, instead, well-intentioned stupidity. We are led to believe that Roosevelt was an incompetent fool before the attack, but he blossomed into a political genius only after the attack. The book by Gordon W. Prange's *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (1981) is an important work that holds to the flawed hero explanation of events. On the other extreme of the spectrum, some works have appeared that have gone too far by making some unsupportable and even outlandish accusations about Roosevelt's role that have appeared more like tabloid front pages than historical writing. For example, Mark Emerson Willey's *Pearl Harbor: Mother of All Conspiracies* (2000) claims that Roosevelt, a communist according to Willey, always worked for Stalin's best interest and brought the United States into war in order to lead the Russians against Hitler. But, most astonishingly, Roosevelt's major goal, according to Willey, was to build a communist world empire.

In 1948 Charles Austin Beard, a highly respected historian, established Roosevelt's "Back Door to War" theory as a legitimate matter for scholarly debate with the publication of his first book on the topic titled *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*. Since then, many writers have continued to expand on the ever-present Roosevelt's "Back Door to War" theme. One valuable study is *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933–1941* (1952) by Charles C. Tansill, which has become the classic account. Also of great value is *The Final Secret: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack* (1954) by Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, who served in the military during the Pearl Harbor attack and was present at one of the investigative hearings. One of the most thorough analyses of the events is *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (1982) by John Toland, which makes good use of newly declassified documents and testimonies available to him by the early 1980s. *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into World War II* (1991) by James Rusbrider and Eric Nave documents the great influence that Churchill held over Roosevelt and even suggests that Roosevelt was tricked into doing Churchill's bidding. And, finally, *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* (1999) by Robert B. Stinnett, revitalizes the conspiracy theory by making use of newly declassified documents in the 1990s.

Astonishingly, even with the weight of the evidence of Roosevelt's knowledge of the attack, some skeptics have still charged that the smoking gun has remained elusive. They have held to the position that all of the before-mentioned facts are just circumstantial. But, common sense would dictate that Washington, D.C., would not have kept the information a secret from the chief executive. Roosevelt's leadership style was a hands-on approach. There is no way that Roosevelt did not know of the attack. Magic was delivered to Roosevelt's desk on a regular basis. He read many of the intercepted messages for

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himself. On one occasion, after reading an intercept, he was heard concluding that Japan would soon be at war with the United States. Also, a lot of other information, which came before the president from undercover sources, alerted him to the danger. Spies abounded during this time of crises. In early 1941 Congressman Martin Dies came into the possession of a Japanese strategic map that was prepared by the Japanese Imperial Military Intelligence Department, which showed that Japan clearly intended to launch an attack on Pearl Harbor. Dies contacted Secretary of State Cordell with the warning. Cordell told Roosevelt, and Roosevelt ordered Cordell to tell Dies to keep the matter a secret. Cordell informed Dies that Roosevelt did not wish for the information to leak to the news media, because he considered it an essential secret of national defense. In the summer of 1941, Dusko Popov, a Yugoslav spy working for the United States, informed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in New York that German agents were helping Japan to map out Pearl Harbor into grids for a surprise Japanese air strike. J. Edgar Hoover informed Roosevelt of the information, but Roosevelt ordered him to keep it a secret. After the war, Hoover angrily recalled how Roosevelt had told him to just leave the information in his capable hands. In November 1941 Kilsoo Haan, of the Sino-Korean People's League, discovered from the Korean underground that Japan would make an attack on Pearl Harbor before Christmas. Haan told Iowa Senator Guy Gillette, who in turn informed Roosevelt.

Some writers have argued that Roosevelt would not have provoked a war with Japan if what he really wanted was to help Britain fight against Germany. These writers fail to take into account that at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan had formed an alliance with Germany and Italy, and declaring war

Robert B. Stinnett and the Pearl Harbor Conspiracy

One of the main supporters of the view that British and U.S. authorities knew of the impending attack on Pearl Harbor and failed to prevent it as it would bring the United States into World War II is Robert B. Stinnett, a former U.S. sailor who served as a naval photographer in World War II, serving in the same unit as George H. W. Bush, which led to his book, *George Bush: His World War II Years* (1992).

Stinnett was born on March 31, 1924, at Oakland, California, the oldest child of Curtis and Margaret Stinnett, and as a teenager, he started taking photographs for the *Oakland Tribune*. In World War II, he served on the aircraft carrier *San Jacinto* and then returned to Oakland, becoming a photographer and journalist for the newspaper.

It was while reading Gordon W. Prange's book *At Dawn We Slept* that Stinnett first came across allegations on U.S. foreknowledge, and he started writing about it for his newspaper, and then for his book *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* (1999).

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against Japan would inevitably lead to a war declaration from Germany. And, not surprisingly, Germany declared war against the United States just one day after the United States declared war against Japan. During the war, tens of thousands of Japanese Americans were rounded up as security risks and sent to internment camps during World War II. It was a sad chapter in U.S. history. But, even more shocking was the fact that Roosevelt ordered the Census Bureau to compile a list of Japanese American names and addresses before the attack on Pearl Harbor even occurred. In 2007 researchers in the National Archives uncovered an important memorandum from William J. Donovan, director of the Office of Strategic Services, to Roosevelt. The memorandum, dated November 13, 1941, supports the charge that Roosevelt backed Japan into a corner by ultimatums and deadlines. Donovan wrote Roosevelt that it was plain to see that, if Japan waited too long to attack the United States, it would be "strangled" by a lack of resources. However, Donovan reassured Roosevelt that Japan would, therefore, have no choice but to attack. Without a doubt, Roosevelt knew of the coming attack on Pearl Harbor and he capitalized on it to bring the United States into World War II.

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CON

On the morning of Sunday December 7, 1941, beginning at 7:53 A.M., carrier-borne aircraft of the Japanese Imperial fleet unleashed a devastating surprise attack against the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu. Six American battleships were sunk and two others damaged along with 10 additional vessels either sunk or damaged. The Japanese destroyed 164 American aircraft and damaged another 128 on the Oahu island airfields. The American death toll amounted to 2,403 military personnel and civilians, plus 1,178 wounded. The Japanese lost 29 aircraft, 5 midget submarines, and 1 fleet submarine. The United States declared war on Japan the next day. Hitler's Germany declared war on the United States on December 11.

Recriminations and finger pointing in the United States began almost immediately. No fewer than seven official investigations and commissions of inquiry were carried out during the period from 1942 to 1946.The Pearl Harbor conspiracy theory surfaced soon after the attack and won some converts in the 1940s and 1950s. Despite criticism from historians, it has enjoyed a stubborn longevity ever since, testifying to the enduring popularity of conspiracy theories. Books articulating the conspiracy theory emerge every now and then, and two of the more popular recent volumes will be examined below. The emergence of the Internet in the 1990s gave conspiracy theorists another lease on life and some more converts among the uninformed. The theory has a number of variations that will be examined here, but the basics are clear. Allegedly, President Roosevelt deliberately exposed the U.S. Pacific Fleet to attack and destruction by the Japanese. Why would a president do such a thing? Roosevelt's sympathy for the British in their war against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) is supposedly the key. Roosevelt had allegedly long been itching to declare war on the Axis powers but had been stymied by isolationist sentiment in the United States. According to the conspiracy theorists, also known as revisionists, Roosevelt hoped that public outrage over the attack would allow him to overcome

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public opinion and take the United States into the war via "the back door." Supporters of the Pearl Harbor conspiracy theory have usually cited allegations that Roosevelt had advanced warning of the attack, but withheld this crucial information from Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet and Lieutenant General Walter C. Short, commanding general of the Hawaiian defenses, thus ensuring that the Japanese would attain surprise. The proof for this outrageous theory is entirely unconvincing and has never won the support of any reputable historian. Not a single government document has ever come to light that supports the claims of conspiracy theorists.

The disaster at Pearl Harbor was not the result of a sinister Machiavellian conspiracy hatched by President Roosevelt. Instead the American defeat resulted from meticulous Japanese planning and American misjudgments about Japanese intentions and capabilities. Although the Americans did anticipate a Japanese attack, they believed it would come elsewhere in the Pacific. The main threat to the Pearl Harbor base was believed to be from saboteurs, not a long-range attack by carrier-borne aircraft, which the Americans considered was beyond Japanese capabilities. General Short therefore ordered that aircraft be grouped together on airfields where they could be more easily guarded, which unfortunately made them perfect targets for attacking Japanese aircraft. Antitorpedo nets had not been provided for the battleships in the harbor because it was feared they would impede the mobility of the ships in an emergency. American radar operators on Oahu were poorly trained and inexperienced and mistook incoming Japanese aircraft on the morning of December 7 for an expected flight of American B-17 bombers. The Americans also believed that the waters of Pearl Harbor were too shallow for effective use of torpedoes. The British had great success in adapting their torpedoes for an attack on the Italian fleet at Taranto harbor on November 11, 1940, but Pearl Harbor was substantially shallower than Taranto. In fact the Japanese did not succeed in altering their torpedoes for use in Pearl Harbor until early November 1941, and then kept the new design strictly secret. On the few occasions when an attack on the Hawaiian Islands was discussed, American planners naturally anticipated an attack from the Japanese-held Marshall Islands, to the southeast of Hawaii. Instead the Japanese attack came from the north.

Charges that Roosevelt deliberately exposed the Pacific Fleet to Japanese attack also make little sense on a strategic level. The allegation that Roosevelt threw away the pride of the Pacific Fleet on a wild gamble to gain a declaration of war from Congress is simply too far-fetched. Why would a president sacrifice the core of his country's navy immediately prior to a war? Conspiracy theorists often point to the absence of U.S. fleet carriers and cruisers from Pearl Harbor as "proof" that Roosevelt knew what was coming and decided instead to sacrifice "obsolete" battleships. However, the importance of aircraft carriers in the Pacific was not clear until early 1942. Roosevelt was an orthodox naval thinker who thought that battleships would play a key role in the next war.

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Roosevelt, a former assistant secretary of the navy, was an ardent fan of the U.S. navy, as is apparent from every biography written about his life. A visitor to his home, located north of New York City and preserved as a national memorial, will find it full of naval memorabilia, showing his fondness and regard for the navy. One could speculate that militarily it would have made more sense to move the U.S. battleships out of Pearl Harbor and then use them to unleash a surprise ambush on Japanese carriers once their aircraft had taken off to attack an empty harbor. It is also worth remembering that at some point historians must produce solid evidence for their theories and not just continually indulge in speculation and fantasies.

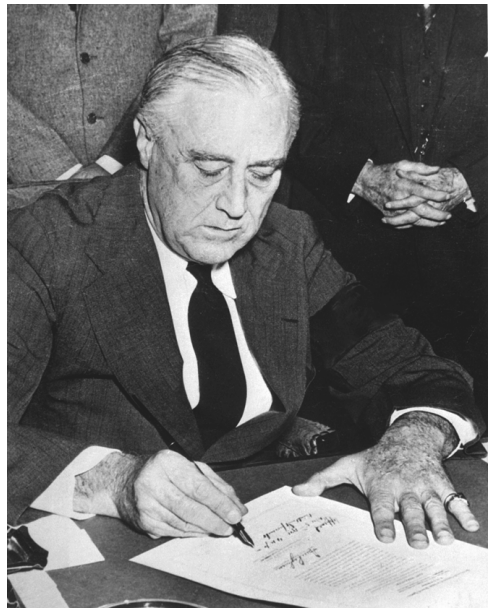
Roosevelt simply did not want war with anyone in 1941; he was convinced that U.S. defenses were too weak and that more time was needed to prepare the country for war. Roosevelt regarded Germany as the major threat and believed that a war in the Pacific would completely distract the United States from focusing on Germany. As well, the Pearl Harbor conspiracy theory requires the involvement not only of Roosevelt, but all his senior military and political advisers and cabinet ministers, practically all of whom incidentally wanted to avoid war with Japan, along with hundreds of lower ranking personnel. All these individuals would have to operate together to make the conspiracy work, without a single one of them spilling the beans either in the lead up to the attack or in the years thereafter. Conspiracy theorists usually see Kimmel and Short as the patsies for the Pearl Harbor disaster. Logically it would have made more sense to have them in on the conspiracy since that way Roosevelt could be sure that they would not trigger an alert that might stop the attack, but this is not an aspect of the conspiracy theory that revisionists want to deal with. Revisionists also frequently argue that the Japanese would have turned back if they had been detected by the Americans prior to the attack, but that is simply not true. The Japanese fully expected to fight their way into Pearl Harbor and would not have given up their mission if they had been detected.

Furthermore, conspiracy theorists are not clear on exactly what Roosevelt hoped to accomplish. Certainly a war with Japan would result, but what about Germany? It was by no means clear that Roosevelt could get a declaration of war against Germany through Congress in the days after the attack. Hitler relieved him of that task by declaring war on the United States, an unexpected act. The Tripartite Alliance, Germany's alliance with Japan and Italy, was a defensive alliance. Since Japan had attacked the United States, Hitler technically had no obligation to declare war on the United States and could easily have weaseled out. However, Hitler decided to stand by his ally even though he had never before kept his word on anything. How was Roosevelt supposed to know that Hitler would declare war on the United States in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor?

It is also clear that U.S. intelligence was snowed under by a veritable blizzard of information as the Japanese moved toward war in the fall of 1941.

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American intelligence agencies were understaffed, overworked, and proved unable to prioritize properly the threats that the United States faced. Different intelligence agencies of the military seldom worked together to coordinate their findings. Another major bottleneck to gaining accurate and timely intelligence was the problem of finding competent translators. As well the Japanese were completely successful in cloaking the Pearl Harbor operation in secrecy. U.S. intelligence in early December indicated that the Japanese were moving ships and troop transports along the Chinese coast in the direction of Indochina for anticipated attacks against the Philippines, Thailand, or the Dutch East Indies. Intelligence also indicated that Japanese aircraft carriers were in home waters and not at sea (Wohlstetter 1962: 382–96).



President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the declaration of war against Japan on December 8, 1941. (National Archives)

What was the state of U.S. intelligence gathering in late 1941? Since 1935 a U.S. naval intelligence unit operating under the code name Magic had been decrypting Japanese military codes with some degree of success. A major breakthrough was scored in 1939 when the Japanese diplomatic code, Purple, was broken. This enabled Americans to read telegrams from Tokyo to Japanese embassies around the world. Readers should remember however that Purple was only the diplomatic and not the military code. Progress had also been made in decoding lower-level Japanese codes such as the J-19 code used by the Japanese consul in Honolulu. The Americans were also successful in locating Japanese ships through an analysis of radio traffic, although the contents of coded radio messages themselves could not be read. The Japanese could also throw the Americans off temporarily by changing their radio codes, which they did on November 1 and December 1. The keys for the J-19 code changed frequently, and decryptionists needed a fair volume of messages to break them. Translations and transmissions to Washington required more time. Then the intelligence had to be correctly interpreted, an activity fraught with the potential for mistakes. Breaking codes does not necessarily mean that an intelligence service has an open door into the mind of a potential enemy.

Generally speaking, U.S. intelligence, by the fall of 1941, had a picture of Japan moving steadily toward hostile action, but no specific warning of an

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attack on Pearl Harbor. On November 27 the office of the chief of naval operations issued a warning that an aggressive move from the Japanese could be expected in the next few days. The warning was issued to U.S. military commanders across the Pacific, including Kimmel and Short. But an attack on Pearl Harbor, outside of local sabotage, was not foreseen. Attacks on the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies were predicted and did materialize. Another intelligence thread suggested a Japanese attack on the USSR at a time when the Soviets were desperately fighting the Germans in front of Moscow. Why was an attack on Pearl Harbor so hard to foresee? U.S. military officials had pretty much made up their minds as to where the Japanese were going to attack and nothing suggested that the Japanese were about to do anything different.

Over the years Pearl Harbor conspiracy theorists have cited a variety of specific incidents that they think prove the existence of the conspiracy. There is such an endless succession of these events that refuting all of them in a single article is not possible. I have chosen instead to focus on some of the most popular stories cited by conspiracy theorists. Generally speaking, conspiracy theorists adopt a similar approach to "the evidence," seizing upon an isolated incident, blowing it completely out of proportion, taking it out of context, and repeating charges until they assume mythical status in the pantheon of revisionist history. Not one of the stories examined below stands up to historical scrutiny.

The first incident to be examined concerns the role of Dusko Popov, a wealthy, high-living Yugoslavian business lawyer with a German degree. Popov had been recruited in Belgrade by the German secret service, the Abwehr, in 1940. What the Abwehr did not know was that Popov had already been recruited by the British Secret Intelligence Service. Popov therefore went to work for the Abwehr as a British double agent. In June 1941 the Abwehr sent Popov to New York with orders to set up a German spy ring in the United States. Popov was given an extensive questionnaire by the Abwehr to guide his espionage activities. Basically Popov was to try to obtain information on U.S. defense installations and the extent to which the Americans were supplying the British war effort. Using the latest technology at the time, the questionnaire given to Popov was in the form of microdots on four paper documents. Popov informed his British handlers of what he had been instructed to do and supplied them with the questionnaire. Upon arrival in the United States, Popov met briefly with J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Hoover refused to take Popov seriously and sent him on his way.

The microdot questionnaire shows that the Abwehr was interested in U.S. installations at Pearl Harbor. The questionnaire also shows that the Abwehr was seriously interested in many other aspects of the U.S. defense establishment. Popov was supposed to gain information on U.S. tank and aircraft production, financial details of American-British cooperation, and tables of organization for U.S. infantry divisions. Popov was even instructed to gain information on the

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The FBI and Japanese Wiretaps

The FBI had been monitoring the telephone calls made from Hawaii to Japan, and vice versa, and several days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, they had listened to a staffer from the Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun* calling Motokazu Mori (1890–1958), a dentist in Hawaii. Mori's wife was the Honolulu correspondent for the newspaper. The journalist in Tokyo asked Mori about current life in Hawaii and included questions on airplanes, searchlights, the weather, sailors, and also about flowers. Among the reply by Mori was a comment, 'presently, the flowers in bloom are fewest out of the whole year. However the hibiscus and the poinsettia are in bloom now.' The FBI immediately suspected that the description of the flowers was a coded message for something sinister and arrested him. A later investigation found that the description of the flowers did appear in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* on the following morning and Mori said that the description was for some background atmosphere.

Canadian air force. The Abwehr wanted particulars on all ports of assembly for overseas transport in the United States and Canada.

The revisionists, particularly John Toland, have had a field day with the Popov questionnaire. Toland, in his book *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (1982) alleges that the questionnaire was a virtual tipoff, a detailed plan of attack, betraying Japanese intentions to attack Pearl Harbor. Toland also alleges that Hoover, Roosevelt, and the British acted to suppress this information so that the Japanese attack could go ahead. In order to prove his point Toland indulged in some highly selective and deceptive editing. He only quotes from the section of the questionnaire dealing with Pearl Harbor, ignoring all the other information that Popov was to gather and creating a highly misleading and exaggerated impression. There are no detailed plans for an attack at all, and Toland does not even inquire into the extent of Japanese-German intelligence cooperation in 1941.

Furthermore, Popov's information was not taken seriously for the good reason that neither the British nor the Americans could be certain he was a reliable informant. The British intelligence network in Europe had been broken by the Germans in 1940. The British had to be very careful with Popov in case he was a triple agent actually working for the Abwehr (Bratzell et al. 1982; West 1985: 68–81). However, the Popov questionnaire does tell us a great deal about how revisionists approach evidence and the manner in which evidence can be taken out of context and twisted to prove a point. Readers should also be aware of the use of hindsight, a common revisionist tactic. Things that seem obvious to us now may not have been clear at all to people at the time.

Another popular revisionist story, also circulated by Toland, concerns a more immediate warning that the Americans purportedly received just prior to the attack. Basically the allegation is that the Japanese fleet, on its way to Pearl Harbor, in complete defiance of all military sense, broke radio silence. Japanese

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transmissions were supposedly picked up by American radio operators. Their warnings were then stifled by superior officers who were presumably part of the conspiracy.

In *Infamy*, Toland interviewed a former U.S. naval radio operator based in San Francisco who claims to have detected radio signals from the approaching Japanese fleet. How San Francisco was able to do this, while radio operators based in Hawaii, much closer to the approaching Japanese fleet, missed the signals is conveniently not explained. Surviving Japanese naval personnel have always testified that their fleet observed the strictest radio silence and that many of their radios had been disabled to prevent accidental usage. Toland's source was discovered living in San Francisco and was interviewed in 1983 by the U.S. navy and other prominent historians. They concluded that this individual's story had no credibility, that he had no access to any firsthand information, that Toland had distorted his account, and that it was impossible for a radio operator in San Francisco to have detected radio signals in the distant Pacific on the frequencies used by the Japanese navy (Coox 1986; Prange 1986: 55–58).

A related story concerns the passenger liner *Lurline*, which allegedly detected Japanese radio signals from ships north and west of Hawaii. When docking at Honolulu the crew supposedly informed navy authorities. The ship then proceeded on to San Francisco where it docked on December 10. A naval officer came aboard and took possession of the ship's log. Since Toland could find neither the Honolulu report nor the *Lurline* log in the navy archives, the implication is that the information was suppressed. This story is not credible simply because the Japanese did not break radio silence. The U.S. navy took possession of the logs of all ships at sea on December 7, so there was nothing sinister about the seizure of the *Lurline*'s log (Prange 1986: 52–55).

Toland also relies on a story told by Captain Johan Ranneft, a Dutch naval attaché stationed in Washington at the time of the attack. Toland claims that Ranneft's diary records instances on December 2 and again on the December 6 in which officials in Washington showed him maps on which the progress of the Japanese fleet toward Pearl Harbor was tracked. Toland claims this as proof that U.S. intelligence knew that the Japanese were about to attack Pearl Harbor and did nothing to prevent it on orders from the top. However, Ranneft's diary refers to two Japanese carriers, while the Pearl Harbor fleet had six carriers, so the Americans could not possibly have identified the Pearl Harbor attack force. As well, Toland appears to have distorted Ranneft's testimony to suggest the carriers were far closer to Pearl Harbor than Ranneft had actually stated in his diary. The two carriers in question were in fact located at Kwajalein Island in the Marshall Islands. The location of these carriers at Kwajalein has long since been known to historians and Toland had discovered nothing new. The Americans assumed the carriers were part of a routine surveillance force. The two carriers played no part in the Pearl Harbor attack, and the Pearl Harbor fleet did not begin

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its journey from the Marshall Islands. Other historians have raised serious questions about Ranneft's personal credibility as he admitted leaking Dutch and Swedish patents for an antiaircraft gun to the Americans. He then apparently lied to cover up his indiscretion (Prange 1986: 60–61). The whole story also implies once again that the Japanese broke radio silence, which, as we have seen, did not happen. For a successful attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese absolutely had to maintain radio silence. Why then would they jeopardize the success of the operation by talking on open radios across the whole of the Pacific? Toland is an admitted hater of Roosevelt, and his allegations tell us much about the desperation of revisionists to make facts fit a preconceived theory.

Two other stories about early warnings of the Pearl Harbor attack are also frequently circulated by revisionists. The first concerns the story of the "three little ships." On December 1 Roosevelt ordered three small naval vessels to take up positions off the Indochina coast to determine the direction of a possible Japanese invasion fleet. Roosevelt, as mentioned above, was a big fan of the navy and often indulged himself in the minutiae of naval operations. As it turned out, only one vessel, the *Isabel*, had reached its station on December 7. Revisionists charge that the three little ships were actually to serve as bait for a Japanese attack. If they were sunk or attacked, then Roosevelt would have his excuse for war. Again this is the purest fantasy and ignores the fact that an attack on a tiny vessel (one of the three ships displaced only 150 tons) would not provide sufficient grounds for a declaration of war. Roosevelt had ignored far worse attacks on U.S. ships by the Germans in the North Atlantic (Prange 1986: 45–51).

A more serious allegation concerns the so-called bomb plot message. On September 24 the Japanese Naval Intelligence branch requested that the Japanese consulate on Oahu step up surveillance of Pearl Harbor. In particular the consulate was instructed to divide the harbor into grids and then report on which ships were positioned in those grids. As was mentioned above, the Americans could read the consulate codes, but this message was not decoded and translated until October 9, reflecting the backlog that the United States was experiencing in the decoding and translating process. The divided nature of the U.S. intelligence community also ensured that the seriousness of the message was not appreciated. The September 24 message should have triggered suspicions, if only because Oahu was the home of the Pacific Fleet. Senior military officials on Oahu, however, saw nothing new or alarming in the message. They dismissed it as routine Japanese military requests for details on U.S. fleet comings and goings, an attempt to streamline and simplify the intelligence flow, or more evidence of typical Japanese attention to detail. The Japanese were requesting similar information from other consulates regarding harbors such as those at Manila, the Panama Canal, Portland, and San Diego. The September 24 message was just one of a host of reports coming through U.S. intelligence channels. As such it simply failed to provoke any alarm and reflects a common failing in intelligence collection. Coming into possession

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of intelligence does not always mean that it will be interpreted properly. Human beings still have to make the correct judgments and are prone to making errors (Prange 1982: 248–57; Prange 1986: 267–84; Wohlstetter 1962: 211–14).

Revisionists have also made much of the so-called winds execute story, another purported tipoff. Upon the outbreak of war, Japanese diplomatic stations abroad were instructed to burn their codebooks, a common security procedure. The Japanese decided they needed a special coded message to signal their diplomatic missions to begin burning their codes. Certain phrases would be included in radio broadcasts from Japan. The phrase "east wind rain" meant that relations with the United States were in danger. "North wind cloudy" meant trouble with the USSR. "West wind rain" meant trouble with Britain. The appropriate phrases would be used in the middle and end of a weather broadcast and repeated twice. Upon receipt of the appropriate "winds" message, the missions would take action. The Japanese sent a message to their diplomatic missions informing them of the procedure. U.S. intelligence was aware of the Japanese plan and then expended much energy looking for the winds execute message, that is the winds message that told diplomatic missions to take action. Contrary to what the revisionists say, the message was never sent and, even if it had been, the information would have been useless. It was obvious to everyone by the end of November that relations between the United States and Japan were in a great deal of trouble (Prange 1982: 358–59).

Revisionists also frequently allege that Churchill cooked up a secret deal with Roosevelt to bring the United States into the war. Suspicion tends to fall on the August 1941 meeting that Roosevelt had with Churchill on board the British battleship *Prince of Wales*, anchored off Argentia, Newfoundland. Some revisionists have claimed that Roosevelt promised to enter the war if the Japanese attacked British possessions in the Pacific. Aside from the fact that not a single document has surfaced supporting such an interpretation, conspiracy theorists totally misrepresent what happened at the meeting. With Britain in a desperate struggle for survival, Churchill was hoping to limit the possibility of a war with Japan. He hoped that a stronger diplomatic stand from the United States might deter Japan, but Churchill sailed home profoundly disappointed. On August 17 the United States issued a note to the Japanese government stating that Washington would defend American lives and interests if threatened by Japanese aggression, which is the plain, obvious duty of any government worth its salt (Prange 1986: 76). The Americans never promised to go to war with the Japanese in defense of British or Dutch imperial interests.

As has been mentioned above, the revisionist view of Pearl Harbor has not found the support of a single reputable historian. John Toland's revisionist account of Pearl Harbor has been comprehensively discredited. Representatives of an older generation of historians who veered off into Pearl Harbor revisionism, such as Harry Elmer Barnes, have also seen their reputations suffer. Barnes in particular also became involved in Holocaust denial (Lipstadt 1993: 67–71).

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Most recently Robert Stinnett's *Day of Deceit* (1999), another entry in the revisionist camp, similarly received dismissive reviews in the professional journals, most notably the *Journal of Military History*. Stinnett's knowledge of his subject was simply too flimsy to convince anyone except the diehards. He showed no understanding of how code breaking worked in 1941 or the structure and functioning of the U.S. and Japanese militaries. The possibility that all professional historians are in on Roosevelt's secret is simply too absurd to discuss.

Newcomers to the issue might begin by seeking out some of the more reputable historical studies of the origins of the war in the Pacific, such as Akire Iriye's *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987). The essays in Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft's *The Road to War* (1999) are illuminating as are the essays in Robert Boyce and Joseph Maiolo's *The Origins of World War Two: The Debate Continues* (2003). These three books will provide curious readers with the basics for understanding the origins of the war in the Pacific, based on the latest reputable historical research, which involves many years of detailed archival research and balanced judgments. Those interested in more detail should consult Jonathan Utley's *Going to War with Japan, 1937–1941* (1985) and Waldo Heinrichs's *Threshold of War* (1990). Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (1962) is a masterful analysis of the failures and shortcomings of the U.S. intelligence apparatus prior to the attack. The king of Pearl Harbor historiography is undoubtedly Gordon Prange, much of whose work remained unpublished at the time of his death in 1980. Prange's *At Dawn We Slept* (1981) is a detailed account of the attack that also contains a chapter ("Revisionists Revisited") refuting revisionist accounts. A second posthumous book, *Pearl Harbor: The Verdict of History* (1986) contains over 600 pages of detailed rebuttals of the revisionist arguments. Both books were published with the assistance of Donald Goldstein and Katherine Dillon. The fact that so much of Prange's work is focused on the revisionists has led other historians to lament the extent to which the Pearl Harbor research agenda is still being set by obsolete revisionist theories, when other issues still need to be explored (Melosi 1983: 87–103). For example, how did the Pearl Harbor disaster impact Cold War defense planning and anxieties about a future surprise attack? Clearly it is time to ditch Pearl Harbor conspiracy theories and move on.

The events at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, seem so obvious that we are often baffled as to why people at the time did not see the attack coming. We have seen similar reactions to the events of September 11, 2001. Much of the revisionism around Pearl Harbor is fueled by a lingering hatred of Roosevelt and a determination to sully his considerable legacy. Readers should remember that Roosevelt could not predict the future and he could not force the Japanese to do what they did not want to do. The Japanese made their own decisions regarding peace and war. They were not manipulated by a "sinister" Roosevelt sitting in the White House thousands of miles away pulling strings.

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12

Alger Hiss's 1950 conviction for espionage was not an example of Cold War hysteria. He was a Soviet spy and deserved his punishment.

PRO Jeffrey H. Bloodworth
CON Annessa Babic

PRO

For more than a generation the controversy surrounding Alger Hiss has served more as political Rorschach test than search for historical fact. To his defenders, anticommunist zealots fabricated and exaggerated evidence to frame Hiss and defame the left. To opponents, Hiss represented the American left's naivete and concomitant collusion with global communism. Putting the partisan and ideological bromides of the past aside, new evidence and scholarship has made one point definitively clear: Alger Hiss was guilty of spying for the Soviet Union.

Basics

In 1948 Alger Hiss was a member of America's foreign policy elite. Though the former assistant secretary of state had retired from government service, he landed a position as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In stark contrast to the handsome, polished, and well-connected Hiss was his rumpled and diffident antagonist Whittaker Chambers.

In August 1948 Chambers publicly identified Hiss as one of several secret communists who had worked in the Roosevelt administration. Chambers's testimony to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hit Washington like a bombshell. When Hiss denied all charges, the ensuing congressional hearings were the first such proceedings ever televised. Though the hearings resolved little, the most vocal interrogator, Richard Nixon, used the proceedings to impeach Hiss's character and launch his national political career.

Forced to defend his name, Hiss sued Chambers for libel. Pitting an obscure *Time* magazine editor versus Hiss seemed like a mismatch on paper. Rather than fold, Chambers doubled-down. Prior to facing a libel suit, Chambers had merely called Hiss a closeted communist. Forced to prove his accusations, he produced reams of classified documents that substantially raised the stakes.

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Claiming the documents originated with Hiss, Chambers implicated both in a Depression-era Soviet espionage ring.

Though the statute of limitations for spying had expired, the evidence prompted a swift federal indictment for perjury against Hiss. Adding to the swirling intrigue were twists and turns worthy of a spy novel. Chambers had stashed much of the State Department's papers, including key 65 typewritten pages of copied classified documents, in a relative's dumbwaiter. In addition, he hid rolls of undeveloped film in a hollowed-out pumpkin. Though most documents were never hidden in vegetables, the press dubbed all the evidence the Pumpkin Papers.

Following the first trial, which ended with a deadlocked jury, a second trial began in November 1949. The proceedings hinged on two issues: the Pumpkin Papers and the Hiss-Chambers relationship. During the trial, it became apparent (even to Hiss's lawyers) the two were closer than the defendant admitted. Chambers (along with his wife and newborn son) not only stayed in Hiss's home for days and weeks at a time, but he also sublet an apartment, received a car, and borrowed money from Hiss. Despite the substantial proof of their friendship, Hiss only admitted to a cursory relationship with Chambers, whom he said used the alias George Crosley.

To convict, the prosecution had to establish Hiss as the Pumpkin Papers' source. Since hundreds, if not thousands, of officials had access to these documents, proving the source was difficult. At this point, the 65 typewritten pages became crucial. Experts eventually matched the documents' typeface to Hiss's old Woodstock typewriter. The typewriter, which Hiss had given to his maid years prior, was miraculously found in a garbage dump; a scenario adding to the case's oddities. On the strength of this and other circumstantial evidence, a jury found Hiss guilty of perjury. In the court of public opinion, however, Hiss was convicted of espionage.

Alger Hiss: The Roots of a Romantic Antifascist

Cultural baggage and the Great Depression's unique historical context have always limited the public's ability to accept Hiss's guilt. From James Bond to John le Carré spy novels, popular culture has cultivated a spy "archetype" that Alger Hiss fails to fit. Rather than asking for his drink "shaken, not stirred" and wooing women, Hiss was a nerdy bureaucrat. Despite Hollywood's archetype, in reality the yeoman's work of espionage is done without fancy gadgets, sexy sidekicks, or briefcases of cash. For every Aldrich Ames or Robert Hanssen, throughout the Cold War there were thousands of Alger Hisses, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, who spied for ideological beliefs.

Hiss's background helps historians understand his evolution from an ambitious self-made man into a romantic antifascist who risked everything to spy for the Soviets. Highly educated, extraordinarily well connected, and upwardly mobile,

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Hiss lacked a radical family background, a taste for high living, or a penchant for self-destruction. He might have been raised on the East Coast and educated at Johns Hopkins University and Harvard Law School, but he was a self-made man who grew up in what one writer generously called "shabby gentility."

Though he was the second youngest of five, once his older sister and brother had died, the burden of advancing the family's fortunes fell upon Alger. From all appearances, he excelled under these heavy expectations. Exuding an aura of distinction and entitlement, defying his upbringing, one classmate said of Hiss, "If he were standing at the bar with the British ambassador and you were told to give a package to the ambassador's valet, you would give it to the ambassador before you gave it to Alger" (White 2004: 9).

Upon graduation Hiss landed a plum assignment as a legal secretary for Oliver Wendell Holmes. Though the secretaryship called for more social companionship than legal theorizing, the association with the acclaimed Supreme Court Justice almost guaranteed Hiss a bright future. Driven by his family's flagging fortunes and inner fortitude, Hiss was successful quite early in life.

Rather than buttress an understanding of how and why he became a spy, Hiss's background seemingly makes his later choices all the more puzzling. From a purely rational perspective, Hiss's choice to risk an intellectually and socially enriching career to engage in espionage confounds. The fundamental answer to the query is found in the extraordinary times during which Hiss came of age.

The Great Depression fundamentally transformed the reigning intellectual, social, and political paradigms of Hiss's day. With the American banking system on the brink of failure, unemployment hovering at 25 percent, and conventional wisdom utterly exhausted, young and ambitious idealists, like Alger Hiss, looked for alternatives. In this way, Hiss was not so different from millions of other liberals and leftists who drifted toward and flirted with radical political and economic reforms.

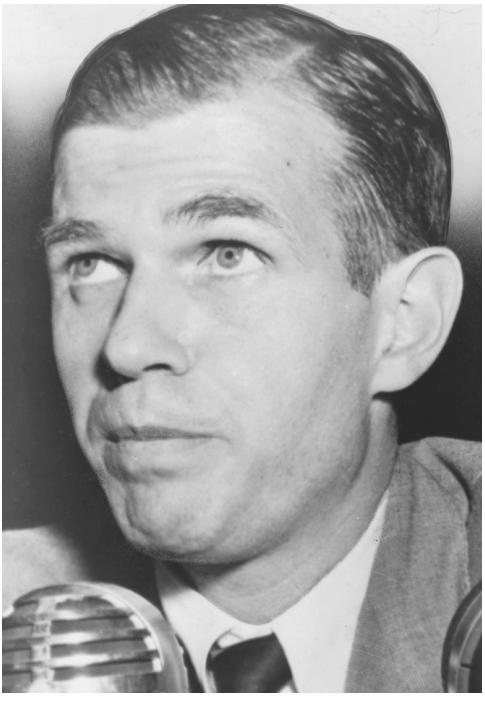
Hiss came to Washington at the Depression's height, when many believed centrally planned economies, like the Soviet Union, represented the future. In the early 1930s Joseph Stalin's brutality was mostly unknown and the Great Terror still lay in the future. Thus, during the early 1930s many, including Hiss, regarded the Soviet Union as a social democratic model embarking upon a brave and hopeful revolutionary path.

In tandem with a Depression-inspired zeal for radical political experimentation were the looming specters of fascism and another European war. Fascism's sudden rise and spread across Europe in the early 1930s pushed Western leftists toward the Soviets. Outraged by American isolationism and Britain's and France's seeming intransigence, leftists desperately sought to aid the antifascist cause. While some volunteered to fight the fascists in the Spanish Civil War, a few, like Hiss, battled the nazis by passing government secrets to the only power openly opposing fascism, the Soviet Union.

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Prior to the nazis' rise to power, the Soviets had termed the Western noncommunist left "social fascists." Realizing Hitler had targeted the Soviet Union for extinction, the Kremlin capitalized on the nascent antifascist movement. Communist operatives where directed to cultivate and transform antifascist organizations into a "Popular Front," where communists and the noncommunist left joined together to defeat fascism (Weinstein 1997: 198). The Popular Front, however, remained a tactical rather than an ideological move. In the words of Comintern Chief Georgi Dimitrov, the Kremlin always intended to use the coalitions as "Trojan Horses . . . [to] penetrate the very heart of the enemy's camp" (Powers 1998: 121).

While the Popular Front officially came into being at the 1935 Communist International Seventh World Congress, prior to that year, the antifascist left was already hard at work. Indeed, Hiss's pro bono legal work for the International Juridical Association brought him into direct contact with a Popular Front organization and active communist party members. Thus, Hiss not only became more aware of what he called the "decrepit social structures" responsible for the Great Depression, he was already associating among some of the very communists he later conspired with before he arrived in Washington (White 2004: 28).



Alger Hiss testifies at his second perjury trial in 1950. Hiss, a former State Department official, was accused of lying during House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, during which *Time* magazine editor Whittaker Chambers identified Hiss as a member of the Communist Party. (Library of Congress)

Like so many other young men of his educational background and elite connections, Hiss went to work for the New Deal upon Franklin Roosevelt's election. As a lawyer in the Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA), he was present for some of the New Deal's most hotly contested ideological debates. In this way, the AAA quickly divided into two camps: moderates and radicals. While the moderates wanted to solve rural America woes by helping landowners, the radicals (which included Hiss) believed sharecroppers and tenant farmers should receive top priority. Once it became clear that Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace would side with the moderates, the radicals looked for alternatives.

Frustrated, Hiss and his fellow AAA radicals gravitated toward the charismatic agriculture expert Hal

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Ware. Looking more like a Midwestern farmer than revolutionary, Ware was proof positive that appearances can deceive. Despite his all-American looks, Ware's mother was the "grand old lady" of the Communist Party of the United States, and Ware's innovative work in Soviet agriculture had earned Lenin's personal praise (Abt 1993: 39). Much more than a Jeffersonian farmer-intellectual, Ware was a highly trained Soviet operative who recruited Hiss to join a cell of communist sympathizers who worked in the Agriculture Department.

The Ware Group and Whittaker Chambers

The Ware Group, as it was dubbed, began innocently enough. Hiss's cell, like any other, met in secret, but in the beginning it was more coffee klatch than uber-spy network. Though members learned rudimentary "conspiratorial techniques," cell members mostly read and discussed communist texts or agriculture policy rather than pass state secrets to the Kremlin. Because Ware's reach was limited to the Agriculture Department, he was really grooming prospects for the time when one, or more, worked for the State, War, or Treasury Department (Tanenhaus 1998: 104–5).

In early 1935, Hiss left the Department of Agriculture to serve as chief counsel for the Senate's Nye Subcommittee. This post eventually led him to a position at the State Department. Hiss's promotion prompted the Soviet's Chief Intelligence Unit (the GRU) to separate him permanently from the Ware Group. As the center of a new and special "parallel apparatus," Hiss also received a new "handler," Whittaker Chambers.

By all appearances Chambers and Hiss made for an odd pairing. Obese, awkward, diffident, and brooding, Chambers was the seeming yin to Hiss's yang. The two did share humble upbringings, an Ivy League education, and a zest for ideas and literature. Moreover, because the GRU protected their star spy, Hiss now worked in "isolation." Rather than a community of like-minded communist intellectuals who shared the emotional struggles of leading double lives, as in the Ware Group, Hiss's only "comrade" was Chambers.

Defying protocol that called for limited contact to minimize opportunities for exposure, Chambers and Hiss socialized often. In addition to their friendship, Hiss's sheer productivity brought the two into more personal contact than normal. Unlike others who gathered documents for Chambers on a weekly basis, Hiss brought documents home every night. Rather than risk daily visits, the GRU had Hiss copy documents by typewriter (ironically, the source of the key 65 typewritten pages), which Chambers later couriered to the Soviets.

Chambers's Defection

In 1937 Chambers grew so fearful of an impending Soviet execution that he "defected." Chambers's worries were well founded. During the Great Terror, Stalin had ordered the arrest and execution of millions. Unlike the "famine" of

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the early 1930s, during which Stalin had starved or executed farmers, the Great Terror directly targeted Communist Party officials, Red Army officers, and not a few spies. After several American-born Soviet spies were recalled to Moscow and reportedly killed, Chambers ignored his own travel orders.

Fearing for his life, Chambers defected. Before doing so, he visited his closest friend in the party, Alger Hiss. Failing to convince Hiss to defect, Chambers went underground and did not see his friend again until the HUAC hearings. Realizing that other spies-cum-defectors had been murdered, Chambers took a "life preserver," the infamous Pumpkin Papers, as insurance.

In 1939 Chambers resurfaced as a writer for *Time* magazine. At roughly the same juncture, the August 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact prompted him to warn authorities about Soviet espionage in the State Department. Arranging a meeting with Roosevelt's aide, Adolph Berle, Chambers listed names of Soviet agents, which included Hiss. Though Berle took the information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), it wasn't until 1945 that it was taken seriously. Lacking proof to press charges and seeking to avoid a very public controversy, Hiss was quietly forced to retire.

Allen Weinstein

From the time of Hiss's initial conviction through the mid-1970s, little new evidence surfaced. Despite the paucity of information, the case remained a hotly debated topic. In the years and decades following his conviction, Hiss maintained his innocence. In 1957 he penned a book, *In the Court of Public Opinion*, making that case. The zeitgeist of the late 1950s was not nearly as accommodating to Hiss's claims as were the 1970s. With one antagonist deceased (Chambers died in 1961) and another, Richard Nixon, essentially impeached for obstruction of justice, his chances for vindication increased exponentially.

Indeed, during the mid-1970s Hiss became a fixture on the university lecture circuit and in 1975 the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court even reinstated his law license. Indeed, with the key evidence coming from pumpkins, dumbwaiters, and garbage dumps, coupled with Nixon's track record for criminality, legitimate questions lingered.

Stepping in the fray was Allen Weinstein. A relatively unknown professor of history at Smith College, in 1973 Weinstein declared his intention to write a book on the case and prove Hiss's innocence. Claiming he would ignore the political fireworks and "confront the case itself," Hiss's proponents were delighted (White 2004: 146). With Weinstein filing a Freedom of Information suit for the release of FBI and Justice Department documents, Hiss gave him full access to his defense files.

While Weinstein began an exhaustive study of the case, Hiss launched an offensive to clear his name. In 1973 Hiss's son Tony interviewed his father for a

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Rolling Stone piece, "I Call on Alger." The article preceded Tony's 1977 memoir of his dad, *Laughing Last* and John Chabot Smith's 1976 sympathetic work, *Alger Hiss: The True Story*. Though none of these pieces offered any new substantial evidence, they helped Hiss's case for exoneration gain momentum.

As Hiss moved toward absolution, Weinstein researched. Assuming the FBI files would reveal substantial flaws in the prosecutor's case, Weinstein pored over records to no avail. Next, he turned to what became his most definitive evidence: Hiss's own defense files. Surprising himself, Weinstein was shocked to find Hiss's own lawyers doubting their client's truthfulness.

Moreover, to Weinstein, the defense files revealed Chambers's truthfulness and Hiss's pattern of lies. As Weinstein wrote, "[a]t every important point Chambers's testimony about his underground experiences and . . . about Hiss's complicity, checked out" (White 2004: 177). For example, during the perjury trial, Hiss claimed the Woodstock typewriter had gone to a junk dealer. However, a letter in Hiss's own hand, written near the time of that testimony, revealed he remembered giving the typewriter to his maid. This is merely one example of many where Weinstein uncovered evidence of Hiss's lies.

In addition to the infamous typewriter was the Bokhara rug. The rug in question was not only a further item connecting the two, it also revealed yet another lie and an additional piece of evidence linking Hiss to espionage. Hiss had always claimed his contact with "George Crosley" had ceased in 1936, while Chambers said their friendship ended in 1938. To prove his timeline's veracity, Chambers recalled giving Hiss a Bokhara rug in 1937.

Hiss still possessed the rug but claimed Chambers gave it to him in 1935 as partial payment for rent owed on a sublet. Weinstein found the man who bought the rugs on Chambers's behalf, Meyer Schapiro, and later located the dealer who originally ordered and shipped the items. Moreover, Schapiro, a Columbia University art professor and former communist spy, admitted he ordered three rugs, which were all distributed as gifts to Soviet agents, one of whom was Hiss. With receipts and eyewitnesses attesting to the veracity of Chambers's story, Weinstein caught Hiss in yet another lie.

In addition to Schapiro's information regarding the rug, Weinstein found letters corroborating Chambers's story of the Pumpkin Papers' source. In letters between Chambers and radical journalist Herbert Solow, dated 1937 and 1938, Chambers specifically mentioned the "life preserver of stolen government documents" he had squirreled away as insurance against Soviet retaliation for his defection.

Though Schapiro and the Solow letters helped solidify Chambers's claims, 15,000 pages of declassified FBI documents provided the final proof of Hiss's guilt. Proponents of Hiss's innocence had long maintained that the FBI had framed Hiss and were positively gleeful when American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyers convinced the federal courts to order the documents' release.

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Weinstein, however, found no evidence of an FBI conspiracy to frame Hiss. Though the bureau had been inept at times, the documents only served to buttress Chambers's version of the events.

Weinstein's 1978 book *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case* painstakingly detailed the evidence of Hiss's guilt. While the work enjoyed critical and popular success, Hiss and his defenders successfully cast enough doubt on the author's research to maintain doubt in the public's eyes.

By 1980 a very favorable documentary, *The Trials of Alger Hiss*, was released to favorable reviews and audiences. Following the movie, in 1983, PBS's *American Playhouse* produced a dramatic reenactment of the Hiss case. Titled "Concealed Enemies," the television show depicted Hiss as an idealist who fell prey to McCarthyism and overly zealous anticommunists. Three decades after Hiss's perjury conviction, Americans remained divided on the case.

The Post–Cold War World: American and Soviet Archives

Until the late 1990s, it was intellectually defensible to question Hiss's guilt. Though conventional wisdom regarded Weinstein's book as definitive, many high-profile scholars and public intellectuals supported Hiss. Whether one challenged Whittaker Chambers's truthfulness, Richard Nixon's prosecutorial scruples, or the reliability of evidence literally stored in a pumpkin or dumbwaiter, legitimate questions lingered. Today, however, evidence from Russian and American archives proves Hiss's guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

In the early post–Cold War era, a brief window of opportunity gave researchers unprecedented access to Russian and American intelligence archives. From the U.S. army's Venona Project to the KGB's "Operational Correspondence Files," these new sources definitively reveal Hiss's guilt. According to these sources, from 1934 through 1945 Hiss passed thousands of classified documents to the Soviet Union, actions that unquestionably damaged U.S. national security and substantially shaped the early Cold War.

Hiss's supporters were temporarily elated when a former official historian for the Soviet government, Dmitri Volkogonov, proclaimed Hiss's innocence. Though the *New York Times* editors said Volkogonov "would not lightly render an official opinion without being sure of his research," they were wrong. Within weeks Volkogonov admitted he had spent two days in the archives researching the case and retracted his sweeping pronouncement.

The entire episode provided sufficient impetus for the Russian and U.S. governments to give professional historians access to the proper archives. Unlike traditional social, diplomatic, or political history, however, the history of espionage calls for a different sort of research methodology and expectations. Indeed, trying to decode historical fact from letters or memos is hard enough. Deducing fiction from fact in communiqués designed to hide identities and

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actions is even more complicated. Thus, rather than search for a definitive document completely exonerating or convicting Hiss, historians hoped the archives would add pieces of evidence to what was already known.

Two leading experts on U.S. domestic communism, Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, first combed the Russian archives. Ironically, it was in a foreign archive where they learned about an American espionage program, the Venona Project. A wartime venture of the U.S. army's Signal Intelligence Service, Venona employed linguists, mathematicians, and cryptanalysts to decipher Soviet cables. Four years of intense labor led to a breakthrough that enabled U.S. intelligence officials to decipher Soviet diplomatic cables from 1942 until 1946 when a Soviet spy alerted the Kremlin.

The deciphered cables silently rocked government leaders. Though officials had hoped Venona would offer insight into Soviet diplomacy, analysts learned much about Soviet espionage in the United States. In addition to the 349 U.S. citizens, permanent residents, and immigrants actively spying for the Soviets, the cables revealed evidence of high-level government officials spying for the Soviets. From the Treasury Department's second ranking official Harry White and Franklin Roosevelt's personal assistant Lauchlin Currie to nuclear physicist Klaus Fuchs employed in the Manhattan Project, Venona uncovered a deep web of Soviet espionage.

Venona also implicated Alger Hiss, which in addition to the wartime testimony of Chambers and another spy-cum-defector Elizabeth Bentley finally led to his quiet dismissal from the State Department. The Venona cables were never revealed because U.S. officials refused to offer any public information about a top secret program. Indeed, U.S. officials used what they learned from Venona to try and break Soviet diplomatic code throughout the Cold War.

Though the cables were deciphered, most communiqués still used code names. Only after piecing together a series of cables that offered tidbits of personal information could analysts make an educated guess connecting specific individuals to code names. Luckily one of the most specific Venona cables offered identifying characteristics for an American agent, code named "Ales." According to Cable 1822, "Ales" had begun spying in 1935, led a small group of spies that included his relatives, was present at the Yalta Conference, and attended the following Moscow Conference.

While the first three characteristics clearly applied to Hiss, the traits could have just as easily fit hundreds of other State Department officials. The most damning evidence in Cable 1822 was Ales's presence at the Yalta and Moscow conferences. Indeed, Hiss was one of only four State Department officials who attended the Moscow Conference following the Yalta gathering. Among those four officials, none, except for Hiss, had ever had any ties or allegations of espionage.

It was not merely Klehr and Haynes who mined the new archives but Weinstein as well. With unprecedented access to the KGB's Operational Files, Weinstein and his coauthor Alexander Vassiliev uncovered new information that

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Nathaniel Weyl, Alger Hiss's Accuser

Alger Hiss was accused of being a member of the Ware Group in 1933—the Ware Group advocating that the U.S. government adopt procommunist policies. These claims were made before the McCarran Committee by Nathaniel Weyl (1910–2005), an economist who had been a member of the Communist Party of the United States.

Weyl had been born in New York City, his father being a prominent progressive writer who had helped found the *New Republic*. The young Nathaniel Weyl went to Columbia University and then to the London School of Economics, becoming interested in communism and joining the Ware Group. Totally disenchanted following the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, he went to work for the Federal Reserve Board and served in the U.S. army for two years. He later became a dedicated anticommunist, studying the role of communism in Latin America, being sharply critical of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution.

corroborated the veracity of the Venona cables. The KGB files revealed and reconfirmed that hundreds of U.S. agents, including Hiss, labored for the Kremlin. Thus, it was not merely Chambers's testimony, Hiss's defense files, or even the Venona cables that confirmed Hiss's guilt, but the KGB archives as well.

The Vassiliev Notebook

Despite the overwhelming evidence, Hiss's defenders continued to mount a substantial posthumous defense after Hiss's 1996 death. They not only aimed their fire at Weinstein but also at his Russian researcher and coauthor Alexander Vassiliev. A former operative in the KGB Intelligence Directorate's "American Department," who left the agency for a career in journalism, Vassilev spent two years researching the KGB Operational Correspondence Files. These papers detailed the correspondence between spies and their handlers and the handlers and their KGB bosses. The archives also offered personal files on each agent.

As someone who understood the KGB's culture and the world of espionage but possessed a journalist's nose for investigating a story, Vassiliev was ideal for the task. During the mid-1990s, when economic unrest and post–Cold War malaise rocked Russia, authorities were pleased to have Vassiliev coauthor books detailing the KGB's prodigious successes in espionage. Though Vassiliev was telling a story the Russian defense establishment wanted, they did not allow document photocopies. Instead, they let Vassiliev use a notebook to take painstaking notes of the documents.

Because U.S.-Soviet relations have cooled since the mid-1990s, scholarly access to KGB archives has ceased. Thus, Vassiliev's 1,115 pages of notes are the most comprehensive source on Soviet espionage available to the public.

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Beyond his notebook Vassiliev is a unique source in and of himself. Separated by decades and a continent from the *sturm* and *drang* of the Hiss case, Vassiliev has no ideological ax to grind. Before he cowrote a book with Allen Weinstein, he had barely even heard of Alger Hiss. Indeed, he claims, "I don't give a damn about Alger Hiss. Never did" (quoted from Haynes and Klehr 2009: liii).

Vassiliev might not have cared about Hiss, but what he uncovered brought the ire of his advocates. Because the KGB files were poorly organized, security officials could not have restricted access to materials even if they had wanted to. Consequently, even though Russian intelligence protocol is to keep a spy's identity secret at all costs, due to the archive's muddled nature, Vassiliev found a document written by the Soviet's Washington, D.C., station chief that listed the names and code names of U.S. agents. The "Rosetta Stone" of Soviet espionage reveals "Ales" was indeed Alger Hiss.

Conclusion

More than any single American, Alger Hiss is singularly associated with the rise of Senator Joseph McCarthy. To critics, McCarthyism and anticommunism became synonymous. An inveterate liar and drunkard, Joseph McCarthy used the Hiss case and communist subversion as a partisan cudgel to save his own sinking political career and smear political opponents. In the early to mid-1950s, McCarthy ruined thousands of lives and careers with his reckless investigations and unfounded charges.

For those wishing to cast aspersions on the Cold War in general and anticommunism in particular, McCarthy has become a convenient foil to paint the entire enterprise with the same broad brush. Whatever one thinks about the Cold War, McCarthy, or Vietnam, it is important to separate one from the other. To endorse the basics of the Cold War and anticommunism is not tantamount to approving of McCarthy and Vietnam.

Since the Soviet Union's founding, the U.S. right and left had been bitterly divided over a response. In the spring of 1919, the Comintern's call for revolution led to a spate of domestic bombings, gaining American's attention. With the FBI and attorney general jailing foreign-born radicals without a shred of evidence, the Red Scare and conservative anticommunism were born. Defined by nativism and a disregard for unconstitutional procedures, the conservative anticommunism of the 1919–1920 Red Scare returned in the form of Joseph McCarthy.

Similarly, the Red Scare also spawned the left's response. Terming anticommunism a "false and dangerous attack on . . . civil liberties" that used communism as a guise to assault the Constitution, the ACLU established the left's response (Powers 1998: 33).

Though the nascent Soviet Union hardly represented an existential threat, as the Alger Hiss case reveals, the Kremlin's intentions were hardly benign.

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Indeed, Eastern European, Chinese, and Russian archives have revealed Joseph Stalin's aggressive intent. Despite what some revisionists claim, the Cold War was not merely a conflict between morally equal superpowers fighting for hegemony. Rather, as the dean of Cold War scholarship John Gaddis writes, "Stalin's was, therefore a grand vision: the peacefully accomplished but historically determined domination of Europe" (2006: 14).

Mirroring Gaddis is Melvyn Leffler who claims the early Cold War was defined by Joseph Stalin and his nearly limitless fear of "capitalist encirclement" (2007: 21). Communist ideology told Stalin that another capitalist war was historically predetermined. Resolved to avoid another invasion, Stalin imposed communist regimes across Eastern Europe (and sought to do so in Western Europe). In response, Harry Truman opted for the Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, and containment. Seeing Truman's policy as capitalist encirclement, Stalin supported revolutionary nationalist movements as the route to toppling the capitalist world.

With the Kremlin committed to fomenting revolution and the United States opting for containment, the Cold War was born. For a brief period, however, Truman, liberals, and key conservatives forged a bipartisan foreign policy based on reasonable anticommunism. Unfortunately, the Alger Hiss case drove a deep and lasting wedge into that consensus. Once McCarthy emerged, the ACLU's repudiation of all anticommunism gained credence with the left and a generational divide was born (or reborn).

Despite McCarthy's blathering and the left's willing disbelief, during the Great Depression and World War II, Soviet espionage reached into the State Department and even the Oval Office (in the form of FDR's personal assistant Lauchlin Currie). A few agents produced significant information. For instance, agents passed the technology and research data for the atomic bomb and a plethora of other military technologies. This enabled the Soviets to produce an atomic bomb, years earlier than otherwise possible. According to John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, the Soviet advent of the atomic bomb emboldened Stalin and led directly to the North Korean invasion of the South (Haynes and Klehr 2009: 545).

Ironically, once McCarthy began his campaign, the golden age of Soviet espionage was over. Through the decades, the Kremlin recruited spies in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the State Department, but they were not part of a wider ideological movement. Alger Hiss was a spy. Even more damning, he spent decades lying to friends, family, and the larger intellectual community, which fomented a larger cultural and ideological war over Vietnam and the Cold War. Indeed, Alger Hiss's innocence eventually became an issue of faith among some on the left. In this way, the entire sorry episode reveals the lures and dangers of making political beliefs into a secular religion.

Alger Hiss was never representative of anything larger than one man's ideological path through an extraordinarily complicated time. He was a spy who

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betrayed his country while aiding a regime that murdered tens of millions. There is no object lesson in that.

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CON

Alger Hiss was a man of principle and conviction. He dedicated himself to public service, and his repayment for that was a life and name tarnished by a vigilante crusade against communist infiltration in the U.S. government. His trial and conviction were little more than an attempt to feed and fuel a media frenzy, maintain a "public health campaign," and give justification for the use of tax payer dollars to build bomb shelters, weapon arsenals, and encourage the average citizen to do the same in his own backyard.

Hiss's upbringing, framed by tragedy and hard lessons, provided him with the strong foundations he needed for a life in public service. These core values are what steered him through defenses of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs, through the formation of the United Nations during World War II, and through two national trials. Even though he was convicted, he fought to restore his name and membership in the Massachusetts State Bar Association, and he never denounced his country through flight. The life of Alger Hiss and his legion of friends and mentors who hold prominence in U.S. history show that he could not have possibly been a spy. Alger Hiss took the blame, in a moment of

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national hysteria, for actions that he could not have committed. He lived his life so vividly in the public spotlight that secret meetings and phone calls would have been impossible to complete, and his moral center would have prevented them. More so, the evidence continually shows that he did not betray his country.

Early Life and Education

Alger Hiss was born in November 1904, the fourth of five children, to Mary Lavina Hughes and Charles Alger Hiss. Hiss and his four siblings grew up in Baltimore, Maryland, where his father was a middle-class grocer. This early life contrasted the upbringing of his counterparts in Washington, D.C., politics, as Hiss did not have access to private schools, wealth, and luxury. In many ways it set the stage for the tragedy and turmoil he would endure later on in life. When he was two his father committed suicide, leaving his mother to struggle to support the family. They lived in what was dubbed a neighborhood of "shabby gentility," and his mother often relied on the kindness of family members and friends to help support the family. The Hiss children did not fair well—when Alger was 22 his older brother Bosley died of Bright's disease, and at 25 he lost his sister Mary to suicide. Yet, in spite of these setbacks this young man—who would later be called well bred—triumphed over personal tragedy.

He earned his undergraduate degree from Johns Hopkins University with Phi Beta Kappa honors, and his classmates voted him most popular for his charm and wit. This bright and ambitious student continued his education at Harvard Law School from which he graduated in 1929. While at Harvard Law, Hiss studied under Felix Frankfurter. Frankfurter would later be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1939. Frankfurter recommended Hiss as the private secretary to Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, for whom he served a year. Hiss then worked for a Massachusetts law firm and then a New York law firm until 1933, when his former mentor sent him a telegram saying his service was needed at the national level. Hiss took the words of Frankfurter to heart, and he entered the Washington, D.C., arena that year. He worked directly with FDR's New Deal team, and Hiss specifically undertook the battles of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). His work with displaced farmers—who had either lost their farms, lacked farm income, or had crop failures—reinforces Hiss's character and upbringing. He started his public service career fighting to protect and defend the nation's farmer, grocer, and family.

Rising of a Public Service Career

After serving with the AAA he worked with the Nye Committee, which devised the "Merchants of Death Thesis," pointing the finger for U.S. involvement in

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World War I to big business and greedy industries. Throughout his endeavors with FDR's New Deal reforms, his skills were used to defend the constitutionality of the governmental programs and justify the initiatives as benefiting the people. Much of Hiss's career would rest on him working for the benefit of the larger good, justify the actions of the federal government, and helping the American people understand how a stronger and bigger arm of governmental intervention would benefit their daily lives and not hinder their personal growth and freedoms.

In 1936 Hiss, along with his younger brother Donald, went to work for the State Department. As Hiss worked his way through the State Department he advised on Far Eastern Affairs, and most notably he served as deputy director of Special Political Affairs, which led him to directly engage in the construction of the United Nations Charter. In 1945 Hiss—a member of the Yalta Conference—led the opposition to Stalin's proposal for 16 Soviet votes in the UN General Assembly (Stalin received three). Hiss served at the center of the creation of the United Nations, when in 1945 he presided at the San Francisco Conference as secretary general. Hiss often remarked that the highlight of his public service career came when he was asked to hand-carry the UN Charter to Washington, D.C., for President Truman's signature.

Finally, after this very public and international career, centered on the preservation of community and national vitality, Hiss left public service in 1946. Even with his change of venue his grassroots threads did not leave him, as he took on the role of president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace until May 1949. Then, with abrupt ferocity, Hiss's life and career came under national and international scrutiny, becoming the center of debate and analysis, and he became an object of national hatred.

Politics of the Moment

In 1948 Alger Hiss was formally charged with two counts of perjury by a federal grand jury. These charges arose during testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which formed in 1934 to investigate and counter nazi propaganda. Quickly the committee changed its goals, as World War II ended. The ending of the war forced the United States, and other Allied powers, to reexamine themselves in light the Soviet Union's communist government and Stalin's avowal to expand his communist influence throughout Europe, and the complexity of the friendships during the war had to be reexamined. The HUAC dealt with much of the communist hysteria during the 1950s, and trials about comic book content even appeared before them in the early 1950s.

With the ending of World War II, the United States found itself on the defensive against its former ally. In what set the stage for the Cold War and a progressive arms race, in 1945 the HUAC became a permanent committee of

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Congress. As early as 1947, federal government employees had to take loyalty oaths and denounce ties to communism, and the same year saw nine sensational days of testimony about the possible threat of communists overtaking the motion picture industry. Clearly, the nation was on edge, and the widely broadcasted activities of the HUAC did little to ease individual concerns. Instead, local and national media campaigns instructed individuals on how to spot a communist and detailed how communism would destroy the family, community, and "American way of life." Films and editorials defining commies, and communistic activities, routinely relied on vague descriptions of communist behaviors and provided few (if any) concrete examples of explicitly communist activities. Most commonly, persons who regularly spoke out against the United States, stood for organized labor, socialist beliefs, denounced imperialism, or even supported equal rights were callously labeled as communists.

More potent forms of propaganda, and scare tactics, told people to build "backyard bomb shelters" and stock up on supplies in case Communist Russia decided to attack the United States. These posters, radio announcements, and film shorts were made and endorsed by the federal government, which inadvertently gave them credibility in the public's eyes. And, of course, the nine days of nerve-wracking testimony from the HUAC passionately declared that communists had infiltrated Hollywood. On November 25, 1947, 10 writers and directors found their names blacklisted; they became known as "The Hollywood Ten," and the list was dubbed the Waldorf Statement (released at the Waldorf Hotel in New York City). The newly formed Motion Picture Association of America sanctioned the list, as if to give it a seal of approval and moral authority, and later the Motion Picture Association gave its backing to pamphlets like *Red Channels*. *Red Channels* named 151 Hollywood names, and these activities led to the blacklisting of almost 300 Hollywood artists. Many of these artists would never work in the industry, several fled U.S. borders and worked in Mexico and Latin America, and future U.S. President Ronald Reagan even testified before HUAC naming names. Clearly the nation was in the midst of an emotional crisis. These actions, and a plethora of others, set the stage for the naming and false conviction of Alger Hiss.

The Trial and Evidence

On August 3, 1948, Whitaker Chambers, senior editor of *Time* and a former communist, told the HUAC that Alger Hiss worked for underground Communist Party organizations (the Ware Group). At this point, Chambers made no mention of espionage, later he would change his story, and on several occasions he was forced to admit that he had lied on the stand. Even though Chambers gave shaky testimony, Hiss already had a case being built against him. In 1942 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) actively began to keep a file on Hiss and his so-called espionage activities. A further collaboration of Chambers's weak

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Two guards flank Elizabeth Bentley, a former American spy for the Soviet Union, at a meeting of the House Un-American Activities Committee where Alger Hiss (extreme right), a former State Department official, denied charges that he was a member of the Communist Party. (Library of Congress)

testimony weighed on the witness of Elizabeth Bently, an American spy for the Soviet Union. In 1945 she defected and told the State Department that a "Eugene Hiss" had been in contact with Soviet officials, and Igor Gouzenko defected to Canada the same year telling a tales of an unnamed assistant to the secretary of state.

In an earnest effort to save his reputation Hiss volunteered to testify before the HUAC on August 5. Richard Nixon, an aspiring politician, pressured the committee to continue the investigation, even though there appeared to be little (if any) hard, substantial evidence. Nixon used the writings of John Francis Cronin, a Roman Catholic priest who had gained access to FBI files, as justification for the continued investigation. The investigation culminated in having Hiss identify Chambers from a photograph, and he then was requested to meet with Chambers in a hotel suite with HUAC members present. Hiss declared that he knew Chambers as "George Crosley." Hiss attested that Chambers/Crosley had claimed to be a freelance writer, he had sublet him (Chambers) an apartment a decade earlier, and he had given him an old car.

Enraged, Hiss invited Chambers to make his charges against him in a public setting (since congressional testimony remained protected from libel charges).

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Typewriters and the Hiss Case

Martin Tytell was the typewriter expert who gave evidence on behalf of Alger Hiss at his trial, and whose statements were particularly important in proving that Hiss was not guilty. He was born on December 20, 1913, in New York, his parents being Russian Jewish immigrants. He attended a local school and then went to Saint John's University and then New York University.

In 1938 Tytell established the Tytell Typewriter Company and managed to develop typewriters that could be sold for far less than many of his business rivals. He also managed to design a coin-operated typewriter whereby people could use the machine for 10 cents per 30 minutes.

During World War II, he served in the U.S. marine corps but was important in creating foreign language typewriters that were used by the military. Indeed after the war his company boasted that they could make typewriters that could be used for 145 languages, including designing carriages that worked in reverse for typing messages in Hebrew or Arabic. He died on September 11, 2008, after a long illness.

Chambers called Hiss a spy on *Meet the Press*, a popular radio show (which in the modern era became a Sunday morning politics television program). Hiss began his libel lawsuit, but on November 17, 1948, Chambers produced 65 pages of photocopied government documents "proving" Hiss was a spy (the "Baltimore Documents"). On December 2 he led investigators to five rolls of 35 mm film he had hidden in hollowed out pumpkins at his family farm in Maryland. These became known as the Pumpkin Papers. The story behind the documents said that Priscilla Hiss—Hiss's wife—had retyped State Department documents on the family typewriter, creating the Baltimore Documents, and of the five rolls of film only two had State Department documents and one roll was blank as it had been severely overexposed.

The Charges

Based on the flimsy evidence in the Baltimore Documents and Pumpkin Papers, Hiss was charged with two counts of perjury, and Chambers never faced a jury or charges. Hiss did not receive espionage charges because the statute of limitations had expired. At trial, along with the so-called documents provided by Chambers, the defense located the old family typewriter (given away years earlier) and presented it as evidence. The Woodstock had been given to a family servant, and Hiss's council produced the machine when they learned the prosecution was close to discovering it. Expert testimony could only say that the documents had probably been typed on the typewriter, and Hiss's camp maintained the argument that the documents had been forged. The first trial ended with a hung jury, and the second convicted Hiss in January 1950. On January

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25, 1950, Hiss received a sentence of five years, which he served 44 months. Hede Massing, an ex-communist, testified at the second trial, providing a weak backing to the charges. The added testimony of Massing, circumstantial as it was, seemed to confirm that Hiss had seen Chambers after the last 1937 encounter that he affirmed. He was then convicted on two counts of perjury, and not espionage, which has fueled the fire to the controversy.

At the second trial, defense lawyers brought in experts to analyze the mental state of Chambers, since he had already admitted that he had lied on the stand. Hiss's attorneys failed to paint Chambers as unstable when they bungled their attempt to criticize Chambers's translation of Franz Werfel's *Class Reunion* into English. The prosecution asked what Chambers's translations could show about his personality, as he had also translated *Bambi*. The headlines roared "Who's psycho now?" Both sides were clearly trying to grasp on to every thread of hope for their case. These outlandish tactics by the lawyers show just how far flung and shabby much of the evidence against Hiss really was.

Conviction

Hiss's conviction reinforced the mindset that there was a commie around every corner, and his high-profile court loss gave justification to FBI searches, seizures, and infringements upon civil liberties. Most important, in a perverse manner, it gave the American public a sense of security knowing that commie infiltration had been thwarted (well at least for the time being). Two weeks after the Hiss conviction, on February 9, 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy gave his now infamous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech in which he claimed to have the names of 57 communists in the federal government (that number would later jump to 205).

The shaky evidence aside, transcripts and other documents have been released in the 50-plus years since his unjust conviction. Hiss's libel suit fell short, as his perjury charges were brought forth, and during his 44-month prison term he served as a lawyer to inmates while fighting to reinstate his good name. Upon release he worked for a stationary company, he and Priscilla divorced in 1959 (he did not remarry until after her death in 1986), and in 1957 he published his book *In the Court of Public Opinion*. He argued that the Baltimore Papers had been forged, and he consistently claimed that he had been railroaded. Richard Nixon in *Six Crises* (1962) said that duplicating machine typefaces was not possible in 1949, but *The Quiet Canadian: The Secret Service Story of Sir William Stephenson* by H. Montgomery Hyde (1963) shows readers how this was done as early as 1936.

In accordance with the Freedom of Information Act, on July 31, 1975, Hiss won his suit against the Justice Department for the release of the Pumpkin Papers. The documents revealed an overexposed roll of film, two with documents introduced at the two trials, and two more with nonclassified State Department

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documents about navy matters of life rafts and fire extinguishers. The data found on these papers proved complexity to uphold the argument that Alger Hiss committed acts of espionage with these materials. Hiss used this evidence as the basis for his claim of prosecutorial misconduct, which was denied. Then, in a truly remarkable turn of events, Hiss was readmitted to the Massachusetts Bar Association on August 5, 1975. He became the first person to be readmitted to the Massachusetts Bar after a criminal conviction. Clearly, this action points in the direction of Hiss's innocence, as the Massachusetts Supreme Court saw the flimsiness and weak charges on which he was convicted. The state's Supreme Court gave a unanimous ruling for Hiss on the grounds that he demonstrated moral fortitude and intellectual prowess for the profession. This same year the HUAC was disbanded as a standing congressional committee.

Yet, even though Hiss fought for his right to practice law again, he appeared on Howard K. Smith's *News and Comment* in 1962 for a segment on Richard Nixon. Nixon had just lost the California governor's race, and the show erroneously predicted his death from politics. The show was canceled a year later, after an onslaught of protests about the airing of a convicted perjurer. Hiss may have won the support of justices, but the public still held him at bay.

Recent evidence has continued to fuel the debate about Hiss's innocence. Aside from Nathaniel Weyl's 1952 testimony before the McCarren Committee saying that he had been a member (along with Alger Hiss) of the Ware Group in 1933, his book stated that he did not fully believe in Hiss's conviction. Weyl never testified at the Hiss trials, for reasons unknown.

In 1976 the Freedom of Information Act forced the Department of Justice to release FBI and prosecution records about the case, and in July 1978 Hiss's defense team asked for *coram nobis*. *Coram nobis* would have overturned the guilty verdict on the grounds of prosecutorial misconduct, but the petition was denied. The grounds Hiss used for this failed defense are that the FBI withheld evidence from Hiss that typewritten documents could be forged, that the FBI knew there were discrepancies with the serial number of the Woodstock recovered and entered into evidence, that Horace W. Schmahl worked as a detective for Hiss while reporting to the federal government, and that the FBI illegally monitored Hiss. These petitions were denied in 1982 and 1983.

Other points of contention with the evidence reveal that the Woodstock did not correlate to manufacturer records, via serial numbers, and a Nixon White House staff member John Dean claimed that Nixon told Charles Colson that the HUAC did fabricate the Woodstock. No substantial evidence has come to support this 1976 statement, but it does add flavor to the continual array of circumstantial and secondhand information that form this case. The legacy of Nixon's lying to federal authorities and his wire tapping in the Watergate Affair also shed a more sinister light on Hiss's conviction. More scholarly research

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questions the fairness of Hiss's trials with Richard Nixon at the helm of the prosecution. The testimony of two former Soviet spies also adds fire to this mix of possible governmental tampering with evidence.

In 1992 Hungarian records showed that Noel Field named Hiss a communist spy while he was imprisoned from 1949 to 1954 in Hungary. Field claimed that in 1935 Alger Hiss tried to woo him to the Soviet side, but Field told him he was too late. This story is similar to the one that Hede Massing told U.S. authorities in 1947 after her defection. After Field's release he wrote a letter to the Communist Party's Central Committee in Moscow decrying many of his statements in prison. He said that the torture made him confess lies as truth, and Hiss used this letter as added support that the naming of him was in error.

In 1992, after the fall of the Soviet Union and the former communist bloc in Eastern Europe, Alger Hiss wrote to Russian historian Dimitry Antonovich Volkogonov. Volkogonov oversaw Soviet intelligence archives, and he pleaded with him to release the files connected to his case. On October 14, 1992, Volkogonov complied by releasing a report that attested no evidence connected Hiss to the Soviet intelligence units. Later controversy emerged when Volkogonov admitted that he only spent two days researching this issue, but memoirs of several Soviet officials clear Hiss's name. Finally in 2007 Svetlana Chervonnaya testified that Hiss's name remained absent from Soviet intelligence records. For a moment it looked like Hiss's name would finally be cleared, once again, lending fuel that the defected spies were spinning tales to win freedom and asylum.

In 1995 the existence of the Venona Project was made known to the public, and its connection to Hiss adds another layer of complexity to this tale of deceit and secrecy. The project decrypted Soviet intelligence messages from 1942 to 1945, and amid the mounds of suspicions another circumstantial revelation arose. FBI Special Agent Robert Lamphere said the Soviet spy called Ales was probably Hiss. Once again, unsubstantiated evidence arose to denounce Hiss, but scholars have continued to dispute it. Not only has the scholarly dispute rested on the earlier knowledge that the federal prosecutors gravely mishandled Hiss's earlier trial(s), but the foundations of the Ales identity did not correlate to Hiss. Ales was said to be a leader of espionage agents; Hiss was accused of acting alone. Ales was a GRU (Soviet's Chief Intelligence Unit) agent and obtained military intelligence; at his trial Hiss was only accused of releasing nonmilitary data. It remains unlikely that Alger Hiss could have been a spy after 1938 as Chambers broke from the Communist Party and went into hiding, and Hiss's accession in Washington, D.C., made him a highly politicized public figure. Keeping his identity secret after 1938 would have been near impossible and risky. Ales did continue his espionage activities. Finally, records place Ales in Mexico City when Hiss was clearly in Washington, D.C.

John Lowenthal, Hiss's lawyer, argues that the one Venona cable (1579), which names Hiss, could not be pointed directly at Alger. Instead, his brother

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Donald could be the name, and on a more stifling note the GRU would have avoided naming Hiss at all. Using a spy's real name, instead of a code name, in any document remained unorthodox. In April 2007 scholars gave evidence to support U.S. Diplomat Wilder Foote as Ales, but as with so much of this case, the Foote hypothesis is also in dispute. The dispute rebuffing Foote as Ales rests on counter-arguments saying that the documents had been misinterpreted and that the Soviet cable was mistaken in saying that Ales was in Mexico City. Connecting Hiss to Ales stems from a 1990 book by Christopher M. Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky that names Hiss as Ales. Gordievsky's source for Ales was a journalist, and his account has also fallen under scrutiny. Nonetheless, the continual battery of evidence for and against Hiss, compounded with the grave misconduct by federal prosecutors, shows that the light of innocence still shines in Hiss's favor.

Alger Hiss died on November 15, 1996, still claiming his innocence.

Conclusion

The irony of the Hiss case is not only in the fact that he was a well-received public servant, mentored by some of the biggest names in politics and U.S. history, but also that he was a central character to the formation of the United Nations and its charter, and numerous scholars note that the United Nations and the Yalta Conference set the stage for the Cold War and postwar world. Hiss adamantly fought against the Soviet Union in the UN debates, and he continually worked for the progress of a better national center. The railroading hysteria of the immediate postwar years took away voices of reason, clarity, and balance in U.S. politics. Alger Hiss is only one character, in a cast of many, who figuratively took a bullet for his country without just cause.

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13

John F. Kennedy was elected U.S. president in 1960 only because of voter fraud committed by his connections in the mafia.

PRO Christian Nuenlist
CON John H. Barnhill

PRO

John F. Kennedy, America's 35th president, still fascinates today, more than 45 years after his death. Even though his presidency was, with little more than 1,000 days, one of the briefest in U.S. history, the young, mediagenic, and charismatic Kennedy conveyed the image of a strong, powerful president with excellent leadership skills. Kennedy recalled the idealism of America's formative years and inspired a whole generation to perform public service passionately. Yet, the memories of the Kennedy era began to mix with myths immediately after the fateful November 22, 1963. The drama of a young hero, slaughtered under tragic and mysterious circumstances, shaped the early hagiographic historiography written by Kennedy's comrades-in-arms (Schlesinger 1965; Sorensen 1965). From the 1970s, revisionism brought harsh criticism: Kennedy's style had dominated his presidency, there had not been any substance, some historians wrote. The image had always been more important than concrete results, others added. I. F. Stone characterized the Kennedy era disrespectfully as an "optical illusion" (Leuchtenburg 1983: 53).

In 1997, award-winning investigative journalist Seymour Hersh summarized the entire revisionist criticism on Kennedy in a controversial but well-researched book titled *The Dark Side of Camelot*. Sunshine boy Kennedy, deeply loved by the public still today, mutated into the "Ugly American" par excellence. Hersh's Kennedy authorized murder conspiracies against Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Hersh's Kennedy, with the support of the secret service and loyal advisers, cheated on his wife in the White House swimming pool and elsewhere. Kennedy's frivolous private life, Hersh concluded, led to risky maneuvers even in the domestic and foreign policy of his government.

Yet, the most interesting part of the Kennedy saga actually is its very beginning. The presidential election of 1960 was one of the most close and tight races in U.S. history. In a truly cliffhanger election night, Kennedy beat his republican

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rival Richard Nixon by merely 118,574 of more than 68 million votes. Kennedy's razor-thin victory was only known in the early morning hours of a dramatic election night, after fewer than 9,400 votes had brought the state of Illinois into the Kennedy camp. In the Electoral College, Kennedy won 303 votes against Nixon's 219 votes. The 1960 presidential election has been called "the most exciting democratic election of the twentieth century" (Aitken 1993: 274) and "the most famous presidential campaign of modern times" (Wicker 1991: 25).

Kennedy's narrow victory has triggered one of the biggest controversies in world history. Still today, critical journalists and historians doubt Kennedy's victory, accusing him of voter fraud. The target of these accusations is less the 35th president but rather a few illustrious actors who allegedly helped the young candidate to win in an illegal way, including his father Joseph P. Kennedy, Chicago's legendary Mayor Richard Daley, Chicago mafia boss Sam Giancana, and even the famous entertainer Frank Sinatra.

This section is structured into three parts. First, I focus on the important influence of Joseph P. Kennedy on the political career of his second-born son John Fitzgerald. Second, I analyze the controversial Kennedy victory at the West Virginia primary in May 1960—arguably the most important step in Kennedy's race for the democratic ticket. And finally, I delve into the presidential election in Chicago in November 1960. Almost 50 years after that crucial election, I argue, we have come to accept the distressing fact that the very close election victory of John F. Kennedy was only possible thanks to mafia votes.

Joseph P. and the Making of a President

Kennedy's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, was born in the United States in 1888 as a son of an Irish immigrant son. After World War I, he accumulated a fortune playing the stock market. He also became a player in the movie business and in illegal alcohol trade. Officially, he had a license to import medical alcohol (Whalen 1964; Schwarz 2003). Yet, mafia boss Frank Costello confided in 1973 that he and Joe Kennedy had been "partners" in the bootleg liquor business during prohibition (Hersh 1997: 44–57).

In 1931, the elder Kennedy became an important sponsor and fundraiser of Franklin D. Roosevelt. After three disastrous years serving as FDR's ambassador to Britain, he withdrew from public service after a bitter argument with the president. From that moment on, he knew that he would never become U.S. president. Instead, he began to force the political careers of his nine children. His oldest son Joe Jr. was slated for fulfilling his dream of a Kennedy presidency. When the navy pilot died in August 1944 during a secret bombing mission, the second-oldest son John F. had to step into Joe Jr.'s shoes. On Christmas of 1944, the ambitious father called John to take over the place of his older brother and to enter politics (Dallek 2003: 118).

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In 1946, the 11th congressional district of Massachusetts in East Boston, where many Catholics lived, was targeted as the perfect launching pad of Kennedy's political career. Joseph Kennedy directed the campaign of his son; he developed the strategy and made almost every financial and political decision. The former ambassador called his influential friends, politicians, and journalists, for hundreds of hours. To veil his role, Joseph Kennedy usually paid for newspaper ads and other services in cash, mostly through an intermediary—all in all approximately $300,000. On June 18, 1946, the sickish and inexperienced 29-year-old John F. Kennedy won the democratic primaries and appeared on the front page of the *New York Times*. On November 5, 1946, he was elected congressman in the heavily democratic district (Bly 1996: 75–6).

In 1952 John F. Kennedy started the race for a Senate seat of Massachusetts—against the incumbent Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Again, Kennedy's father helped discreetly, but efficiently. A few days before Election Day, Joseph P. learned that the *Boston Post*, a daily newspaper with a circulation of over 300,000 copies, badly needed money. Its publisher, John Fox, had favored the republicans and Cabot Lodge, but two days before Election Day, after a private meeting with Joseph Kennedy, Fox published a front-side endorsement for John F. Kennedy. In 1958 Fox admitted that the elder Kennedy had helped him out of financial difficulties with a loan of $500,000, which Fox later repaid. On November 4, 1952, Kennedy won the election (Bly 1996: 87).

During Kennedy's time as senator in Washington, father Joe continued to work on the jigsaw of a Kennedy presidency. As a former media mogul he recognized that his son was to campaign as a popular star and not simply as a normal politician. He paid $75,000 to his longtime friend and *Time* publisher Henry Luce for a front-cover story about the "Democrat's Man Out Front" on December 2, 1957. Kennedy for the first time smiled from a magazine cover, even though his political achievements in the U.S. Senate actually were rather mingy. Kennedy was by many considered to be "more the product of a public relations campaign funded by his family's fortune than the result of political accomplishments" (Dallek 2003: 230).

West Virginia—Nomination for Sale

On January 2, 1960, John F. Kennedy finally launched his presidential campaign. Again, it was a family business. His younger brother Bobby worked as campaign manager; father Joe helped as usual in the background as hidden paymaster. On the way to the democratic nomination, the primary in West Virginia on May 10 was the biggest hurdle. Kennedy's most dangerous contender in the inner-democratic race at that time was Hubert Humphrey, a senator from Minnesota.

One particularity of West Virginia county-level politics was (and still is today) the custom of "slating." A slate is a printed list of candidates. If a candidate

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The Making of the President 1960

The 1960 presidential election, which saw John F. Kennedy becoming the 35th U.S. president, was the title of the first of five books written by journalist Theodore H. White on American politics. *The Making of the President 1960* was a brilliantly written story of an election, which, even though everybody knew the final outcome, left the reader in suspense until the vote was counted.

Theodore White (1915–1986) was born in Boston, the son of a lawyer, and studied at Harvard University, being a classmate of Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. (older brother of John F. Kennedy). After becoming a journalist in China, and a friend of Henry Luce, he wrote a number of books on China.

In his book *The Making of the President 1960*, he gives detailed coverage of the entire campaign, but also a scientific analysis of aspects of it. Awarded the Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction in 1962, White went on to write *The Making of the President 1964* (1965), *The Making of the President 1968* (1969), *The Making of the President 1972* (1973), and *Breach of Faith: The Fall of Richard Nixon* (1975).

became associated with the "right" slate, his chances of winning were improved. Sheriffs or political committeemen in the 55 counties, who put together the lists or slates, tightly held political control. Political tradition called for statewide candidates to pay some or all of the county's election expenses in return for being placed at the top of a slate. Paying a few dollars per vote on Election Day was widespread in the state (Fleming 1992: 13–4).

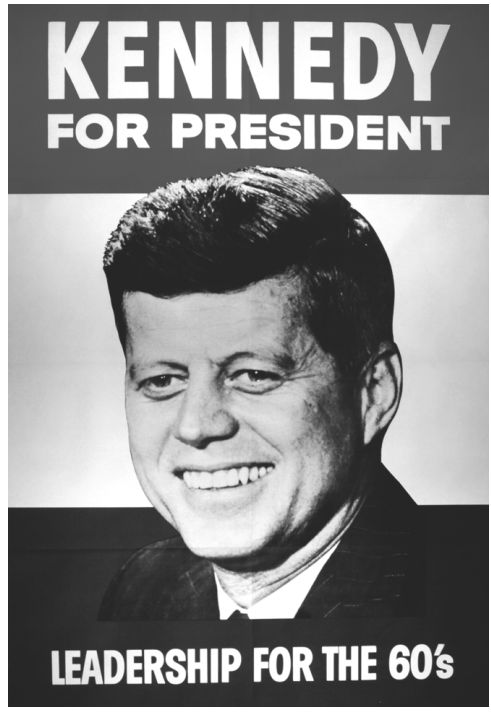
Humphrey's defeat in West Virginia was "unexpected, total, and humiliating" (Griffith 1965: 17). A Humphrey victory had been widely predicted (Sorensen 1965: 146). Alan L. Otten, the *Wall Street Journal* correspondent covering the campaign in West Virginia, thought that Humphrey would capitalize on the pronounced anti-Catholicism in the state and win the primary handily. "Every miner I talked to was going to vote for Humphrey," he recalled later (quoted from Hersh 1997: 92). When Kennedy's victory was announced, Otten was convinced that the votes had been bought by the Kennedys and started an investigation. After five weeks, the *Wall Street Journal*'s investigative team learned that the Kennedys had turned what had historically been random election fraud into a statewide pattern of corruption and had stolen the election from Humphrey. The reporters concluded that huge sums of Kennedy money had been funneled into West Virginia, much of it from Chicago. In the end, however, there was no smoking gun, none of the newspaper's sources saw a representative of the Kennedy campaign give money to a West Virginian, and thus the editors in Washington ruled that the article could not be published.

Seymour Hersh, however, learned from interviews with county and state officials that the Kennedy family spent $2 to 4 million in bribes and other payoffs, with some sheriffs in key counties collecting more than $50,000 apiece in

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cash in return for placing Kennedy's name at the top of their election slate. According to Chicago coal buyer James McCahey, the political payoffs in West Virginia had begun in October 1959, when Edward "Teddy" Kennedy traveled across the state distributing cash to the democratic committeeman in each county. With the payoffs amounting to $5,000 per committeeman, the Kennedy camp spent $275,000. In a later stage of Kennedy's West Virginia campaign, when new polls showed a dramatic drop in support for Kennedy among West Virginians, McCahey learned at a strategy meeting of the Kennedy campaign of Teddy Kennedy's 1959 mission. He lectured the outsiders that the Kennedys had to target the local sheriffs, not the committeeman. He recommended to organize teachers and other grassroots workers and later acknowledged passing out some cash to local political leaders, paying as much as $2,000 for storefront rentals and for hiring cars to bring voters to the polls on primary day. According to Victor Gabriel, who ran the Kennedy campaign in Harrison County, Bobby Kennedy showed him a little black book that listed $40,000 as being given to Sid Christie, an attorney who was the top democrat of McDowell County in the heart of the state's coal belt in the South. Two former state officials acknowledged during interviews with Seymour Hersh that some sheriffs had been paid as much as $50,000 (Hersh 1997: 96ff.).

Clearly, the huge amount of money passed by the Kennedy camp to sheriffs and local officials helped Kennedy to win the crucial state. But what was the role of the mafia, and how was organized crime involved in supplying the cash that enabled Kennedy to win the West Virginia primary? There were links between entertainer Frank Sinatra, mobster Sam Giancana, Joseph Kennedy, and John F. Kennedy. Sinatra and his friends in the "Rat Pack," including Dean Martin and Sammy Davis, Jr., raised money for the Kennedy campaign. Memoirs and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) wiretaps confirm earlier suspicions and accusations by the press that under-the-table mafia money disbursed through Sinatra was used to make payoffs to key election officials (Kelley 1987: 295; Summers and Swan 2006: 271).



A campaign poster for John F. Kennedy's successful presidential bid in 1960. (John F. Kennedy Library)

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The exact amount of money, however, is difficult to trace. Paul "Skinny" D'Amato, a New Jersey nightclub owner, said that he was approached by Joe Kennedy during the primary campaign and asked to raise money for West Virginia (Van Meter 2003). In return, the elder Kennedy promised that President John F. Kennedy would reverse a 1956 federal deportation order for Joey Adonis, a New Jersey gang leader. D'Amato allegedly raised $50,000—an amount that was too small to decide the election if compared with the sum that the Kennedy campaign spent in West Virginia. Thus, it seems fair to conclude that while Mafia money helped John F. Kennedy win the West Virginia primary against Hubert Humphrey, the crucial factor was simply the enormous amount of money the Kennedys pumped into the campaign. Clearly, they bought the election. D'Amato did not get anything in return for his $50,000. When Attorney General Robert Kennedy was informed in early 1961 by the FBI that D'Amato had bragged about his role in moving cash from Las Vegas to help John F. Kennedy win the election, the mobster suddenly faced federal indictment on income tax charges from his failure to file a corporate tax return for his nightclub (Hersh 1997: 100–01).

Chicago—The Stolen Election

Once John F. Kennedy had eliminated Humphrey in the West Virginia primary and sealed the democratic ticket in Los Angeles in June, the Kennedy camp prepared for the fight against the republicans. On Election Day, on November 8, 1960, Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon by 118,574 votes and 303 electoral votes—34 more than he needed to win. It was a very narrow victory. Charges of vote fraud appeared in several states, and the republicans sent officials on troubleshooting missions to seven states to detect vote fraud. The election in Illinois was the most controversial. The state of Illinois was essential to Kennedy's victory: Without the state's 27 electoral votes, Kennedy would have had only 7 votes more than necessary to win the Electoral College, with 26 unpledged democratic electors in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. If Kennedy had lost Illinois, these delegates would have had the power to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

There were widespread rumors about vote fraud in Chicago—Kennedy won the city by 456,312 votes, with more than 89 percent of the eligible voters having voted (or recorded as having voted). The huge plurality in Chicago enabled Kennedy to offset a wave of downstate republican votes. Chicago's legendary Mayor Richard Daley told Kennedy on election night: "Mr. President, with a little bit of luck and the help of close friends, you're going to carry Illinois" (quoted from Bradlee 1984: 33).

Who exactly were these "helping friends"? Joe Kennedy knew that organized crime dominated the major unions in Chicago in the 1950s and 1960s. Chicago's Mafia offered a huge manpower base that could be mobilized on demand and the Kennedy patriarch was ready to use that help. And old friend, William J.

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Tuohy, chief judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County (Chicago), was asked to arrange a secret meeting with Sam Giancana. Tuohy approached Giancana through Robert J. McDonnell, then one of the mob's leading attorneys and a former protégé of Tuohy. According to McDonnell, he was involved in setting up this delicate meeting in the winter of 1959–1960. In the 1990s, McDonnell declared: "I'm convinced in my heart of hearts that Giancana carried the day for John F. Kennedy" (Hersh 1997: 135–36). The Chicago mafia put drivers in every precinct to help out the precinct captains to get the voters out. And the mob had the unions voting for Kennedy.

A second source for the Kennedy-Giancana meeting appeared in 1992 in a CBS series produced by Tina Sinatra. Her father, the famous entertainer Frank Sinatra, provided the information for the scenes and explicitly approved the script. For the show of his daughter, Sinatra broke his long-held secret and publicly admitted for the first time that he had played a role in brokering Giancana's support for John F. Kennedy in 1960. According to Tina Sinatra, Joe Kennedy invited her father to a meeting in late 1959 at Hyannis Port. Over lunch, the elder Kennedy asked Sinatra to help him in West Virginia and Illinois "with your friends." Frank Sinatra agreed and met Sam Giancana on a golf course, away from FBI surveillance, and asked him to ensure the wins in Illinois and West Virginia by getting the numbers out and getting the unions to vote (Hersh 1997: 137–38).

J. Edgar Hoover's FBI picked up hints of the preelection bargaining between Kennedy and the Chicago mafia, but could not make them public because FBI agents had begun installing bugging devices in the late 1950s without specific court authorization to do so. In November 1960, the FBI heard Giancana talk about an election deal with Joe Kennedy. In his 1989 memoir *Man against the Mob*, FBI agent William F. Roemer, Jr., revealed that Giancana had been overheard on a still-unreleased FBI wiretap discussing an election deal: mafia support in return for a commitment from the Kennedy administration to back off from the FBI investigation of Giancana (Hersh 1997: 140).

Giancana also bragged about his influence to Judith Campbell Exner, the Los Angeles woman who was sexually involved with John F. Kennedy while also meeting with Giancana. In *My Story*, Judith Exner's 1977 memoir, the mob leader is quoted saying to her: "Listen, honey, if it wasn't for me your boyfriend wouldn't even be in the White House" (Exner 1977: 194).

Another source for the all-out support of the Chicago syndicate for Kennedy is G. Robert Blakey, a former special prosecutor for the Justice Department. Blakey, who had access to still classified FBI wiretaps, said: "The FBI bugs in Chicago demonstrate beyond doubt that enough votes were stolen in Chicago to give Kennedy a sufficient margin that he carried the state of Illinois." Blakey added that the surveillance in Chicago also established that mafia money was put in the 1960 national election. The money traveled from singer Frank Sinatra, who was a close friend of Giancana, to Joe Kennedy, Blakey said. In return,

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Giancana expected that the Kennedys would reduce FBI pressure on their activities (Hersh 1997: 140).

After the election, Everett Dirksen, the ranking republican senator from Illinois, requested a full-scale FBI investigation of the election. He claimed to have evidence that the election had been stolen. The FBI told him that they had already received considerable information on vote fraud and that they were sending this information to the Department of Justice. Of course, the department, headed by presidential brother Robert F. Kennedy, did not act on the information and did not conduct any further investigation (Hersh 1997: 154).

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, of course, also knew that Giancana had provided help for the Kennedy campaign in Illinois and provided money for the crucial West Virginia primary. Hoover told Kennedy about it in November 1961, when he learned from FBI bugs about it. Kennedy told his father, and within a few days, Joseph Kennedy had a massive stroke from which he never fully recovered (Gentry 1991: 472).

Conclusion

Fifty years after John F. Kennedy's razor-thin victory over Richard Nixon, it seems clear that money, muscle, and influence of organized crime helped Kennedy win the 1960 presidential election—the closest election in the 20th century and the election with the highest voter participation in the century. Kennedy's margin of victory was just 118,574 votes. The young Democratic front-runner for the presidency was not a typical presidential candidate. His career in the U.S. Senate had been unimpressive. He sponsored no major legislation, had a poor attendance record, and seemed bored by senatorial duties. Instead, he rose to national prominence in 1956 when his book *Profiles of Courage* won the Pulitzer prize and when he almost won the vice presidential nomination at the Democrat National Convention. His father, Joseph P. Kennedy, one of the wealthiest men in America, largely financed his presidential campaign.

The most intriguing aspect of the buying-the-election charge against Kennedy surfaced in 1979, growing out of the House of Representative hearings concerning the assassination of President Kennedy. Drawing from FBI files, some fascinating information was uncovered, particularly from wiretaps of Sam Giancana, the leading Midwestern mafia overlord. According to this information, the mafia was brought into the Kennedy presidential campaign and critically intervened at two crucial stages—at the primary in West Virginia in May 1960 and at Election Day in Chicago in November 1960.

Mafia money bought votes in the May 10 primary in West Virginia, although it is impossible to determine in retrospect whether the mob involvement was "the deciding factor in the contest," as John Davis has argued (Davis 1984: 286). All evidence points to mafia donations to Kennedy's West Virginia

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campaign. Skinny D'Amato, for example, spent $50,000 and was promised by Joseph P. Kennedy a favor in return—a favor that President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy as attorney general did not implement during the Kennedy presidency. Compared with the huge amount of money that the Kennedys pumped into the primary campaign—$2 to 4 million—the mafia money probably did not make the crucial difference for Kennedy to win, even though the West Virginia primary was clearly bought.

Joseph P. Kennedy did more than invest his time and money into the presidential campaign of his son. He also made a risky bargain with rather dubious mobsters, including, most prominently, with Sam Giancana and the powerful organized crime syndicate in Chicago. To ensure Kennedy's victory in West Virginia and Illinois, the elder Kennedy arranged a personal meeting with Giancana. The deal they made included an assurance that Giancana's men would get out the Kennedy vote in the mob-controlled unions in Chicago and elsewhere. Thus, John and Bobby Kennedy took office in January 1961 knowing that the mafia had helped win the 1960 election. Giancana felt optimistic that by backing a presidential winner, the heat would be off the Chicago syndicate. Charges of voter fraud were also directed at Chicago Mayor Richard Daley who had personally promised to deliver Illinois to Kennedy. Richard Dallek, one of the most respected U.S. presidential historians, wrote in 2003: "Daley's machine probably stole Illinois from Nixon" (Dallek 2003: 295).

Richard Nixon knew what had happened in Chicago and was urged by republican leaders to demand a recount. In his memoir *RN*, Nixon admitted that his decision not to contest the legitimacy of the election—one of his finest hours according to many Americans—was based on self-interest: "And what if I demanded a recount and it turned out that despite the vote fraud Kennedy had still won? Charges of 'sore loser' would follow me through history and remove any possibility of a further political career" (Nixon 1978: 224).

The result of the 1960 election was so close that almost any adverse factor can be blamed for Nixon's defeat. Nixon himself was convinced that "to ascribe defeat or victory to a single factor in such a close contest is at best guesswork and oversimplification" (Nixon 1978: 221). Of course, it was not just the money and the mafia that lead to the narrow Kennedy victory. There were other factors as well. Cortisone injections gave Kennedy a healthy appearance and movie-star good looks. Although he was only four years younger than his republican rival, Kennedy capitalized on the contrast to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was 27 years older, and evoked the promise of a young, activist leadership ("Let's get this country moving again!"). The image of an athlete, war hero, and a devoted family man that Kennedy and his handlers created was a winning formula. In reality, Kennedy was a very sick man with terrible back pain; *Profiles in Courage* had been ghostwritten; his World War II record was courageous, but spotty; and his philandering was almost insatiable (but publicly unknown at that

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time). Yet, the image worked, in particular in contrast to Nixon and because the 1960 race was the first presidential election dominated by television. This new medium helped emphasize style over substance, and 70 million Americans watched the televised debates between Kennedy and Nixon.

In the end, however, none of the factors that lead to John F. Kennedy's narrow victory at the U.S. presidential elections in 1960 was as critical and dangerous as the involvement of the mafia in the campaign. Clearly, the mafia felt they had delivered what they had promised and expected favors by the new U.S. government in return. The Kennedy dynasty was aware of the deal with the mafia. When John F. Kennedy in the weeks before his inauguration complained about the difficulties in finding top people for the key posts in his administration, Joe Kennedy replied: "Jack, if you don't want the job, you don't have to take it. They're still counting votes up in Cook County," referring to the mob-dominated West Side of Chicago that provided the crucial votes for winning the state of Illinois (Bly 1996: 75).

Once the two Kennedy brothers were in charge, however, they began a concerted effort to wage a war on organized crime. Hundreds of mafia figures were prosecuted and convicted. The mafia was angry and felt double-crossed by the Kennedys. But the mobsters might have had their revenge. Although the official version of the Kennedy assassination points to Lee Oswald as lone murderer, in recent years new evidence has come up that hints at mafia involvement (Bugliosi 2007; Kroth 2003; Talbot 2007).

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CON

Although Seymour Hersh's 1997 *The Dark Side of Camelot* is the fullest development and grimmest, it is not the sole theory that the Kennedy ties to the mob were pivotal in the election of 1960. Since the first appearance of the Camelot myth after the Kennedy assassination, there has been at least an undercurrent of myth breaking. One way to destroy the illusion of Camelot is to keep alive the theory that as a favor to Joe Kennedy, founder of the Kennedy fortune and political success, the mafia capo Sam Giancana used his control of the Cook County unions, and specifically the teamsters' pension fund, to alter the results of the presidential election of 1960. Ballot box manipulation and goon intimidation were among the methods that Giancana employed in expectation that a grateful President Kennedy would ease the federal pressure on the mob, and Giancana in particular. All his work succeeded in giving John Kennedy a 10,000-vote margin in the county, sufficient to give Kennedy a 9,000-vote edge in Illinois, gaining Illinois's electoral votes for Kennedy and taking the election from Richard Nixon.

The Giancana-Kennedy relationship, subscribers to this theory contend, took a turn after the election when the two men had a common mistress, Judith Campbell Exner, who served as liaison between them and as courier for large sums of money and sensitive information, including plots to assassinate Fidel Castro of Cuba.

The argument is provocative, but it does not fit the facts. Not only is there no evidence other than hearsay, but the principals are conveniently dead and unable to defend themselves. More important, if there was a fix, it didn't take. Vote totals in the precincts where the alleged manipulation occurred were consistent with those in precincts where the customary Chicago standard applied. Rather than the mob handing the election to Kennedy, a stronger case can be made that in fact Kennedy won on his merits.

The earliest proponents of the theory, Brashler in 1977 and Roemer in 1989, half-stepped it, giving the major role to Richard Daley and his democratic machine and limiting mafia activity to a few wards. Sam Giancana's half-brother and nephew, Chuck and Sam Giancana in 1992, Hersh in 1997, and Russo in 2001 took a more extreme position, contending that the mob effort was huge and either brought out the union vote in the states where mob influence was significant or brought out a tainted union vote throughout the country or in the narrow view influenced Chicago to Kennedy's advantage. Hersh and the Giancanas agree that Joe Kennedy, the former bootlegger, used his mob ties to make a deal with Giancana. Chuck and Sam Giancana's *Double Cross* (1992) says that Joe

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Kennedy got in touch with Sam Giancana and after several meetings the two made a deal—elect John Kennedy and the heat comes off.

Sam and Chuck Giancana say that the outfit engaged in massive vote fraud and had hoodlums intimidating voters to the point of breaking limbs of those who objected to voting for Kennedy. The Kennedys double-crossed the mob by increasing pressure on the Chicago mafia rather than backing off. The Giancanas go further in arguing that the new administration double-crossed Giancana by intensifying its crusade against the mob, and the mob retaliated by killing the president and his brother.

Although he dismisses the idea that the mob would have done away with Kennedy and indicates they were as surprised as anyone, Gus Russo reaffirms the Giancanas and Hersh. He says the mob used extreme measures, muscle, and money in Chicago. Chicago's Murray "The Camel" Humphreys worked the mob-influenced unions nationally, and the involved national unions included some nonteamsters. He says the four states the mob delivered were Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Nevada. Russo finds the Chicago mob, the "Outfit," to be a serious business whose members put in long hours but did not take their work home with them.

The Flaws

Witnesses

So how good is the evidence? Who are the witnesses? How reliable are they? Seymour Hersh says that Kennedy did not deal with Giancana directly, weakening the contention that Kennedy was using mob ties from the prohibition era. Rather, Joe asked Judge William Tuohy to help get a message to Giancana. Supposedly the judge used Robert J. "Bob" McDonnell to arrange the meeting between Kennedy and Giancana in the judge's chambers. The source for this bit of information is McDonnell, and it does not hold up because the judge didn't need McDonnell, who didn't know Giancana. If Tuohy wanted to contact Giancana, he had contacts in the First Ward, John D'Arco and Pat Marcy, who were close to Giancana and could easily arrange a meeting. And why would anyone want McDonnell to witness the meeting? McDonnell claims he watched the introduction of Kennedy and Giancana, leaving with Tuohy immediately thereafter.

McDonnell has credibility problems. He was disbarred and drank and gambled compulsively, borrowed from a mob loan shark, and ended up running errands for the mob, including moving a couple of corpses. He was unstable and unreliable and not exactly the sort of person that the close-mouthed principles would have requested to not only arrange but witness a meeting with the potential, if revealed, of destroying the Kennedy political future. McDonnell claims the mob turned out ward votes and union votes at some unclear level.

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The wife of Murray Humphreys, in 1960 the mob's go-to guy on political corruption, is another source. She says she saw her husband coordinating the national effort and helped him. Mafia wives are not privy to the business. Union and mob leaders wouldn't do business in front of any woman, wife or girlfriend, and certainly wouldn't have a woman helping with their work.

Then there is the coauthor of *Double Cross*. Chuck Giancana was a low-level mobster who would not be privy to much of what the close-mouthed upper echelon dealt with. The mob operated on a need-to-know basis anyway. And the Giancanas' book blames Sam for every crime from his early teens, even crimes that evidence pins on others.

Most of all, there is Judith Exner. Taken as true, based on Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and White House records, is the fact that she had an affair with John Kennedy and a relationship with Sam Giancana. The documents support the story that Exner had a brief romance with Sinatra in 1959. Frank Sinatra introduced her to John Kennedy at a "Rat Pack" gathering in Las Vegas during the presidential campaign of 1960. Soon the two began their affair.

A few months later Sinatra introduced her to "Sam Flood," whom she later learned was Sam Giancana, head of the Chicago mob.

Exner and John Kennedy had a three-year affair that included trysts in the White House and in the Kennedy's Georgetown house. Exner was seeing Giancana while seeing John Kennedy, but she claims the relationship was that of friends only until after she split with John Kennedy (in another version she and Giancana were in a relationship within a month).

J. Edgar Hoover gave John Kennedy the FBI files on the Exner-Giancana relationship in March 1962. The relationship came out in the Church Committee's 1975 report, which linked Exner to not only Giancana but also to Johnny Roselli, another mobster. Revealed, Exner went public in admitting the affair. She denied, however, that she knew anything about mob activities.

Beyond that, there are problems with the reliability of Exner's recall of events. Exner denied three times that she had any idea of a relationship between John Kennedy and Giancana, first in the Church Committee and next in a news conference in 1975 and again in her book of 1977. At that time even the affair brought skeptical responses, but over time as knowledge of John Kennedy's womanizing emerged, Exner's story became more credible. Exner claimed that Giancana wanted to marry her, and she refused to talk about Giancana and Roselli to the FBI because by then she'd already moved on to Eddie Fisher and an unnamed pitcher for the Angels.

She faded from the scene until 1988 when Kitty Kelly published a *People Magazine* story in which Exner claimed she had earlier lied to the Church Committee because she was afraid after Giancana was killed in 1975, and Roselli in 1976, with neither murder solved. Now she said she had been a regular go-between, meeting with the two gangsters often at Kennedy's request, carrying

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documents and envelopes over a two-year period from the spring of 1960. She claimed she set up a meeting between Giancana and Kennedy. She claimed the only reason she had a relationship with Giancana was as a favor to Kennedy. She claimed that Bobby Kennedy knew she was a courier.

Again in 1996 she reappeared, this time for an interview with Liz Smith in *Vanity Fair*. The story changed again, and at this point she becomes a direct witness for the Chicago fix story because she said that in April 1960 Kennedy had told her he was giving Giancana money to help with the primaries. She said he showed her the money in an envelope she was to deliver. And he told her what was in the other envelope, the Castro plot documents. She said that Bobby was involved and that she carried bribes from California contractors to the president and that she aborted Kennedy's child. Smith dismissed the Exner stories as desperate publicity seeking by an alcoholic cancer patient.

Less skeptical than Smith, the next year, Hersh used Exner in *The Dark Side of Camelot*. Hersh said there was a witness, Martin Underwood, who initially said he followed her on the train in April 1960 to make sure she delivered the money. Underwood recanted.

The Exner story has a few problems. Why would John Kennedy meet with mobsters when in all likelihood he knew that the FBI was bugging them? That's what the underlings were for. And his brother Bobby was at war with the mob. Was John Kennedy the sort to trust a casual girlfriend with large sums of money and highly sensitive documents—and to collect payoffs from General Dynamic, another allegation in the Exner story as mentioned by Hersh? Exner said that Kennedy did not trust the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and felt that a woman could get through because no one would think that she could do such a job.

For skeptics, Exner is unreliable, has a history of depression as well as addictions to amphetamines and alcohol, and has suffered harassment at the hands of the FBI. One interpretation is that she wanted to improve her image after the initial story led to her being labeled a party girl or call girl. Being a courier between two extremely powerful men is a better story than being bedded by a bunch of questionable men. For self-protection, she imagined herself a spy out of a best-selling thriller. The new version also matched the current conspiracy stories that tied the mob to John Kennedy's death and to a CIA effort to assassinate Castro. But the motivation for her changing story is secondary. The point is that the story changed over time.

And there are the witnesses whose testimony isn't included by the mob-fix theorists. The initial reaction to *The Dark Side of Camelot* by former Kennedy insiders was negative. One reviewer described the book as a series of exposés in a relentless effort to demythologize the president from Camelot. Theodore Sorensen labeled the work a compilation of all sorts of wild stories, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., regarded it as suitable for the gullible author or reader, and noted that his White House didn't have a bimbo parade.

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The Mob

Chicago investigative reporter Len O'Connor claimed as early as 1975 that the mob in 1960, rather than being in bed with one Kennedy or another, was in fact hostile to Kennedy. By then organized crime had suffered federal heat for three years, dating from the exposure of the Appalachian meeting of 1957 and the coincident hearings by the Senate McClellan Committee, including John and Robert Kennedy. The investigation included the business of Sam Giancana in Chicago. Robert Kennedy ridiculed Giancana at the hearing by comparing his laugh to a little girl's: "I thought only little girls giggled."

O'Connor did not rely on hearsay. Rather he compared 1960 presidential results with 1955 mayoral results in some Chicago wards and claims that the vote in the mob-controlled wards, rather than aiding Kennedy, was in fact unusually heavy against Kennedy. According to Len O'Connor (1975), the Daley Machine demonstrated its clout with only two wards giving a lower vote for Kennedy than for Daley in 1955. Those two were the 1st and 28th wards, both controlled by the mafia. Daley's people read this as a message from the mob that it disapproved of Bobby's treatment of them during the McClellan hearings. O'Connor also says that Murray Humphreys convinced his friend, the 45th ward alderman, to openly oppose Kennedy's effort. So the mob and the 45th worked against Kennedy, not for him. O'Connor agrees that mob-influenced unions were anti-Kennedy because of McClellan.



Chicago mafia boss Sam Giancana appears before a Senate committee on racketeering, June 9, 1959. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Brashler argues in his biography of Sam Giancana that Sinatra asked Giancana to help Kennedy, but that the mob's help didn't change the outcome, merely padded the victory that the Daley Machine locked up, being gung-ho for an Irish Catholic. The mob wards did basically the same as the Daley wards did.

And where is all that violence claimed by the Giancanas? Problems with the stories include the lack of any mention in any of Chicago's four daily newspapers of any violence during the election.

Also, the mob had control of only 5 of the 50 Chicago wards, so it didn't have the means to deliver the vote. The combined population of the 1st, 24th, 25th, 28th, and 29th wards in

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1960 was 306,169. Even unusually large Kennedy votes in those five would not be enough to swing even the city much less the state. Even in those five wards, with only 300 members (and many of advanced age) the mob was too small to do the muscle work in the 279 precincts, each of them requiring, theoretically at least, five hoodlums for intimidation. Also, the control of the national teamsters doesn't wash. The mob families were territorial, so the best the Outfit could deliver was the Chicago locals. Jimmy Hoffa despised the Kennedys and backed Nixon, and odds are high that the Chicago teamsters would not have backed him.

The Evidence for a Fix?

When John Binder (2007) analyzed the ward totals for the supposed Giancana-controlled wards, he found that those areas voted no differently from other wards in the city. Democratic votes in 1960 were about the same as they were in 1956.

Joe Kennedy had money and spent it as lavishly as he spent his media ties with the single purpose of getting John elected. He began the process of getting press coverage in the mid-1950s, including a 1957 *Time* cover despite John's lack of accomplishment. Joe said the cover cost him $75,000. He also had William Bradford Huie handing out cash to politicians who could help John. Giancana and Sinatra canceled debts and handed out cash to West Virginians in the primary. And Massachusetts politicians descended on West Virginia with wads of money for favors. Joe also collected money through the Catholic Church of Boston, writing checks for more than an average Sunday collection, then taking the cash and using it without traceability. Cardinal Cushing claimed that he and Joe sat together and decided which preacher got how much money.

Joe Kennedy was a manipulator and he contacted many people, maybe including mob bosses, to make sure his son got the presidency in 1960. Maybe Kennedy did meet with Giancana, but there is no evidence that the outcome of the race was altered by the mobster. He controlled two wards, already heavily democratic, in a city that the Daley Machine fully controlled. The votes in these two wards were low compared to those in the other nine automatic democratic wards, all of which maxed out their possible vote for Kennedy.

The numbers do not match the argument for a fix. The wards and suburbs that the Outfit controlled and in which they supposedly got out the labor vote didn't vote any differently than normal. If the Outfit was involved, most likely it double-crossed the Kennedys by not delivering the votes it said it would. The mob had the capability of altering the outcome in some wards, but it had no reason to do so. In fact, there is no evidence that the mob-controlled wards did go heavily for Kennedy. The mob did use its clout against the republican incumbent state's attorney for Cook County Benjamin Adamowski, and straight ticket voting did spill over to Kennedy, so there was a small increase in

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democratic support in the mob-controlled areas. It was not enough to warrant a claim that the mob used its clout on his behalf.

The Republican Reaction

The race was the closest of the 20th century, tight enough that only 113,000 votes of 68 million separated the two candidates. Texas, Illinois, and many other states were so close that they could have gone either way. For instance, Kennedy had California until the absentee ballots were recorded; then Nixon took the state. Nixon won Hawaii's three votes after a challenge, but that's all.

Stories of fraud began appearing even before the vote. Richard J. Daley was long known for delivering the vote, no matter what it took. And, although Nixon didn't contest the results, some of his supporters did. But they did not focus specifically on Illinois. They challenged results in 11 states. They got recounts, grand juries, and FBI investigations. They had their claims heard and evaluated based on the evidence. Not much came of it. In New Jersey, for instance, the state republicans found out early that their recounts were not showing any significant discrepancies. Similarly, recounts and investigations just sort of faded away in the other states. In Illinois the challenge was fierce and focused on Cook County, with its 450,000-vote Kennedy margin. The recount showed that although there were undercounts for Nixon, in 40 percent of the precincts the Nixon vote was overcounted. The republican-dominated

Controversial Close Elections in American History

Some U.S. presidential elections have been very close, and the 1960 election result was only one of several occasions when the result was not known for some time after Election Day. The most delayed announcement of a final winner in a presidential election was in 2000 with the U.S. presidential election between George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore. This saw the votes in parts of Florida recounted many times.

Another close presidential election was that in 1948 between President Harry S. Truman and republican aspirant Thomas E. Dewey. In order to ascertain the result ahead of the final vote counting, a telephone poll was conducted by the *Chicago Tribune*, which then went to press with its famous headline 'Dewey Defeats Truman.'

And in 1888, the incumbent president, Grover Cleveland, lost the election to Benjamin Harrison, although Cleveland managed to win more votes than Harrison. However, Harrison managed to gain a majority in the Electoral College, a result that came from a surprise victory in New York, Cleveland's home state. Had the New York vote gone the other way, Cleveland would have won. Indeed four years later, Cleveland did win the next presidential election, returning to the White House.

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State Board of Elections rejected the republican case, stating that the party had not given even one affidavit on its behalf.

This doesn't prove that fraud didn't exist. It just indicates that the republicans couldn't prove it. More convincing is the work of Edmund Kallina (1988), who reinforced a 1961 University of Chicago study that indicated that whatever fraud there might have been, it was not enough to alter the outcome.

Only three people went to jail for election-related crimes, and 677 others were acquitted, admittedly by a Daley henchman. For a presidential election in a major American city, those numbers are closer to business as usual than to a major fix of the election.

Numbers Support a Kennedy Win

At the time, the republicans blamed Daley and his machine for fixing the election. Daley did want to get out the vote to unseat a potential rival for his run for mayor, and he did get out the vote as well as unseated the rival. He also controlled Kennedy's appearances, keeping the candidate campaigning in the South to build anticipation until he was ready to bring him to Chicago. Then he brought him to a rally in Chicago Stadium after a torchlight parade, and talk that night was of a 500,000-vote promise in Chicago, 400,000 in Cook County by Daley to Kennedy. The drama of the evening electrified the faithful. Experts anticipated Cook County going by a 450,000-vote margin for Kennedy, and the polls showed Kennedy in the lead late in the campaign, but close enough that it could turn.

Edmund Kallina doesn't buy Hersh's evidence. Even if Nixon lost votes, he didn't lose enough to lose Illinois. And even if Kennedy had lost Illinois, he would still have won the national race. The Daley Machine, and certainly not the Giancana mob, didn't change the outcome. Kennedy didn't need help, even from Richard Daley's Machine. He took Illinois by 0.19 percent, but that is more than his margin in Hawaii (0.06), and larger than his national margin (0.17). He won Illinois by a nose while the Senate (Paul Douglas) and gubernatorial (Otto Kerner) candidates were winning easily.

Cook County went for Kennedy by 1,378,343 to 1,059,607. Kerner got 1,455,674 votes to the republican's 937,625, and Douglas got 1,407,775 to 970,050. Nixon was running up to 100,000 votes better than other republicans in Cook County, and Kennedy was lagging behind other democrats by 30,000 to 50,000. If votes were stolen for Kennedy, why did he lag so far behind the other democrats while Nixon was faring better than the other republicans? And the House delegation had 14 democrats to 11 republicans. The democrats were strong in 1960.

It's a given that voter turnout always is higher than the total vote for a given office, and normal presidential elections show a turnout of 1 to 2 percent higher than presidential votes. In 1960, Illinois voter turnout was 1.4 percent

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higher than presidential votes. Cook County's turnout was notably higher, 2.2 percent. Four times fewer people voted for president in the county than in the rest of Illinois, a sign that democrats didn't like Kennedy but didn't like Nixon either. With 60,000 voters who didn't vote for president, there were ample opportunities to manipulate the vote to give Kennedy 10,000 to 20,000 more votes without being conspicuous.

Even if Kennedy had lost Illinois and Hawaii, he would still have won with 273 electoral votes, four more than enough. If Missouri had been taken, the election would have gone to the House for resolution. There the democrats dominated 262 to 174, 26 of 50 delegations. Kennedy didn't need the mafia. He won fairly, any way you look at it.

Conclusion

There was no need to fix the election. Standard Chicago politics were sufficient to guarantee a landslide for a popular Catholic democratic candidate. Daley's system for running the city gave no room for error. The Chicago Democratic Party had a tight, centralized decision-making core but allowed wide latitude at the precinct level to interpret the decision. The central committee consisted of representatives of each of the 50 wards and 30 townships, with voting based on democratic votes. Each ward had a committeeman, commonly the alderman, who handled all patronage, jobs, and other benefits. These were elected positions, and incumbents were nearly impossible to unseat unless the central committee backed the challenger. The next level below was the precinct captain, one for each of the 3,771 Cook County precincts in 1961. The precinct captain was the face of the party on a day-to-day basis. Like the committeeman, the test of the captain was his ability to deliver the vote. If he couldn't, he could lose his position and the patronage job as well. And the party had a massive amount of patronage to hand out—one estimate says it had the equivalent of 300,000 votes. And both labor and business saw the benefit of stability and were willing to add more money to the election kitty. A ward cost $20,000 in 1960.

Having controlled for other variables, Binder concluded that "someone forgot to tell the horse," a punch line from an old joke about a "fixed" race where those with inside dope lost their shirts betting on the guaranteed outcome. Along with the questionable sources and implausible stories, the analysis of the data reveals that "someone forgot to tell the voters" that the fix was in. The evidence does not show that unionists nationally or in the mob-influenced states voted heavily for the democrats. Rather, the evidence shows that nonteamster unionists in the mob-influenced states voted against Kennedy in abnormally large numbers. In Chicago, there is nothing to show that the mob's wards voted heavily for Kennedy. In two races where the mob did put in the effort, the anti-Adamowski effort and the Daley 1955 race, the mob did put up the numbers. Any

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benefit for Kennedy in 1960 was the spillover from the anti-Adamowski straight ticket voting. Further, in the count nationally or in states with strong mob influence, the evidence does not show any surge of union support for Kennedy.

If anyone had mafia aid, it was Nixon. According to Bill Bonanno, son of Joe Bonanno the New York godfather, Nixon did business through Rebozo for years with Santos Trafficante's family and made real estate profits, funding anti-Castro activity and casinos and the like. And Nixon shared Hoffa's hatred for the Kennedys. Bobby had been trying to jail Hoffa since 1956 and the anticrime hearings. Hoffa had 2 million members when he threw teamster support to Nixon in 1960, and support meant more than just a get-out-the-vote effort. Hoffa had a mafia style and structure to his organization. Hoffa was Nixon's bagman for half a million in New Orleans mafia cash and another half million in New Jersey and Florida mob money. The meeting is confirmed by a Louisiana teamster official turned FBI informant as well as by a former top FBI official William Sullivan.

William Roemer was a former FBI agent. He contended that it didn't matter whether or not Sinatra told Giancana that the Kennedys would back off. Giancana had influence over the "West Side Bloc," but Daley had more influence with this group of west-side and Loop politicians. Giancana and Daley had the same interest, but Daley had the greater clout—and Roemer had two informants in high places in Giancana's outfit. Daley might have altered the vote; Giancana probably didn't, at least not enough to matter.

If the mob had a deal, it broke it. The mob had no reason to make a deal and break it. If there was no double-cross by the mob, there was no double-cross by the Kennedys. The mob had no need to kill the Kennedys because it either ignored the election or double-crossed them and thus had no revenge motive. If there was a deal, nobody benefited. More likely, there was no deal and, thus, no double-cross. The mob did not back Kennedy, did not get extra votes for him, and did not do any favors for somebody who was clearly out to get them.

And why on earth would the mob trust the Kennedys? They'd just been attacking the mob in McClellan. Reports within a couple of days of the election had Kennedy cracking down, targeting the Chicago Outfit, based on his McClellan work. Even mobster Mickey Cohen credits the Chicago outcome to the machine, not the mob.

According to the Hersh version, McDonnell said Kennedy made the deal with Giancana, and the mob got out the vote, spent retirement funds, but didn't stuff ballot boxes. Why would Kennedy need money or be concerned enough about getting the vote out (in Daley's Chicago) that he would meet with a notorious mobster, Sam Giancana? The Joe Kennedy–Sam Giancana meeting makes no sense because there was nothing to be gained. And consider the costs. Would Kennedy have risked being spotted or overheard? That would have been disastrous to the campaign, a firm link with organized crime.

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The sources used by Hersh include unpublished memoirs, FBI files newly opened, as well as previously unheard Kennedy tapes and interviews. The interviews are from secondary sources—children, widows, and mistresses of Sinatra, for example—and low level associates and relatives of higher-level figures in the mob, the Giancanas for instance. And Hersh had to edit his draft work to take out citations to the "Cusack papers" after experts determined that they were fakes. Hersh kept in all of the sex, all of the Camelot debunking, and the 1960 Joe Kennedy–Sam Giancana meeting to get the mob-run unions to use their money and cash in return for a friendlier attitude by the presidency toward the mob. He should have edited more tightly and weighed the evidence more seriously. But, then, that would have been a different book, wouldn't it?

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14

Lee Harvey Oswald was not the sole assassin of John F. Kennedy.

PRO	Rajshekhar
CON	Tim J. Watts

PRO

More than four decades have passed since the assassination of one of America's greatest presidents. On November 22, 1963, at around 12:30 P.M.—John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), the 35th U.S. president, was shot by Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963) from the sixth-floor window of the Texas Schoolbook Depository in Dallas, Texas. But many American people, scholars, and researchers haven't accepted the official version of the Warren Commission report that Oswald was the sole assassin of Kennedy. The Warren Commission findings, 10 months after the national tragedy, were that no evidence was found of any connection between the crime of Lee Harvey Oswald and the city's general atmosphere of hate. But President Lyndon B. Johnson's statement, seven and a half months after the Warren Commission, reported that "the Attorney General had agreed with this interpretation and had 'discussed the practical problems at hand—problems of special urgency because we did not at that time have any information as to the motivation of the assassination or its possible implications" suggests major shortcomings in the investigation and indicates a possible conspiracy that Lee Harvey Oswald did not act alone and that the report was submitted in haste because the nation wanted an immediate answer from the government concerning the death of their beloved president (Manchester 1967: 383–84). Even the younger brother of the deceased president, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, was surprised and unresponsive to Johnson's statement, although he was not among those who suspected a grand conspiracy yet he was unclear what Johnson meant (Manchester 1967: 383–94).

Moreover, from the winter of 1963 to 1964, the mysterious deaths of many who had been related, even in the periphery, to the events of Kennedy's assassination further suggested that there was a great conspiracy to eliminate President Kennedy. Warren Reynolds, a used car lot employee who had witnessed Lee Oswald's flight after the shooting of J. D. Tippit, was himself shot in the same city on the evening of January 23, 1964. The rifleman in that shooting was seen but never found; one man was picked up but released on the testimony of a woman, who after her subsequent arrest on charges of disorderly conduct hanged

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herself in a Dallas cell. The general who had welcomed Kennedy to San Antonio on behalf of the air force, the waiter who had served his last breakfast in Fort Worth, and the advertising director of the *Dallas News* were all found dead soon after the assassination. The advertising director, who was 45 years old, had been in excellent health. Two years later, Earlene Roberts, Oswald's landlady, died of a stroke, and Bill Whaley, his taxi driver, was killed in a traffic accident (Manchester 1967: 379). Interestingly, police officer J. D. Tippit, who had been following Oswald 20 minutes before Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson boarded the plane from Park Land Hospital (where Kennedy was taken for treatment after he was shot) on the same day had been shot to death. And when Mrs. Tippit inquired about him at 1.56 P.M. after the incident, the Dallas police radio states an incorrect home address for J. D. Tippit, who was an active member of the enforcement agency, all indicating a grand conspiracy that Oswald did not act alone (Manchester 1967: 391). And if any evidence exists of conspiracy beyond Oswald, then Oswald surely was not alone in killing Kennedy.

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson

It is also one of the tragedies of modern U.S. history that, apart from conspiracy of international communists' and mafia groups' involvement, people have also strongly suggested that perhaps then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson may have been involved to eliminate Kennedy to open the door to himself becoming president. Those who believe in Johnson's involvement in the conspiracy may have based their feelings on emotions at that time. But it is interesting that Johnson, a veteran democratic leader and senior to Kennedy in politics, came from Texas and was unsuccessfully contested in the July 1960 Los Angles Democratic Convention for the presidency against Kennedy. It is also true that Johnson was not the first choice of Robert Kennedy, John F. Kennedy, and his supporters for the vice presidency. Hubert Humphrey, Stuart Symington, or Henry Jackson had been expecting the nomination for vice president in July 1960 at the Los Angles Democratic Convention. In addition, when Johnson was chosen by Kennedy as his vice president to unite all democrats before the upcoming election, the political mentor and proposer of Johnson's candidacy for president Sam Rayburn (speaker of the Congress) said to Kennedy, "well, up until thirty minutes ago I was against it, and I have withheld a final decision until I could really find out what was in your heart . . . *there is always the thought in a fellow's [LBJ] mind that he might get to be President*, Lyndon is a good soldier, and he will hear the call of duty. I yield on one condition . . . that you go on the radio or television and tell the people you came to us and asked for this thing," and Kennedy agreed (Schlesinger 1967: 50–54, emphasis added).

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It is interesting that in Johnson's political career the chance to get elected into Congress came to him after the death of the representative from central Texas—James P. Buchanan in 1937—and the chance to become president of the United States came after the death of Kennedy in 1963. Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, with whom Johnson was close, stated "Johnson was one of the ablest political craftsmen of our times," and from a Senate democrat, regarding Johnson's personality, "Lyndon gives and takes. If you go along with him, he gives you a little here and there. *Lyndon never forgets*" (Mooney 1964: 27, emphasis added).

Moreover, the assassination took place in Dallas, the home turf of Johnson's political career. Apart from Lyndon, his father, Sam Early Johnson, Jr., served five terms in the Texas legislature. His maternal grandfather also saw service in the legislative branch as well as in the office of the Texas secretary of state. His maternal grandmother was the niece of a man who signed the Texas Declaration of Independence from Mexico, fought in the freedom-winning Battle of San Jacinto, and became a member of the First Congress of the Republic of Texas (Mooney 1964: 29). During the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, in August 1935, when Johnson was appointed as state administrator for Texas of the National Youth Administration (NYA) to carry forward the New Deal's policy, he helped many idle youngsters living life without hope get jobs in Texas. He was involved in changing the lives of around 30,000 young men and women through NYA, of whom 18,000 were given assistance in getting through high school and college and others obtained jobs through the NYA. And soon his work rewarded him with the promotion as the national director of the NYA under the Roosevelt administration, with the opportunity to help more unemployed youth get government jobs. Johnson himself acknowledges in his complete authorized illustrated biography by Booth Mooney that some of these unemployed youths were in jobs and had become friends of his and played an important role in his first congressional election in 1937 (Mooney 1964: 45). Even during his senatorial election in 1948 for Texas against Coke Stevenson (former lieutenant governor and speaker of the Texas House of Representatives), Johnson, who lacked any ready-made organization, was helped tremendously by thousands of former NYA participants in every part of the state (Mooney 1964: 71). Moreover, when Adlai Stevenson contested the presidential election against Eisenhower in 1952, Johnson's political mentor Sam Rayburn set up a special Stevenson-Sparkman campaign committee with headquarters in Dallas, and many prominent democratic officeholders conspicuously stayed away from Rayburn and his committee, but Johnson stayed with his political guru at Dallas in the fall of 1952, managing the affairs of his campaign, as he was still close with many from the Dallas youth population of 1937 (Mooney 1964: 95).

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How many of his young friends, who had been closely associated with him in 1937, 1948, and 1952 campaigns, had been involved in the assassination of Kennedy is a hypothetical conjecture, but later, Oswald's assassin Jack Ruby wrote a letter from jail and states:

> [Y]ou must believe me that I know what is taking place, so please with all my heart, you must believe me, because I am counting on you to save this country a lot of blood-shed. As soon as you get out you must read how Texas looks at Lyndon and it may open your eyes to a lot of things. This man is a Nazi in the worst order.

Further Ruby writes:

> [I]sn't it strange that Oswald who hasn't worked a lick most of his life, should be fortunate enough to get a job at the Book Building two weeks before the president himself didn't know as to when he was to visit Dallas, now where would a jerk like Oswald get the information that the president was coming to Dallas? Only one person could have had that information, and that man was Johnson who knew weeks in advance as to what was going to happen, because he is the one who was going to arrange the trip for the president, this had been planned long before the president himself knew about, so you can figure that one out. The only one who gained by the shooting of the president was Johnson, and he was in a car in the rear and safe when the shooting took place. What would the Russians, Castro or anyone else have to gain by eliminating the president? If Johnson was so heartbroken over Kennedy, why didn't he do something for Robert Kennedy? All he did was snub him. (Ramparts 1967: 59)

Many raised doubts about Johnson's involvement in the planning of Kennedy's assassination. But later, Jack Ruby's denial of the facts before the Warren Commission and his conflicting statements along with William R. Beaver's testimony after the Ruby's polygraph tests that showed he was "psychotic depressive" cleared doubts about Johnson's involvement. However, it is interesting to note that even in his polygraph test, Jack Ruby, who went with the version of Warren Commission findings, didn't respond yes or no to two very important questions: Do you think members of your family are now in danger because of what you did? Is Mr. Fowler in danger because he is defending you? (per Clayton Fowler, chief defense consul of Ruby). If Ruby could only answer the questions in the polygraph test as yes or no, then why did he remain silent after two of the most important questions concerning the danger looming over his family and that of Fowler, which he could have easily answered? It is obvious that since he hadn't killed Kennedy, the danger to him, his family, and Fowler would not have been from Kennedy supporters, who would rather have sympathized with him for killing the known assassin of Kennedy. The danger was obviously from within the U.S. administration, which baffled Ruby as he mentioned earlier to the press before the Warren Commission interrogation.

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Jack Ruby considered himself a democrat because his brother Hyman had been active in democratic ward politics in Chicago. But the Warren Commission's findings, even after the recovery of political cards from his apartment urging the election of the conservative democratic slate, stated that "no evidence which could suggest that Ruby had distributed these political literature and campaigned for any political candidates," and came to conclusion that "None of his friends or associates expressed any knowledge that he belonged to any groups interested in political issues, nor did they remember that he had discussed political problems except on rare occasions" (Salisbury 1964: 341), suggesting suppression of facts of his political affiliation and conspiracy.

In addition, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files of 1947 explicitly establish, with the heading "This is sensitive," that Jack Ruby is closely connected with Richard M. Nixon and recommends that "one Jack Rubenstein of Chicago" should not be called to testify for the Committee on Un-American Activities, for he is working for Congressman Richard M. Nixon," however, according to the Warren Commission, Ruby had no connections with Oswald, organized crime, or the government. Moreover, Nixon was in Dallas on November 20–21, 1963, one day before the assassination, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson had also visited Dallas six months before the assassination, on April 23, 1963. Johnson's close affinity with Nixon is a well-known fact.

Certain facts about Ruby clearly appear to have been suppressed, proving that conspiracy existed, but whether Johnson was involved in it is still pure conjecture.

Whether or not Oswald was involved, it can't be denied that a conspiracy was at work. Multiple locations of origin for the gunfire (the depository building, the "grassy knoll," and others) should be enough to prove the theory. But even further, the House Select Committee on Assassinations reported as much in 1979. Studies by scholars such as Anthony Summers and Henry Hurt also contend that Oswald could not have acted alone. Even the remaining Kennedys, especially Jacqueline (his wife) and Robert (his brother), thought as much (Fursenko and Naftali 1998).

Recent Bullet Analysis Tests Proves More Than One Assassin

Recent research by former FBI lab metallurgist William A. Tobin confirmed that work conducted by Texas A&M University researchers Cliff Spiegelman and William D. James in 2007, published in the *Annals of Applied Statistics*, concluded that "evidence used to rule out a second assassin is fundamentally flawed and challenges the bullet analysis used by the government to conclude that Lee Harvey Oswald alone shot the two bullets that struck and killed President John F. Kennedy" (Solomon 2007: A03). Earlier, University of California–Irvine chemist Vincent P. Guinn concluded before the 1976 House Select Committee on Assassinations through bullet lead analysis that the five bullet fragments recovered from the Kennedy assassination scene came from just two bullets, which were traced to the same batch of bullets Oswald owned. At that time, Guinn's conclusions were consistent with the

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1960s Warren Commission report that found Oswald had acted alone. However, the House Assassinations Committee concluded that Oswald was part of a conspiracy and that it was possible a second shooter fired one shot that missed the president.

But Tobin and James and Spiegelman refuted the claim of Guinn's theory, bought the same brand and lot of bullets used by Oswald (as the bullets from the batch are still in the market as collector's items), and analyzed their lead using new scientific methods and explained that "This finding means that the bullet fragments from the assassination that match could have come from three or more separate bullets, if the assassination fragments are derived from three or more separate bullets, then a second assassin is likely. If the five fragments came from three or more bullets that would mean a second gunman's bullet would have had to strike the president" (quoted from Solomon 2007: A03).

Science Daily took the theory even further, performing tests to see if it held up:

> Using new compositional analysis techniques not available in the 1960s, the team found that the bullet fragments involved in the assassination are not nearly as rare as previously reported. In addition, their findings show that one of the 10 test bullets from one box analyzed is considered a match to one or more of the five existing assassination fragments, meaning that the matching fragments could have come from three or more separate bullets and, therefore, more than one shooter. ("Bullet Evidence" 2007)

Other Evidence of a Conspiracy

Apart from Abraham Zapruder's short film on Kennedy's assassination, other photographs prove that there was more than one shooter. In any crime, photographs taken at the scene are one of the highest forms of evidence. In one example, a woman standing just to the left of the presidential limousine was taking photographs just as the shots were fired, including the front of the Texas Book Depository, but her film was confiscated by FBI agents. Later, the FBI refused to publish what could be the most reliable piece of evidence in the whole case, which also indicates suppression of conspiracy. The unknown woman photographer, nicknamed by researchers as the Babushka Lady, has still not been identified, which also raises doubts on the FBI's roles in the Kennedy investigation.

However, the House Select Committee on Assassinations (September 1976 to January 1979) finally accepted conspiracy as a motive in Kennedy's killing, proving Oswald was not alone, and concluded that (a) Kennedy was probably killed as a result of a conspiracy; (b) that four shots, not three, were fired during the assassination; (c) that one shot was fired from the grassy knoll, missing both Kennedy and the limousine; and (d) impulses caused by four gunshots were recorded on a police Dictaphone recording that was made by a patrolman's

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Surrounded by detectives, Lee Harvey Oswald talks to the press as he is led down a corridor of the Dallas police station for another round of questioning in connection with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, November 23, 1963. (AP Photo)

microphone that was stuck in the "on" position as his motorcycle rode near and through Dealey Plaza during and after the shooting. The committee's acoustical scientists concluded that an analysis of the recording revealed, to a degree of certainty of 95 percent or better, that one of the shots could be traced back to the grassy knoll. It further found that (e) Jack Ruby had significant ties to organized crime (earlier Warren Commission denied it); (f) that Ruby's killing of Oswald was not a spontaneous act but had the appearance of a hit designed to silence Oswald; (g) that in the months leading up to the assassination, Ruby had made long-distance phone calls to organized crime contacts, and some of these phone calls did not appear to have a viable innocent explanation; (h) that Ruby probably did not enter the Dallas Police Department basement via the Main Street ramp and might have gained access to the basement by help from someone on the police force, and that Ruby lied to the Warren Commission about the number and nature of his trips to Cuba prior to the assassination; (i) that the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) were deficient in supplying the commission with information in their possession that related to the assassination; (j) that the Warren Commission failed to adequately investigate the possibility of conspiracy; (k) that the pathologists who performed Kennedy's autopsy failed to perform a proper medical-legal autopsy; (l) that the security arrangements for the Dallas motorcade may have been uniquely insecure,

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all proving a grand design of conspiracy to silence the truth related with Kennedy's assassination and the fact that Oswald did not act alone.

Other Warren Commission's Shortcomings in Revealing Conspiracy

Furthermore, there are many shortcomings in the findings of the Warren Commission itself, indicating that Oswald was not alone. Judgment in the case was swift, with the public being told that Oswald was the sole assassin, even before any attempt at investigation had ensued. No attempts to locate any other would-be assassins were made. Doctors were not permitted to discuss the case. The press was told that Kennedy was shot from behind when there were witnesses who claimed that the shots came from in front (Russell 1964).

Ronald Fischer and Robert Edwards, who testified before the Warren Commission, were less than convincing in their assertions that the man they saw was, indeed, Oswald. Dallas police allegedly showed Fischer a photograph of Oswald and asked if it was the man he saw, to which Fischer replied "that could have been the man" but that he was unsure (Kempton 1964).

It did not help the theory that Oswald worked alone that just prior to the 1964 presidential election, Johnson ordered the Warren Commission's documents sealed for 75 years. This was lifted in 1992, when Congress passed the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act. The records opened up by the act included more than 3 percent of all Warren Commission documents, more than 21 percent of the House Select Committee on

Clay Shaw and the Conspiracy to Assassinate Kennedy

The only person ever prosecuted over involvement with the assassination of John F. Kennedy was Clay Shaw, a prominent New Orleans businessman.

Clay Shaw was born on March 17, 1913, at Kentwood, Louisiana, the son of Gloria Shaw, an undercover agent for the prohibition department. As a teenager, he worked as a telephone operator. In World War II, he served in the U.S. army, rising to the rank of major, gaining an honorable discharge in 1946. He then started operating the International Trade Mart in New Orleans, which was involved in the sale of local and imported goods, as well as being a director of the Swiss company Permindex, later itself accused of involvement in assassination attempts on French President Charles de Gaulle. This was, it has been alleged, how Shaw became involved with right-wing paramilitary groups in Europe, including Italian fascists. In New Orleans, Shaw was best known for his efforts to protect historic buildings in the French Quarter of that city.

The case against Clay Shaw was brought by Jim Garrison, the event becoming the subject of Garrison's book *On the Trial of the Assassins* (1992) and the film *JFK* (1991). The jury took less than an hour to acquit Shaw. He remained in New Orleans and died from cancer on August 15, 1974.

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Assassinations documents, and an undeterminable percentage of CIA, FBI, secret service, National Security Agency, State Department, U.S. Marine Corps, Naval Investigative Service, Defense Investigative Service, and many other U.S. government documents, to come out for public examination to explore the purpose behind Kennedy's killing, despite the proven fact that it was a conspiracy to eliminate Kennedy and that Oswald was not alone in killing the president.

Conclusion

Whether or not Lyndon B. Johnson was involved in the assassination, the death of John F. Kennedy can't be denied as part of a conspiracy emanating from U.S. sociopolitical conflicting milieu, as once referred to by both Robert and Jacqueline Kennedy, and rightly pointed out by historians Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali as well as other scholars, including findings of the House Select Committee on Assassinations in September 1976. And if there was a conspiracy to kill the president, then Lee Harvey Oswald was not alone, even if he, indeed, killed the president. Kennedy, who once said in 1958 that "politics, in short has become one of our most neglected, our most abused, and our most ignored professions," and further quoting Walter Lippmann about politicians, "who are insecure and intimidated men," who "advance politically only as they placate, appease, bribe, seduce, bamboozle, or otherwise manage to manipulate" (Kennedy 1961: 229) himself fell victim to manipulation and intimidation five years later at Dallas in November 1963.

One of the greatest leaders of America, Kennedy had a brief premonition about his assassination. Before his last motorcade journey, at the breakfast meeting with the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce at Texas, he said that "No one expects that our life will be easy . . . history will not permit it. . . . But we are still the keystone in the arch of freedom, and I think we will continue to do, as we have done in our past, our duty" (Schlesinger 1967:1024). In addition, while chatting with Jacqueline Kennedy and Kenneth O' Donnell at the Texas Hotel after the meeting about the role of the secret service in protecting the president, O'Donnell said that all they could do was to protect a president from unruly or overexcited crowds. But he further said that "if someone really wanted to kill a President, it was not too difficult; put a man on a high building with a telescopic rifle, and there was nothing anybody could do to defend a President's life" (Mooney 1964: 78–82). However, Kennedy, who regarded assassination as a risk inherent in a democracy, before his last trip continued his journey to fulfill the dream of "a nation which has forgotten the quality of courage which in the past has been brought to public life is not as likely to insist upon a reward that quality in its chosen leaders today of which one has forgotten" (Kennedy 1956: 1).

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CON

Perhaps no other event in history has caused so much to be written as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The image of the young and popular president, riding in triumph through the streets of Dallas on November 22, 1963, only to be brutally murdered, is fixed in the public imagination. President Kennedy remains the president who held so much promise, whose term was cut short by someone.

The blame for Kennedy's assassination was initially and officially placed on Lee Harvey Oswald, a loner and misfit. Almost from the beginning, however, some disagreed. The concept that the most powerful man in the world could be killed by someone as strange as Oswald, working alone, was more than they could bear. Oswald's murder on November 24 by Jack Ruby prevented a trial that might have provided answers to the many nagging questions. Oswald never had the opportunity to defend himself or to justify the actions he took. The

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silencing of Oswald opened the door for many who believed in a wide-reaching conspiracy. In the 40-odd years since Kennedy's assassination, all kinds of conspiracies have been proposed. These proposals range from Oswald as an active participant in a plot by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Cubans, or the mafia, to Oswald as a patsy set up by others to take the blame.

The truth is simpler. Oswald acted alone to kill President Kennedy. Credible evidence points to him as the shooter, acting for his own twisted reasons. Oswald's life before November 1963 marked him as a true loner and failure at everything he attempted. He was completely self-centered and showed little ability or desire to work with others. He wanted to be someone who was remembered and respected. The idea of Oswald participating in a conspiracy to murder the president is not credible. His documented activities in the months before the assassination demonstrate his growing violence and irrational behavior.

The scientific evidence also indicates that Oswald fired three shots from the sixth floor of the Texas Schoolbook Depository. The ballistics show the path of the bullets and also show that the wounds inflicted were consistent with being fired by Oswald. No credible evidence exists of another gunman or additional shots being fired that day. Claims of a gunman on the grassy knoll or the sewer drains or anywhere else in Dealey Plaza have not been supported.

This section will describe how Oswald's life and psychological profile before the assassination make it unlikely he was part of a far-reaching conspiracy. It will also discuss the most common theories of a conspiracy involving Oswald and the evidence that discounts the existence of such conspiracies.

The Investigations

A week after the assassination, President Lyndon Johnson issued an executive order establishing a commission to investigate. The chair was Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren. Known as the Warren Commission, the group issued its findings on September 24, 1964. Although the commission's analysis was faulty in some areas, it interviewed over 500 witnesses and accepted evidence from federal agencies. It did not have access to all existing evidence, but found that Oswald acted alone and not as part of a conspiracy.

Fourteen years later, theories about conspiracies led the House of Representatives to form a committee to review the assassinations of Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. The committee's report revealed much evidence that had been withheld from the Warren Commission. It was ready to report that Oswald had acted alone, when flawed acoustical evidence was introduced. The committee's findings were amended. The final report speculated on whether organized crime had been involved in the assassination. No credible evidence connecting Oswald with the Mafia was produced. Much of the solid evidence against a conspiracy was overshadowed by the committee's final report.

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Chief Justice Earl Warren

Earl Warren had been appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by Dwight D. Eisenhower, who wanted a conservative justice in the Court. Warren, from a Scandinavian migrant family, had been born in 1891 Los Angeles and studied law, working in legal firms and then in the U.S. army before becoming a district attorney. He later entered state politics.

In 1938 Warren had been elected attorney general of California, having won the nomination of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Progressive Party. During his term in office he was involved in the internment of Japanese Americans. In 1943 he became governor of California, the only person to have been elected to that position three times, and in 1952 he was nominated by the republicans for the U.S. presidency.

After his appointment in 1953 to the U.S. Supreme Court, he was involved in a large number of liberal decisions, which angered Eisenhower. Anticommunists from the John Birch Society denounced him and urged for his impeachment. He retired from the Supreme Court in 1969, five months after swearing in Richard Nixon as president. He died in 1974.

Conspiracy Theories

A Gallup poll taken on November 29, 1963, revealed that only 29 percent of Americans believed Oswald acted alone. Hundreds of books and articles outlining conspiracy theories soon appeared. Claims by many people to know something about plots connected with the assassination helped to undermine the public confidence in the validity of the Warren Commission's final report. Although some were discredited, revelations that some agencies, especially the CIA, had withheld evidence from the Warren Commission encouraged ordinary people to launch their own investigations.

The only prosecution for the assassination was launched in November 1966 by District Attorney Jim Garrison of New Orleans. Garrison was a flamboyant prosecutor who had a history of headlines-grabbing statements that were not followed up by prosecutions. He claimed that businessman Clay Shaw had been involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, along with Oswald and others. Garrison used the media to claim an increasingly large conspiracy. Despite evidence of witness tampering, Garrison's prosecution got under way in 1969. After two months of testimony, the jury found Garrison's prosecution was without merit. Shaw died before he could sue Garrison for abuse of process. Garrison later wrote about his experiences.

The findings of the House Committee in 1978 failed to convince many that only Oswald was responsible. In 1992 Oliver Stone's movie about the assassination *JFK* came out. In it, Stone included most of the conspiracy theories.

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As a result, Americans who were not alive when Kennedy was killed became convinced that Oswald did not act alone.

Oswald's Life and Its Effect on His Personality

Oswald had a difficult and unstable childhood. As a result he became a self-centered, poorly educated, and badly adjusted adult. Oswald's mother spoiled him by all accounts. His father died before Oswald was born, but his mother married again when he was five. That marriage quickly became troubled and ended in a divorce in 1948. Oswald looked up to his older brother and half-brother, but lacked other male figures in his life. His mother was an unstable but dominating personality. She and Oswald moved 21 times between his birth and when he left home. Oswald attended 12 different schools before dropping out of high school. He often refused to go to school. When he did attend, Oswald was troublesome and picked on smaller children. His grades were poor and he kept to himself as much as possible.

In April 1953, Oswald was sentenced to three weeks in Youth House, a New York City correctional facility, because of his truancy. During that time, he was tested and underwent psychiatric evaluation. Oswald continued to be a loner and reject authority. The diagnosis by Renatus Hartogs, the staff psychiatrist, described Oswald as extremely self-centered and detached. He also showed dangerous traits with the potential for explosive and aggressive actions. Hartogs also noted that Oswald hid his feelings of shyness, anxiety, and insecurity. The New York Domestic Relations Court was moved by Hartogs's diagnosis to assign a probation officer to Oswald and to order treatment for him. Oswald's mother obstructed the treatment. She moved both of them from New York to New Orleans at the beginning of 1954, to prevent Oswald's placement in a residential care center.

During his childhood, Oswald became a self-taught Marxist. He read books and articles and became convinced that the capitalist system was flawed. The Soviet Union became Oswald's ideal society and he dreamed of moving there. He apparently believed that he would be accepted and honored for his understanding of Marxism.

Ironically for someone who espoused Marxism, Oswald joined the U.S. marine corps as soon as he could, on October 25, 1956. He apparently saw it as a way to escape from his mother's domination. In the marines, Oswald's character reasserted itself. He soon bridled against the authority of officers and noncommissioned officers. His fellow marines picked on him and called him "Ozzie Rabbit" for his timidity. During his time in the marines, Oswald qualified as a sharpshooter, the second-highest ranking in the corps. He was trained as a radar operator and arrived in Japan in September 1957. Although he was stationed at the same base as a U-2 detachment, no evidence exists that Oswald knew anything about the spy plane. While Oswald was overseas, he managed to shoot himself in

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the arm while playing with a private weapon and suffered an emotional breakdown. He was court-martialed twice. Although some conspiracy theorists believe Oswald was recruited while in the marines as a U.S. intelligence agent, he was constantly with other marines. These men have testified that Oswald was a poorly adjusted young man with no opportunity to undergo intelligence training.

Oswald became extremely disenchanted with the marines and openly studied Marxist literature and the Russian language. His failures to achieve recognition in school and in the service spurred him to plan to defect to the Soviet Union. He obtained a dependency discharge on September 11, 1959. He had already been accepted by a Swiss school, giving Oswald a reason to leave the United States. After arriving in Europe, Oswald applied for and received a visa to visit the Soviet Union in October 1959. While in Moscow, he told the Soviets that he wanted to defect. Soviet records reveal that they did not want Oswald. Only his attempted suicide on October 21 prevented Oswald's deportation. Soviet authorities ordered a psychiatric examination. Doctors who were not part of the KGB found Oswald mentally unstable. The Soviets decided to allow Oswald to remain in the Soviet Union only because they did not want to be viewed as mistreating an American citizen. Once again, some conspiracy supporters believe Oswald was recruited as a Soviet agent during this time. KGB records discount this possibility and indicate Soviet intelligence had little desire to be associated with Oswald.

Oswald was ordered to live in Minsk. At first, he was content because his defector status made him a celebrity. As the reality of life in the Soviet Union became clear, however, Oswald was increasingly disenchanted with his life. He found the Soviet Union was not the classless society he imagined. His job in a radio factory was boring, and he had few sources of entertainment. His affair with coworker Ella Germann turned out badly, when Germann refused his proposal of marriage. Within several months, Oswald had married Marina Prusakova. His diary indicates that he did not love her and married her to punish Germann. Even before he married Marina, Oswald had contacted the American Embassy in Moscow, asking to return to the United States. After nearly a year of waiting, Oswald and Marina were allowed to leave the Soviet Union on June 1, 1962. The time period was slightly longer than average for others in a similar situation. The couple received a loan from the State Department for their travel, a common practice under the circumstances. After a brief stay in New York, they flew to Fort Worth.

Oswald's life to this point had been filled with disappointments and failures. All qualified personnel who examined his mental state found him self-centered, withdrawn, and mentally unstable. He showed hostility toward authority and a desire for individual recognition. At no point did Oswald indicate he could be part of a conspiracy. Theories about him working for intelligence organizations are not supported by information about his personality or those who knew him best. Some claim that Oswald was replaced by a Soviet agent during his time in the Soviet Union and that he somehow fooled his mother and brothers on his

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return to America. In 1981, a panel of experts examined Oswald's exhumed body and concluded that the real Oswald was indeed buried in that grave.

Oswald's Activities between June 1962 and November 1963

Over the next 18 months, Oswald's actions became more irrational and violent. He was witnessed by others as being abusive toward his wife. He worked at a series of menial jobs, which he believed were beneath him. Oswald also became obsessed with the thrill and danger of spying and taking direct action against those with whom he disagreed. Using facilities at a graphic arts company in Dallas where he was working, Oswald created documents for a phony identity. In early 1963, he purchased a rifle and revolver through the mail, using this phony identity. Experts who later examined the false identification papers and order forms confirmed that Oswald had signed them. The documents were poor forgeries.

Oswald also began to plan an assassination attempt on General Edwin Walker, a Dallas leader of the anticommunist John Birch Society. He took photographs of Walker's house and located firing positions and escape routes from the area. Before making his attempt, he had Marina take photographs of him holding his weapons and radical newspapers. He claimed to have sent one to *The Militant*, although that photo apparently disappeared after the assassination. Conspiracy theorists have claimed the photographs were faked to implicate Oswald. The 1978 House Select Committee on Assassinations commissioned a study by photography experts to find out if this was true. Using a variety of tests not available to the Warren Commission, the experts found the photographs were genuine. Details such as a grain pattern in each photo were consistent throughout. Additionally, identifying marks on the rifle found in the Texas Schoolbook Depository were found to be identical to those on the rifle Oswald was holding in the photographs.

Oswald was fired from his job on April 1 for his failure to get along with other workers and declining quality of work. He did not tell his wife, but spent part of the next few days practicing with his rifle. On April 10, he told Marina he had been fired. Oswald left after supper without telling Marina where he was going. While he was out, Marina found a message from him, indicating that he did not expect to return. When Oswald showed up at 11:30 P.M., he was tense and out of breath. Oswald admitted to Marina that he had tried to shoot Walker.

Oswald had fired on Walker as he sat at a desk. The bullet had hit a wooden frame in the middle of the window and been deflected slightly. Instead of striking Walker in the head, it passed through his hair. Walker was slightly wounded in the right arm by fragments. The police were quickly called, but they found no evidence, and the investigation of the crime went nowhere.

At the end of April 1963, Oswald moved to New Orleans, where he had lived as a child. He contacted relatives and lived with them while looking for a job. After eventually finding one as a maintenance man, Oswald resumed his

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radical activities. He tried to set up a chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba organization, although he was apparently the only member. Marina joined him in early May. Conspiracy followers claim Oswald had connections with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), CIA, and mafia while in New Orleans. He did use the address 544 Camp Street as a fake address for his chapter. The building had been the site of an anti-Castro organization in 1962, and Oswald may have selected the address in an attempt to embarrass his political opponents. Other witnesses claimed to have connected Oswald with David Ferrie and Clay Shaw. District Attorney William Garrison based his conspiracy case against Clay Shaw on these witnesses and other questionable evidence. Later review of Garrison's claims revealed that witnesses had been coached and contradictions in their stories were ironed out before the trial.

The FBI maintained a file on Oswald beginning with his return to Dallas in 1962 and his move to New Orleans. Despite conspiracy claims that this shows Oswald was an FBI informant, such a file was standard procedure. Oswald himself blamed the FBI for causing him to lose several jobs. When he moved from New Orleans to Dallas in September 1963, the FBI took several weeks to relocate him. Agent James Hosty interviewed Marina Oswald several times before the assassination, but never met with Oswald himself until afterward.

After being fired from his job in New Orleans, Oswald sent his wife to live in Dallas with her friend Ruth Paine. Oswald himself traveled to Mexico City at the end of September to try to get visas to Cuba and the Soviet Union. He was crushed when both the Soviet and Cuban embassies refused his requests. Once again, those who believe in a conspiracy claim that this was an Oswald imposter. The witnesses who claim to have seen Oswald at the same time he was supposed to be in Mexico City fail to be credible or describe a man who does not fit Oswald's description.

When Oswald returned to Dallas, he tried hard to get a job. On October 17, 1963, he began working as a clerk at the Texas Schoolbook Depository. Paine and some neighbors helped him get the job. Although some believe this was more than a coincidence, Oswald's job at the depository would have required a large conspiracy, including a number of Dallas housewives. At the time he was hired, the motorcade route for President Kennedy had not been set, making it impossible for his job to be part of a conspiracy.

The Assassination

On November 19, the route of the motorcade to take Kennedy to the Trade Mart was printed in the Dallas newspapers. Oswald would have seen the route and realized that it would take the president immediately in front of the depository. He had been staying at a rooming house during the week and visiting his wife only on weekends. On Thursday, November 21, Oswald broke his pattern and

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caught a ride to Paine's house. He tried to smooth the strained relationship with his wife, but failed. The next morning, he returned to Dallas with a brown paper package he said contained curtain rods.

Oswald was seen by other workers on the sixth floor of the depository shortly before noon. After they left for lunch, he was able to construct a sniper's nest with boxes of books at the southeast window. The window gave him a good view of the motorcade's route, including down Elm Street, immediately in front of the depository.

At 12:30 P.M., President Kennedy's motorcade turned on to Elm Street. Three shots were fired. Kennedy was hit by one shot in the back, with the bullet exiting out his neck. The last shot struck him in the head and blew off much of the right side of his head. Governor John Connally, riding just ahead of Kennedy, was hit in the back and wrist. The motorcade immediately raced to Parkland Hospital, where Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1:00 P.M.

When police surrounded the depository, Oswald was not in the building. He left and proceeded by bus and cab to his rooming house. Oswald changed his shirt and left. About 1:15 P.M., Officer J. D. Tippit pulled his car up behind the walking Oswald and called to him. He fit the description that had been broadcast of the possible assassin. Oswald exchanged some words with Tippit, who then got out of his car. As he rounded the front, Oswald pulled out his revolver



President John F. Kennedy, Governor John Connally of Texas, and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy ride through Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963, moments before the president was killed by an assassin. (Library of Congress)

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and shot Tippit dead. Eyewitnesses used Tippit's radio to call for help. Others trailed Oswald to a nearby movie theater. At 1:46 P.M., police officers stormed into the theater. When they approached Oswald, he hit the first policeman and pulled his revolver. The gun failed to fire and Oswald was subdued.

The next 48 hours at police headquarters were a media circus, as Oswald was paraded before the press between interrogations. Oswald denied any guilt, while observers felt he was enjoying the attention he received. Howard Brennan, who saw Oswald firing from the sixth floor window, and witnesses to Tippit's murder picked Oswald out of lineups. He was indicted for the murders of Kennedy and Tippit. On Saturday, November 23, the police announced Oswald would be transferred to the sheriff's jail. The transfer was delayed until Sunday, November 24. As Oswald was being led to a waiting car, Jack Ruby ran out of the crowd and shot him once. Oswald died shortly afterward at Parkland Hospital. He made no statements after being shot.

Specific Conspiracy Charges: How Many Shots Were Fired?

Most of the witnesses in Dealey Plaza agreed that three shots were fired during the assassination. Three men on the fifth floor of the depository heard three shots fired directly above them. At least one man reported to police immediately afterward that he could hear the sounds of a bolt-action rifle being worked and three shell casings hitting the floor. When police searched the sixth floor, they found Oswald's rifle and three empty shell casings. The Warren Commission accepted this number of shots. Using the Zapruder film of the assassination, they established a timeline for the three shots.

Of the witnesses in Dealey Plaza on November 22, only 2 percent believed there were more than three shots fired. Generally accepted evidence indicates that three shots were fired from the depository. The House Committee on Assassinations in 1978 came to the conclusion that four shots had been fired that day, indicating a second gunman. Their conclusion was based on a Dictaphone tape from the minutes around the assassination. The microphone on a police motorcycle had been stuck in the on position. If the motorcycle had been in Dealey Plaza, the committee believed that the shots would have been recorded. The committee eventually assumed the motorcycle was in Dealey, but the presumed rider denied it was his. Experts studied the tape and believed they found evidence of four shots. In the hurry to wrap up its investigation, the House Committee accepted the findings. The conclusion that Oswald had killed Kennedy as part of a larger conspiracy was based largely on this recording.

Within months the audio evidence was discredited. On the tape, the sound of police sirens does not appear until two minutes after the presumed gunshots. If the tape was from a motorcycle in the motorcade, it would have meant that the policeman waited two minutes after the shooting, then tried to catch up with

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the motorcade. Instead, it appears the recording is from a motorcycle at the Trade Mart. Even more damning, part of an order from Sheriff Bill Decker, given a minute after the shooting, can be heard at the presumed moment of the assassination. The timeline the experts proposed for the recording was incorrect. The time in which they believed they detected gunshots was at least a minute after the shots had been fired.

Did Oswald Have Time to Fire Three Shots?

The Warren Commission established that all three shots were fired within six seconds. Only two struck Kennedy. The commission believed that the first shot hit the president and Governor Connally. In the Zapruder film, the presidential limousine disappears behind a road sign. When it emerges, Kennedy had been wounded. The second shot was believed to have missed. The third shot was the fatal head shot. Using the Zapruder film to measure the time between the shots, the commission believed that Oswald had only 4.8 to 5.6 seconds to fire all three shots, a very short time in which to work a bolt-action rifle. Conspiracy supporters have used this short period to claim that Oswald could not have fired three times. Therefore, another shooter must have been in Dealey Plaza.

Tests by the Warren Commission proved it was possible to fire Oswald's rifle within the time period. Computer enhancements, however, led the House Committee in 1978 to project a different timeline. The evidence they had indicates that Oswald's first shot missed. Before Kennedy disappeared behind the sign, he and others can been seen reacting to something. Most notably, a young girl running parallel to the limousine stopped and turned toward the depository. She testified she turned because she heard a shot. The timing of the first shot would have given Oswald between 8 and 8.4 seconds from the first to the third shot, nearly twice the time the Warren Commission supposed. Various tests with riflemen unpracticed with bolt-action weapons showed they were able to get off three shots in this amount of time. When the tests were run with a moving target at the same distance as Oswald was from Kennedy, the riflemen averaged two hits out of three shots, the same as Oswald. Furthermore, Marina testified that Oswald spent many evenings in New Orleans in their apartment, just working the bolt-action of his rifle, again and again.

Evidence that one bullet had missed was found immediately after the assassination. A man standing 500 feet away, in a direct line from the depository and the president's limousine, was struck in the cheek by a tiny piece of concrete kicked up by a bullet. This appears to have been the first bullet Oswald fired.

The Single-Bullet Theory

One of the most compelling arguments that Oswald did not act alone involved the so-called single-bullet theory. The Warren Commission believed that one

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bullet had hit Kennedy in the back, traveled through his neck, and exited near his collar and tie knot. The bullet then struck Connally in the right back, passed through his chest, and hit the governor's right wrist. It broke Connally's wrist before ricocheting into his left thigh. This bullet fell out of Connally's thigh at Parkland Hospital, where it was recovered. Remarkably, the bullet was only slightly deformed. Although sometimes described as "pristine," the bullet is flattened and part of its lead core is exposed. Conspiracy theorists claim a single bullet could not have been fired from the Schoolbook Depository and inflicted this damage without making a turn in flight. They especially dispute whether the bullet could have done so much harm and not been more deformed.

The answer to part of this issue depends on understanding where Connally was sitting in relationship to the president. Connally and his wife were sitting ahead of President and Mrs. Kennedy, on jump-seats. The seats were slightly inboard of the Kennedy's positions. Connally was not directly in front of Kennedy, but slightly to the left. The bullet that struck Kennedy was traveling slightly from right to left, so it hit Connally in the right shoulder after exiting Kennedy. It was deflected slightly after hitting Connally's rib. From there, the bullet traveled in a straight line. Connally was turned slightly to the right, so his right wrist and left thigh were in line with the exit wound in his chest.

There is also a question of Connally's reaction in the Zapruder film. According to some critics, he does not seem to react to being hit for up to two seconds after Kennedy has clearly been hit. The Warren Commission and the House Committee both postulated that Connally was just slow to react. Such delays are not unknown among gunshot victims, but conspiracy supporters believe it shows Connally was hit by a separate bullet. In 1992, enhancement of the Zapruder film became available for study. From the time Kennedy and bystanders reacted to the first bullet, which missed, to the time the car became visible from behind the road sign, about 3.5 seconds elapsed. This time was sufficient for Oswald to have chambered another round and prepared to fire. Kennedy is beginning to react to being hit. His arms are raised, with the elbows out and hands clenched near his throat. The reaction is known as the Thorburn's position, and it occurs when the upper spinal cord is damaged. X-rays revealed that a stress fracture to the C6 vertebrae resulted from the passage of the bullet that struck Kennedy in the back. Kennedy's movement was consistent with medical observations.

Even though Kennedy reacted, Connally did not seem to have been hit. The enhanced film, however, showed that at the same time Kennedy was hit, the right lapel of Connally's suit flipped out from his body. The movement was in the same area as the exit wound Connally suffered. Connally's physical reaction to being hit was revealed by the movement of his right hand at the same time. It moved sharply up and down. The most obvious reaction occurred when Connally's mouth opened and his cheeks puffed out. A noticeable period elapsed before this happened because it was caused by Connally taking his next breath.

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He suffered a collapsed lung, and the reaction shows his body trying to draw in air. The timing in the Zapruder film shows that Connally was certainly hit by the same bullet that hit Kennedy.

The bullet that struck Kennedy was traveling about 1,700 feet per second when it struck him. It penetrated Kennedy's body without striking any bones or other hard surfaces. When it exited, it was traveling about 1,500 feet per second. The bullet started tumbling as it exited as well. Connally's entrance wound was about 1.25 inches long, showing that it struck him while traveling sideways. The bullet struck Connally's rib, which changed its path and slowed it even more. The bullet was still tumbling when it exited at 900 feet per second. It was traveling backward and struck Connally's wrist, breaking his radius. The bullet continued in a straight line through Connally's wrist and struck his left thigh at about 400 feet per second. The momentum was only sufficient to penetrate the skin.

Tests conducted by the Warren Commission failed to give the same kinds of wounds or bullets that were not badly deformed. Investigators, however, used bullets traveling at full velocity on test subjects. It was not until the 1990s that tests with reduced charges showed it was possible to cause such wounds without deformities resulting.

Conspiracy theorists also fail to note that when the bullet was found at Parkland Hospital, complete examinations of Kennedy and Connally had not taken place. If authorities later found fragments that showed three bullets had struck the men, and another, completely different, bullet was produced, it would have caused the conspiracy to unravel.

The Grassy Knoll

Many conspiracy theories claim a second gunman was located on the grassy knoll ahead and to the right of the president's limousine. Because of the echoes in Dealey Plaza, many witnesses were unable to determine where the shots came from. As the motorcade sped away, some people ran toward the grassy knoll. A fence at the top has been cited by many conspiracy supporters as the cover from which a second gunman fired on Kennedy.

In the years following the assassination, a number of people have come forward saying they saw someone or a puff of smoke from the grassy knoll. A number of them, such as Jean Hill, claimed they saw suspicious people, sometimes described as policemen on the knoll. Hill's story was disproved by pictures that showed her remaining far from the knoll until long after the motorcade had passed. Other witnesses have been discredited, such as Gordon Arnold who claimed to be there but does not appear in any of the pictures.

Other evidence, such as grainy photographs of shadows under the trees on the knoll, is cited. One in particular is claimed by conspiracy supporters as showing the outline of a man in a police uniform with a large puff of smoke

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from a gun being fired. They ignore the fact that modern ammunition produces very small amounts of smoke. To explain how a shooter could fire over the fence, most explain that he stood on a car.

Other witnesses with a view of the back of the fence did report two men located near the overpass at one end, not where conspiracy supporters believe a gunman was located. These men were approached by police after the assassination. No mention was made of a weapon being seen.

Well-meaning witnesses may also have been fooled by a steam pipe that ran at the top of the knoll. Puffs of smoke could well have been escaping steam. They also failed to explain what happened to the bullet this gunman might have fired. The three bullets fired by Oswald were all accounted for. Some theorists believe the gunman fired an exploding bullet that hit Kennedy in the exact place where Oswald's third bullet exited, at the same time. Most observers agree that this would have been an extraordinary piece of marksmanship.

Did Ruby Kill Oswald to Silence Him?

Nightclub owner Jack Ruby has been linked to organized crime and a contract to kill Oswald before he could talk about a conspiracy. The evidence indicates, however, that Ruby was genuinely upset over Kennedy's death. Ruby was known as someone who would be drawn to the action. He appeared at the Dallas police headquarters on the evening of November 22. Because he was known to many policemen, Ruby was allowed to mingle with the media and approach Oswald. Photographs showing Ruby from that night indicated he was carrying his revolver with him, as he usually did. At one point, Oswald passed within two feet of Ruby, but Ruby did not act at the time.

Over the next two days, Ruby continued to grieve for Kennedy. Those who knew him felt that he was becoming more despondent. On the morning of November 24, he went to the Western Union office to wire money to an employee. He did not know that Oswald had not yet been transferred, but walked 200 feet to police headquarters. Ruby made his way down a ramp that would be used by the vehicle carrying Oswald when the policeman guarding it was distracted. He arrived in the basement only about 30 seconds before Oswald emerged.

If Ruby had been any later he would have missed the opportunity to shoot Oswald. Also, Oswald would have been transferred earlier except that an interrogation went longer than expected, and Oswald asked for a change of clothes. Any conspiracy theory that involves Ruby ignores these facts. The evidence indicates that Ruby only took advantage of the opportunity and acted out of emotional upset.

Conclusion

The assassination of the most powerful man in the world by a lone, maladjusted gunman is difficult for many people to accept. Kennedy's death becomes easier

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to accept if it was the result of a wider conspiracy, acting on ideological grounds to remove him. These people want to believe that his death was not senseless or the result of an opportunistic action by Oswald. They tend to ignore evidence and even logic and look for comfort in a larger plot.

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15

Considering the refusal of Saddam Hussein to comply with United Nations–imposed inspections, it was reasonable for George W. Bush and his advisers to assume that Iraq harbored weapons of mass destruction and that justified the invasion.

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Imagine this situation: in a somewhat tough neighborhood, a man with unknown intentions might be holding a certain weapon, the usage of which would have an unpleasant impact on his neighbors. Although there's clear evidence that this man has already used a similar weapon in the past, there is no clear, unequivocal proof that he is also holding this weapon at the moment. As a matter of fact, he claims that he has already gotten rid of it. On the other hand, he might be simply lying. If you were an active citizen in a community where there's no policeman and the city council—of which you are a member—malfunctions, what would you do?

This was, more or less, the dilemma faced by U.S. policy makers as they contemplated the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The question whether the invasion of Iraq was justified played a central role in international politics at the time and has remained highly disputed in wide circles. Unlike chronologically more remote historical debates, which usually have only an indirect influence on our life today, this controversy is still a matter not only of scientific differences among scholars, but also of bitter political disputes. Many things have changed in Iraq since the initial invasion in 2003 and during the following seven bad years of American occupation; naturally, one cannot turn back history. But as the waves of violence unleashed by the U.S. invasion and the fall of the Ba'ath regime continue to take the lives of many U.S. soldiers and many more Iraqi citizens every week, the question "Was the invasion justified?" remains relevant to the public debate, even if it is increasingly embedded in the more urging question "What are we still doing there today?"

Furthermore, besides its current relevance to contemporary U.S. and world politics, the question whether the threat of the existence of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the hands of Saddam Hussein justified the invasion raises some

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other, more general questions. These questions concern the basic fundamentals of international policy and intelligence-based decision making, as practiced and experienced by different historical actors since days of yore.

Generally, the WMD dilemma comprises two distinct questions lying at its roots. The first is the age-old riddle of predictability: Can we predict future events, based on past experience? In our case, this question was manifested in the uncertainty whether Saddam Hussein's regime, which was known to have used chemical weapons before, still had more of the stuff and was willing to use it. The second question is that of risk versus chance: How much are we willing to take the risk that a wrong prediction might lead us to unwanted outcomes? In our case, the question was what we are risking if we assume he doesn't have it while he actually does.

A common belief is that U.S. invasion of Iraq was motivated primarily by the wish to secure access to one of the world's largest oil reserves. Some researchers claim there is clear evidence that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was planned years before, as planners and decision makers became aware of the accelerating pace at which the world's oil reserves are depleting (a very simple process yet with enormous implications, usually known as "Peak Oil"). Other commentators argued that the invasion was motivated by a simple, even "primitive," private vendetta: after eight years of Bill Clinton's interregnum, the administration of George W. Bush wished to finish the job begun but not completed by his father, George H. W. Bush. Few people even still believe that behind this invasion lay the naive intention of making Iraq a modern, North Atlantic style democracy.

This section, however, will argue that, taking into account the recent history of Iraq, because of the way the United States role in the international arena was perceived by its policy makers and the intelligence available to them at the time, the invasion of Iraq was justified by the threat that ready-to-use WMD were in the hands of Saddam Hussein's regime. As a matter of fact, this justification and all the other above-mentioned motivations and reasons do not exclude one another: It might have been that the WMD threat was just one of many other true or false justifications. The search for the "smoking gun" could have proved to be futile from the very beginning, if the search is after the one unique and specific piece of evidence and not after a broader context of clues and reasons.

This section has three main parts. The first part will review the two levels—global and local—of past experience with WMD. The second part will discuss the process of intelligence work, conduct of an intelligence analysis, and show how this process might have run in the Iraqi case, leading to the assessment that Iraq had active WMD. The section will conclude with an examination of the issue in hindsight, with the attempt to conclude from it about WMD politics on the global arena today.

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Other Times, Other Places: Global Precedents for the Use of WMD

The 20th century, "the Age of Extremes" as it was called by Eric Hobsbawm, saw the most horrible wars humanity has ever witnessed. These conflicts gained the infamous name of "Total Wars," as their immediate aim was the extermination of the enemy's troops, and, frequently, its civilian population as well. The weapons used in these wars are usually divided into conventional weapons (explosives, bullets, shells, and their like) and nonconventional weapons. Although both kinds of weapons can be used to kill millions, it is usually the latter ones that are called weapons of mass destruction.

WMD are munitions with a capacity to kill large numbers of humans indiscriminately. The term usually refers to biological, chemical, and atomic weapons. Biological weapons are pathogens used to spread diseases among a certain population, either military or civilian. Owing to their active and "lively" nature, it is difficult to judge when exactly in the past epidemics and diseases may have been the consequences of aimed deployment of weapons and when they were just "regular" outbreaks. It is assumed, for instance, that the great bubonic plague, devastating large parts of Europe and the Mediterranean basin in the mid-14th century (an event known as the Black Death), broke out after Tatar warriors lobbed plague-infected corpses into the besieged city of Kaffa, on the shores of the Black Sea, in 1346; from there, the disease spread in all directions.

The advancement of microbiology and immunology during the past 100 years has enabled scientists to isolate and master pathogens in laboratories, thereby permitting them to create concentrated masses of these carriers of death. The best-known example of an actual usage in battle of such weapons is probably the deployment of plague (and probably also anthrax and cholera) by Japanese forces in China during World War II. However, although also developed by some other states during the 20th century (including nazi Germany, and the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War), biological weapons were not widely used, mostly due to technical rather than moral reasons, as explained below.

Chemical warfare is also nothing new. Some hunter-gatherers, for instance, used vegetable and animal venoms and poisons for hunting: Arrows dipped in poison shot at game might be the earliest example of a chemical weapon in human history. As societies grew bigger and technologically advanced, so too did their application of these lethal substances: The poisoning of water systems or the fumigation of besieged fortifications were practiced by ancient Greek strategists during the Peloponnesian wars.

The modern use of chemicals as weapons of mass destruction, therefore, was less an invention and more of an innovation, differing from its older precedents more in scale than in content. One need not have a PhD in chemistry in order to imagine how suffocating smoke or burning acids blown at the enemy might reduce his ability or willingness to resist.

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The birth of modern WMD, however, was connected to a couple of people who did hold a PhD in chemistry. On April 22, 1915, during the first stages of World War I, a group of German soldiers guided and supervised by Fritz Haber, the famous German chemist, exploited an eastern breeze in order to deploy chlorine on the French troops facing them. The French did not lag behind for long: soon afterward they used phosgene against the German troops. French chemical warfare was directed by another famous chemist, Victor Grignard. Both Haber and Grignard worked simultaneously on attacking with chemical weapons and developing protection from them; each of them also won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry (Grignard in 1912, Haber in 1918) for other, more benign inventions.

The usage of this new and frightening weapon caused shock and awe among citizens and soldiers alike. Lieutenant General Ferguson, commander of the 2nd British Corps at that time, was quoted as saying that "it is a cowardly form of warfare which does not commend itself to me or other English soldiers" (Cook 1999: 37). His disapproval, however, did not prevent his own army from using it too, in September of that same year. On the morning of April 17, 1917, during their attempt to break the Ottoman defense lines near Gaza, the British army first introduced chemical warfare to the area they termed "Middle East." British troops were also the first to introduce chemical weapons to Iraq, when suppressing rebels and insurgents there during the 1920s.

The American war machine also began producing lethal gases, although it did not have time to use them before the November 1918 armistice. Like every technical innovation, once the jack was out of the box, everybody wanted to have one too. The use of gas in modern warfare proliferated very quickly and was no longer confined to those European barbarians in their mutual bashing on their continent. Soon after World War I, chemical warfare was used by the Spanish military in Morocco and by Italian forces in Libya and Ethiopia.

The damage caused by chemical weapons during World War I made a considerable public impact, which led to attempts to stop or at least restrain its usage. The Geneva Protocol, which prohibits the use of gases and bacteriological methods of warfare, entered into force in February 1928, but it prohibited only the use of such weapons, not their production or storage. The Biological and Toxins Weapons Convention of 1972 did cover this aspect, but had no reliable verification mechanism. It was only the Chemical Weapons Convention, which entered into force in 1997, that has put a ban on development, production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons.

Mostly due to technical reasons, World War II saw less of the use of chemical weapons in the battlefield (although chemicals were widely used during the war by the nazis in their extermination camps). The end of World War II, however, saw the culmination of man's destructive capacity so far, as incarnated in the third part of WMD's unholy trinity: atomic weapons. Within four days, between August 6–9, 1945, American bombers dropped two atomic bombs on

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two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroying them to the ground. Although these were the only two deployments of atomic weapons so far, the world had entered the "atomic age." At least eight countries have acquired such weapons during the past 50 years, and some others are presumed to be developing and possessing them.

All three parts of the WMD unholy trinity carry with them the capacity of inflicting horrible damage to human beings and their environment. However, it is the chemical ones that were used most frequently, as the usage of the other two is either problematic or limited. Biological weapons are problematic because they carry with them the imminent risk of self-damaging. Accidents in their storage are the minor concern, much graver is the danger that they go out of control after deployment, ravaging not only the enemy but also the user's own troops and civilians (a danger that exists with chemicals weapons too, but to a much smaller extent). Atomic weapons, on the other hand, are limited because in order to build them one needs not only rare materials but expensive and sophisticated technologies as well. In other words, it requires a lot of knowledge, time, and money. Chemical weapons, by contrast, stand in between. Though they are neither the safest thing to hold in your bathroom closet nor the easiest thing to produce in a school lab, they are still relatively cheap and easy to deploy, if your aim is to murder as many people as possible in one go.

To sum it up, one can say that WMD, which aim to cause indiscriminate casualties and damage, became available across the board during the past century. This is a general phenomenon, where the Iraqi case is not unique. Although there is a considerable distance between *possessing* WMD and *using* them, we know that more than once, the extreme damage inflicted by these weapons has not always deterred decision makers from using them. To paraphrase Anton Chekhov's famous saying, the gun from the first act is on the wall; the question is when will it shoot. And this brings us to the specific Iraqi case.

The Gun that Already Smoked Once: Iraq's Past Use of WMD

Iraq was a party to the Geneva Protocol since 1931; it joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1969, and signed the Biological Weapons Convention in 1972 (though ratifying it only 20 years later). So officially, Iraq was a normative state, obeying international treaties and conventions. Practically, however, the Iraqi case proved that, in diplomacy like in politics, a certain disparity might occur between promise and fulfillment: today it is clear that Saddam Hussein's regime has violated at least one of these treaties—the one limiting the use of chemical weapons—if not all three.

Although some Iraqi scientists have testified they were working on building nuclear weapons during the 1980s, there is no clear evidence showing that the Iraqi government was seriously pursuing nuclear weapons in the past. It is clear,

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however, that Iraq had some nuclear devices that might have been adapted and upgraded into weapons manufacturing plants. The Iraqi nuclear research program was launched in the mid-1970s. Since Iraq's local nuclear resources are limited (it probably had some uranium but of low quality, extracted from the Aqashat mines near the Syrian border), it sought materials and technology from other countries, primarily from France.

Iraqi nuclear research was carried out at seven sites. The main nuclear site was at Al Tuwaitha, about 20 km southeast from Baghdad, where in 1977 a French nuclear reactor was constructed. It was of a model called Osirak (or "Osiris"). Since Egyptian culture had only a limited popularity among Ba'ath leaders at that time, the reactor received the local name Tammuz 1 (Tammuz is the Hebrew and Arabic name for July, the month in which the Ba'ath party retook power in 1968; Tammuz was also the old Babylonian god of the summer).

It did not take long until the people in Baghdad (the "Present of God" in old Persian) were weeping for Tammuz. Surviving a failed assault by two Iranian jet fighters in September 1980 at the very beginning of the Iran-Iraq war, Tammuz was paralyzed by a second air strike on June 7, 1981, this time by Israeli bombers. The timing of the air strike was explained at that time by the reactor's activity situation: Israeli intelligence estimated that the reactor's plutonium fuel rods were soon to be shipped to Iraq from France, thus making it "hot." Damaging a "hot" reactor might have disastrous environmental consequences. The final blow to the Al Tuwaitha site was in January 1991, during the first days of Operation Desert Storm, as U.S. bombers repeatedly bombed it.

While the question is still open how close Saddam Hussein's regime was to achieving military atomic capabilities, it is quite clear that it was using chemical ones. The almost decade-long war between Iraq and Iran during the 1980s set the scene for a series of Iraqi assaults by chemical agents against enemy soldiers and civil population alike. The first report of such an attack was made in November 1980, a few months after the beginning of the war with Iran, when Tehran Radio reported an Iraqi chemical attack on Iranian forces near Susengerd. Naturally, the Iranians had an interest in blaming Iraq for whatever crime possible, trying to denigrate the Ba'ath regime in international forums and maybe even using it as a pretext for developing their own chemical weapons. The report received no corroboration from any third party at the time. But within the next few years, more and more pieces of evidence were collected, all pointing to the fact that Iraqi forces used chemical weapons to fend off Iranian infantry attacks. On March 21, 1986, the United Nations Security Council recognized that "chemical weapons on many occasions have been used by Iraqi forces against Iranian forces" (United Nations 1986: 233).

The most well-known chemical attack carried out by Iraqi forces was during the last phases of the Iran-Iraq war, in an operation that received the name Anfaal, after the Quran's eighth chapter, dealing with the conduct of war. Blatantly flouting Quranic war rules, this operation was targeted to a large extent against

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civilians and noncombatants after Peshmerge, the Kurdish militia, took control of some areas of northern Iraq near the Iranian border. On March 16, 1988, military airplanes dropped bombs containing lethal chemical agents—most probably sarin, VX, and maybe also mustard gases—on the town of Halabga, located about 150 km from Baghdad. The tapes, which were leaked to the international press a few days later, clearly proved that chemical agents were used against a defenseless civil population. Saddam Hussein kept claiming for years that Iranian airplanes committed this attack; this version is very dubious, since the Iranians and their Kurdish allies held the area at the time of the attack.

The use of chemical weapons by Iraqi military did not happen in an international vacuum. Foreign governments, the United States and Great Britain included, were in no way free to pass the buck, as they did almost nothing to stop Iraqi use of chemical weapons. The United States was the only member of the UN Security Council to oppose and vote against the above-mentioned 1986 statement (while the United Kingdom, the first to bring chemical weapons to Iraq, only abstained). A few months after the well-documented attack on Halabga, the U.S. Senate unanimously passed the Prevention of Genocide Act, which put severe limitations on U.S. relations with Iraq. The Reagan administration, however, opposed the bill and eventually prevented it from taking effect; the administration saw importance in strengthening Saddam in his war against Iran.

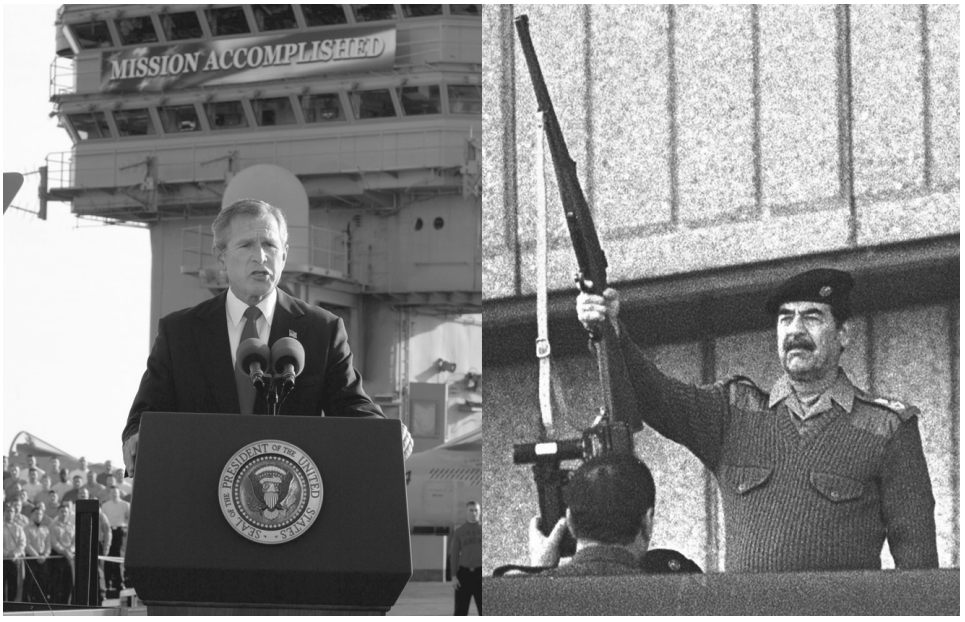
According to some sources, U.S. governments—especially the Reagan administration—held not only indirect but also direct responsibility for the Iraqi use of chemical weapons. While doing business with them, Reagan's administration showed overt animosity toward Iran and shed no tears on seeing Iranian soldiers killed by the thousands. It is argued that during the 1980s, U.S. laboratories trained Iraqi scientists in producing biological weapons; in 1982 President Reagan removed Iraq from the list of states that sponsor terrorism, despite intelligence reports that Iraq was pursuing a biochemical warfare program.

In his book *Turmoil and Triumph* (1995), Reagan's Secretary of State George Shultz admitted that reports of Iraq using chemical weapons against Iranian troops first began "drifting in" already at the end of 1983. This did not prevent Reagan from sending on December 19, 1983, an envoy to Saddam Hussein with a letter calling to "resume our diplomatic relations with Iraq." The name of that envoy was Donald Rumsfeld.

Therefore, even if it did not help Saddam's regime in developing chemical and biological weapons, the United States at least turned a blind eye toward Iraq's development of such materials. In other words, the administration knew very well what the Iraqis had. In this light, Rumsfeld's axiom about future and past predictability is not enigmatic anymore: You don't need to predict anything when you simply know what your ex-partners have.

Last but not least, one should take into account the personal dimension of the Iraqi regime. As mentioned above, many states have used chemical weapons in the

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Left: President George W. Bush declared major fighting over in Iraq, calling it "one victory in a war on terror," aboard the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* on May 1, 2003. Right: Iraq's president Saddam Hussein fires a rifle celebrating Iraq's commitment to liberating the holy city from Israeli rule, Baghdad, November 20, 2000. (AP Photo/J. Scott Applewhite/Jassim Mohammed)

past. However, in all these states the regimes and decision makers who ordered the deployment of WMD were ejected from power afterward. In Germany, the Reichswehr was dismantled after World War I, as was the nazi regime after World War II. The fate of the fascist regime in Italy and the military government in Japan was similar; in Britain and the United States, democratic elections replaced the parties in power sooner or later after those wars. This was not the situation in Iraq. Saddam Hussein's regime kept its power after the war with Iran. Two years after the war with Iran ended, in August 1990, the Iraqi military invaded Kuwait, beginning another round of war and bloodshed. Next to the ground invasion of Kuwaiti soil, the Iraqi military launched SS missiles on Israel and Saudi Arabia and repressed Shiite insurgencies in southern Iraq with utmost violent measures. Saddam Hussein proved, therefore, that he was sticking to his aggressive, ruthless agenda. Ruling Iraq with an iron fist, Saddam tightened his hold on the state after surviving the 1991 U.S. assault. Saddam did what dictators usually do when stressed externally: he increased domestic oppression. Knowing the hostility many Iraqis had toward him, his regime became more exclusive and centralist with the time. Although the Kurdish provinces of northern Iraq gained virtual autonomy after the 1991 war, it was only after the U.S. invasion in 2003 that his regime collapsed, bringing a final end to his regime's external aggression potential.

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The Process of Intelligence Work

"War is the realm of Uncertainty," wrote Carl von Clausewitz. In order to dispel it a bit, one uses intelligence evaluations. Like all else within the military sphere, intelligence work is divided into three parts: the collection of evidence and pieces of information; the interpretation of these facts, looking for their meaning; and the evaluation of future threats and chances deriving from the situation as it is perceived. All three parts of this process are equally important; the process cannot be completed if one of the phases is omitted.

Here is an example: Paw prints in my apartment corridor are a piece of evidence for the presence of some animal there. Based on past knowledge, I may then assume and interpret it as a sign that my sister's golden retriever just came in after wallowing in a puddle outside; I can then evaluate that it is now heading toward the kitchen, with the aim of feasting on the sausages I was just about to cook there.

Intelligence analysis is a fascinating matter, but there is one thing it cannot do: It cannot tell decision makers what exactly they should do; it can merely help them understand the current situation. To get back to my example, it can help me decide what I should do next. Should I call the dog and order it out of the kitchen; try running to the kitchen in order to get there before it does; or bring a towel and clean the floor? But it cannot direct me to do any one of these actions. Any of them may be the outcome of my decision-making process, all relying on the same intelligence analysis. In other words, the intelligence provider can bring the menu, explain what each item is, and estimate how tasty it may be, but it is up to the decision maker to choose what to eat, when, and how.

Each of intelligence's three phases has its own typical problems and difficulties. In the first part, the collection of facts and evidence, the problem lies with the facts themselves. Sometimes evidence is clear and easy to get, but this is not always the case. One kind of difficulty is when evidence is blurred, partial, or incomplete; another is when items of evidence abound and contradict one another, making it hard to filter the correct, important evidence from the incorrect and nonimportant items. To all of this one should add the impact of counter-intelligence (i.e., deliberate efforts by the researched object to deceive and mislead the intelligence of the enemy by implanting false facts and disseminating wrong information).

The main problem with the second part, the interpretation, is that it is based on the past experience and norms of the interpreter. What if the weight and meaning we attribute to a certain fact—thus helping us successfully interpret on one occasion—proves to be wrong on another? To use the same example as before: Knowing the only dog lurking around makes interpreting the signs very easy. But what if there are other dogs in the neighborhood, with different behavior and habits?

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Naturally, the third part of the process, the one of assessment prediction, is probably the most likely to fail. Not only is it based on two previous phases of a process, each prone to flaws and mistakes as detailed above, it can also go wrong due to its own weakness. For even if all the evidence collated is correct and our interpretation thereof is precisely right, there is no guarantee whatsoever that our adversary will act next time the same way he did before.

To sum up, it is quite difficult to give an accurate intelligence assessment. There are at least three steps and in each something can go wrong. These three steps are built upon one other, and a mistake in any one of them can easily disrupt the whole process. What if I misidentified the paw prints? What if they were actually prints of a cat or, on the other hand, a bear? How old are these footprints? And can I be sure in which direction that animal proceeded?

Moreover, in order to make an analysis complete, this triple-step process of evidence accumulation, interpretation, and assessment should refer to two parallel aspects: both capacities and intentions. When analyzing an enemy or opponent one should not forget these are two distinct aspects. To use a recent example from another area, a South American leader may proclaim his intention of bringing an end to U.S. global hegemony, but he has no capacity to do so. The European Central Bank, for its part, has some capacity to do so but seems to have no such intentions at the moment. The Chinese government, on the other hand, might have both the capacity and the intentions. Still, one cannot predict what the Chinese will do.

It might be tempting to model the three parts of the intelligence analysis as parallel to three time phases: collection of evidence from the past, their interpretation in the present, and making an evaluation for the future. While this model might work in some cases, the work of intelligence is usually continuous. New pieces of evidence are streaming in constantly, modifying the picture we see, igniting and fueling the process over and over again. Things become even more complicated when we consider the fact that usually there is a mutual relationship between the researcher and the object researched. Most objects of intelligence analysis are not naive snapshot models, but adversaries aware of being viewed; hence they change their behavior in accordance to our actions. To return to the example I began with, if the dog sees I'm viewing him on his way to the kitchen, he might try to use another way to get there—the back door, for instance. Therefore, in a world where communication and action advance as fast as a television broadcast, evidence collection and decision making create an endless circle, much like a dog chasing its own tail.

And Now to Iraq

In the decade following the 1991 Gulf War, the United Nations was continuously calling upon Iraq for the complete elimination of its WMD. The United

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Nations established a special commission of experts (United Nations Special Committee [UNSCOM]), which was active between 1991 and 1999, its mission being to ensure Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions by obliging it to dismantle its WMD. The Iraqi authorities, however, not only failed to meet their disarmament obligations, but impeded UNSCOM's work by preventing weapons inspectors from visiting facilities and by removing documents from them. A serious corroboration to the assumption that Iraq had WMD came in August 1995, as two leading figures in Iraq's weapons industry—the brothers Hussein and Saddam Kamil Hassan al-Magid, cousins and sons-in-law of Saddam Hussein—defected to Jordan. There, they provided UNSCOM with valuable information about Iraq's past WMD projects. Hussein Kamil claimed, however, that he also ordered to destroy all WMD after the 1991 war. In February 1996 the two brothers went back to Baghdad after being told they would be pardoned for their defection, but three days after their return Saddam's security forces came to arrest them. The two brothers were killed in the gun battle that broke out as they resisted their arrest.

Two and a half years later, on October 31, 1998, President Bill Clinton signed the Iraq Liberation Act, supporting Iraqi opposition groups in their efforts to remove Saddam Hussein from power. The following day, the Iraqi government announced it would no longer cooperate with UN weapons inspectors. A year later, in December 1999, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan managed to broker a deal whereby Iraq allowed weapons inspectors back into the country the following year as part of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspecting Commission (UNMOVIC). While some officials of UNMOVIC were of the opinion that Iraq had dismantled its WMD facilities during the 1990s, in December 2002 UNMOVIC Chairman Hans Blix told the UN Security Council that the Iraqi weapons declaration filed on December 7, 2002, was "essentially a reorganized version" of its reports from 1997, and "not enough to create confidence" that Iraq had abandoned its WMD efforts.

In January 2005, the Iraq Survey Group, a search and research team set up by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), came to the conclusion that Iraq had quit developing WMD in 1991 and had no WMD at the time of the 2003 invasion (although some remnants of pre-1991 production were found, these were not the weapons for which the United States "went to war"). However, while the search for ready-to-use WMD brought nothing, suspicion of Iraq's innocence still did not dissipate, as Iraq could not offer any credible proof that its WMD program had really been shut down. It might be possible that Iraq's lack of compliance with UN inspections meant they were simply hiding the weapons, either somewhere in Iraq or abroad.

Actually, this is a classical example of the problem of falsifiability: In order to prove the existence of something, one specimen should suffice, but no finite number of failed searches can prove its nonexistence. In our case, finding one

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UN Weapons Inspector Hans Blix

Hans Blix was the first executive chairman of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, from 2000 until 2003 involved in the search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq prior to the U.S. invasion.

Born in 1928 in Uppsala, Sweden, his father and his grandfather were both professors, and he completed his undergraduate degree at Uppsala University and then went to Columbia University, before completing his doctorate at the University of Cambridge in Britain and becoming an associate professor in international law. After several postings in the Swedish government, and on his country's delegation to the United Nations, in 1978–1979, he was the Swedish foreign minister.

From 1981 until 1997 Blix was the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency and was involved in inspections of nuclear facilities around the world, including in Iraq before the reactor Osiraq was destroyed by the Israelis in 1981.

barrel of nerve gas in just one Iraqi storage room would have been enough to prove Iraq had WMD; but even 10,000 empty rooms with no trace of chemicals could not offer proof that Iraq had no such substances, because they might be found in the next room.

Conclusion

Although many Americans will find it hard to believe, the United States has become a modern empire, parallel to many other empires in human history. Like all empires, it has an inherent drive to defend its borders and protect its interests in its periphery. And the United States has already done it before, playing a decisive role in the biggest wars the world has ever seen. Though not the only sheriff of the town, the United States is very much one of the world's policemen.

But things have changed in the past half-century. Video killed the radio star, and the New War brought the Total War to an end. Wars today are fought less on the practical battlefield and more in the media and in people's minds and beliefs, especially in wars between two totally unequal forces. Concomitantly, the aims of New Wars are much less definitive than those of Total War. However, as international norms still demand that wars have an aim, warmongers are still looking for them.

In a radio speech on March 22, 2003, four days after the beginning of the invasion of Iraq, President George W. Bush claimed that, for U.S. forces, the "mission is clear, to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people." Of these three objectives, two were known to be complete nonsense at the very moment they were stated. First, Saddam Hussein's support of terrorist organizations was minor as compared with that of other state presidents at that time, like Jiang Zemin of China or Bush

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himself, for example. Accusations of Saddam's ties with Al Qaeda are dubious, to say the least. Only two weeks before the war, Osama Bin Laden was quoted saying that Saddam was a socialist infidel. Second, there were very few cases in history—to put it mildly—when peoples were freed by the bayonets of foreign armies. Such "good intentions" usually just replace one oppressive occupation with another, frequently the new one being more problematic than the former.

The third reason, however, could not be so easily ruled out, as all three parts of the intelligence analysis showed Iraq might still hold WMD. There was evidence it had bought some materials in the past—obviously it did not purchase them in order to make chocolate pralines—and Saddam's regime has continuously proved to be murderous against civilians and soldiers, both inside Iraq and outside its borders.

Naturally, all this could not prove with total certainty that Iraq was holding WMD, nor that it was going to use them. But here comes the question of risk management. We have serious doubts whether Iraq was holding WMD. But if it was, were we willing to take that risk?

About two centuries before American decision makers faced this decision, it was another U.S. statesman, Benjamin Franklin, who suggested a solution to this problem: "When in doubt, don't." In order to be on the safe side, doubts were ignored in the case of Iraqi WMD. Human beings as we are, we shall always be wiser in retrospect. The question still remains open: What can we learn from the Iraqi case when dealing with other such dilemmas in the not so distant future?

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CON

The official rationale for the U.S. war against Iraq in March 2003 was the threat of Iraqi possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). After the terror attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush argued that there was a link between Islamic terrorism and Iraq. He felt that Saddam Hussein was an undeterrable aggressor possessing chemical and biological weapons who would seek any opportunity to kill Americans. In addition, he warned, Iraq was close to acquiring nuclear weapons. In 2002 the Bush administration tried to convince the public of a connection between Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. It implied that Saddam was cooperating with Al Qaeda and had assisted in the 9/11 attacks. In fact, the mere possibility of such a link sufficed as *casus bellum*. Despite the weakness of the evidence for its claims, the Bush administration succeeded in convincing a majority of the U.S. public that Iraq posed a threat so extreme and immediate that it could be dealt with only by preventive war. "Time is running out on Saddam Hussein," Bush remarked in January 2003. "He must disarm. I'm sick and tired of games and deception" (quoted from Freedman 2004: 31).

However, soon after the U.S. military intervention in March 2003, it became clear that there were no WMD in Iraq. In early 2004, David Kay, the head of a U.S. group surveying Iraq for the evidence of WMD, declared that "we were all wrong" and gave up the search. This section focuses on the Bush administration's rhetoric and the reality of Iraqi WMD in the last few months before the U.S. military intervention in Iraq of March 2003. It is now clear that the Bush team's urge to war came first—and the threat assessments of the U.S. intelligence agencies only later. All available evidence leads to the shocking conclusion that the Bush administration deliberately inflated Iraq's WMD threat (Freedman 2004; Kaufman 2004; Payne 2004). Thus, the U.S.-led war against Iraq, in retrospect, must be classified as an unjustified, aggressive war, in violation of international law.

Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction

Iraq started its nuclear weapons program and biological and chemical weapons programs in the 1960s and 1970s. During the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s, Western

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countries maintained good, constructive, and lucrative relations with Iraq—the archenemy of Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran. In 1981, Israel destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor in Osiraq to prevent a nuclear Iraq. After the 1991 Gulf War, the West combined a strict containment policy of Iraq with coercive elements. A UN mission was tasked with implementing Iraq's disarmament demands of UN Security Council Resolution 687 of April 1991. In 1998 the UN disarmament process collapsed because of continuing Iraqi obstruction (Freedman 2004: 9–14).

During the U.S. presidential election year of 2000, the republicans called for a "comprehensive plan for the removal of Saddam Hussein," but it was not a big campaign issue. George W. Bush prophetically promised that if Saddam was caught "developing WMD in any way, shape, or form, I'll deal with that in a way that he won't like" (quoted from Lemann 2001). Yet, his main foreign policy adviser at that stage, Condoleezza Rice, was more relaxed and said that in her view, Saddam would be deterrable even with WMD (Rice 2000). Prior to 9/11, Iraq was not singled out as a direct threat to U.S. national interests. In March 2001, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell described international sanctions against Iraq as a success. He added: "Even though we know Saddam Hussein is working on weapons of mass destruction, we know he has things squirreled away, at the same time we have not seen that capacity emerge to present a full-fledged threat to us" (Powell 2001).

From 1991 to 2002, the U.S. intelligence community did not believe Iraq was a serious threat to the United States. Even as late as December 2001, a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) declared that "Iraq did not appear to have reconstituted its nuclear weapons program" (Senate Intelligence Report 2004: 85). The Iraqi threat was only inflated in 2002, in order to justify a regime change in Iraq and a U.S. military invasion.

Saddam the Terrorist: Inventing Links to 9/11 and Al Qaeda

The terrorist attacks on 9/11 radically changed U.S. policy toward Iraq. President Bush realized that the world had changed and that the containment of Iraq was no longer an option. According to journalist Bob Woodward, Bush said on September 17, 2001, "I believe Iraq was involved in the 9/11 attacks, but I'm not going to strike them now." He added: "I don't have evidence at this point" (Corn 2003). The Bush government retaliated against the Taliban in Afghanistan in October 2001, but the main focus of the "war on terror" soon moved to Iraq. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had requested plans for striking Iraq barely five hours after the Pentagon had been hit on 9/11 (Freedman 2004: 34).

The assertion that Hussein was personally responsible for assisting in the 9/11 attacks was based on an alleged meeting between Mohammed Atta, the pilot of one of the planes that hit the Twin Towers, and an Iraqi intelligence officer in

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Prague in April 2001. The source for this was a single Czech informant whom Czech intelligence reported was not credible (Isikoff 2002; Tagliabue 2001). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) also quickly concluded that no such meeting had taken place. Evidence suggested that Atta had been in Virginia at the time in question (Simpson 2003; Tyler 2002). Yet, the Bush administration continued to repeat the story despite the lack of evidence. Vice President Dick Cheney, for example, stated in September 2002, "We have reporting that places Atta in Prague with a senior Iraqi intelligence official a few months before September 11. It is credible" (Cheney 2002).

The Bush administration's second main claim linking Iraq to Al Qaeda concerned Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the head of a terrorist group called al-Tawhid. Rumsfeld said that he had "bulletproof evidence" of a link between Hussein and Al Qaeda (Schmitt 2002). The fullest version of this claim came in Powell's famous speech to the UN Security Council on February 5, 2003, where he asserted that Iraq was "harboring" Zarqawi, "a collaborator of Osama bin Laden" and had allowed him to establish a base of operations in Baghdad for Al Qaeda affiliates, that the Zarqawi network helped establish a poison and explosive training center in a camp belonging to an Islamist group called Ansar al-Islam (Powell 2003).

Throughout 2002, the Bush team placed the looming war against Iraq firmly under the heading of the war on terrorism. In January 2002, President Bush claimed that Iraq, Iran, and North Korea were part of an "axis of evil" that posed a "grave and growing danger" because of their pursuit of WMD (Bush 2002a). Bush and his key national security advisers over and over again mentioned Saddam Hussein, Al Qaeda, and Iraq together in the same sentence. Bush argued in a speech in Cincinnati on October 7, 2002: "The danger is that they work in concert. The danger is, that the Qaeda becomes an extension of Saddam's madness and his hatred and his capacity to extend weapons of mass destruction around the world. Both of them need to be dealt with . . . you can't distinguish between the Qaeda and Saddam when you talk about the war on terror" (Bush 2002d). On November 7, 2002, Bush reemphasized: "Saddam Hussein is a threat because he is dealing with the Qaeda" (Bush 2002f). In his 2003 State of the Union address, Bush said, "Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans—this time armed by Saddam Hussein" (Bush 2003a).

The U.S. president kept repeating this message until a few days before the launching of the Iraq War. "Iraq has aided, trained and harbored terrorist, including operatives of the Qaeda," Bush said on March 17, 2003. In strong words, he asserted: "The danger is clear: using chemical, biological, or, one day, nuclear weapons provided by Iraq, the terrorists could one day kill hundreds of thousands of people in our country or any other" (Bush 2003c).

In sum, the Bush administration encouraged public belief that Saddam Hussein had been involved in the 9/11 atrocities. And it was successful in swaying U.S. public opinion. "Polls in late 2002 showed that 70–90 percent of the

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American public believed that [Saddam] Hussein would sooner or later attack the United States with weapons of mass destruction. Between 45 and 66 percent also believed that he had assisted the [9/11 attackers]" (Kaufman 2004: 30). Interestingly, however, right after 9/11, only 3 percent had thought Iraq or Saddam Hussein was behind the terrorist attacks (Freedman 2004: 20).

Inflating the Threat: Iraq's Alleged WMD Program

Serious public discussion about Iraq began only in late summer 2002. Vice President Dick Cheney launched the debate in a widely noted speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 26, 2002—several weeks before the intelligence community would produce its now famous estimate on Iraq. Pointing at information obtained from Iraqi defectors, Cheney declared with great certainty that "simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us. We now know that Saddam has resumed his efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Many of us are convinced that Saddam will acquire nuclear weapons fairly soon" (Cheney 2002).

Bush's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice chimed in with a very pessimistic estimate on the Iraqi threat. "The problem here is that there will always be some uncertainty about how quickly Saddam Hussein can acquire nuclear weapons," Rice said in an interview with CNN. "But we don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud" (Rice 2002). And in a well-timed address at the UN General Assembly on September 12, 2002—with America still mourning the first anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks—Bush declared, "The first time we may be completely certain Saddam Hussein has nuclear weapons is when, God forbid, he uses one" (Bush 2002b).

Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld also participated in the competition among Bush officials to find spectacular metaphors for convincing public opinion of the certainty of the Iraqi threat. "There's no debate in the world as to whether Iraq has those weapons. There's no debate in the world as to whether Iraq continues to develop and acquire them. We all know that. A trained ape knows that. All you have to do is read the newspaper," Rumsfeld said on September 13, 2002 (Rumsfeld 2002).

In its public campaign, the Bush administration officials did not talk about abstract risks but concrete threats, giving specific time references. In mid-September, President Bush declared: "Should Saddam Hussein's regime acquire fissile material, it would be able to build a nuclear weapon within a year" (Bush 2002c). And Vice President Cheney argued just days before the war was launched that Hussein was "absolutely devoted to trying to acquire nuclear weapons. And we believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons" (Cheney 2003).

A key document in the run-up to the Iraq War was the national intelligence estimate dated October 1, 2002, which was the most important summary prepared

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UN weapons inspectors carry equipment to their jeep prior to leaving Baghdad UN headquarters March 6, 1998. The men were part of a group of UN weapons inspection teams that conducted spot tours of suspected weapons sites. (AP Photo/Peter Dejong)

by the intelligence community. It argued that Iraq was "reconstituting its nuclear program," had chemical and biological weapons, and that all key aspects of Iraq's offensive biological weapons program were active and most elements were larger and more advanced than they had been before the 1991 Gulf War. Yet, a 2002 national intelligence estimate in fact had concluded that Saddam Hussein was unlikely to initiate an unprovoked WMD attack against the United States. Thus, they did not share the overly pessimistic rhetoric that the Bush team had applied in speeches around the first anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks.

In 2002 the Bush administration was able to achieve unanimous international support for UN Security Council Resolution 1441. However, Bush and his junior partner Tony Blair, the British prime minister, failed to win a second UN Security Council resolution specifically authorizing war against Iraq. France, Germany, and Russia preferred continuing weapons inspections and dissented to the United States's rush to war. They did not buy the alleged link of Saddam Hussein with 9/11 (Dombrowski and Payne 2003).

From October 2002, the central argument for fighting a war in Iraq was disarmament. Powell emphasized: "All we are interested in is getting rid of these weapons of mass destruction" (Powell 2002). In October 2002, Bush stated (using the famous phrase that Rice had used a few weeks earlier): "Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof—the smoking gun—that

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could come in the form of a mushroom cloud. We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather" (Bush 2002e). The various statements made by the Bush administration from August 2002 until mid-March 2003 created the very strong—and ultimately false—impression that Iraq had an active and dangerous nuclear weapons program that was precariously close to success.

The only significant concrete claims made by the Bush administration with regard to Iraqi attempts to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program was discredited by internal analyses before it was made public. Rice, Cheney, Bush, and Powell all "asserted that Iraq was trying to import high-quality aluminum tubes that were only really suited for nuclear weapons programs, centrifuge programs. CIA, Department of Energy, and State Department analysis, however, had concluded that the evidence did not support that interpretation." In addition, the "IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]pointed out that Iraq's centrifuge program had abandoned the use of the alloy in question before 1991; that the tubes had coatings suitable for use in rockets but not for centrifuges and that the number ordered—120,000—was wildly excessive for uranium enrichment but consistent with artillery use" (Kaufman 2004: 25).

Perhaps the best-known distortion of the intelligence related to alleged Iraqi import of tons of uranium was from Niger. "The British government learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa," Bush declared in his 2003 State of the Union address (Bush 2003a). It soon turned out that documents had been forged and that the CIA had previously convinced the White House to remove a similar assertion from the president's October 2002 speech in Cincinnati. The IAEA also determined that the documents were not authentic (Pincus 2003).

David Kelly and Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction

During a parliamentary committee hearing into the British government producing its dossier on weapons of mass destruction (nicknamed the 'dodgy dossier'), it emerged that some comments made by the journalist Andrew Gilligan came from information from David Kelly (1944–2003).

Kelly was from a Welsh mining family and had studied at the University of Leeds and then the University of Birmingham, before completing a doctorate in microbiology at the University of Oxford. He had then become an adviser to the Ministry of Defence, and worked on biological warfare at Porton Down. At the end of the Cold War he was involved in discovering supplies of biological weapons in the former Soviet Union, and this led to his appointment to United Nations Special Committee (UNSCOM).

Visiting Iraq many times, David Kelly often used his spare time in Baghdad perusing book shops. He also became a Baha'i. After appearing in the spotlight at the parliamentary hearing, he returned home and went for a walk one morning and later was found dead. The subsequent inquest showed that he had committed suicide.

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In March 2003, Bush said that Iraq was moving biological and chemical weapons "every 12 to 24 hours" (Bush 2003b). Similarly, Powell presented a set of photographs to the UN Security Council in February 2003 that purportedly showed mobile biological weapons laboratories in trucks (Powell 2003). The "bioweapons laboratories" later turned out to be gas generators for filling weather balloons (Kaufman 2004: 29).

"Before the war, four months of unrestricted, essentially unhindered IAEA inspections from December 2002 to March 2003 eliminated virtually all remaining doubt" (Kaufman 2004: 25). After three months of intrusive inspections, IAEA director Mohammed El Baradei concluded that there was "no evidence or plausible indication of the revival of a nuclear weapons program in Iraq" (El-Baradei 2003).

By February 2003, the highly reputed *Washington Post* had completely accepted the perception that Iraq had WMD and echoed the Bush administration's call for war in an editorial titled "Irreftuable," printed the day after Powell's UN presentation. The *Post* wrote: "It is hard to imagine how anyone could doubt that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction." On the same day, *Washington Post* journalist Mary McGrory confessed about Powell's speech: "He persuaded me" (quoted from Solomon 2005: 46). The Bush administration had also succeeded in convincing a majority of Americans of its dubious justification for war against Iraq. "Prewar polls showed that 55 to 69 percent of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein already possessed WMD, and more than 95 percent believed that he was building them. In one poll, 69 percent believed that Iraq already had nuclear weapons, and in another, 80 percent thought this likely" (Kaufman 2004: 30).

On March 20, 2003, the Bush administration launched its war against Iraq. A vast majority of Americans saw the war as retaliation against the 9/11 attacks and a just war to destroy the alleged Iraqi nuclear weapons program. The official reason for war was not regime change, it was not democratizing Iraq, or getting rid of a horrible tyrant. The major issue was nuclear disarmament, as President Bush made clear in his last prewar press conference: "Our mission is clear in Iraq. Should we have to go in, our mission is very clear: disarmament" (Bush 2003b).

After the Invasion I: What about Saddam's Links with Bin Laden?

Relatively soon after the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the two main reasons for waging war against Saddam Hussein—WMD and links to Al Qaeda—collapsed like a cardboard castle. The propaganda strategy of the Bush administration backfired when their bluff was exposed in Iraq.

> Zarqawi and Ansar al-Islam may indeed have been allied to the Qaeda; since the US invasion of Iraq, Zarqawi has sought the Qaeda's help in organizing

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> resistance to the occupation. There was no evidence, however, that Ansar or Zarqawi had been cooperating with Hussein. On the contrary, Ansar was formed in 2001 for the purpose of overthrowing Hussein's regime and transforming Iraq into an Islamic state. It operated in an area of northern Iraq not under Baghdad's control. (Kaufman 2004: 18)

U.S. intelligence officials "had complained both privately and publicly that the evidence did not support administration claims" (Smith 2003). Powell retracted the Zarqawi claims in 2004. In contrast to the certainty asserted earlier, he now stated: "I have not seen smoking-gun, concrete evidence about the connection between Iraq and the Qaeda. But I think the possibility of such connections did exist, and it was prudent to consider them" (Marquis 2004).

Similarly, President Bush also had to admit that Iraq had no ties to the 9/11 attacks. Bush confessed in September 2003, "We've had no evidence that Saddam Hussein was involved with September the 11th" (Bush 2003d). But he maintained in 2004, that Hussein "had the capacity to make a weapon and let that weapon fall into the hands of a shadowy terrorist network" (Bush 2004b).

The official 9/11 Commission also reported in mid-2004 "to date we have seen no evidence that contacts between Iraqi officials and the Qaeda members ever developed into a collaborative operational relationship. Nor have we seen any evidence that Iraq cooperated with the Qaeda in developing or carrying out any attack against the United States" (9/11 Commission Report 2004: 66).

The idea of significant cooperation between Saddam Hussein and the Qaeda had always been "implausible, because the Iraqi Ba'athists were exactly the sort of secularists that Osama bin Laden blamed for the corruption of Muslim society and for its defeats at the hands of Christians and Jews." Bin Laden had consistently denounced Hussein in the strongest terms (Kaufman 2004: 19). Hussein, on the other hand, had limited his support for international terrorism to "payments to families of Palestinian suicide bombers, a practice also common in other Arab states" (Kaufman 2004: 19). Ironically, Syria, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan provided far more practical support to terrorism than did Hussein's Iraq (Risen 2002).

Thus, there was no basis at all for the allegations made by the Bush administration that Saddam Hussein would give weapons of mass destruction to terrorists who might use them against the United States. Still, public belief in the administration's prewar statements declined only slightly. In polls taken in April 2004, 47 percent still believed that "clear evidence that Iraq was supporting the Qaeda had been found in Iraq," while 36 percent thought that Hussein was personally involved in the 9/11 attacks (Kaufman 2004: 31-2.).

After the Invasion II: Where Have All the WMD Gone?

In March 2003, the United States sent special teams into Iraq to find Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction—the 75th Exploitation Task Force and

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the covert Task Force 20. In the first weeks of the war, high-ranking officials still pretended that the United States would find the WMD. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld even claimed, "They're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south, and north somewhat" (Rumsfeld 2003). That statement was a plain lie. In fact, despite the administration's repeated assertions about the great and growing threats from Iraqi arsenals, it soon became clear that the world's most dangerous weapons were not present in Iraq.

The failure of U.S. search teams to find evidence of a reconstituted Iraqi nuclear weapons program since 1991 have validated the IAEA prewar findings. The U.S. chief weapons inspector David Kay left Iraq in December 2003 and resigned from his post a month later. Apparently, he considered the search for alleged WMD to be a pointless waste of time. In early 2004, he gave countless interviews and speeches stating that Iraq had no weapons to find and that an enormous prewar intelligence failure had concurred. "We were all wrong," Kay confessed (quoted from Payne 2004:14–5). In July 2004, Kay declared that the Bush administration should abandon its "delusional hope" of finding such weapons in Iraq (Zakaria 2004).

His successor, Charles Duelfer, presented the final report of the Iraq Study Group in September 2004. It stated that while Saddam Hussein badly wanted various unconventional weapons, Iraq had destroyed its chemical stockpile and ended its nuclear program in 1991. In addition, the report says, Iraq had abandoned its biological program in 1996 after the destruction of its key research facility. The Duelfer report concluded that Hussein wanted such weapons to ensure Iraq's position in the Middle East and to threaten Iran—not to attack the United States (CIA 2004).

The Senate Select Committee of Intelligence concluded "the major key judgments in the NIE . . . either overstated, or were not supported by, the underlying intelligence provided to the Committee." Also, the committee felt that the NIE did not adequately explain the uncertainties surrounding the quality of the evidence. And it found that the conclusions of the intelligence community had reflected pessimistic biases and serious mistakes of tradecraft (Senate Select Committee 2004). "Analysts from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and other nongovernmental organizations that have reviewed the publicly available data also concluded that the case for war against Iraq was built on very weak evidence" (Payne 2004: 10).

In early 2004, President Bush had to admit in an address before the joint session of the Congress that hundreds of highly trained U.S. inspectors, the Iraq Survey Group, had only been able to assemble evidence of "dozens of weapons of mass destruction–related program activities" rather than actual Iraqi weapons or weapons-production infrastructure (Bush 2004a). More honestly, Colin Powell would later describe it in his speech on Iraq's possession of WMD to the UN Security Council as a "blot" on his professional career. When asked about the

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speech during an interview with Barbara Walters in September 2005, Powell said: "The speech will always be a part of my record. It was painful. It's painful now" (Powell 2005).

The Bush administration's claims that Iraq possessed large stocks of chemical and biological weapons and was continuing to produce them were also inflated. U.S. inspections after the 1991 showed that it was unlikely that Iraq had chemical or biological weapons or active weapons programs. In 2004, David Kay stated, "I don't think they existed" (quoted from Zakaria 2004).

Thus, none of Iraq's WMD programs operated at more than a planning level after the 1991 Gulf War. Again, the U.S. public was slow in accepting the fact that the Bush government had deliberately lied to them. In April 2004, polls indicated that 57 percent of Americans still believed that Iraq had possessed WMD, while 52 percent thought that Iraq still had WMD that had not yet been found (Kaufman 2004: 31).

Conclusion

The primary rationale for the U.S. attack on Iraq was Saddam Hussein's alleged nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons stockpiles and programs. Iraq's suspected connections to international terrorism also played an important role in justifying the U.S. action. The Bush administration had spent much of 2002 emphasizing the key role of Iraq in their "war on terror" to justify their plan to topple Saddam Hussein's government by military force. It deliberately—but erroneously—linked Saddam's Iraq with the terrorist attacks against the United States of 2001, knowing very well that a traumatized U.S. public would support retaliation against the terrorists responsible for the 9/11 atrocities. It portrayed Saddam Hussein as an evil madman bent on the destruction of the United States. The deception and the public lies of the Bush neoconservatives worked. In March 2003, a majority of Americans believed Saddam was responsible for 9/11 and thus supported the Iraq War.

The Bush government also inflated the threat resulting from Iraq's alleged WMD stockpiles and programs. According to Paul Wolfowitz, then deputy secretary of defense, the Bush administration "settled on the one issue that everyone could agree on which was weapons of mass destruction as the core reason for war" (Wolfowitz 2003). In retrospect, it seems clear that the Bush government greatly distorted the prewar debate about Iraq and overstated some of the intelligence community's key assessments of the Iraqi threat. The White House employed dubious rhetorical strategies that overemphasized alleged WMD in the public debate.

Despite the numerous public assertions by the Bush administration about great and growing threats from Iraqi arsenals, there were no WMD in Iraq. The case for war against Iraq was built on very weak evidence. President Bush was

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certainly aware of this fact. In December 2002, when he received a full briefing on the quality of the intelligence on Iraq, Bush was unimpressed. "It's not something that Joe Public would understand," he said and asked CIA Director George Tenet if this was "the best we've got." Reportedly, Bush was told: "It's a slam dunk case" (Woodward 2004: 247–50).

By greatly exaggerating the status of the Iraqi WMD program, the Bush administration deliberately misled the general public and mass media. Why did the American public and media uncritically buy the "war propaganda" of the Bush government? The shock of the 9/11 atrocities created a crisis atmosphere that reduced public skepticism about both diagnoses of threats and proposed solutions. The Bush administration played with these post-9/11 fears. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, for example, explained in his UN speech on February 5, 2003: "Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post-September 11th word" (Powell 2003).

Still, the Iraq War was a "war by choice," not a "war by necessity." When the bombs began falling on Iraq on March 20, 2003, the Bush administration aimed at regime change and implementing their (unrealistic) vision of a democratic Greater Middle East. Disarmament and WMD was not in the forefront of U.S. thinking. The IAEA had made clear after their onsite inspections from January to March 2003 that Iraq did not pose an immediate threat. But it would take a few years and the loss of more than 4,000 U.S. soldiers (not to mention the lost lives of soldiers who allied with the United States) in the Iraq War, until the majority of Americans began to realize that the Bush government had manipulated the U.S. public by playing the 9/11 card to sell the Iraq War. And some administration officials continued to use the prewar claims after the invasion and against all evidence. Vice President Dick Cheney, for example, still declared in April 2004 that there was "conclusive evidence that Hussein did have programs for weapons of mass destruction" as well as "overwhelming evidence that there was a connection between the Qaeda and the Iraqi government" (Cheney 2004).

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