# Chapter 7 Ultranationalism and Crimes against Humanity

Figure 7-1 On August 6, 1945, an American plane dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. About 70 000 people died instantly, and the city lay in ruins. The photograph at the bottom shows the mushroom cloud created by the bomb. The building in the photograph at the top left was the closest structure to the blast to remain standing — and its ruins have been preserved and transformed into the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (bottom right). On August 6 every year, people commemorate the devastating event by floating paper lanterns on the river that flows past the memorial.

## CHAPTER ISSUE

**To what extent can the pursuit of ultranationalism lead to crimes against humanity?**

In May 1945, Germany surrendered and the Second World War was over in Europe. But Japanese troops were still fighting in the Pacific, though they had been falling back. American leaders were preparing to invade Japan in the fall of 1945. Many Americans believed that the Japanese commanders were so dedicated that they would never surrender. If they fought to the bitter end, millions of Japanese civilians and soldiers, as well as thousands of Americans, would die.

So on August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki — and Japan surrendered. World War II was completely over.

No American lives were lost in the bombings, but the damage to the two Japanese cities was on a scale the world had never seen before.

Examine the photographs on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- What do you feel when you look at the photograph of the destruction of Hiroshima?
- Invade Japan or drop the atomic bombs? Were these the only alternatives available to American leaders? Was there another way World War II could have been ended quickly?
- Was dropping the atomic bombs an appropriate response to Japanese ultranationalism?
- Was dropping the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki an act of ultranationalism?

**KEY TERMS**

**genocide**

**crimes against humanity**

**war crimes**

**Holocaust**

**ethnic cleansing**

### Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which ultranationalism and crimes against humanity are related:

- What are crimes against humanity?
- How has ultranationalism caused crimes against humanity?
- What are some contemporary consequences of ultranationalism?

## My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the journal entry you made at the beginning of Chapter 6. Has your understanding of nationalism changed since then? Explain how. Using words or pictures — or both — express your current ideas on nationalism and ultranationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

## What are crimes against humanity?

**Voices**

We knew the world would not be the same . . . I remembered the line from the Hindu scripture, the Bhagavad-Gita. Vishnu is trying to persuade the Prince that he should do his duty and to impress him [Vishnu] takes on his multi-armed form and says, "Now, I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds." I suppose we all thought that one way or another.

*— J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the American project that developed the atom bomb, when he heard about Hiroshima, 1945*

People's dedication to their nation can help it grow and prosper, and strong, charismatic leaders can instill feelings of pride. But passionate nationalism and strong leaders can also lead to the excesses of ultranationalism when one group of people commits crimes against other groups.

When Japanese soldiers invaded the Chinese city of Nanjing in 1937, for example, they murdered an estimated 300 000 men, women, and children on orders from the highest ranks of the Japanese military. Nanjing's streets were littered with dead bodies.

Years later, Hong Guiying, a survivor of the massacre, told her story: "I was only seven when the Japanese troops invaded Nanjing, and my family lived at Jishan Village at that time. I saw with my own eyes the Japanese army killing many people of Nanjing with bayonets. Both my father and uncle were killed by Japanese army with bayonet[s]. The house of my family was burnt, and the cattle for plowing was seized away. Many of our neighbors were killed."

Figure 7-2 A mother and child sit amid the destruction in Hiroshima four months after the bomb was dropped. Many of those who lived through the atomic blast died later of starvation or radiation sickness.

In the closing days of World War II, American scientists like J. Robert Oppenheimer, who is quoted in "Voices," developed an atomic bomb. The United States dropped two of these bombs on Japanese cities, and by the end of 1945, up to 140 000 Japanese people had died. In later years, radiation from the bomb continued to make people sick, and thousands more died of leukemia and other forms of cancer.

Hiroshi Sawachika, a doctor, estimated that on the day of the bombing, he treated up to 3000 victims in his hospital on the outskirts of Hiroshima. "I felt as if once that day started, it never ended," Sawachika recalled later. "I had to keep on and on treating the patients forever . . . I learned that the nuclear weapons which gnaw the minds and bodies of human beings should never be used. Even the slightest idea [of] using nuclear arms should be completely exterminated [from] the minds of human beings. Otherwise, we will repeat the same tragedy. And we will never stop being ashamed of ourselves."

The massacre in Nanjing and the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan, along with other horrific events, have fuelled a debate over how the world should respond.

## Naming the Crimes

Events like the massacre that occurred in Nanjing sparked many of the countries that belong to the United Nations to agree on definitions of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

- **Genocide** refers to the killing of members of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; and deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction.
- **Crimes against humanity** refers to widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population — murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape or sexual slavery, enforced disappearance of persons, and the crime of apartheid.
- **War crimes** refers to wilful killing, torture, or inhuman treatment; wilfully causing great suffering; and intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population or against those who are involved in a humanitarian or peacekeeping mission.

These definitions were written by the International Criminal Court, a permanent court that was conceived by the UN in 1998 and supported by many countries, including Canada. With specific legal definitions of these crimes, the ICC can both try and judge people accused of "the most serious crimes of international concern."

Although the ICC is an international court, the countries that support it believe they are operating in their national interest. Peace in the world and security of persons are considered to be in the interest of all countries — and, by extension, so is bringing to justice those who break the peace and deny people's security of person.

With a partner, discuss what Canadian national interests are served by the country's support of the ICC. Develop a statement that supports or opposes Canada's commitment to the ICC — and explain the reasons for your judgment.


In the twentieth century, genocide and mass murders — all crimes against humanity — have killed an estimated 60 million men, women and children — more than were killed in battlefields in all the wars from 1900 to 2000.

*— Barbara Coloroso, author and educator, in* Extraordinary Evil: A Brief History of Genocide, *2007*

How would arriving at definitions of terms like "genocide," "crimes against humanity," and "war crimes" make a difference?

Figure 7-3 Estimated Victims of Genocide and Mass Murders in the 20th Century

| National Group | Number Killed |
|---|---|
| Armenians | 1.5 million |
| Bengalis | 1.5 million |
| Burundians | 250 000 |
| Cambodians | 1.7 million |
| Chinese | 25 million |
| East Timorese | 200 000 |
| Guatemalans | 200 000 |
| Ibos | 1 million |
| Indonesians | 500 000 |
| Jews | 6 million |

| National Group | Number Killed |
|---|---|
| Kosovars | 10 000 |
| North Koreans | 2 million |
| Roma and Sinti | 250 000 |
| Russians | 25 million |
| Rwandans | 800 000 |
| Slavs | 6 million |
| Sudanese | 2 million |
| Ugandans | 500 000 |
| Ukrainians | 3 million |

Source: Genocide Watch, 2008

## Ultranationalism and Crimes against Humanity


Hate has a nearly limitless ability to dehumanize its victims, shutting down the most basic human capacities for sympathy and compassion.

*— Rush W. Dozier Jr., journalist and author, in* Why We Hate, *2002*

Just as nationalism can lead to ultranationalism, ultranationalism can lead to racism and to treating people as if they are less than human. A bigot or racist who treats a particular group of people with contempt may have taken the first step toward treating members of the entire group inhumanely.

Ultranationalists may start by segregating the people they despise, perhaps by excluding them from certain areas, forcing them to live in ghettos, and denying their rights as citizens. The movements of victims of bigotry and racism are often restricted, and they may be pushed to the margins of society and blamed for things that go wrong in a country. Their culture is often destroyed, and they may be deported from their homeland and even murdered. In an ultranationalist state, laws allow actions like these to be carried out as official government policy.

Create a diagram that shows how nationalism, ultranationalism, and racism can be connected.

Bigots and racists are often afraid of the truth. The Turkish journalist Hrant Dink, for example, was killed because he told the story of the Armenian genocide that had taken place during World War I. In Turkey, official state policy denies that this massacre took place and the law makes it a crime to speak of the Armenian genocide.

Figure 7-4 In 1944, these Jewish women and children had just arrived at the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. They had been classified by the Nazis as "not fit for work" and waited in a field outside Crematorium IV. They were killed shortly after this picture was taken. Most of the people who entered Auschwitz had little idea of the fate that awaited them.

In ultranationalist states, genocide and crimes against humanity are state-sponsored acts of murder. The murderers believe that these acts promote their national interest. But although the laws that exclude ethnic groups or condemn them to death may be state policy, the crimes are carried out by individuals and the victims are individuals. The child in the centre of Figure 7-4 had a name and a family. The German soldiers who carried out the killings at Auschwitz-Birkenau also had names and families.

### Reflect and Respond

Revisit your responses to the questions (p. 159) that opened this chapter. On the basis of the definitions of crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes, as well as what you have read and discussed so far, do you wish to revise your answers to any of the questions? Explain why or why not.

# How has ultranationalism caused crimes against humanity?

In the past, ultranationalist sentiments and beliefs have caused people to commit crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes. Some nation-states — including Germany, Turkey, Japan, and the Soviet Union — had approved these crimes and created policies that encouraged them. As a result, some ethnic nations have nearly disappeared.

Around the world, people study these crimes to try to understand why they happened and what can be done to ensure that they do not happen again.

Peer pressure involves the desire to feel a sense of belonging by going along with group actions. To what extent do you think peer pressure is a factor in motivating ordinary people to commit crimes against humanity, genocide, or war crimes? Explain your judgment.

**Web Connection**

To find out more about individuals and organizations that are working to prevent genocide, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Is a nation that refuses to acknowledge guilt for crimes against humanity doomed to repeat these crimes?

## Genocide in Turkey — 1915

In the early 20th century, the country that emerged as Turkey in 1922 was still part of the Ottoman Empire. Islam was the official religion, but the empire included many Armenians. Most Armenians were Christians who had maintained their national identity, language, and culture even though they had lived under Ottoman rule for hundreds of years. As a result of their choice to affirm their identity, Armenians often suffered discrimination. In the late 1800s, some Armenian nationalists began fighting for self-determination. They lost this fight, and the Turks killed thousands in the aftermath.

Turkish nationalism became more extreme during World War I, as Turks fought on the side of Germany against the British, Russians, and their allies. When some Armenian nationalists sided with the Russians, they were branded traitors.

**CheckBack**

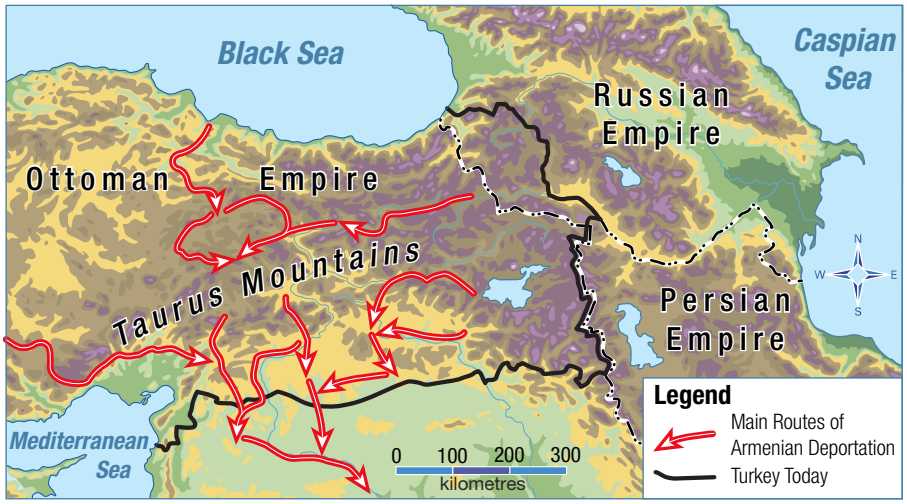
You read about the rise of Turkish nationalism in Chapter 1.

Examine the map in Figure 7-5. Why might some Armenian nationalists look to Russia as a natural ally?

In 1914, the Young Turks — an ultranationalist political party that controlled the Ottoman-Turkish government — issued orders calling for the massacre of Armenians. The orders, which are often called the "Ten Commandments," included the following instructions:

- Apply measures to exterminate all males under 50, priests, and teachers; leave girls and children to be Islamized.
- Carry away the families of all who succeed in escaping and apply measures to cut them off from all connection with their native place.
- Kill off in an appropriate manner all Armenians in the army — this to be left to the military to do.

Figure 7-5 Routes of Armenian Forced Marches, 1915



## State-Sponsored Crimes

VOICES

There was a place near Mush where three rivers come together and pass under a bridge . . . My mother went there . . . and saw hundreds of our men lined up on the bridge, face to face. Then the soldiers shot at them from both sides . . . The Turks took the clothes and valuables off the bodies and then they took the bodies by the hands and feet and threw them into the water.

*— Mayreni Kaloustian, Armenian genocide survivor, 1992*

On April 24, 1915, Turkish soldiers began carrying out the orders they had been given. Armenian community leaders were arrested. Hundreds of thousands were murdered, and the army began the forced deportation of many more. Without food or water, people were forced to walk over mountains and through barren regions toward Syria and the present-day country of Iraq. Though some Turks tried to help and shelter Armenians, fewer than 100 000 of the country's 2 million Armenians survived the slaughter.

Henry Morgenthau Sr. was the American ambassador to Constantinople, now Istanbul. Morgenthau and other foreign observers witnessed and documented the events. In letters to Washington, Morgenthau called the marches a "new method of massacre," with caravans of Armenians "winding in and out of every valley and climbing up the sides of nearly every mountain — moving on and on, they scarcely knew whither, except that every road led to death."

During the war, France and Britain pledged to hold the Ottoman government responsible for the deaths of the Armenians. But after the war, little was done. Turkey did find some of the leaders guilty of murder, but they had all escaped to Germany by the time the trial was held in 1919.

Figure 7-6 In 2005, Armenians and others rallied in various cities around the world to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the genocide. At a rally in New York City, Anne Zartarian held a picture of her father as a child with his two siblings, who both died in the genocide. Why might it be important to Armenians that the genocide be recognized? Why might it be important to Turks to deny that it happened?

## Recognizing the Armenian Genocide

Today, many people label this massacre of Armenians a genocide. Canada was one of the first countries to officially support this designation. In 2004, Parliament adopted a motion that said, "This House acknowledges the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemns this act as a crime against humanity."

The Turkish government admits that many Armenians died in 1915 and 1916, but it denies that the deaths were planned. Turkish officials say that the deaths were caused by inter-ethnic violence and the war.

British journalist Robert Fisk, who has studied the Middle East extensively, says that many Germans witnessed the Armenian genocide, because Germany and Turkey were allies during World War I. Fisk believes that this genocide — and the lack of international action to bring to justice those responsible — provided the model that Adolf Hitler drew on when he initiated the genocide of Jews during World War II. In *The Great War for Civilisation*, Fisk reported that Hitler told a newspaper editor as early as 1931, "We intend to introduce a great resettlement policy . . . remember the extermination of the Armenians."

## Famine in Ukraine — 1932–1933

Before the Russian Revolution of 1917, much of Ukraine had been ruled by Russia for nearly 150 years. During the 19th century, Ukrainian nationalism was on the rise, and in 1918, after the revolution, Ukraine tried unsuccessfully to declare independence.

Large areas of Ukraine are ideal for growing wheat, and the region was known as the breadbasket of Europe. Prosperous *kulaks* — farmers who owned land and livestock — were among the strongest supporters of the independence movement. But when Joseph Stalin took control of the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, he decreed that Ukraine's farmland was to belong to the state and that the people were to work the land on collective farms. Many *kulaks* resisted, often by burning their crops and killing their livestock rather than turn them over to the state.

Stalin responded in 1932 by shipping the Ukrainian wheat crop to Russia. Much of this wheat was then sold in foreign markets to raise the cash Stalin needed to build the Soviet army and carry out his plans to modernize the country. Stalin then sealed Ukraine's borders — no one could get out to buy food and no food could get in.

Soviet troops seized the seed grain and remaining food on Ukrainian farms. Anyone caught hiding grain or not co-operating was either executed or deported to forced-labour camps. By the end of 1933, Soviet granaries were full of Ukrainian wheat but between three and seven million Ukrainians had starved to death or been killed by Soviet authorities.

Rumours about the disaster circulated, but Soviet authorities censored news reports, and few outsiders knew what was happening. In fact, as Ukrainians were dying, Western newspapers were praising Stalin's drive to modernize the Soviet Union.

Some people believe that contemporary mass communication systems will make genocide impossible. Write an e-mail or text message responding to this position.

Figure 7-7 Halyna Panasiuk, who now lives in Winnipeg, lived through the famine in Ukraine. At the age of nine, she became used to seeing the dead in her village of Horbinci. She told her story in a 2007 documentary film, saying, "I want people to know the truth because there are still people who are denying what happened. I lived it."

Figure 7-8 In November 2005, Ukrainians gathered at a monument in Kiev, Ukraine's capital, to remember victims of the famine of the 1930s. Why would it be important to Ukrainians to build a memorial like this to honour those who died in the famine?

### Recognizing the Ukrainian Genocide

Stalin always denied that he had deliberately starved the Ukrainian people. And even after his death in 1953, Soviet leaders continued to deny that the famine was caused by the state. In November 2006, the Ukrainian parliament declared that the *Holodomor* — the famine plague — was an act of genocide against Ukrainians. But Russia does not accept this judgment.

Still, many historians agree that Soviet policies caused the Ukrainian famine. In 2003, the Canadian Senate adopted a motion calling on the federal government to recognize the famine as a genocide, and in 2007, the Manitoba government declared that it was a genocide.

# Shoah — The Holocaust

IMPACT

In 1938, Josef Pitel of Parczev, Poland, was preparing to immigrate to Israel. Before he left, family members gathered for the photograph shown in Figure 7-9. The Pitels were Jews — and when the Nazis invaded Poland, they rounded up the Pitels, along with hundreds of thousands of other Polish Jews, and sent them to Treblinka, a death camp. There, the Pitels were murdered in 1943. At the end of the war, Josef was the only family member still alive.

Figure 7-9 Josef Pitel, the man standing at the right in this family photograph, immigrated to Israel just before the outbreak of World War II. Of the 26 people in the photograph, Pitel was the only survivor. He carried this photograph to Israel with him, and it is now part of Jerusalem's Yad Vashem museum archive of images and names of those who died in the Holocaust.

## Genocide

The **Holocaust** — or *Shoah* in Hebrew — is the term used to describe the genocide of about six million Jews during World War II. When the war began, about nine million Jews lived in the 21 countries that were invaded by Germany. Only about three million of these Jews were still alive in 1945.

The ultranationalistic dream of Adolf Hitler, the Nazi dictator, was to build a German empire of pure Aryans. "Aryans" was the word the Nazis used to describe members of the white race. In addition to Jews, the Nazis persecuted and killed millions of Roma and Slav peoples, Communists, homosexual men, people with disabilities, Freemasons, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

## International Response to the Threat

During the 1930s, the rest of the world largely ignored what was happening in Germany. Many countries were struggling with the Great Depression. They wanted to avoid war and did not consider intervening to be in their national interest.

In addition, anti-Semitism was common in many countries, including Canada. In early 1939, for example, more than 900 Jewish refugees tried to flee Germany on a ship named the *St. Louis*. Canada was one of the countries where they tried to land, but no country was willing to accept them.

Frederick Blair, who oversaw immigration in Canada, explained the country's refusal. "If these Jews were to find a home [in Canada], they would likely be followed by other shiploads," he said. "No country could open its doors wide enough to take in the hundreds of thousands of Jewish people who want to leave Europe: the line must be drawn somewhere." In the end, the *St. Louis* was sent back to Europe, where many of its passengers died in Nazi death camps.

Still, people in some countries did intervene. The city of Shanghai in China, for example, accepted tens of thousands of Jewish refugees. And many people in German-occupied Denmark hid Jews at great personal risk and smuggled thousands to safety in neutral Sweden.

## Growing Awareness

As World War II dragged on, the international community learned more about the genocide. In August 1942, Gerhart Riegner, the United States' representative at the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, told his government that the Nazis intended to exterminate all the Jews of Europe. At first, Riegner was not believed, and even after his information was verified, little was done to help the thousands who were dying in the camps every day.

Some people argued that the Allies should bomb the camps and the rail lines leading to them. But others said that doing this would also kill the Jewish people in the camps and on the trains.

In April 1945, Allied forces liberated the German death camps, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Buchenwald, and Bergen-Belsen. The liberators found thousands of prisoners suffering from disease and starvation. In some camps, bodies had been piled in the open and left unburied. It was clear that these camps had been used for the sole purpose of killing people. Around the world, people learned the extent of the horror through photographs and radio and newspaper reports.

## Why Remembering Matters

In 1986, Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel won the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in the cause of peace and human rights. In his acceptance speech, Wiesel remembered family members, teachers, and friends who had died at the hands of Nazi ultranationalists. He spoke of why remembering genocide matters.

> I remember: it happened yesterday, or eternities ago. A young Jewish boy discovered the Kingdom of Night. I remember his bewilderment, I remember his anguish. It all happened so fast. The ghetto. The deportation. The sealed cattle car. The fiery altar upon which the history of our people and the future of mankind were meant to be sacrificed.
>
> I remember he asked his father: "Can this be true? This is the 20th century, not the Middle Ages. Who would allow such crimes to be committed? How could the world remain silent?"
>
> And now the boy is turning to me. "Tell me," he asks, "what have you done with my future, what have you done with your life?" And I tell him that I have tried. That I have tried to keep memory alive, that I have tried to fight those who would forget. Because if we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.
>
> And then I explain to him how naïve we were, that the world did know and remained silent. And that is why I swore never to be silent whenever wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Wherever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must – at that moment – become the center of the universe.

Figure 7-10 Elie Wiesel stands in front of a photograph of himself and other prisoners. The picture was taken by an American soldier five days after Buchenwald was liberated. Wiesel, who was 17 at the time, is in the bottom right-hand corner of the picture, which now hangs in the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem.

## Explorations

1. Do the responses of Canada and the international community to the treatment of Jews before and during World War II affect your view of Canada as a caring country? Explain why or why not.
2. Should the many governments and individuals who did nothing to stop the persecution of Jews and others in Germany be considered guilty of crimes against humanity? Explain your response.
3. The guards at the Nazi death camps, the contractors who built the death chambers, the clerks who registered the numbers tattooed on every Jew, and many more people involved in Adolf Hitler's extermination program were all ordinary citizens with spouses, children, mothers, fathers, boyfriends, girlfriends, and neighbours. With this in mind, explain whether you think similar crimes against humanity could happen in Canada. Provide reasons for your judgment.

## The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — 1945

Policies designed to support national interest are often intended to protect the physical security of a nation and its people, to ensure their economic stability and prosperity, and to protect and promote their values, beliefs, and culture.

Many people argued that dropping the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 was in the United States' national interest. Some U.S. military experts had estimated that as many as 250 000 Americans might die in an invasion of Japan. These experts warned that ultranationalist warrior values would prevent Japanese soldiers and civilians from surrendering — and that dropping the bombs would save American and Japanese lives.

**CheckBack**

You read about aspects of national interest and national policies in Chapter 5.

U.S. president Harry S. Truman made the final decision to drop the bombs. Truman believed that it was important to use every weapon at his disposal to end the war and save as many lives as possible. In an address to the country immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima, he said that the United States would completely destroy Japan's power to wage war only if American forces destroyed "every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city." These enterprises included docks, factories, and communication systems.

*Should U.S. President Harry S. Truman have been accused of war crimes for dropping the two atomic bombs on Japan?*

Some of the scientists who had been involved in building the atomic bomb asked Truman to warn Japan about what was coming. They suggested demonstrating the bomb's enormous destructive force in an uninhabited place — perhaps in Tokyo Bay — so that Japanese leaders would realize the weapon's potential.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had commanded the victorious Allied forces in Europe and who would go on to become president, disagreed with Truman's decision to drop the bomb. Eisenhower told Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson that he had grave misgivings about the action. He believed that Japan was already defeated and said, "Our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was . . . no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives."

Were these bombings an act justified by war — or were they criminal acts? Explain your response.

Figure 7-11 This cemetery in Hiroshima holds the remains of those who died as a result of the atom bomb that was dropped on the city on August 6, 1945.

# THE VIEW FROM HERE

Arguments about whether dropping an atomic bomb on civilians was justified began even before the *Enola Gay*, a B-29 Superfortress bomber, dropped the first bomb on Hiroshima at 8:16 a.m. on August 6, 1945. Since then, the debate over whether dropping this bomb was in the national interest of the United States — or of humanity — has continued.

**Leó Szilárd**, an American physicist of Hungarian descent, was involved in the Manhattan Project, the program that developed the atom bomb. He made the following remarks in a 1960 interview with *U.S. News and World Report*.

> Let me say only this much to the moral issue involved: Suppose Germany had developed two bombs before we had any bombs. And suppose Germany had dropped one bomb, say, on Rochester and the other on Buffalo, and then having run out of bombs she would have lost the war. Can anyone doubt that we would then have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and that we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them?

In 1995, **Mitsuo Okamoto**, a professor of peace studies at Shudo University in Hiroshima, made these comments when a controversy erupted in the United States over the Smithsonian Institution's plans to exhibit the *Enola Gay* and photographs of victims of the atomic bomb. Some American war veterans protested portraying the Japanese people as victims.

> If it is difficult for a defeated nation like Japan to admit her sins, it must be far more difficult for a victorious nation like the U.S. to admit. To show the *Enola Gay* without showing the tragedy of Hiroshima is to blind people to history. To show Hiroshima without showing Japanese aggression of Asian countries is to abandon historical responsibility.

**Oliver Kamm** is a British journalist whose columns appear in *The Guardian*. The following excerpt is from a column he wrote on August 6, 2006, the 51st anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing.

> Hiroshima and Nagasaki are often used as a shorthand term for war crimes. That is not how they were judged at the time. Our side did terrible things to avoid a more terrible outcome. The bomb was a deliverance for American troops, for prisoners and slave labourers, for those dying of hunger and maltreatment throughout the Japanese empire – and for Japan itself. One of Japan's highest wartime officials, Kido Koichi, later testified that in his view the August surrender prevented 20 million Japanese casualties.

## Explorations

1. Create a T-chart like the one shown and list arguments for and against dropping the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

| Arguments for and against Dropping the Atomic Bombs | |
|---|---|
| For | Against |
| | |

2. Which side — for or against — do you believe is supported by stronger arguments? Explain the reasons for your judgment.
3. Since the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the world's nuclear powers have been involved in many wars, but nuclear weapons have never again been used in warfare. Why might a nuclear power involved in a war decide that it is not in its national interest to use nuclear weapons?

# What are some contemporary consequences of ultranationalism?

Since the end of World War II, many countries have tried to find ways to eliminate the extreme forms of nationalism that lead to crimes against humanity and genocide. They realize that it is in all countries' — and all peoples' — national interest to eliminate these crimes because they threaten the peace, security, and well-being of all peoples in all countries.

## Bringing Criminals to Justice

After the League of Nations failed to prevent the horrors of World War II, world leaders were determined to create an international body that would preserve peace in the world. They believed that a forum where conflicts could be resolved peacefully was in every nation's interest — and the United Nations emerged from these discussions.

In 1945, the UN was in its infancy and had no permanent court to try war criminals. As a result, the victorious Allies set up the international military tribunals that tried German and Japanese individuals and government organizations for crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

Since then, the UN has been criticized for taking too long to respond to situations in which ultranationalist states or groups within states commit crimes against humanity. For the UN, trying to accommodate the demands of all its member countries — each focused on its own national interests — has been a challenge. Although the UN's founding principles are designed to prevent crimes that are often motivated by ultranationalism, some people believe that the UN has failed to deal with contemporary cases of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

### The International Criminal Court

In 1948, the UN established a committee to work toward creating an international criminal court, a task that took more than 50 years to complete. One of the chief stumbling blocks was the debate over how the court would operate without infringing the sovereignty of member states. Persuading countries to agree on the laws the court would be responsible for enforcing was another challenge.

The statute creating the International Criminal Court was finally signed by 60 countries in 2002. By early 2008, 45 more countries had signed on. The ICC is sponsored by, but operates independently of, the UN. It is a court of last resort, which means that it will not act if those accused of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes are tried fairly in a national court.

Examine Figure 7-12. The United States, China, and many other countries have not recognized the ICC and refuse to co-operate with it. With a partner, suggest reasons that might explain this choice. Work with your partner to develop two arguments that might persuade these countries to change their mind.

Web Connection

To find out more about the development of the International Criminal Court and Canada's contribution to the process, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 7-12 Signatories to the International Criminal Court Statute

| Some Signatories |
|---|
| Afghanistan |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| Cambodia |
| Canada |
| France |
| Germany |
| Japan |
| Britain |

| Some Non-Signatories |
|---|
| China |
| India |
| Indonesia |
| Pakistan |
| Turkey |
| United States |

## Crimes against Humanity in the Former Yugoslavia

At the Paris Peace Conference of 1918–1919, various nations in the area known as the Balkans were merged into a single country called Yugoslavia. Though these nations often shared a history of bitter fighting with one another, their peoples coexisted more or less peacefully until the early 1990s.

By the late 20th century, Yugoslavia was a tightly controlled communist state. When the Soviet Union started to collapse in the late 1980s, nationalist and ultranationalist sentiments bubbled to the surface. In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, and Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina followed in 1992. Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the leadership of the Serbian ultranationalist Slobodan Milošević.

Figure 7-13 Yugoslavia, 1990


### Serbian Ultranationalists and the Siege of Sarajevo

Slobodan Milošević believed that Serbs formed an ethnic nation and that everyone else should be expelled from Serbian territory. He called the expulsion process **ethnic cleansing**, a code word or euphemism designed to make what was happening seem more socially acceptable. But in reality, Serbs were killing non-Serbs. Milošević also sent Serbian forces to help ultranationalist Bosnian Serbs drive non-Serbs out of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There, non-Serbs were harassed. They were not allowed to meet in public places, move to another town without permission, or travel by car.

Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had once been an integrated city where Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Muslims lived and worked together. But soon after Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence, Serbian ultranationalist forces besieged the city. The siege continued until February 1996. During that time, citizens faced constant bombardments and sniper attacks. Internationally renowned centres of Muslim culture — including the National and University Library and the Oriental Institute — were destroyed.

In June 1992, the United Nations Security Council warned Serbian forces to stop attacking Sarajevo — or face military action. Although UN peacekeepers were sent to the country and tried to deliver humanitarian relief and establish safe areas where people were protected, the killing continued. The UN forces had been ordered to remain neutral so they could continue to get food to the besieged city.

Some people believed that the UN did not do enough to stop the massacre of the citizens of Sarajevo. By the time the siege was finally lifted on February 29, 1996, the death toll in the city had risen to more than 11 000.

Figure 7-14 In 1993, these women were running across a Sarajevo street nicknamed "Sniper Alley." Serb nationalist forces on the hills around the city shot at civilians as they tried to go about their daily lives.

**Web Connection**

To find out the latest developments at the Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

In 1993, the UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. In 2002, Milošević was put on trial for genocide and crimes against humanity, but he died before the end of his trial. The tribunal charged Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serb leader, and Ratko Mladić, Karadžić's army chief, with similar crimes, but the two remained at large in early 2008.

General Dragomir Milošević — no relation to Slobodan Milošević — had commanded the Bosnian Serb forces that besieged Sarajevo. In 2007, the tribunal found him guilty of five counts of murder, inflicting terror, and committing inhumane acts. He was sentenced to 33 years in prison.

**MAKING A DIFFERENCE**

# Louise Arbour
## Speaking Out for Human Rights

MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE

When Montréal-born Francophone Louise Arbour was appointed chief prosecutor of the international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in 1996, she faced an uphill battle. The tribunals had made little progress in bringing to justice those accused of genocide, and some critics questioned whether Arbour would be able to change this situation.

But by the time she stepped down in 1999, Arbour had silenced her critics. On her watch, Slobodan Milošević and others on various sides of the conflicts had been charged with genocide and crimes against humanity for their roles in the killings. In September 2007, Arbour said that the significance of the charges "was to really capture the world's attention on this new tool that the international community had equipped itself with, which is the law, international criminal law." Arbour also spearheaded efforts to establish the permanent International Criminal Court.

In 1999, she left the UN when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed her to the Supreme Court of Canada. In 2004, she left the Supreme Court to serve a four-year term as the UN's high commissioner for human rights.

As high commissioner, Arbour's job was to investigate human rights violations. She condemned, for example, the American government's treatment of terrorism suspects in its Guantanamo Bay prison, saying that holding prisoners there without trial violates their human rights.

Figure 7-15 As chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Louise Arbour carried out investigations in the field. In this photograph, she and a team of forensic experts view the grave of a teenage girl who was allegedly executed by Serb forces in Celine, Kosovo. This girl was among 57 village residents whose bodies were thrown into nine graves after they were allegedly executed.

Arbour's passionate stand on this and many other human rights issues earned criticism from various quarters, but human rights groups supported her enthusiastically. A spokesperson for Amnesty International, for example, said that the criticism was a tribute to her work: "She's been outspoken. She's been unflinching in challenging human rights violations in big and powerful countries as well as in countries not so big and not so powerful."

## Explorations

1. Comment on Louise Arbour's belief that international criminal law is an effective tool in fighting crimes against humanity.
2. Create a motto that captures Arbour's passion for human rights.

## Crimes against Humanity in Rwanda

**CheckForward**

You will read more about Rwanda and Roméo Dallaire in Chapter 10.

The country now known as Rwanda is home to two ethnic groups: Hutus and Tutsis. Although Hutus formed the majority, Tutsis held much of the political power — because they were favoured by the Belgians, who had controlled the country when it was a colony.

After Rwanda gained independence in 1962, this imbalance in power sparked decades of civil conflict. Eventually, the majority Hutus gained control of the country, but the struggle between the two groups continued. Many Rwandans can neither read nor write, and radio is the most popular form of mass communication. Hutu ultranationalists used this medium to wage a propaganda campaign against Tutsis. Some broadcasts urged killing all Tutsis, and specific people were sometimes labelled enemies of the nation and singled out as targets of death squads. Once these "enemies" had been murdered, their killers were often congratulated on air.

In 1993, the United Nations sent a small force of 2600 soldiers under the command of Canadian general Roméo Dallaire to keep the peace in Rwanda. But in April 1994, an airplane carrying President Juvénal Habyarimana was shot down. Though the assailants were never identified, Hutus blamed Tutsi extremists — and an orgy of killing followed. By the time the slaughter stopped, an estimated 800 000 people — about 10 per cent of Rwanda's population — had been murdered. More than 90 per cent of the dead were Tutsis.

The small group of UN peacekeepers had been powerless to stop the slaughter. Dallaire had repeatedly asked the UN for more help, but his pleas were rejected. UN members still believed that the role of peacekeepers was to prevent conflict between countries rather than to interfere in internal conflicts — even to protect the lives of innocent civilians. Later, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who was UN secretary-general at the time of the genocide, said that the organization's lack of action was one of the greatest failures of his life.

The genocide in Rwanda raised fundamental questions about the role of the UN and how far it should go to prevent genocide. This genocide also helped generate support for a permanent international criminal court.

Figure 7-16 Rwanda

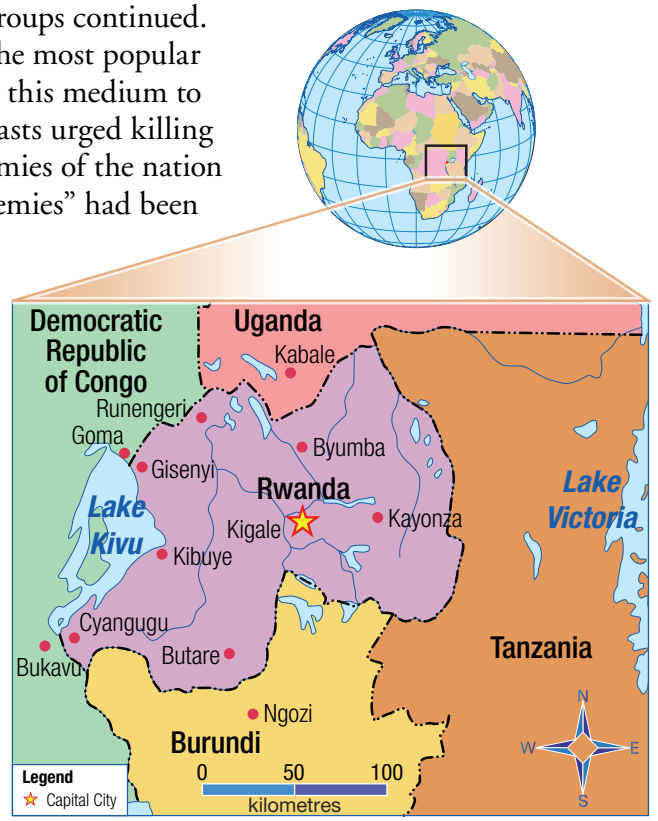



Figure 7-17 At one time, government-issued identity cards like the one held by this man labelled people Tutsi or Hutu. The cards, which were abolished in 2004, were introduced by the Belgians, who controlled Rwanda after World War I. During the genocide, Hutu killing squads used the cards to help them identify Tutsi victims.

# Analysing Cause-and-Effect Relationships



This chapter has explored how various aspects of ultranationalism have caused genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes — in Turkey, Ukraine, Nazi-occupied Europe, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Rwanda. You have also explored various effects of those crimes and genocides.

When Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana's plane was shot down in April 1994, for example, the Hutu slaughter of Tutsis began. But was Habyarimana's death the sole cause of the genocide?

When considering how to respond to the question, ask yourself questions like these:

- To what extent were aspects of Hutu ultranationalism a cause of the genocide?
- How much did the hate messages broadcast on radio contribute to the mass murders?
- What role was played by the identity cards introduced by the Belgian colonial ruler?

Considering these questions can help you understand how complex cause-and-effect relationships can be. The following steps can help you sort out these complexities.

## Steps to Analyzing Cause-and-Effect Relationships

### Step 1: Review what you know

Work with a small group to respond to the following questions, which will help you clarify your current opinions and assumptions. As you discuss your responses, refer to examples you have read about in this chapter, as well as relevant notes from your journal on nationalism. Assign a record keeper to keep track of the group's ideas.

- How is ultranationalism related to genocide and crimes against humanity? How can various aspects of ultranationalism become causes of these crimes?
- Which is the most powerful cause of crimes against humanity? Which is the deadliest cause?
- How did aspects of ultranationalism actually move the perpetrators of the crimes toward their goal? What, for example, are the consequences of treating a targeted group with contempt? How can contempt progress to inhumanity and even to genocide?
- What were the immediate effects of the crimes against humanity or genocide? What were the long-term effects?

### Step 2: Trace the causes and effects

From this chapter, select one example of a genocide or crime against humanity. Each group member should choose a different example. Work on your own to analyze how aspects of ultranationalism caused the example you chose and led to some of the effects of that crime. A graphic organizer like the one on the following page will help you analyze the complexity of the causes and effects. You can use the organizer to record, organize, understand, and interpret your information and opinions. If necessary, add more boxes as necessary to show your conclusions about causes and effects.

#### Thinking Tip

As you analyze the causes and effects of the event you chose, keep in mind that the links between events are sometimes coincidental, not causal. Suppose, for example, that the streetlights came on, then your doorbell rang, and right after that, a friend sent you a text message. This sequence of events is coincidental, not causal — one event did not cause the next. When analyzing cause-and-effect relationships, always ask this question: Did Event A *cause* Event B, or did Event B simply happen after Event A?

As you conduct your analysis, make sure your evidence is reliable; logical; relevant to the relationship you are exploring; sufficient to justify your conclusions; representative of a valid, objective, and unbiased selection of causes and effects; and plausible (see "Thinking Tip" on the previous page).

If necessary, conduct further research to verify your conclusions. Note questions you would like to discuss with the other members of your group when you get back together.

### Step 3: Consolidate your findings

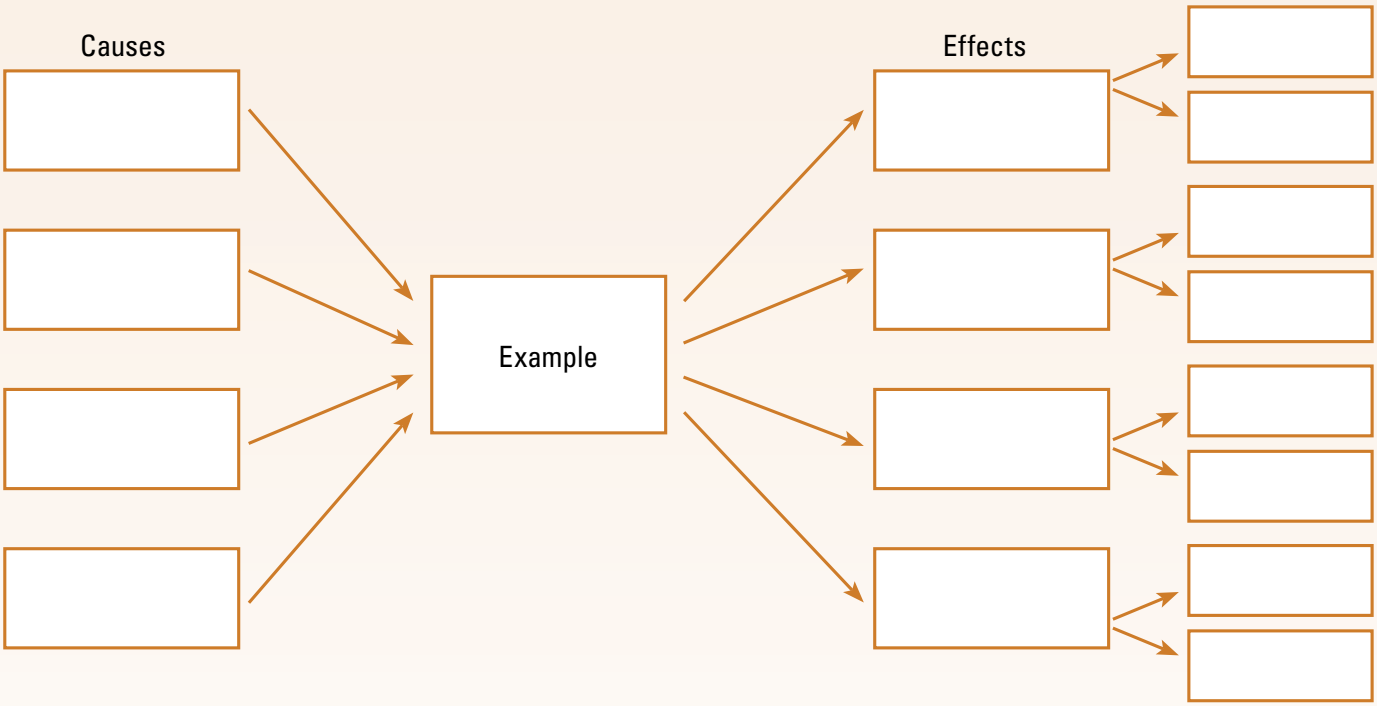
Return to your group and review your analyses together. Search for patterns and for common causes and effects. At this point, you might ask the recorder to consolidate your conclusions and organize your findings.

Decide on the criteria you would use to rank — in order of importance — the causes and effects. What were the most significant ways in which ultranationalism led to crimes against humanity and genocide? What were the most significant effects — short- and long-term?

### Step 4: Interpret your findings

When you have reached a consensus about the conclusions of your analyses, work together to write a brief summary of your position on the extent to which ultranationalism has caused crimes against humanity and genocide. Present your position to your classmates. Listen to other groups' presentations and note convincing arguments that you might add to your group's conclusion.

## Cause-and Effect Organizer




### Summing Up

As you progress through the rest of this course, you will encounter many situations in which analyzing causes and effects will help you explore the extent to which nationalism should be embraced. Following the steps set out in this activity will help you analyze and interpret those issues. It will also help you successfully complete the challenge for this related issue.

## Acting for Good in the Face of Evil

Sometimes, ordinary people do extraordinary things by standing up for good in the face of evil, such as crimes against humanity and genocide. Oskar Schindler, Feng Shan Ho, and Paul Rusesabagina are examples of people who did this — but the list includes thousands of others.

Figure 7-18 The story of Oskar Schindler, pictured here in 1962, was made into the 1993 Hollywood movie *Schindler's List*. When it was released, this movie sparked controversy because Jews disagreed over whether Schindler was a hero or villain. What might have been the source of this disagreement?

### Oskar Schindler

Oskar Schindler was a businessperson who hoped to benefit when the Nazis invaded Poland. He became a member of the Nazi Party and a Nazi spy, and he ran enamel and munitions factories that helped the Nazi war effort. He employed more than 1200 Jews as slave labourers in his Krakow factory. But when the Nazis emptied Krakow's Jewish ghettos and sent the inhabitants to death camps, Schindler did everything he could to protect those who worked in his factory.

He lied, charmed, offered bribes, and spent his own fortune to save Jews from being sent to the Plaszow death camp. For his efforts, the Nazis arrested him several times — but Schindler persisted. He even managed to rescue 1000 people who had already been sent to the Gross-Rosen and Auschwitz death camps. By the end of the war, Schindler was broke, but he had saved the lives of many Jewish men, women, and children.

Figure 7-19 Manli Ho is shown with a picture of her father, Feng Shan Ho, at the opening of a United Nations exhibit called Visas for Life: The Righteous Diplomats. The exhibit honours diplomats such as Feng Shan Ho, who risked their jobs — and lives — to help Jews escape the Nazis.

### Feng Shan Ho

When Germany took over Austria in 1938, the Nazis extended their vicious anti-Semitic policies to that country's Jewish population. Many Jews wanted to escape, but they were not allowed to leave Austria unless they had boat tickets or entry visas to other countries — and these were hard to come by. Most countries, including Canada, accepted very few Jews fleeing Nazi-occupied countries.

But the Chinese consul in Vienna, Feng Shan Ho, issued visas to Shanghai to Jews who asked for them, even if the people planned to travel somewhere else once they had left Austria. To Ho, the important thing was to help them escape danger.

At the time, visas were not required to enter Shanghai, but Ho issued them anyway because Nazi authorities required — and accepted — them. When Ho's boss told him to stop, the consul defied orders and continued giving out visas. As a result of his actions, Ho lost his job in Vienna, but not before he had helped about 18 000 Jews escape.

Years later, Ho explained the reason for his actions: "I thought it only natural to feel compassion and to want to help. From the standpoint of humanity, that is the way it should be."

### Paul Rusesabagina

When the Rwandan genocide began in 1994, Tutsis and moderate Hutus took shelter in the Hôtel des Mille Collines in the centre of Kigali, the country's capital. Paul Rusesabagina, the hotel manager, had a chance to escape, but he chose to stay, saying, "If I leave tomorrow, I will never again in my life be a free man. I will be a prisoner of my own conscience."

While harbouring the fugitives, Rusesabagina negotiated with and bribed officers of the Rwandan killer squads to buy time for the people he was protecting. He also telephoned and faxed people of influence outside the country to try to get help. On two occasions when the hotel was surrounded by the Hutu military, he managed to contact the French foreign ministry, which pressured the Kigali government to order a withdrawal. When the killing finally ended, none of the 1200 people whom Rusesabagina was protecting had been harmed.

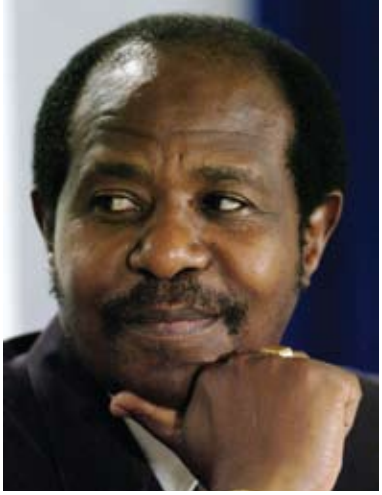


Figure 7-20 Paul Rusesabagina was of mixed Hutu and Tutsi heritage, but his wife was a Tutsi. After the Rwandan genocide, he and his family fled to Belgium. His story was dramatized in the Hollywood movie *Hotel Rwanda*.

## Taking Turns

### Are crimes against humanity a thing of the past or could they happen again?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Rick

Sure, they'll happen again. Look at the number of countries that are ruled by dictators — who don't care about rights as long as they stay in power. But crimes against humanity won't happen on the same scale as the Holocaust. Too many agencies and organizations are dedicated to protecting human rights. Even so, look at what happened in Rwanda, and you can see how long it takes for the world to act.

Forget the future — crimes against humanity are happening right now. They're happening at Guantanamo Bay, where the United States has held suspected terrorists without trial for years. I think they're happening in the Gaza Strip in the Middle East, too. The U.S. isn't a military dictatorship, and neither is Israel or Palestine, but crimes against humanity are still happening. The UN needs to change its ideas about peacekeeping. It needs to be more active about preventing these crimes, instead of just rushing in afterwards and punishing the criminals.

Violet

Amanthi

I'm optimistic. With the UN and NGOs working to improve conditions for people and defuse political conflicts, maybe crimes against humanity will happen less often. If the media can work on getting out the news about dangerous situations, people will find out about problems earlier. Then countries can work together to make sure a situation like Sarajevo doesn't happen again. I also think that technologies like Facebook and blogs can make a big difference in spreading the word about dangerous situations.

## Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Violet, and Amanthi are answering? Do you agree with any of their views? Which position do you agree with most, and how would you add to it? What facts would you bring into the discussion? Explain your response.

1. You and a small group have been assigned the task of developing a new United Nations protocol, or procedure, to govern when — and how — the UN should intervene to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity. With your group, brainstorm to develop guidelines that will
   - determine when an act of ultranationalism has led to crimes against humanity
   - establish the steps the UN will follow before intervening
   - establish criteria the UN will use to decide when to send in troops
   - clearly define the role of UN troops (i.e., whether or when they will be allowed to use force)
   - decide which countries will supply the troops
   - set out conditions that must be in place before the UN will agree to relinquish control and withdraw the troops
2. With a partner, choose a historical example of genocide or crimes against humanity. You may choose an example you read about in this chapter or conduct research to discover another example. Then conduct research into a contemporary example. Create a graphic organizer that compares the causes and effects of the two examples you selected. Present your analysis, including the graphic organizer, orally or in writing.
3. Suppose an international human rights group has accused a Canadian citizen of involvement in crimes against humanity in a civil war that is now over. The group wants this woman to be charged and brought before the International Criminal Court. The woman says she is innocent and refuses to appear at the ICC. She wants to plead her case in a Canadian court.

   The ICC has requested that Canada, as a country that supports the ICC, arrest the suspect and send her to The Hague, Netherlands, where the ICC is located. The citizen is demanding that the government protect her from foreign powers. What should the Canadian government do? Explain the reasons for your response.
4. Noam Chomsky, an American linguist, political activist, and philosopher, believes that "ultranationalism" is a powerful word that is often used to place an unfair negative spin on the efforts of movements in developing countries to pursue their national interests. In his 1993 book, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, Chomsky wrote:

   > In one high-level document after another, U.S. planners stated their view that the primary threat to the new U.S.-led world order was Third World nationalism – sometimes called ultranationalism: "nationalistic regimes" that are responsive to "popular demand for immediate improvement in the low living standards of the masses" and production for domestic needs.
   >
   > The planners' basic goals, repeated over and over again, were to prevent such "ultranationalist" regimes from ever taking power – or if, by some fluke, they did take power, to remove them and to install governments that favor private investment of domestic and foreign capital, production for export and the right to bring profits out of the country. (These goals are never challenged in the secret documents. If you're a U.S. policy planner, they're sort of like the air you breathe.)

   a) On the basis of what you have read in this chapter, explain why labelling actions "ultranationalistic" can carry powerful negative connotations. Explain how these connotations could be used to generate negative propaganda.

   b) In Chapter 5, you read about Iraq and its oil fields. Suppose the Iraqi government decided to take control of its oil fields and use the profits gained from selling its oil to improve education, health care, communications, transportation, and living conditions in the country.
      - Jot points the Iraqi government could use to place a positive spin on this action. Include the phrase "national interest" in your points.
      - Jot points that the American government could use to place a negative spin on the Iraqi government's action. Use the word "ultranationalist" in your points.

c) Think about whether "ultranationalism" is a useful word — or is its meaning so murky that it always arouses suspicion that it is being used as propaganda? Summarize your thoughts in a sentence or two.

5. In this chapter, you explored responses to this issue question: To what extent can the pursuit of ultranationalism lead to crimes against humanity?

   With a partner, prepare a response to this question. Your response may be presented as a short essay; a computer software presentation; a series of visuals, which you may create or find in books, magazines, or newspapers, or on the Internet; or in another format of your choosing. Your response should

   - include a clear explanation of your understanding of ultranationalism
   - explain the criteria you would use to judge whether an action is a crime against humanity
   - provide both historical and contemporary examples
   - clearly state your position on the issue and support it with logical reasons

   Present your response to the class and be ready to answer questions from your classmates.

6. The cartoon on this page was created by Jason Love. It depicts the artist's response to nationalism. Examine the cartoon and complete the following activities:

   a) What is the cartoon's message?

   b) In a short paragraph, explain your opinion of the cartoon, its message, and the images the artist chose.

   c) Create a cartoon — or describe the elements you would include in a cartoon — that depicts responses to ultranationalism. Remember to avoid hurtful and stereotypical words and images.

Figure 7-21


## Think about Your Challenge

To help you respond to the related-issue question — To what extent should national interest be pursued? — the challenge for this related issue asks you to prepare an investigative report on a historical or contemporary nationalist movement.

Review the research you have completed so far. Make notes about the connections between the movement you are investigating and the national interests the movement is pursuing. Identify the national interests involved and who stands to gain or lose if these interests are pursued. Predict whether the movement is likely to lead to ultranationalism.

Discuss these notes with a partner or your teacher. Revise your notes on the basis of the feedback you receive. Prepare to start putting together your report as you progress through Chapter 8.