Prejudice in the Modern World

Biographies

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Richard C. Hanes and Kelly Rudd
Sarah Hermsen, Project Editor

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Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Hanes, Richard Clay, 1946–
Prejudice in the modern world. Biographies / Richard C. Hanes and Kelly Rudd ; Sarah Hermsen, project editor.
p. cm. — (Prejudice in the modern world reference library)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-1-4144-0207-9 (hardcover: alk. paper)—
ISBN-10: 1-4144-0207-4 (hardcover: alk. paper)—
1. Toleration—Juvenile literature. 2. Prejudices—Juvenile literature. 3. Intergroup relations—Juvenile literature. 4. Ethnic relations—Juvenile literature. 5. Race relations—Juvenile literature. 6. Social reformers—Biography—Juvenile literature. 7. Dictators—Biography—Juvenile literature. I. Rudd, Kelly, 1954– II. Hermsen, Sarah. III. Title.
HM1271.H36 2007b
303.3'850922—dc22
[B] 2006036956

ISBN-13:

978-1-4144-0203-1 (set)
978-1-4144-0204-8 (Almanac set)
978-1-4144-0205-5 (Almanac vol.1)
978-1-4144-0206-2 (Almanac vol.2)
978-1-4144-0207-9 (Biographies)
978-1-4144-0208-6 (Primary Sources)
978-1-4144-0209-3 (Cumulative Index)

ISBN-10:

1-4144-0203-1 (set)
1-4144-0204-X (Almanac set)
1-4144-0205-8 (Almanac vol.1)
1-4144-0206-6 (Almanac vol.2)
1-4144-0207-4 (Biographies)
1-4144-0208-2 (Primary Sources)
1-4144-0209-0 (Cumulative Index)

This title is also available as an e-book.
ISBN-13: 978-1-4144-1057-9, ISBN-10: 1-4144-1057-3
Contact your Thomson Gale sales representative for ordering information.
Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Reader's Guide

Of the many kinds of emotions and feelings a person may hold, prejudice is perhaps one of the most common yet complex. Prejudice is a negative attitude, emotion, or behavior towards others based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience. Prejudice can be extremely harmful, oversimplifying diverse aspects of human nature and making broad generalizations about entire races and cultures. These generalizations are frequently based on stereotypes. The use of stereotypes employs negative images of others. Such negative stereotypes may lead to certain forms of behavior including discrimination or even hostile violent acts. This kind of use of generalizations and stereotypes becomes especially critical when people in power, or seeking political power, manipulate through the media the stereotypes of social groups they wish to dominate, or perhaps eliminate. People in these stereotyped groups often become less valued socially. They are frequently made scapegoats, blamed for the problems affecting society in general, even if they have nothing to do with it.

Prejudices usually form very early in life; they are shaped by family, schools, and society in general. Prejudice can assume many forms based on the kinds of traits that others are being prejudged by. Racial prejudice focuses on physical biological traits, such as skin color. Religious prejudice considers the beliefs held by others or what religious denomination they are associated with. Ethnic prejudice identifies people who share common backgrounds or social customs. Nationalism is a form of prejudice that focuses on the political systems others live under. Sexism is a gender prejudice against men or women. Sexual orientation prejudices are usually against people who are homosexuals or transgendered.

Some prejudices focus on disabilities of others, ranging from physical handicaps to mental disabilities to mental illnesses.

Normally, people—both as a group and individually—are acting out multiple forms of prejudice at any one time. One group of people may hold prejudices and discriminate against another group because of combined religious and ethnic prejudices, racial and social class prejudices, or gender and disability prejudices. Similarly, any multiple combinations of prejudices are possible and may even occur in different combinations in the same individual over time. No matter the complexity of prejudice, one simple fact exists—prejudice has long been one of the greatest barriers and most destructive forces in human history.

Prejudice has been a major influence on human relationships throughout the history of humankind. Not only has prejudice existed throughout the history of civilization, it has dominated certain historic periods and historical events, such as the invasion of Christian armies into the Muslim-held Holy Lands beginning at the end of the eleventh century, the sixteenth century religious upheaval of the Reformation in Europe, and the Holocaust in World War II (1939–45) in the mid-twentieth century. Despite this influence of prejudice throughout history, the actual concept of what prejudice is did not develop until the twentieth century, when the study of prejudices gained recognition.

Slavery, colonialism, and world empires had largely ended by the early twentieth century. However, racial discrimination, particularly against those groups previously enslaved, ethnic conflicts, and international conflict driven by nationalism remained major influences on the course of modern history. Instances where the consequences of prejudice were most apparent included the racially discriminatory Jim Crow laws of the American South, the extermination of European Jews by Nazi Germany in the Holocaust, ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia in Eastern Europe, genocides in the African states of Rwanda and Somalia, and religious conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Middle East.

The nature of prejudice-driven discrimination and violence has changed over time. Efforts by national governments, human rights watch groups, and international organizations, such as the United Nations, have made strides in combating prejudice through various educational and humanitarian programs. However, it appeared that prejudice would continue as a major influence and source of conflict in the world into the twenty-first century.

Features

Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies presents profiles of twenty-five diverse and unique men and women who played key roles in the history of prejudice. Some were prominent national leaders in fighting well-established prejudices while some promoted prejudices in order to pursue their own political and economic gain. Other figures were activists combating the various types of prejudice. Profiles include Paul Kagame, president of Rwanda; Saddam Hussein, president of Iraq; Golda Meir, prime minister of Israel; Wilma Mankiller, chairperson of the Cherokee Nation; social activists Gloria Steinem, Cesar Chavez, Mine Obuko, and Mahatma Gandhi. Other biography subjects range from Nazi German military leader Heinrich Himmler, the primary instigator of the Holocaust, to the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual leader who promoted religious tolerance.

Each biography contains a list of additional sources students can go to for more information; sidebar boxes highlighting people and events of special interest; and boldfaced cross-references to direct readers to other related biography chapters. Nearly 50 black-and-white photographs help illustrate the material. The volume begins with a timeline of important events in the history of prejudice and a Words to Know section that introduces students to difficult or unfamiliar terms (terms are also defined within the text). The volume concludes with a general bibliography and a subject index so students can easily find the people, places, and events discussed throughout *Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies.*

Prejudice in the Modern World Reference Library

Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies is only one component of the three-part Prejudice in the Modern World Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

Prejudice in the Modern World: Almanac offers twenty-two chapters in two volumes. The first eleven chapters explore the many different types of prejudice, their history, what causes these prejudices in people and societies, and their consequences. The types of prejudice described in detail include ethnic, racial, religious, class, gender, sexual orientation, nationalism, and disabilities.

Prejudice in the Modern World: Primary Sources tells various stories in the words of the people who fought prejudice, acted out prejudices, and those who were the victims of prejudice. Sixteen excerpted documents touch on a wide range of topics on prejudice. Included are

excerpts from published diaries, national magazine and news articles, reports produced by the United Nations and human rights watch groups, published interviews, and Web sites dedicated to the elimination of prejudice in everyday life.

A cumulative index of all three titles in the Prejudice in the Modern World Reference Library is also available.

Acknowledgements

These volumes are dedicated to our new granddaughter Jenna Grace Hanes. May she grow up to enjoy a world far less shaped by the destructive consequences of prejudice.

Comments and Suggestions

We welcome your comments on *Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Prejudice in the Modern World: Biographies,* U·X·L, 27500 Drake Rd. Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to (248) 699-8097; or send e-mail via http://www.gale.com.

Timeline of Events

February 1882 At the age of nineteen months **Helen Keller** suddenly comes down with a severe fever that leaves her unconscious with little hope of survival; after her illness suddenly disappears it is discovered that Keller is left deaf, blind, and mute.

1890s Jim Crow laws are introduced in the United States to legally enforce public racial segregation for the next half century.

1890 Helen Keller becomes a celebrity after spending two winters in Boston at the Perkins Institution learning to read Braille and writing letters, diary entries, and short stories that are published and receive wide circulation.

1902 The First International Convention for Women meets in Washington, D.C., with representatives arriving from ten nations to plot an international strategy for gaining suffrage.

1904 Helen Keller becomes the first deaf and blind person to earn a college degree when she graduates from Radcliff College with honors.

1905 Black American leaders meet in Niagara Falls, Canada, to develop a strategy to fight racial prejudice in America; it becomes known as the Niagara Movement.

1909 The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is established to fight lynching and other racist activities in the United States through legal action, educational programs, and encouraging voter participation.

1912 Hundreds of prominent Africans form the South African Native National Congress, later renamed the African National Congress (ANC), to protest racial segregation in South Africa.

March 3, 1913 On the day before U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's inauguration in Washington, D.C., **Alice Paul** leads a massive parade of over eight thousand suffragists down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House; with over a half a million bystanders gathered along the route, the march attracts major media coverage for days.

1914 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns break from NAWSA and form the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage that promotes aggressive, but nonviolent tactics to promote a national constitutional amendment for women's suffrage.

1915 Helen Keller establishes Helen Keller International, a nonprofit organization dedicated to the prevention of blindness through education and promotion of social reforms that benefit the disabled throughout the world.

1915 **Mahatma Gandhi** begins a series of nonviolent demonstrations in order to promote India's independence from British rule; attracting large crowds at public meetings he earns the title of Mahatma, meaning Great Soul, as he works to ease the burden of poverty and ignorance for the poor focusing on the rural peasant population that forms the vast majority of the population.

1916 The Irish Republican Army (IRA) forms to fight a guerrilla war for Ireland's independence from England; the Irish Free State is formed five years later.

January 1917 Alice Paul organizes picketing of the White House to demand the right to vote; it is the first known organized effort to picket the White House.

1918 Since 1889, 2,522 black Americans are lynched—hung, burned alive, or hacked to death—largely in the American South, as a result of extreme racial prejudice.

1918 Following World War I (1914–18) the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is formed, later adopting the name Yugoslavia; it soon becomes apparent that the various ethnic groups are unwilling to blend together.

1918 Defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I leads the victors, Britain and France, to divide up the Middle East under their control with Britain forming a new country called Iraq and establishing rule over Arab Palestinian territory.

August 1919 **Jan Smuts** replaces Louis Botha as South Africa's prime minister following Botha's death.

1920 The All India Home Rule League is formed, with Mahatma Gandhi as its president, to seek independence from British rule. It adopts anti-British measures, including a boycott of British imported goods, refusing employment by the British, and refusing to pay taxes; these actions lead to the imprisonment of Gandhi.

1923 After successfully passing the women's suffrage constitutional amendment in 1920, Alice Paul writes the first draft of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a proposed constitutional amendment guaranteeing equal rights to men and women; it is introduced into Congress but does not pass until 1972.

1924 Mahatma Gandhi is elected President of the Indian National Congress.

1928 The Muslim Brotherhood is created in Egypt to resist European colonial powers controlling much of the Arab world in northern Africa and the Middle East and promote a return to Islamic states of past centuries.

1929 **Heinrich Himmler** takes command of the Slutzstaffen or Security Squad (SS), a German military organization initially created as an elite bodyguard unit for the rising German politician Adolf Hitler and other Nazi party leaders; the power of the SS dramatically grew under his leadership, with its size increasing from 280 members to 52,000 soldiers.

December 1929 Mahatma Gandhi launches a countrywide civil disobedience movement in India to gain independence from British rule.

May 24, 1937 **Mother Teresa** takes her final vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience in accordance with the tradition of the Loreto nuns and dedicates her life to tending to the slum children of Calcutta; she becomes the principal of the school at St. Mary's.

1938 Alice Paul establishes the World Party for Equal Rights for Women, otherwise known as World Women's Party, to promote increased political power of women worldwide.

November 9, 1938 Known as the Night of Broken Glass, the German government carefully orchestrates violence against Jews across Germany and German-controlled Austria for two days as rioters burn or damage over one thousand Jewish synagogues and almost eight thousand Jewish-owned businesses; some thirty thousand Jewish men are arrested and sent to concentration camps, the first mass arrest of Jews by Nazi Germany.

1940 The fourteenth **Dalai Lama** is installed as the religious leader of Tibet at the age of seven.

1942 The United States and Mexico establish the Bracero Program that allows Mexican day laborers to legally enter the United States for seasonal work on farms and other jobs until 1964 when the program officially ends; almost five million workers journeyed from Mexico though working conditions were often harsh.

1942 Iranian religious leader **Ruhollah Khomeini** publishes the first version of his booklet Kahf-ol-Asrar (Key to the Secrets) that condemns anyone who criticizes Islam.

January 20, 1942 Heinrich Himmler participates in a meeting of Nazi leadership known as the Wannsee Conference, where it is decided how to carryout the extermination, or genocide, of European Jews using concentration camps specially equipped with gas chambers for killing large numbers of people at a time and crematoriums for burning their bodies.

February 19, 1942 U.S. president Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066 authorizing the removal of Japanese Americans from their homes in the West Coast to detention camps established by the War Relocation Authority (WRA).

April 26, 1942 **Mine Okubo** reports to a central relocation station to receive instructions on her evacuation to a Japanese American relocation camp.

1943 **Nelson Mandela** and other young members of the African National Congress (ANC) form the African Youth League (AYL) to promote social change in their country through the use of strikes and boycotts.

January 1944 Okubo leaves her relocation camp and moves to New York City to work for *Fortune* magazine beginning an illustrious art career.

December 1944 With the end of World War II in sight, the remaining forty-four thousand Japanese Americans being detained since 1942 are freed, although the last camp does not close until March 1946.

1945 Following World War II, the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia is established as a communist country under the control of the USSR including the six states of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

1945 The United Nations forms as an international world body to resolve international disputes; its membership includes fifty-one nations; among its branches is the Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

May 23, 1945 Heinrich Himmler commits suicide by swallowing a potassium cyanide capsule he had been hiding in his mouth before Allied forces can interrogate him; he is buried in a secret location so that Nazi sympathizers can not use his gravesite as a place of inspiration.

1946 **Yasser Arafat** joins the Palestinian resistance against British control over Palestinian territory and helps smuggle weapons into Palestine.

1946 Artist Mine Okubo publishes a book about Japanese American internment during World War II titled *Citizen 13660* providing one of the first inside descriptions of the internment experience.

March 1946 **Alija Izetbegovic** is convicted in Bosnia of hostile activity and sentenced to three years in prison for his role in publishing a dissident Islamic journal called *Soldier of God* that makes anti-Soviet statements.

1947 The Indian government stops legally enforcing the traditional caste system, establishes prohibitions against discrimination against members of former castes, and creates an aggressive affirmative action program to help those lower caste members historically discriminated against.

January 30, 1948 A young Hindu assassinates Mahatma Gandhi during his usual evening prayer meeting in New Delhi, India.

December 1948 The United Nations adopts the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in response to the Holocaust during World War II; the resulting trials continue

through the remainder of the twentieth century setting precedents for future war crimes trials conducted by international tribunals.

1950s American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney **Bella Abzug** gains a reputation for defending the civil rights of citizens by defending artists and writers accused of being communists by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

1950s Yasser Arafat organizes a group of Palestinian exiles in an underground cell that becomes known as al-Fatah, a movement dedicated to establishing an independent Palestinian state.

1950s Ruhollah Khomeini is acclaimed an ayatollah (major religious leader) and changes his surname to the town of his birth in accordance with clerical tradition, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

1950 Mother Teresa founds an order of nuns called the Missionaries of Charity in Calcutta, India, and serves as its director for nearly fifty years.

1953 **Cesar Chavez** joins the Community Service Organization (CSO) and becomes a community organizer to help register Mexican Americans to vote and challenge prejudice and injustice in postwar America.

1954 The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Brown v. Board of Education* that racially segregated public schools are illegal marking a major legal victory for black Americans against Jim Crow laws.

1955 Mother Teresa founds her first orphanage for abandoned babies and children, calling it Shishu Bhavan (Sowing Joy); the home also has a soup kitchen, clinic, and shelter for expectant mothers who have been rejected by family and society.

June 1955 The South African Congress of the People, consisting of over three thousand delegates opposed to apartheid, assemble to draft the Freedom Charter for a future democratic South Africa.

December 1, 1955 **Rosa Parks**, riding a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus, refuses to give her seat to a white man when requested; police take Parks to the police station where she is charged with disorderly conduct for violating a city bus ordinance.

1956 **Golda Meir** becomes Israel's Foreign Minister and chief international defender of the new nation.

1956 After graduation with honors from Smith College, **Gloria Steinem** travels to India to study political science for the next two years where she witnesses severe discrimination in Indian society and joins nonviolent protests against prejudiced governmental policies.

October 29, 1956 Through November 6, Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal, blocking Israeli commercial ships from passing through the critical waterway and leading to a brief war in which Israel wins.

December 20, 1956 A boycott of the Montgomery, Alabama, city buses comes to an end after 382 days when the city complies with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that city bus segregation is unconstitutional following the arrest and trial of Rosa Parks.

1957 At the age of twenty, **Saddam Hussein** joins the Baáth Party, a revolutionary Arab political party whose motto is "One Arab Nation with an Eternal Mission."

1958 Racial violence breaks out in the Notting Hill district of London leading to calls for increased restrictions on immigration.

1959 Tibetan resistance to Chinese control and discrimination escalates into violence in Tibet's capital city of Lhasa, causing the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of Tibetans to seek exile in India while the Chinese systematically destroy Tibetan monasteries.

November 1961 Nelson Mandela joins with other ANC leaders to form Umkhonto we Sizwe, meaning the Spear of the Nation, that conducts an underground campaign of sabotage targeting government offices used to administer the racial discrimination policies of apartheid.

1962 Cesar Chavez forms the Farm Workers Association (FWA) and travels to migrant labor camps throughout California and Arizona, convincing workers of the need for unity; FWA is later renamed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA).

July 1, 1962 The African state of Rwanda gains independence from Belgian rule.

1963 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini begins using his position as Iran's spiritual leader to publicly denounce the government of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and condemns the United States and Israel as co-conspirators with the Shah in their alleged efforts to erase Islam; the Shah forces Khomeini into exile.

August 28, 1963 Black leaders including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., lead a massive protest march on Washington, D.C., attracting over two hundred thousand people, both blacks and whites.

1964 Nelson Mandela, convicted with other prominent ANC leaders at the Rivonia Trial on charges of sabotage and crimes of treason, receives a life sentence and is placed at a high-security prison off the coast of Cape Town. From prison Mandela calls for continuing pressure to crush apartheid and create a democratic and free society.

1964 The U.S. Congress passes the landmark Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination based on race and gender in public places and calling for equal opportunity in education and employment.

1964 Violence erupts in Northern Ireland as Catholics rebel against Protestant oppression, leading to a bloody terrorist campaign by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) leaving thousands dead.

September 1964 U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson awards Helen Keller the prestigious Presidential Freedom Award, one of the two highest awards given to civilians in the United States.

1965 Cesar Chavez and his National Farm Workers Association supports California grape pickers to promote a public boycott of certain products until increased pay demands are met; Chavez also leads a march of ten thousand people to the California state capital to deliver the workers' demands for legislation to protect the workers from unfair and unsafe working conditions.

1965 A gay rights march held outside Independence Hall in Philadelphia marks the beginning of the modern gay rights movement and formation of such groups as the Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activists Alliance.

1965 U.S. president Lyndon Johnson signs a presidential order establishing affirmative action programs to correct for past governmental injustices and end Jim Crow discriminatory social customs.

1967 **John Hume** becomes a leading figure in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) founded to promote the civil rights of Catholics in Northern Ireland.

July 1968 Saddam Hussein, as regional commander of the Baáth Party, organizes a successful coup that takes control of the Iraq government;

Saddam is named vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and vice-president of Iraq.

1969 **Wilma Mankiller** joins a group of American Indians calling themselves United Indians of All Tribes that seizes control of Alcatraz Island, located in the middle of San Francisco Bay, for eighteen months seeking to reclaim the island as Indian country; the protest inspires a new Indian rights movement.

February 1969 Yasser Arafat is elected chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) that serves as an umbrella organization to unite the large number of groups working to free Palestine for the Palestinians.

March 1969 Golda Meir is chosen to become the fourth Prime Minister of Israel, continuing her efforts to assert the rights of Jewish people to settle in Israel.

1970 Alija Izetbegovic publishes the book *The Islamic Declaration* that calls for the renewal of a strict Islamic way of life and a united Islamic community based on the Qur'an; many view his book as a radical statement for Bosnian Muslims since he condemns non-Islamic beliefs and societies.

1971 Activist Bella Abzug wins a seat in U.S. Congress becoming the first Jewish Congresswoman, and one of only a dozen women in the U.S. House of Representatives; during her three terms in Congress Abzug earns wide respect in writing three crucial pieces of legislation protecting individual freedoms: the Freedom of Information Act, the Right to Privacy Act, and the Sunshine Law, that required government bodies to meet publicly.

1971 Activist Bella Abzug helps found and becomes chair of the National Women's Political Caucus that promotes peace and women's activism.

July 1971 Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug, along with other feminist leaders, help found the National Women's Political Caucus to encourage women's active participation in the forthcoming 1972 presidential election campaign.

December 1971 Gloria Steinem publishes the first edition of *Ms.* magazine, the first national women's magazine run by women; all

three hundred thousand copies are sold in just eight days and in five years the circulation grows to five hundred thousand.

1972 After being repeatedly introduced in Congress every year since 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is finally passed by both houses of Congress and sent to the states for ratification.

1972 Ed Roberts, a quadriplegic, forms the Center for Independent Living (CIL) to advocate for an end to discrimination against persons with disabilities and to instill pride and empowerment within the disabled community; numerous CIL branches open across the nation during the following years.

1973 The U.S. Congress passes the Rehabilitation Act, first of three core laws created to give persons with disabilities legal access to life activities that are available to nondisabled Americans; the other two later acts are the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1974, that in 1990 is renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990.

January 22, 1973 The U.S. Supreme Court issues the landmark decision on abortion rights in *Roe v. Wade* ruling that most laws prohibiting abortion, including many existing state laws, violate the constitutional right to privacy of women.

October 6, 1973 War again breaks out between Israelis and Arabs referred to as the Yom Kippur War after a very important Jewish holiday on which the war begins.

1974 Gloria Steinem founds the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the only national organization for women who are labor union members, to improve the working conditions of women.

1975 In support of tribal sovereignty and economic self-sufficiency, the U.S. Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act giving the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and other federal agencies authority to transfer responsibility for administering certain tribal programs to the tribes.

December 9, 1975 The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, declaring that disabled persons are entitled to the same rights as the nondisabled in all areas of life including rights to an education, medical services,

employment, legal aid, to live with their families, and to be protected against abuse and discrimination.

1976 After monitoring racial discrimination in South Africa since 1946, the United Nations establishes apartheid as an international crime, imposes an oil and arms embargo against South Africa, and creates the International Criminal Court to discourage any other nation from adopting similar practices of racial domination and oppression as practiced in South Africa.

1979 **Soraya Parlika** is arrested and sentenced to eighteen months in prison for organizing a women's movement that opposes the policies of Afghan President Hafizullah Amin and his communist rule; while in prison she is tortured in an effort to gain the names of other members of her group.

1979 The Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation (RRWF) is established to aid Rwandan refugees in exile; after several name changes the organization becomes the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) in December 1987.

January 1979 Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi is overthrown from his Iranian leadership role and flees to the West for safety; Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, ordained as the Supreme Leader of the Revolution in the new Islamic Republic of Iran, introduces Sharia (Islamic law) and calls for Islamic revolutionaries across the Muslim world to follow Iran's example.

July 16, 1979 Saddam Hussein becomes president of Iraq, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

November 4, 1979 In reaction to the American refusal to return exiled Iranian leader Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi for trial, Khomeini supporters seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran and hold fifty-two American hostages for 444 days before they are released.

1981 Members of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, a violent wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, assassinate Egyptian President Mohamed Anwar Sadat for introducing Western ideas into Islamic societies.

1983 Janjaweed militias with support of the Sudanese government begin systematically killing black Africans in the Darfur region of western

Sudan leading to the murder of some two million people and displacement of another four million.

April 1983 Alija Izetbegovic, tried in a Bosnian court with twelve other Muslim activists for their alleged hostile behavior, is convicted and sentenced to fourteen years in prison; human rights organizations including Amnesty International strongly criticize the verdict.

1984 **Leyla Zana** becomes a political activist, joining the growing movement for Kurdish civil rights and, more radically, Kurdish separation from Turkey.

July 20, 1984 **Leontine Kelly** is consecrated as bishop in the Western Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church becoming the second woman and first black woman to be elected to the top ministerial office of a major religious denomination in the United States; Bishop Kelly serves on the executive committee of the Council of Bishops, serves as president of the six-member Western Jurisdictional College of Bishops, and is also a member of the General Board of Church and Society.

December 5, 1985 Wilma Mankiller is sworn in as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

1987 Rosa Parks founds the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute of Self Development in Detroit, Michigan, to promote education and career training for black youth.

1987 The Dalai Lama addresses the U.S. Congress and proposes a Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet that calls for fundamental rights and freedoms for the Tibetan people and negotiations between the Tibetan and Chinese people on the future status of Tibet.

1988 Leyla Zana is arrested for inciting a riot and spends fifty-seven days in prison after she and eighty-two other women who could hear their husbands being beaten inside a Turkish prison attack prison guards outside.

1988 Islamist rebels heavily funded by the United States successfully drive the armed forces of the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan after eight years of war.

March 1988 Under Saddam Hussein's direction, Iraq warplanes drop numerous bombs containing various poisonous toxic agents, including mustard gas and cyanide, on the Iraqi Kurdish town of Halabja

becoming the largest chemical weapons attack against a civilian population in modern history; estimates of deaths range up to several thousand Kurds.

1989 **Slobodan Milosevic** becomes president of Serbia after former colleague Stambolic is ousted.

1989 Newly elected South African president F.W. de Klerk announces he will seek to overturn all racial discriminatory laws, release political prisoners of apartheid including Nelson Mandela (who is released in February 1990), and lift the ban on anti-Apartheid organizations such as the ANC.

1990s During years of civil war and oppressive Taliban rule Soraya Parlika becomes leader of a small underground women's movement that steadily gains membership; she also organizes a network of secret schools for girls.

1990 Bella Abzug cofounds and heads the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) created to improve the environment as well as address social justice and women's issues worldwide.

August 2, 1990 Saddam Hussein's Iraqi forces invade the neighboring nation of Kuwait in reaction to disputes over the exact border location and the claim that Kuwait was illegally slant-drilling petroleum under Iraq's border.

December 20, 1990 Alija Izetbegovic is elected as leader of Bosnia.

1991 Following the demise of the communist governments of Eastern Europe, a wave of nationalistic movements and their related prejudices sweeps the region leading to the formation of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia and the breakup of Yugoslavia; the ethnic struggles among the Serbs, Bosnian Muslims, and Croats of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia leads to two hundred thousand Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs being killed and over one million being displaced from their homes.

October 20, 1991 At thirty years of age Leyla Zana is elected to the Turkish parliament becoming the first Kurdish woman representative and one of only nine elected women; in parliament Leyla seeks improved Kurdish-Turkish relations and official recognition of Kurdish identity.

March 3, 1992 Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic formally declares independence from Yugoslavia, and the European Union and the United States extend official recognition.

1993 Following secret negotiations, Yasser Arafat signs an Israeli-Palestinian agreement known as the Oslo Accords that allows for Palestine to gradually gain control of both the West Bank and Gaza.

1994 The UN Security Council establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to bring to trial those accused of genocide; by 2005 sixty-three individuals accused of being genocide leaders come under the ICTR process.

1994 During a one-hundred-day period the Hutus of Rwanda kill almost one million Tutsis and politically moderate Hutus.

1994 Through general elections, Nelson Mandela becomes the new president of South Africa and serves as president for the next five years.

July 19, 1994 With forces led by **Paul Kagame** in complete control of Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda, officials for a new Tutsi government, called the Government of National Unity, are sworn in; Kagame is named vice president and commander-in-chief of the army and holds the real power of government.

December 1994 A Turkish State Security Court convicts Leyla Zana and the three other Kurdish parliamentarians on charges of advocating Kurdish separatism and other illegal activities; Zana serves ten years in prison.

December 1995 After some 5 percent of the Bosnian population has been killed and half of the population has become refugees since 1991, Alija Izetbegovic, Slobodan Milosevic, and other political and ethnic leaders of Bosnia sign a ceasefire agreement known as the Dayton Accord, keeping Bosnia as a single country but divides it approximately in half into the Serbian Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation.

1996 Rosa Parks receives the Medal of Freedom award from U.S. president Bill Clinton; she receives the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal of Honor in July 1999, the highest honor a civilian can receive in the United States.

1996 The U.S. Congress passes the Defense of Marriage Act that denies same-sex couples federal benefits including Social Security pensions; survivor benefits for federal employees; Medicaid coverage; next-of-kin status for emergency medical situations; domestic violence

protection orders; inheritance of property; and joint adoption and foster care benefits.

1996 Yasser Arafat is elected president of the new Palestinian Authority.

1997 Mother Teresa wins the Nobel Peace Prize accepting it on behalf of the "unwanted, unloved, and uncared for."

1998 The FRY begins an ethnic cleansing of Albanians remaining in Kosovo, causing over 300,000 Albanians to flee Kosovo for Macedonia.

April 10, 1998 Violence in Northern Ireland finally ends as voters in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland approve the Good Friday Agreement, or Belfast Agreement, by a large margin that provides for power sharing between Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant populations in an elected Northern Ireland Assembly and directs that the political status of Northern Ireland can only change with the approval of a majority of Northern Ireland voters.

May 1999 The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) located in The Hague, Netherlands, indicts former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic and four other top Serbian officials of war crimes and crimes against humanity for the mass murder of people in Kosovo.

March 2000 Following the resignation of Bizimungu as president of Rwanda, Paul Kagame is elected president of Rwanda and makes progress in reconciliation between Tutsi and Hutu leading to approval of a new constitution on May 26, 2003.

September 11, 2001 Attention of the world is dramatically focused on the Islamic fundamentalist movement when Islamic extremists slam two fully fueled jetliners into the World Trade Center Towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., killing some three thousand civilians and starting a strong wave of nationalistic fervor in the United States.

February 12, 2002 The war crimes trial of former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic begins but ends abruptly on March 11, 2006, when Milosevic is found dead in his detention cell of a heart attack.

2003 U.S. forces invade Iraq and drive Saddam Hussein from power; religious hatred between Shiítes and Sunni surfaces after decades of oppression under Hussein causing a deep divide in Iraq society.

2004 The Australian government begins providing assistance to Aborigines directly through the agencies that serve the general population and establishes the Office of Indigenous Policy Coordination within the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs to coordinate the various programs for indigenous peoples.

2004 The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reports that over 15 percent of hate crimes committed in the United States are based upon the perceived sexual orientation of the victims.

November 2004 The question of gay marriage divides many Americans and becomes a major factor in the 2004 presidential election as socially conservative groups rally against the prospect of various states legalizing same-sex marriages.

2005 A study by the National Council on Disabilities indicates that while substantial gains against prejudice of the disabled have been made discrimination in housing is still a major problem.

2005 The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, established in December 1950, reports the existence of over nine million known refugees in the world, not including four million Palestinian Arabs permanently displaced with creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

2005 In Egyptian parliamentary elections, members of the Muslim Brotherhood win 20 percent of the parliament seats even though the organization is still officially banned.

July 28, 2005 The IRA declares an end to its military campaign for independence for Northern Ireland and removes its store of weapons from service.

November 2005 Race riots across France increase fears of continued high immigration levels as anti-immigration feelings rise.

January 2006 The radical Palestinian group Hamas wins the majority of seats in Palestine's parliamentary elections, gaining a political victory over the PLO, the controlling political party in Palestine since 1967.

February 2006 The South Dakota legislature passes a bill making the performance of all abortions a felony crime.

Summer 2006 Israel launches a major offensive against Lebanon after Hezbollah militia kidnaps two Israeli soldiers and kills another.

Prejudice in the Modern World

Biographies

Bella Abzug

BORN: July 24, 1920 • New York, New York

DIED: March 31, 1998 • New York, New York

American lawyer, feminist

Bella Abzug. AP IMAGES.

"They call me Battling Bella, Mother Courage, and a Jewish mother. . . . But whatever I am—and this ought to be made very clear at the outset—I am a very serious woman."

Bella Abzug was a well-known civil rights (basic individual rights to legal and social equality) lawyer and founder of Women Strike for Peace before going to Congress in 1971, where she advocated for women's rights and an end to the Vietnam War (1957–75). She served three terms as the Democratic candidate from the Nineteenth Congressional District in New York City. Abzug was the first Jewish Congresswoman. She also co-founded the National Women's Political Caucus, which focused on both peace and women's activism. Abzug co-authored several crucial pieces of legislation, including the landmark Freedom of Information Act.

Early in her career, Abzug gained a reputation for legally defending those accused of being Communists by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional committee that probed alleged connections of people to communist activities. Communists are

people who support a political and economic system where a single party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. Her aggressive manner earned her a number of nicknames, including "Battling Bella." While she was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, she was among the first to call for the impeachment, or removal from office, of U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) for his efforts at trying to conceal criminal activity by people associated with his presidential reelection campaign. It became known as the Watergate Scandal. Abzug was known both for her outspoken views and her oversized hats. She was an unsuccessful senatorial and mayoral candidate, but her political successes earned her a place in the National Women's Hall of Fame in the United States. Abzug championed a global sisterhood to address social justice and women's issues worldwide. She maintained a high political profile to promote her favorite causes until her death in 1998.

Born yelling

Bella Savitzky was born in New York City on July 24, 1920, to Jewish immigrant (a person who leaves his country of origin to reside permanently in another) parents from Russia. Her father, Emanuel Savitzky, moved to the United States in 1905, when Russia went to war with Japan. Not long after Emanuel arrived, Abzug's mother, Esther Tanklefsky, came to America from Russia with her family to escape religious persecution, or maltreatment. Emanuel and Esther were married in New York City and started a butcher shop on Ninth Avenue in Manhattan. World War I (1914–18) broke out in 1914, and by the time the fighting was over in 1918, there was great political debate about a peace program. Everyone had ideas on how to prevent another world war from ever happening again. Emanuel made his own political statement by renaming his shop The Live and Let Live Meat Market.

Abzug grew up in the East Bronx with her sister Helene, her parents, her Grandpa and Grandma Tanklefsky, and her mother's young brother. Abzug's grandfather babysat the girls while their parents worked. A religious man, Wolf Tanklefsky went to the Jewish synagogue (place of worship) twice a day and would take the girls with him when they were not in school. By the time she was eight years, old Abzug excelled in her ability to read Hebrew. Every week after the traditional Sabbath meal on Friday evening, Abzug's family would gather together and sing Yiddish (a Jewish-German language of Eastern Europe) and Russian folk songs.

Helene played the piano and Abzug played her favorite instrument, the violin.

Abzug loved her family and her religion, but her first feminist (a woman who opposes gender prejudice) thoughts of rebellion began growing while she was still young. Abzug reacted negatively to the idea that as she grew older she must go upstairs to the synagogue balcony because men and women are not permitted to sit together during religious services in Orthodox Judaism (a branch of Judaism which observes all of the ancient laws). When Abzug voiced her concerns to her grandfather, he explained that it was just the way things were. Abzug would not accept that answer and argued that she was being treated unfairly. As described in Doris Faber's 1976 book *Bella Abzug,* Abzug's mother was proud of her outspoken daughter and would explain to those on the receiving end of her forceful arguments that her daughter "came out yelling," in reference to her birth.

Strong supporter of Jewish traditions

Abzug was educated at public schools in the Bronx and also attended Hebrew school several times a week at the Jewish Center connected with their synagogue. A bulletin board at the Center supported efforts to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine (now Israel). Followers of the Jewish faith, who had suffered from prejudice and persecution for centuries in Europe, had no nation of their own to offer refuge during times of need. They looked to their biblical homeland of Palestine as the preferred place for a nation. It caught Abzug's attention. She joined a pioneer Zionist (supporters of a Jewish homeland) youth group known as Hashomir Hatzair and spent hours with the group collecting money for the Jewish National Fund. She and her friends would board a subway (underground) train, and between stops, Abzug would shout out a little speech while others went up to passengers collecting coins to help Jewish settlers in Palestine. Abzug also hoped to settle on a kibbutz (Jewish agricultural settlement) in Israel and create green farms in the deserts of Palestine.

In 1932, when Abzug was twelve years of age, her Grandpa Tanklefsky died just before his eightieth birthday. Within the year, her father also died and Abzug was left with a crucial decision. Religious tradition forbade women from saying Kaddish (the prayer for the dead), but her father did not have a son to say the memorial prayer for him. So Abzug did it herself. Every morning before school for a year, Abzug stood

in the synagogue to repeat the words of the Kaddish for her father. Not everyone in her family or the synagogue liked it. However, no one ever tried to stop her from entering the chamber that was normally forbidden to females and she persisted. Needing to help support the family after her father's death, she was able to find work even though millions of people were without work due to the Great Depression. The Great Depression was a major economic crisis in much of the world during the 1930s that led to extensive unemployment and widespread hunger. Abzug first found a job as a camp counselor in the summer and later taught Hebrew language, history, and customs in order.

The gender gap

By the time Abzug graduated from Walton High School in 1938, she knew she wanted to be a lawyer. She moved to Hunter College in New York City, where she received a bachelor of arts degree in 1942. Her first choice for law school was Harvard, but female students were not accepted there. Abzug accepted a scholarship to Columbia University Law School, which paid her tuition expenses. This choice allowed her to remain in New York City.

Before attending Columbia, Abzug boarded a train to Florida to visit relatives. It was there that she met Maurice M. (Martin) Abzug. The two were married on June 4, 1944, after Martin completed his military service in World War II (1939–45). Because of the wartime shortages of apartments, the couple settled in a small hotel suite near Columbia. At the end of her first year, Abzug was honored by being chosen as an editor of the *Columbia Law Review,* a extremely prestigious journal examining articles on law. Following graduation, Abzug passed the New York state bar (professional statewide lawyer association) exams in 1947 and joined a law firm that specialized in labor law. She and Martin eventually moved to the New York suburb of Mount Vernon, where they raised their two daughters who were born in 1949 and 1952.

As a young lawyer in the 1950s, Abzug found she was not initially taken seriously when she represented a law firm. Since only around 2 percent of the bar was female at the time, she was often mistaken as a secretary. Because professional women usually wore hats and gloves at that time, Abzug adopted the practice and found that it helped in her career as well by combating gender prejudice against nonprofessional women. She soon opened her own law office. When she was not defending clients in the courtroom, she spent her time as a social activist. For the next twenty-five years, Abzug specialized in civil rights cases.

Abzug gained a reputation for defending those accused of being Communists by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC was created in 1938 to investigate alleged disloyalty and subversive activities on the part of private citizens, public employees, and those organizations suspected of having Communist ties. She represented a large number of artists and writers charged with un-American activities because of their political associations. Abzug was one of only a few attorneys willing to fight against the powerful government committee because of her belief in civil rights. People targeted by HUAC became blacklisted. This meant the people accused and investigated were unable to find work anywhere even if they were innocent of any charges made against them, as many were.

A Mississippi legal case

As a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Abzug was chosen as chief counsel of appeals (legal requests for a new hearing) in a well-known Mississippi civil rights case in 1950. Willie McGee was a thirty-two-year-old black truck driver who had been convicted and sentenced to death for raping a white woman. At that time, it was illegal in many southern states for whites and blacks to even date each other. It turned out McGee and his accuser had a long-standing sexual relationship. When the affair was discovered by another person, the woman brought the charges against him in an effort to clear herself of any wrongdoing. In her appeal, Abzug argued that McGee's sentence was racially motivated because Southern judges and juries reserved the death penalty for rape by blacks only. She pointed out that a white man had never been condemned to death for the same offense. She also challenged the traditional practice of excluding blacks from the jury.

Abzug appealed the case all the way to the Supreme Court and managed to get a stay, or postponement, of execution twice. The case had received national and international attention since a campaign demanding fair treatment for McGee had been launched against the state governor's office. As the final execution date approached, Abzug traveled to Jackson, Mississippi, for a last-minute hearing. Alone and in the early stages of pregnancy, Abzug arrived in town to find a hostile reception from local whites who resented outside interference. Unable to find a hotel that would take her, Abzug sat up all night in the bus station before pleading the case for clemency (an official declaration of mercy) the following day. Her final appeal failed and McGee was executed in 1951.

Bella Abzug (center, wearing hat) participated in many public demonstrations, such as this 1980 march celebrating the 60th anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, advocating for women's rights. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Women Strike for Peace

Throughout the 1950s, Abzug was a prominent campaigner for peace and for women's rights. In 1961, she helped found the national organization called Women Strike for Peace (WSP) that was part of the peace movement opposing testing of nuclear weapons. She was the national legislative director of WSP from 1961 to 1970. In 1961, thousands of WSP members staged peaceful protests in response to the threat of a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both nations were threatening to resume atmospheric (above ground) nuclear tests in a competition for world dominance, and the WSP supported the banning of all nuclear testing. The WSP also opposed the Vietnam War and supported those resisting the military draft (required military duty), known as conscientious objectors.

The HUAC considered WSP's political objectives un-American and served subpoenas (formal court order to appear) on fourteen members in

the New York metropolitan area in 1962. Abzug prepared a description of the constitutional rights of witnesses for WSP defendants at the HUAC hearings. She also encouraged them to claim that this was a challenge to their First Amendment rights of free speech rather than using the defense of the Fifth Amendment, which protects an individual from providing testimony incriminating themselves in a crime. WSP members emerged victorious and found the experience brought them additional benefits. The HUAC investigation provided them ample opportunities to hold press conferences in order to express WSP's political views, gain support, and raise funds. By 1963, world leaders took an important first step in limiting nuclear testing by signing an agreement to stop testing nuclear weapons in the air, on the ground, and in the sea.

Ms. Abzug goes to Washington

In opposing the Vietnam War, Abzug soon became an important voice in calling for an end to the conflict. In 1969, Abzug decided to run for Congress in the Democratic primary from the Nineteenth Congressional District in New York City. She won and in 1971, took her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives with the added distinction of being the first Jewish Congresswoman, and one of only a dozen women in the House. On her first day in Congress, she fulfilled her campaign promise to be a voice of change by introducing a resolution calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam by July 4. That same year, Abzug helped found and was chair of the National Women's Political Caucus (see box) that both was a proponent for peace and women's activism.

Abzug's trademark wide-brimmed hats brought her a great deal of publicity and made her one of the most recognizable women in American politics at the time. Her forceful personality and direct manner brought Abzug even greater attention and made her an influential leader. Not all attention was positive; Abzug was a focus for criticism. Adopting feminist trends of the day, she insisted on being called Ms. rather than Mrs. and drew as many defenders as she did detractors on any given issue. Abzug's dynamic approach was often disruptive and earned her a variety of nicknames, including Battling Bella, Bellicose (belligerent) Bella, and Mother Courage. A 1977 hurricane was named for her. During her three terms in Congress, Abzug earned wide respect and was involved in writing several crucial pieces of legislation. As two examples, she co-authored the Freedom of Information Act (1966) which requires the federal

National Women's Political Caucus

In 1971, four feminist leaders announced the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). The original leaders included Betty Friedan (1921–2006), Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005), **Gloria Steinem** (1934–; see entry), and Congresswoman Bella Abzug. As a lawyer and politician, Abzug was one of the key figures of the modern feminist movement. The stated purpose of the NWPC was to create a political power base that included women, the poor, the working class, racial minorities, and other groups previously excluded from the political process.

In the early twenty-first century, the NWPC billed itself as a multi-cultural, intergenerational, and multi-issue organization that was dedicated to placing women who were pro-choice candidates (favoring the right of women to have abortions) into positions of power at all levels of government. The caucus offered financial assistance as well as training and technical assistance to women of all political party affiliations, although the vast majority were Democratic candidates. State and local chapters provided volunteer assistance and helped raise money to increase women's participation in government.

government to provide many types of information when requested by the public and the Right to Privacy Act (1974) to protect the personal records of citizens held by the government. Abzug was among the first on the House Floor to call for the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) for his role in the Watergate Scandal.

Battling Bella

Abzug left Congress in 1976 to make an unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate. After losing the Senate race by a narrow margin, she campaigned for mayor of New York City in 1977 and lost again. U.S. president Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81) appointed Abzug as chair of the National Advisory Commission on Women in 1978. The Commission is to advise the president and national leaders on issues important to women. However, she was dismissed in 1979 for openly criticizing the administration's economic policies. In response, Abzug set up a grassroots, or working class, political action organization called Women USA, and resumed her law practice in New York City's Greenwich Village.

In addition to working on her various causes, Abzug served as a television news commentator and magazine columnist for a time and co-authored with Mim Kelber a book titled *Gender Gap* in 1984. With a lawyer's enthusiasm for her topic, she explained in the book how women could achieve political

power in America by networking in organizations ranging everywhere from the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) to the United Nations (UN), an international organization created to resolve conflicts in the world. She believed the law was an instrument of change. However, the law did not always work in favor of women, minorities, and the poor, making it necessary to organize coalitions (a temporary combination of organizations formed for a common cause) to make change. Abzug's vision was to mobilize women all over the world in what she called a global sisterhood.

Active throughout life

After forty-two years of marriage, Abzug's husband, Martin, died in 1986. She lost her greatest supporter and friend. Despite failing health, Abzug continued her involvement in political issues, especially women's rights. She was a member of a variety of pressure groups including the National Organization of Women (NOW), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). In 1990 she co-founded and headed the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) to improve the environment as well as address social justice and women's issues worldwide.

Abzug was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1994. Her work as president of WEDO made her an international influence at the UN and various world conferences with her efforts to empower women around the globe. Early in March 1998, she made her final public speech before the UN at the age of seventy-seven. Abzug was admitted to Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in Manhattan and died of complications from heart surgery on March 31.

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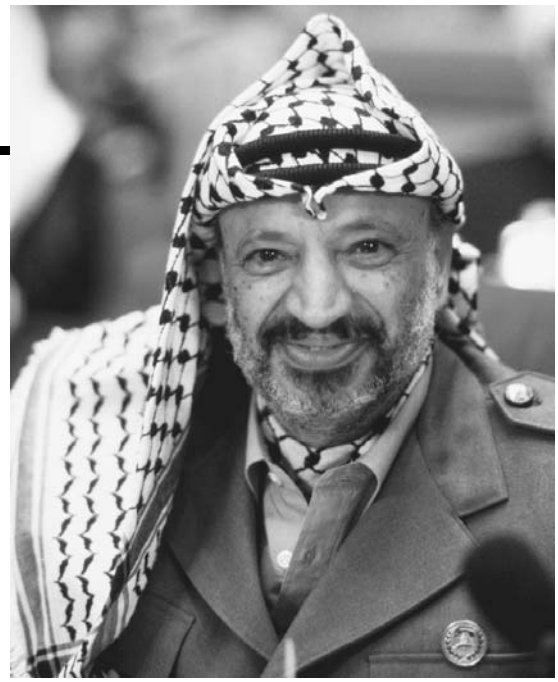
Yasser Arafat

BORN: August 24, 1929 • Cairo, Egypt

DIED: November 11, 2004 • Paris, France

Palestinian president



"The uprising will stop only when practical and tangible steps are taken toward the attainment of its national goals and establishment of its Palestinian state."

Yasser Arafat first gained international attention as founder and leader of the militant Palestinian group called al-Fatah. Most Palestinian Arabs worship the religious faith of Islam. Such people are called Muslims. In 1969, he was elected chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a political organization promoting the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Arafat waged a guerrilla war (military forces that operate in small bands and harass the enemy, usually by surprise attacks) against Israel until 1988. Arafat took the role of diplomat at the end of the twentieth century and represented the Palestinian people in peace talks to try and resolve the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. He was instrumental in bringing about the Oslo Accords of 1993 that established the Palestinian Authority.

Yasser Arafat. © PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS.

For his efforts, Arafat was co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, along with Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin (1922–1995) and

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres (1923–) in 1994. Arafat was elected president of the Palestinian Authority in 1996 and remained a symbol of the Palestinian national movement until his death in 2004.

The student leader

Born in 1929, Mohammed Abder Rauf Arafat al-Kudwa al-Husseini became known as Yasser Arafat. Yasir (meaning "easygoing") was Arafat's nickname as a youth. An Egyptian birth certificate records Arafat's date of birth as August 24 in Cairo, Egypt. However, other sources list the date as August 4 and cite Jerusalem, or sometimes Gaza, as his place of birth. Arafat's father, Abder Rauf Arafat, was a religious man who was active with the Islamic Council in Cairo. He was a Palestinian textile merchant was trading in Gaza and Egypt when Yasir was born. His mother, Zahwa Abu Saud, was the daughter of a prominent Palestinian family from Jerusalem. She died when Arafat was four, leaving Yasir and his six siblings in the care of their father. Abder sent Yasir and his younger brother to Jerusalem to live with their maternal family until he remarried four years later. The boys then returned to Cairo, where Yasir spent most of his childhood and teenage years.

By 1946, Arafat had joined the Palestinian resistance against the British, who held a mandate (official instruction or command) to govern Palestinian territory since the end of World War I (1914–18). He helped gather weapons that were smuggled into Palestine to fight against the British. Arab nations were angered because the British were negotiating with the leaders of Zionism after World War II (1939–45). Zionism was a movement that lobbied for, or promoted, the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Early in the twentieth century, the British had also promised Palestine land to the Arabs as well for their support during World War I. However, growing Arab opposition to the movement of Jews into the region in the 1920s later led to increasing conflict and little political resolution of the homelands of both groups.

Arafat graduated from high school in 1947. In that year, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution to partition (divide and separate) Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. The UN is an international organization created in 1946 to help resolve disputes and maintain peace between nations. On May 15, 1948, the state of Israel was established. War immediately broke out between the Jews and neighboring Arab states. The Arabs hoped to drive out the Jews before the land could be partitioned in the newly established country.

The Arab-Israeli War of 1948 ended with the defeat of the Arab forces. By the time the armistice (peace agreement) was signed, Israel had gained additional territory. Both sides experienced a significant refugee (person who flees in search of protection or shelter) problem because of the number of people who were displaced during the hostilities. Some fled to refugee camps while others scattered throughout the Arab world, Europe, Israel, and North America. The armistice ended open warfare between the nations. However, the conflict reemerged as a guerilla war that sustained the cycle of violence between Israelis and Palestinians into the twenty-first century.

Arafat attended Cairo University, where he majored in civil engineering. While in school, he sought ways to contribute to the Palestinian cause. He became involved in political student activities and joined the Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood that opposed Western influences in Arab societies. Arafat served as chairman of the university's Union of Palestinian Students from 1952 until 1956. Graduating in 1956 with a bachelor's degree, Arafat served briefly in the Egyptian Army during the Suez Crisis. The crisis began when the Egyptian government took control of the Suez Canal, a valuable shipping waterway that connects the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. This action blocked Israeli and European shipping routes. In response, Israel took control of Egypt's Sinai Desert and the Gulf of Aqaba, while Britain and France regained control of the Suez Canal. Israel suffered 177 deaths while Egypt suffered 1,650 killed and 4,900 wounded.

The conflict ended with an agreement brokered by the United Nations under pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union. Under the agreement, Israel was able to maintain control of some captured territories such as the Sinai Desert, but agreed to give up control of the Suez Canal after the United Nations guaranteed Israel's continued access to the vital waterway.

Birth of al-Fatah

Arafat left Egypt in 1956 to take a job with the department of public works in Kuwait, a small country bordering southern Iraq. He soon started his own successful contracting firm and used the proceeds to support the Palestinian cause. In the late 1950s, Arafat organized a group of Palestinian exiles in an underground cell (small, secret group of activists) that became known as al-Fatah. *Fatah* means "conquest" or "victory." The movement was dedicated to establishing an independent Palestinian state. Arafat published a magazine called *Filastin-na* (Our Palestine), which supported an armed struggle against Israel. About this

Intifadah

Intifadah is an Arabic word meaning uprising. In December 1987, an intifadah broke out in Palestine over Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The former Palestinian territory had been captured by Israel twenty years earlier during the Six-Day War of 1967. Arab workers living in the occupied territory protested the long lines and special permits required to travel to their places of employment in Israel. Palestinian citizens staged labor strikes and boycotts. These resulted in violent confrontations with Israeli forces. The fighting continued on a daily basis and seriously disrupted the economic stability in the area. Israel imposed curfews (restricting movement of people after a particular hour) in the territories and imprisoned thousands of Palestinians before the intifadah ended. In 1988, the two sides agreed to negotiations which resulted in the Oslo Accords. The peace talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis broke down in September 2000, and a second intifadah erupted. Negotiations were complicated by disagreements over how property was to be compensated (paid for the loss) for and control over water resources. Control over Jerusalem, a city of historic and religious importance to both Muslims and Jews, also remained a major point of disagreement. Militant Palestinian groups who reject the legitimacy of the state of Israel encouraged the intifadah and increased the violence against Israelis. Israel responded by blocking Palestinians from working in Israel in order to secure its borders against terrorist attacks. The second intifadah ended in 2005. However, deeply held prejudices on both sides make coexistence unlikely and the conflict remained unresolved.

time, Arafat donned the kufiyah (checkered scarf) headdress which became his symbol. He also adopted the fighting name Abu Amar.

By 1964, Arafat left Kuwait to become a full-time revolutionary (one who is in favor of overthrowing a government). He launched armed raids into Israel from Jordan. Arafat became a national hero in Palestine because he dared to confront Israel. However, Arab governments feared he might bring them into a war with Israel before they were prepared. As a result, he was imprisoned twice in Syria in 1966. Once released, Arafat continued to form a network of cells to attack Israeli targets. His actions eventually helped provoke the Six-Day War of 1967. The war was between Israel and the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The Israelis quickly defeated the Arab forces and gained control of new Palestinian territories, including the West Bank, Gaza, Golan Heights, and Sinai Peninsula. The Arab forces suffered 21,000 killed and 45,000 wounded while Israel suffered 779 killed and fewer than 2,600 wounded.

Media coverage of the war brought Arafat and Fatah to the attention of the international community. Young Palestinians joined his movement and Fatah escalated their attacks against Israel. At the end of the 1960s,

Arafat emerged from the underground movement as the acknowledged leader of the largest faction of Palestinian guerrillas working with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The Palestine Liberation Organization

In February 1969, Arafat was elected chairman of the PLO, which was based in Jordan. The PLO had been established by the Arab League in 1964 to be an umbrella organization (one that coordinates activities of a number of other organizations that share a common cause or interest). He was to bring together the large number of groups working to free Palestine for the Palestinians. Arafat's leadership and organizational skills allowed the widely differing political views of the fedayeen (literally translated as "those who sacrifice themselves") to work together. This permitted the PLO to unite many Arabs in their cause. However, it also made it impossible for Arafat to impose discipline or to come up with any consistent policy in negotiations with other nations.

The PLO became an independent military organization within the nation of Jordan. Tensions erupted into open fighting in June 1970. A PLO group had hijacked several aircraft and the Jordanian government took action to regain control over its territory. Conflict opened up between Palestinian guerillas and the army of Jordan in September 1970 and lasted until July 1971. The conflict ended when the PLO relocated its operations to southern Lebanon.

The Arab-Israel War of 1973 began with a surprise invasion of the Golan Heights and Sinai region by a coalition of Arab forces led by Egypt and Syria. The war is also referred to as the Yom Kippur War because the invasion occurred on the date of a very important Jewish religious holiday called Yom Kippur. The Arabs hoped to regain lands lost in the Six-Day War of 1967. Israel won again, suffering 2,656 killed and 7,250 wounded while the Arab forces suffered over 8,500 deaths and almost 20,000 wounded. Israel's resulting victory led to discussions of the possibility of peace with Israel among some members of the PLO. Arafat himself addressed the UN General Assembly in New York on November 14, 1974, claiming he was open to the possibility of peace.

The following year, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution (written agreement approved by a majority vote) accusing the Israeli government of abusing the non-Jews in their midst. Citing laws which grant Jews rights over non-Jews, the resolution equated Zionism with racism. For example, Jews were favored over others in Israel's emigration

U.S. president Bill Clinton brings Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin (left) and PLO chaiman Yasser Arafat (right) together for a historic handshake after the signing of the Israeli–PLO peace accord in September 1993.

laws because Jews are given immediate citizenship while others were not and perhaps denied citizenship altogether. Other regulations prohibited non-Jews from purchasing or renting a house, apartment, or business in territories regulated by the Jewish National Fund. This restriction included 90 percent of Israel's habitable (suitable for life) land. The UN resolution condemned the Israeli state on the grounds that it showed prejudice against non-Jews. The resolution was repealed in December 1991 at the request of the United States.

Compromise for peace

Arafat still had only limited control over the multiple factions within the PLO. Despite talk about peace, groups such as Hamas (see box) were increasing their terrorist activities. The PLO continued attacks on Israel from its base in Lebanon until Israel invaded the country in 1982 and

Hamas

Hamas became the ruling political party of the Palestinian Authority in early 2006 elections. Hamas is short for Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyah, which means the Movement of Islamic Resistance. The Arabic word adopted by the party literally means "zeal." Hamas began as an extension of the Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood in the late 1970s. By the 1980s, followers of the movement called for jihad (holy war) against Israel. They wanted to reclaim land in the West Bank and Gaza that had been lost during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Hamas intensified its attacks against Israel when the Oslo Accords of 1993 established a peace agreement between Palestine and Israel because its charter, or agreement, calls for the complete liberation of Palestine. Hamas leaders were given a political voice in the newly formed Palestinian Authority when Yasser Arafat appointed several of its members to leadership positions in the government.

Hamas is one of the major political parties that are part of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the official representative of the Palestinian people. The other major parties are Fatah and the Islamic Jihad. Fatah differs from the more radical parties in Palestine because it is the only one that recognizes Israel's right to exist in the Middle East. Fatah was the dominant party in the Palestinian parliament until January 2006 when Hamas won the legislative elections.

Israel and the United States reacted to the Hamas victory by cutting off tax receipts and funds to the Palestinian Authority. This action paralyzed the state's economy by the spring of 2006. Before Hamas came to power, the two states had made moves toward coexistence, even with the removal of some Jewish settlements from the West Bank. The possibility of peace between Israel and Palestine was undermined in June 2006, when militants linked to the Hamas party kidnapped an Israeli soldier. They demanded the release of 1,500 Palestinian prisoners for his return. The Israeli government responded in July with a wide-scale military offensive in the Gaza Strip and announced that it was prepared for an extended war with the Palestinians.

forced the PLO into exile in Tunisia. In 1987, Palestinians launched an intifadah (see box) to protest the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza areas. World attention now focused on the plight of the Palestinians. Arafat used the political momentum to move his followers toward the prospects of a peace agreement with Israel.

Secret negotiations began in 1992 and led to an Israeli-Palestinian agreement known as the Oslo Accords in 1993. Officially called the Declaration of Principles (DOP), the agreement allowed for Palestine to gradually gain control of both the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian elections took place in 1996. Arafat was elected president of the new Palestinian Authority. Further peace talks between the Palestinians and Israelis soon broke down and a second intifadah erupted in September 2000. Israel announced its intentions to remove Arafat from the Israeli-

controlled West Bank because of his inability to control the Palestinian militant organizations. Arafat fell ill in October 2004 and was taken to Paris for treatment. He died on November 11 and, after a state funeral in Cairo, was laid to rest within his former headquarters in Ramallah in the West Bank.

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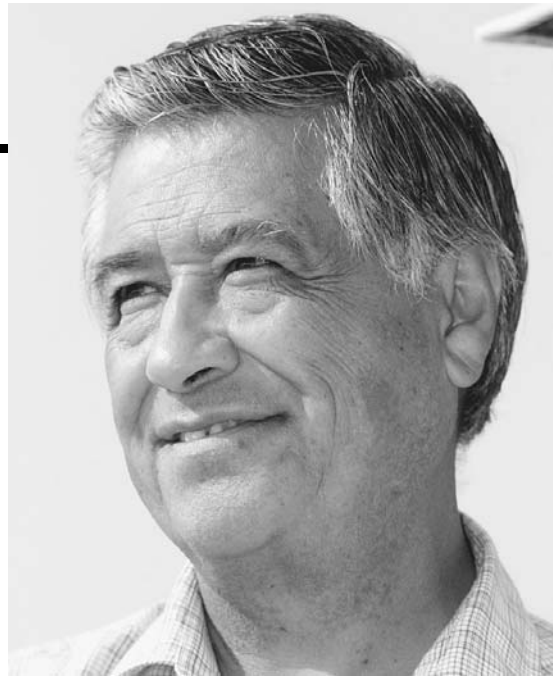
Cesar Chavez

BORN: March 31, 1927 • Yuma, Arizona

DIED: April 23, 1993 • San Luis, Arizona

Mexican American labor leader, social activist



Cesar Chavez. © NAJLAH FEANNY/CORBIS.

"I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness, is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally nonviolent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men!"

Cesar Chavez was a Mexican American labor leader and social activist who fought against racial prejudice. He founded and led the first successful farmworkers' union (organized groups of workers joined together for a common purpose, such as better working conditions) in the United States. Chavez captured the nation's attention in 1965 when he organized the largest agricultural strike (refusal to work until demands for fair treatment are met) on record. As a civil rights leader, Chavez spoke out for economic and social justice during the turbulent years following World War II (1939–45). His message of nonviolence, fairness, and respect brought about peaceful change and instilled a sense of cultural pride in Mexican Americans who were struggling for equality. In 1994, Chavez was posthumously (post-death) awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the United States' highest civilian honor.

The Great Depression

When Cesar Estrada Chavez was born in the spring of 1927, his family owned and operated a small business near Yuma, Arizona. His parents, Librado and Juana Estrada Chavez, lost their business as well as the family farm during the Great Depression (1929–41), a prolonged and severe worldwide economic slump that led to high unemployment rates and much hunger and homelessness. When Chavez was ten years old, the family joined thousands of other migrant farmworkers who followed the harvest circuit throughout the American Southwest. The annual routine began in early winter in the Imperial Valley just across the California-Arizona border and ended in the San Joaquin Valley in northern California after Christmas.

Family farms lost through foreclosure (failure to make mortgage payments) were incorporated into large land holdings as the Depression progressed. The spirit of cooperation that often existed between laborers and small farm owners did not exist with the large company farms. They were operated by absentee owners who could easily distance themselves from the suffering of fieldworkers. In the 1930s, author John Steinbeck (1902–1968) wrote his most famous novel titled *The Grapes of Wrath* and based on a fictional migrant camp located in the San Joaquin Valley. The book chronicled the lives of the dispossessed, or cast out, population of migrant workers who roamed California's rich agricultural valleys during the Depression.

The Farm Security Administration (FSA) was established in 1935 as a branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Its task was to document and report on the lives of impoverished farmers and laborers who were suffering the effects of poor land conditions in addition to the deepening economic crisis. FSA director Roy Stryker (1893–1975) hired an impressive group of photographers, including Esther Bubley (1921–1998) and Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), to make a photographic record of the workers' conditions. Lange's photograph titled "Migrant Mother" became one of the best-known images to come out of the department's extensive photograph collection.

Chavez's father imparted the knowledge of farming and the value of honest labor to his six children. He refused to tolerate prejudice (a negative attitude, emotion, or behavior towards individuals based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience) and discrimination (treating some differently than others or favoring one social group over another based on prejudices). He would lead his family out of

the fields whenever they were faced with such abuses as unsanitary conditions and lack of clean water. Over the years, Librado Chavez joined several labor unions that attempted to organize. He was the first to stop working if leaders called for a Huelga (Spanish for strike). Efforts to unionize were often met by intimidation, reduced wages, and even violence by the state's big growers.

Juana Chavez was a deeply religious woman whose Catholicism sustained the family during difficult times. She taught her children the importance of caring for the less fortunate, despite their own family's hardships. Juana, who was illiterate (could not read), was determined that her children receive an education. It was Chavez's parents' influence that molded his enduring commitment to religion, labor activism, and social justice.

A trail of crops

Life for migrant workers was very difficult throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Poor whites from Oklahoma and Arkansas were uprooted from their homes along with poor blacks from the South and Hispanics from the Southwest. They all headed for the California fields in search of for work. However, the African American and Mexican American workers faced the additional burden of racial and ethnic prejudices and discrimination when they arrived. Many migrants who were of Hispanic descent could speak little English. Dishonest farm owners easily took advantage of them by paying less money than what the workers expected or requiring the workers to work longer hours than originally understood.

In the Depression-era fields, job competition created fierce rivalries among migrants because there were so many unemployed workers. The exhausting field work was made more difficult because a worker's earnings depended on speed. Paid by the basketful, workers rushed to pick and deliver the produce. The increased production not only earned more money, but also set a laborer apart from others seeking jobs. Children joined adults in the field to put food on the table. However, families still could not earn enough for rent. Many slept in cars or erected crude shacks on the edge of a town.

Social class prejudice (groups of people sharing similar wealth and social standing) and racial prejudices existed in the schools and towns where workers settled in addition to the fields they worked. Tradition in California had long separated residents based on their skin color and individual wealth. Segregation (keeping races apart in public places) of

Zoot Suits

Zoot suits were a popular style of dress for young Hispanic males in the early 1940s. The outfit was distinguished by its high-waist pants that ended in a tight cuff around the ankles. A long coat was worn over the pants with a hanging watch chain as an accessory. Broad-brimmed hats covered a long, ducktail haircut at a time when military buzz-cuts were mainstream style. White Americans associated the zoot suit with criminal activity because the outfit was worn by pachuco gangs in southern California. *Pachuco* is a slang word that came to mean "tough guy." In the summer of 1942, the Los Angeles media gave extensive coverage to the high-profile trial of twenty-two pachucos accused of murder of a young man born in Mexico but raised in the United States. Twelve of the men were initially found guilty but an appeals court reversed the convictions, dismissing all charges. Anti-Mexican sentiment continued nonetheless.

The following summer in 1943, a minor clash between Mexican and white youths resulted in a police raid on Mexican neighborhoods. The media frenzy that followed increased anger among the general public. Race riots aimed at Mexican Americans erupted across the city on June 7, 1943. Mobs of soldiers and sailors stationed in Los Angeles during World War II joined civilians carrying sticks, clubs, and chains as they searched for zoot-suiters in the downtown area. Pulled from public facilities, the youth were stripped of their clothing, beaten, and left bleeding on the streets. The rioting spread to the suburbs and expanded to include anyone of Mexican descent. After two days, the rioting was finally stopped by police and military authorities, but not before it had spread to other Southern California communities including Long Beach, Pasadena, and San Diego. No deaths resulted but hard feelings remained.

Mexican Americans and whites was the accepted practice in restaurants, stores, theaters, and even schools during the Depression. Children were punished for speaking Spanish in class and often humiliated for making mistakes in English. Racist (prejudice against people of a particular physical trait, such as skin color) remarks against the Hispanic students were commonplace. Prejudice and a heavy workload disrupted any formal education the Chavez children received. Chavez left school after completing the eighth grade at the age of fifteen. As a teenager, Chavez favored the baggy zoot suits (see box) that were popular among Hispanic pachucos (tough guys). The outfits carried a negative image among white Americans and further fueled existing prejudices.

Two years after leaving school, Chavez joined the U.S. Navy and served in the western Pacific near the end of World War II. The war had left Southern California with a severe field labor shortage. The American government worked with the Mexican government to set up the Bracero Program (see box). The program brought hundreds of thousands of guest workers into the United States to fill wartime demands for agricultural

The Bracero Program

With much of America's working population serving in the military overseas during World War II, temporary laborers were needed to fill their places at home. Women of all races joined the work force in nontraditional jobs, such as assembly line workers in aircraft manufacturing, to meet the needs of factories in the war effort. A severe shortage of agricultural workers also occurred, leaving the nation unable to fill wartime demands for food.

The United States turned to nearby Mexico to meet its agricultural needs. The two governments formed the Bracero Program with the expectation it would be mutually beneficial to both countries because Mexico was experiencing high unemployment rates at the time. *Bracero* originates in the Spanish word *brazo* (meaning arm) and is a Mexican term that translates into English as hired hand. By the time the war ended, more than two hundred thousand braceros had participated in the international program. Like the Mexican American laborers they were replacing, the Mexican workers were welcomed into the fields, but not into American society. Braceros were subjected to exploitation despite government agreements designed to protect them.

The U.S. and Mexican governments worked together to set up the Bracero Program, which attracted more than two hundred thousand braceros by the time the war ended. The Mexican term bracero comes from the Spanish word brazo or "arm." Roughly translated into English, bracero means "hired hand." Although the governments' signed contracts to avoid exploitation of the braceros, in practice they were routinely violated and the workers were subjected to a variety of abuses.

laborers. With the end of war the soldiers returned to the United States and the braceros returned to Mexico. The sacrifices that Mexican Americans made in the defense of their country in wartime left many determined to demand the protection of constitutional rights due to them as Americans in peacetime.

When Chavez returned from active military duty, he married Helen Fabela, whose farm worker family had settled in Delano, California. Chavez returned to life as a farmworker. The couple eventually settled in the East San Jose area called Sal Si Puedes (literally "get out if you can"). He found work at a lumberyard and began to look for ways to improve working conditions for the thousands who labored on farms for low wages and under severe conditions. Between 1949 and 1959, Cesar and Helen had eight children.

The Delano grape boycott

In 1953, Chavez joined the Community Service Organization (CSO) to help register Mexican Americans to vote. The CSO was one of a growing number of civil rights groups that formed in the 1950s to challenge

prejudice and injustice in postwar America. The association helped to improve educational opportunities for minorities and also addressed such critical problems as police brutality. Chavez began as a local volunteer and soon became a paid organizer. By 1958, he was director of the CSO. He gained the skills and acquired the contacts he needed to work with other Mexican American community activists on a larger scale.

Chavez left the CSO in 1962 when its policy board rejected his proposal to form a union of agricultural workers. That year, he joined others in forming the Farm Workers Association (FWA). Chavez, still living in Delano, traveled to migrant labor camps throughout California and Arizona, convincing workers of the need for unity. Minimal monthly dues provided workers with group health insurance, a credit union (an association that makes small loans to its members), and an advocate, or supporter, in the fields or in the courts.

The FWA was renamed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and chose Viva La Causa ("long live the cause") as its motto. Its purpose was to rally young Hispanics to the fight for equality in American society. The union's flag was a black eagle in a white circle against a field of red. The black in the logo symbolized the workers' dark position, the red illustrated the work and suffering yet to be endured, and the white represented the light of hope.

In 1965, a union of Filipino grape pickers approached Chavez and the NFWA for help. They wanted to organize a boycott (to stop buying a certain product until demands are met) against Delano grape growers because of unfair wages. The NFWA agreed. Chavez led a group of strikers who walked from Delano to the state capitol in Sacramento to deliver the union's demands for the government to take action to protect the workers. Ten thousand marchers arrived at the state capitol on Easter morning after walking for three weeks and over 200 miles. The marchers received national media coverage. The Delano Grape Strike ended successfully for workers in 1966.

The NFWA voted to merge with other farm unions to become the United Farm Workers (UFW) union, which was recognized by the national AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations). The Delano strike brought Chavez national recognition as a leader of a large, broad-based civil rights movement. He spoke out not only for economic and social justice, but also against the unpopular Vietnam War (1957–75). Chavez received public support from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968). La Causa gained momentum in the country.

La Causa

Strikes, boycotts, pickets, marches, and sit-ins (to sit down and quietly refuse to leave when asked) were all political weapons Chavez employed in his nonviolent battle against racial discrimination. Inspired by Indian leader **Mahatma Gandhi** (1869–1948; see entry), who fought racial discrimination in India using nonviolent methods including fasting (to not eat or only eat very little of certain things), Chavez used fasting to call attention to his message against prejudice and encouraged followers to remember his example of nonviolence. When UFW members began talking about adopting more violent tactics during a 1968 strike in California, Chavez began a fast that lasted twenty-five days in protest. Union members agreed to renounce violence. U.S. senator Robert Kennedy (1925–1968) joined Chavez at a press conference in Delano where Chavez ended his highly publicized fast. Kennedy also lent his prestige to the La Causa movement when he went on the campaign trail for president that year. The assassinations of both King and Kennedy in 1968 divided union leadership on the issue of nonviolence. Chavez resisted pressure to embrace a militant Hispanic movement just as King had resisted the Black Power movement a decade earlier.

The political battle for the rights of workers continued. In 1970, Chavez helped negotiate an historic contract with a majority of grape producers in Delano. In 1974, Martin Luther King's widow, Coretta Scott King (1927–2006), presented Chavez with the Martin Luther King Nonviolent Peace Award in Atlanta, Georgia. That same year, Chavez and Helen, who was a big supporter of Cesar's activism, traveled to Europe in an effort to increase support among international leaders. Religion and spirituality were central to his life and his cause. Therefore, a highlight of the trip for Chavez came when he was granted a private audience with the Roman Catholic pope Paul VI (1897–1978). Finally in 1975, California passed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. It was the first bill to protect the right of farmworkers in the United States to act together to help themselves. It provided for government-supervised collective bargaining (negotiations between representatives of employers and workers to reach agreement on working conditions) under the Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

Criticism of Chavez's authoritarian (power is centered in a single person who demands complete obedience of others) style of leadership caused internal opposition for the UFW during the 1980s. However, he continued to recruit migrant workers to the union and raise funds to

Cesar Chavez walks a picket line boycotting Chiquita bananas, 1979. AP IMAGES.

ensure the union's future. During the early 1980s the state of California became less committed to enforcing the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. In response, Chavez promoted another grape boycott to protest the use of toxic pesticides in grapes. In 1988, Chavez began a fast to draw attention to the dangers of pesticides to workers in the fields and vineyards as well as to the consumers who ate them. The fast lasted for thirty-six days and left the sixty-one-year-old Chavez severely weakened.

In 1991, Chavez received Mexico's highest award, the Aguila Azteca (The Aztec Eagle). The award is presented to people of Mexican heritage who have made major contributions to society throughout the world. As head of the UFW, he continued to work for the rights of farmworkers until his death in 1993. While on union business, Chavez died in his sleep at the age of sixty-six of unidentified natural causes, not far from his birthplace in Arizona. Over fifty thousand mourners paid their last respects at a funeral mass for Chavez. Millions more witnessed it on international broadcasting networks. In death and in life, Chavez brought attention to La Causa and the need for peaceful social change.

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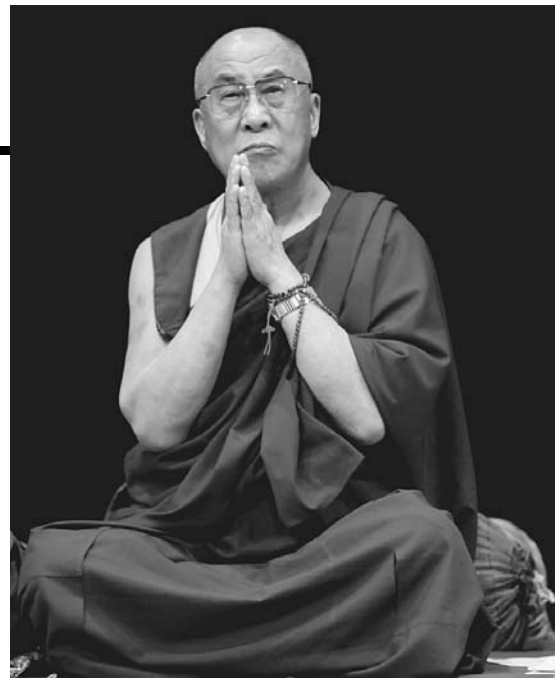
Dalai Lama

BORN: July 6, 1935 • Chinghai Province, China

Tibetan spiritual leader



Dalai Lama. © JAYANTA SHAW/REUTERS/CORBIS.

"The suppression of the rights and freedoms of any people by . . . governments is against human nature, and the recent movements for democracy in various parts of the world are a clear indication of this."

Tenzin Gyatso was the fourteenth Dalai Lama, the spiritual and former political leader of Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama lived in exile (banished from one's own country) in India in the early twenty-first century following the invasion of Tibet by the People's Republic of China in 1959. For over four decades he set up educational, cultural, and religious institutions to promote peace and preserve the Tibetan identity. His Holiness the Dalai Lama held the Geshe Lharampa Degree (Doctorate of Buddhist Philosophy). He lectured around the world and authored more than fifty books.

The Dalai Lama traveled internationally and met with all the religious and political leaders of the major nations to promote negotiations between the Tibetan and Chinese people. In 1973, the Dalai Lama and Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) held an historic press conference when the leaders of two faith traditions met at the Vatican in Rome. In 1981, the

Dalai Lama spoke at an interfaith service organized by the World Congress of Faiths and called for inter-religious understanding and universal responsibility. His message of freedom and peace was recognized by numerous awards, including the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

The boy from Taktster

Lhamo Thondup, later renamed Tenzin Gyatso, was born in 1935 to a farming family in northeastern Tibet, which later became the Chinghai province of China. Like most Tibetans his parents, Choekyong and Dekyi Tsering, were faithful Buddhists (see box). His mother gave birth to sixteen children, but only seven survived through infancy in the isolated and harsh climate of Tibet. Lhamo had two sisters and four brothers. When he was a baby his mother carried him on her back when she went out to work in the fields. She often placed him in a corner of the field under an umbrella that was staked to the ground while she took care of the crops. The family's main livelihood was agriculture, but they also kept cattle and chickens, and his father had a special fondness for horses. They lived a simple life in the tiny, solitary hamlet of Taktser among about twenty other families, unaware of much that happened in the world beyond their own horizon.

The eastern district of Tibet was under the secular (nonreligious leaders) rule of China at the time Lhamo was born, but the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thupten Gyatso (1876–1933), was the spiritual leader of the people. He lived in exile in British India from 1913 until his death in 1933. With the passing of the Dalai Lama, an immediate search began in order to choose his successor. Choosing the Dalai Lama (see box) is done in accordance with time-honored customs and traditions. Initially a Regent, or trustee, is appointed by the Tibetan National Assembly to govern the country until the reincarnation (rebirth in a new body or other form of life) of the Dalai Lama can be found and grow to maturity.

The fourteenth Dalai Lama

State oracles (sources of wise or god-like counsel) and learned lamas were consulted in order to find out where the reincarnation would appear. Searchers recalled that the Dalai Lama's body had been placed facing south, but after a few days the face had turned towards the northeast. Combined with other evidence, it indicated the direction where the new Dalai Lama should be sought. Senior lamas (priests) and high dignitaries were sent out to all parts of Tibet. They arrived in Taktser when Lhamo

Buddhism

Buddhism is an East Indian religious tradition that began around the sixth century BCE by Siddhartha Gautama, or Buddha (the Enlightened One). Buddha was regarded by his followers as a great man and a master teacher. He saw himself as one who had "arrived," or transcended the imperfections of life. Buddha taught many followers and was revered as the Exalted One. He lived a long, full life and died at the age of eighty. Buddhism grew out of a reform movement in reaction to the Hindu religion. It advocated tolerance for everyone and offered direction toward the realization of freedom in perfect existence for individuals or societies.

Although begun in Asia, Buddhism spread throughout the world by the twentieth century. European colonialism (extending a nation's control beyond its existing borders) introduced westernized values and technology during Buddhism's historical development. A variety of cultural and educational influences brought significant changes in traditional Buddhist beliefs and institutions by the beginning of the twenty-first century. While there was still considerable unity among practitioners, there were different approaches by which one could realize the Buddhist way of life and attain Enlightenment (a final blessed state marked by the absence of desire or suffering), Nirvana (a state of oblivion to external reality), and liberation from the bonds of Phenomenal Existence (existence in the moment).

The Three Valued Components of Buddhism (also called the Three Jewels) are the Buddha (Teacher and Ideal), the Dhamma/Dharma (Buddhist Principles), and the Sangha (Buddhist Community). Buddhism teaches that three kinds of individuals exist. The lowest being cares solely for worldly matters and at best can only pursue a blissful existence in a future life. Buddhist doctrine teaches that the human soul is reincarnated, or reborn in a new body or form of life. A person's actions in each life generate karma, a force which brings ethical consequences to determine one's destiny in the next existence (what a person puts out into the world will return to him.)

For individuals of the intermediate and highest kinds, the Phenomenal World represents sorrow. They strive to attain a position where they are no longer disturbed by worldly turmoil. The highest aim of any individual is to leave the ego behind and attain Buddhahood in order to bring deliverance to other living beings. One's deliverance from Phenomenal Existence is secured through constant meditation on the true aspect of existence or being. For those with the highest aims, there are five pathways, or degrees, in the pursuit of "the way to Final Deliverance." The first is the Path of Accumulating Merit. The second is the Path of Training. The first two are considered lower paths. The last three represent "the Path of the Saint." They are the Path of Illumination, the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, and the "Final Path," where one is no longer subjected to training.

was about two years old. He passed the required tests for a Dalai Lama. The search party was fully convinced they had discovered the reincarnation. They needed to take him to the great monastery in Lhasa, the "home of the divine" in Tibet. Lhasa was known to the rest of the world as The Forbidden City because of its mystery and isolation.

Choosing the Dalai Lama

Dalai Lama is a Mongolian title meaning Ocean of Wisdom. It is a combination of the Mongolian word dalai (ocean), which signifies profound knowledge, and the Tibetan word blama (religious teacher). The title dates from 1578 and has been given to each reincarnation in the lineage up to the fourteenth Dalai Lama. The men who have held the title are manifestations of the previous Dalai Lama as well as the Bodhisattva of Compassion, the traditional patron of Tibet.

Within a year of the death of the reigning Dalai Lama, people begin to expect reports of an exceptional male child to replace him. Those assigned the task of choosing the reincarnation follow traditional procedures to discover the rebirth of the Dalai Lama. These procedures include studying statements made by the previous Dalai Lama during his lifetime as well as studying significant omens surrounding his death. Meditative visions by special lamas are also interpreted as guides to finding his rebirth.

When possible male candidates are discovered, they are subjected to tests to determine physical fitness, intelligence, and memory of events and objects from their previous existence. The boys are usually between two and three years old when chosen. If several children are likely candidates, the final selection is made by drawing a name from a golden urn.

Once the true reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is determined, he is enthroned in the Potala palace in the mountains near Lhasa in Dbus province, Tibet. Here he receives a monastic education until he reaches the age of maturity, about eighteen years old, and assumes the religious and political power of the office of Dalai Lama. In the West he is called His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Tibetans refer to His Holiness as Yeshin Norbu, the Wish-fulfilling Gem, or Kundun, which simply means The Presence.

The Tibetan government in Lhasa was advised of the discovery, and in mid-summer of 1938, the search party was told to bring the boy to Lhasa for further testing. Although they were sure he was the Dalai Lama, they did not declare him found because they feared what the Chinese governor might do. At first, the governor would not give permission for the boy to leave unless he was declared the Dalai Lama and provided a large escort of Chinese soldiers to Lhasa. The Tibetan government feared once the soldiers arrived at Lhasa, there was a danger the Chinese government would demand authority in Tibet. However, the Chinese government withdrew its demand for control of Tibet in exchange for a payment of one hundred thousand Chinese dollars. When the money was paid, the governor demanded an additional three hundred thousand dollars, Negotiations began between the two governments for the release of Lhamo Thondup.

When the final payments were finally arranged the party left the Chinghai province, and Lhamo Thondup was ordained a monk. He was renamed Jamphel Ngawang Lobsang Yeshe Tenzin Gyatso. The name means The Holy One, The Gentle Glory, Powerful in Speech, Pure in Mind, of Divine Wisdom, Holding the Faith, Ocean-Wide. Recognized as the genuine Reincarnation, Tenzin Gyatso was duly enthroned as the fourteenth Dalai Lama in the Potala (palace) at Lhasa in 1940, at the age of four and a half.

A forced exile

When the young Dalai Lama began his education at the age of six the world was at war. His education at a religious monastery was interrupted late in 1950, when forces of the People's Republic of China invaded Tibet. At the age of fifteen, the Dalai Lama received early empowerment for his office in order to assume his religious and political duties because of the invasion. To avoid capture by the Chinese, he was escorted by horse caravan to a village near the Indian border. Negotiations between India and China allowed the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa the following year. He made an effort to rule over his people under the agreement worked out with China.

Tibet is called the Roof of the World because of its vast mountain system, which contains the world's highest ranges. Its rugged geography kept the nation isolated for centuries, and Tibet's social structure operated as a feudal system (an ancient economic system in which landowning lords provide land to peasants to farm in return for their faithfulness and payments). This meant there was little chance of moving upward from the poor peasant class to the wealth of the landowning aristocracy outside of the monasteries in Tibet. Promotion within the monasteries was democratic (voted by majority of members) for male citizens, however, and they received the finest education. Many lamas had chosen to be reborn in humble families, much like that of the Dalai Lama. Most Tibetan citizens accepted the Dalai Lama system without question because they regarded spiritual matters of equal importance with material (worldly) matters. There was no doubt that their position in life had been determined by karma (a person's conduct determines his destiny in this life or when reincarnated in the future).

The Dalai Lama believed the current distribution of wealth in Tibet was not in accordance with Buddhist teaching. He set out to change the conditions of ordinary people by proposing fundamental reforms in land

laws. It was necessary for the Chinese government to approve all such changes, and they had arrived in Tibet with their own ideas of land reform based on the Communist model. Communism is a political and economic system where a single political party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. The two sides could not reach agreement, so the Dalai Lama traveled to Peking, China, in 1954 to talk with Chinese leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and other Chinese leaders about the reforms and Tibet's future.

Tibet existed historically as an independent, sovereign (free from the rule of other nations) nation prior to the Chinese occupation. However, the Chinese viewed Tibetans as backward, ignorant, and barbaric, because their beliefs and lifestyles were different from the Chinese. To educate the people in Communist ideology required changes in religious, cultural, and political viewpoints. Tibetans were resistant to these changes and used nonviolent means to demonstrate against China. The situation in Tibet continued to deteriorate until March 1959, when a national uprising against the Chinese regime in Lhasa was suppressed by Chinese troops. The Dalai Lama fled to India and established the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala, north India. The Chinese government abolished the Tibetan government and the ruling authority of the Dalai Lama. It set about establishing a socialist (government or whole community controls industry and distribution of goods) society in Tibet.

Peace of mind

The Dalai Lama's appeal to the United Nations (UN; an international organization founded in 1945 composed of most of the countries in the world) on the question of Tibet's status as a nation had little effect. The General Assembly of the UN passed three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961, and 1965, calling for China to respect the human rights of Tibetans and their desire for self-determination. In 1963, the Dalai Lama presented a draft of a democratic constitution for Tibet. It was later published as "The Charter of Tibetans in Exile."

In 1966, Mao mobilized Chinese youth into battalions of Red Guards in order to speed up the spread of Communism. The resulting Cultural Revolution (1966–76) soon spread to Lhasa with a campaign to eliminate the "four olds" and replace them with the "four news" (ideology, customs, culture, and habits). Street names were changed to reflect revolutionary themes. Portraits of Mao began to appear all across Lhasa. Mandatory study groups were organized to read Mao's writings. People were detained if they did not

In the early twenty-first century, the Dalai Lama was still held in high regard by Tibetan Buddhists and many people around the world, as shown by this protester outside the Chinese Consulate in Houston, Texas. AP IMAGES.

carry Mao's Red Book at all times. Tibetan songs and dances were banned, and people wearing Tibetan dress were physically attacked. Before the situation calmed down in 1969, the Red Guard had torn down Buddhist prayer flags and burned ancient scriptures and paintings. China's desire to destroy religion in Tibet resulted in the loss of over six thousand monasteries and countless religious artifacts during the Cultural Revolution.

The People's Republic of China (PRC)'s admission to membership in the UN in the early 1970s brought a more moderate policy in China. It also ended any further UN resolutions concerning Tibet, but it brought about some dramatic changes within all of China's minority areas. Attacks on religion suddenly ended, and the media in Tibet experienced greater

freedom. Tibetans were permitted again to wear their traditional clothing, travel within the country, and celebrate the birthdays of the Dalai Lama and Siddhartha Gautama (563 BCE –483 BCE), the founder of Buddhism. Secret negotiations were opened between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama. However, efforts for a compromise ended without resolution, and the Chinese media renewed its attacks on him. It remained illegal to possess an image of the Dalai Lama in Tibet into the twenty-first century.

In 1987, the Dalai Lama addressed the U.S. Congress and proposed a Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. Among other things, the plan called for fundamental rights and freedoms for the Tibetan people and their land, an end to China's population relocation to Tibet, and negotiations between the Tibetan and Chinese people on the future status of Tibet. The Dalai Lama expanded his Five Point Plan in a presentation at Strasbourg, France, in June 1988. His plan included a self-governing, democratic Tibet in association with the PRC, but his proposal was rejected by the Tibetan government-in-exile in 1991. In the early twenty-first century, the Dalai Lama was still held in high regard by Tibetan Buddhists and many people around the world, but he was seen as a threat by the PRC. China refused his request to return to Tibet on his eightieth birthday on July 6, 2005.

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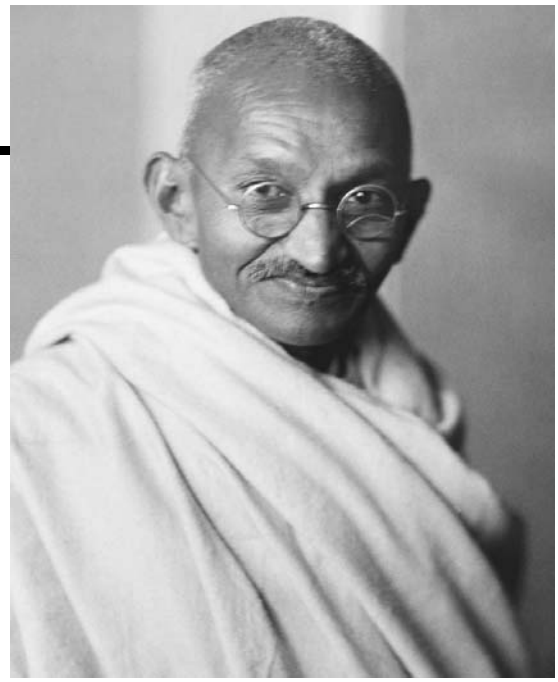
Mahatma Gandhi

BORN: October 2, 1869 • Porbandar, India

DIED: January 30, 1948 • New Delhi, India

Indian political leader, spiritual leader



Mahatma Gandhi.

"My mission is not simply the brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom for India. But through the freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission of the Brotherhood of Man."

Mahatma Gandhi was a major political and spiritual leader of India. In an age of empires and military dominance, Gandhi used nonviolent activism to free his people from colonial rule (one nation gaining political and economic control of another, usually lesser developed, country and its resources) in India and racial oppression in South Africa. His use of civil disobedience (to peacefully disobey laws in protest of government policy) to achieve change inspired similar movements for freedom and human rights around the world. Gandhi earned the title of Mahatma (Great Soul) for his efforts to ease the burden of poverty and ignorance for the poor. A student of Hindu philosophy, Gandhi lived simply and was recognized in India as the Father of the Nation.

Gandhi named his autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* because he had dedicated his life to the wider purpose of

Hinduism

Hinduism is a very complex and diverse religion. The historical roots of Hinduism are found between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. Hinduism is sometimes referred to as the Vedic religion because it is based on oral and written traditions known as the Vedas, the ancient Hindu scriptures. Other important Hindu scriptures include the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads.

Hindus believe in a variety of deities (gods). Each deity is an expression of the one true reality (or god), named Brahman. One of the most basic truths in Hinduism is that atman (the soul) is equivalent to Brahman. This truth can only be realized through proper spiritual enlightenment. Hinduism considers human desires as the source of all spiritual problems. If desires can be eliminated by pursuing dharma (the right path or religious duty) followers can ultimately escape the wheel of rebirth (reincarnation).

discovering truth, or Satya. Gandhi was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize five times between 1937 and 1948, although he never received the award because of the deep divisions within India over independence from British rule and beginning of war between India and Pakistan in 1948. The government of India introduced a series of Mahatma Gandhi currency notes (paper money) in 1996 and annually awards the Mahatma Gandhi Peace Prize to distinguished social workers internationally. Statues dedicated in honor of Gandhi exist in many prominent cities throughout the world, and his life is memorialized in books and on film.

Mohandas from Porbandar

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in the little town of Porbandar in Gujarat, Western India, on the edge of the Arabian Sea. His family practiced Hinduism (see box) and were of the sect of the god Vishnu, called Vaishnava. Gandhi's mother, Putlibai, was a deeply religious woman who raised her five children as orthodox (strict interpretation of traditional religious guidance directing behavior and beliefs) Hindus. Mohandas means Slave of Mohan, the Hindu god (also called Krishna) who teaches nonviolence and sympathy for all beings in the holy Hindu book. His father, Karamchand Uttamchand, was Dewan—or prime minister—of the small state where Gandhi was born. Karamchand enjoyed religious discussions outside his own faith and frequently entertained guests and holy men such as Muslims and Jains. The Jain religion is a small sect with similarities to Buddhism which teaches that everything is constantly subject to change and suffering. The only way to escape suffering is to stop desiring material things of the world and live a virtuous life that includes doing no harm to living things, never stealing, lying, bragging, using drugs or alcohol, and remaining faithful in marriage. The Jains' chief doctrine of nonviolence to any living creature influenced the character of Hinduism, and of Mohandas in particular, in the state of Gujarat.

The Hindu Caste System

The Hindu caste system includes four principal social class distinctions. The Brahmins, the most senior caste, are religious teachers and scholars. Next in rank are the Kshatriyas. They are traditionally warriors who are eligible to become kings and princes. The third in rank are Vaisyas who are merchants, small landholders, and clerks. They do not have a distinguished ranking in the caste system even though they may own lands and property and be relatively wealthy. The lowest rank in the caste system is the Sudras. They are craftsmen and peasants who are assigned to provide services to others as laborers, such as in construction.

Completely outside the caste system are people designated as Untouchable. The Untouchables are outcasts who live in slums and are confined to the most demeaning work in Indian society. They are assigned such tasks as sweeping floors and streets, or removing human excrement, dead animals, and human corpses. Untouchables may not enter temples or use the same wells as other people. In the caste system, Hindus consider themselves polluted if even the shadow of an Untouchable falls across them. A person's position in life is determined at birth with prospects of improvement very limited due to the prejudice between groups. In modern India, the caste system and discrimination against Untouchables is considered illegal, although it persists in practice, particularly in some rural areas.

The name *Gandhi* means "grocer," and it indicated that the family ranking was Vaisyas in the Hindu caste system (a rigid series of social classes allowing little opportunity for people to improve their individual standing in society) (see box). Gandhi's father and grandfather had risen above their caste status as traders to become civil servants in British-ruled India, a rare accomplishment in Indian society. This meant that the family enjoyed relatively affluent circumstances in their home country. When Gandhi was seven, his father moved the family to Rajkot, a city in far western India, where he became a high-ranking official. Gandhi was a shy and sensitive boy who did not excel at school. He preferred long, solitary walks in the countryside to participating in games or sports. According to the custom of the day, Gandhi married Kasturbai, a Porbandar merchant's daughter, when she was twelve and he was thirteen years of age. They had four sons and their marriage lasted sixty-two years. However, as an adult Gandhi condemned childhood marriage as a part of Hindu society since it denied the freedom of people to select whom they wish to marry.

Gandhi graduated from Rajkot High School in 1887. He next spent nine months at the Samal Das College in nearby Bhavnagar. His father

had died when Gandhi was just seventeen. After his death, a family friend and mentor to Gandhi suggested he study law in England. With Kasturbai expecting their first child, Gandhi took his friend's advice and journeyed to London in 1888. While there, Gandhi made a conscious effort to adopt the dress and manners of the English in order to fit into their society. He became a lawyer in 1891 and immediately made plans to return home. Upon arrival in Bombay, India, his elder brother met him to break the news that their beloved mother had died just weeks before. Gandhi was greatly saddened to not have had the opportunity to see her before her death.

Trouble in South Africa

Gandhi experienced little success as a trial lawyer in India but made a modest living writing petitions (formal written requests to government authorities) in Rajkot. In 1893, a Muslim (worshipper of the Islam religion) merchant from Porbandar offered him a one-year contract to represent his firm in Natal, South Africa. Like India, South Africa was also under British rule. Gandhi set sail for Africa. There he experienced firsthand the prejudice of whites against people of color. On a train ride to a court date, Gandhi was confronted by a European man who was offended that an Indian was sitting in the first-class carriage. Despite his possession of a valid ticket, an official was called and Gandhi was put off the train at the next station. Angered at the ill treatment he received, Gandhi determined at that moment to fight the intense racial prejudice (a prejudgment against people of a particular physical trait, such as skin color) that stripped humans of their dignity. On a later trip from Natal Province to Johannesburg, South Africa, Gandhi booked a coach seat, but the coachman refused him a seat and tried to make him sit on the floor. When he refused, he was beaten by the coachman. He was denied a room at a Johannesburg hotel because of his skin color. The following day, he continued his journey to Pretoria and was ushered to a third-class carriage despite his first-class ticket. Only the intervention of a white passenger allowed Gandhi to take his place in first class.

Indian workers had come to South Africa as traders, professionals, and indentured servants (people who work for others to pay off debts) to build the economy when the country was developing. As Indian communities grew in size and commercial importance, they came to be seen as a threat by white South Africans. As a result, laws were passed to restrict the rights of Indians. Proposed legislation in 1894 called for new laws

aimed at Chinese immigrants that included physical segregation (to separate certain social groups, such as whites and people of color) and barred from voting.

As Gandhi became increasingly aware of the institutionalized (formally built into society) racial discrimination (treating differently or favoring one social group over another based on arbitrary standards or criteria) against Indians, he decided on a plan to combat it. He created a method of resistance he named Satyagraha, or Truth Weapon. Satya is a Sanskrit word meaning truth and agraha means force. His plan was based on passages he had studied in the Hindu Bhagavad Gita (holy book) and the Christian Bible. They called on the faithful to love their enemies and reject violence as a response to racial oppression. Nonviolent strikes (refusing to work until a demand is met), including hunger strikes, were among the major strategies of the satyagraha.

Civil disobedience

At the age of twenty-four, Gandhi promoted his plan for peaceful resistance to unjust laws. He called for Indians to unite. He urged them to forget personal and religious divisions among themselves in order to reach their common objectives. Gandhi helped establish the Natal Indian Congress to address the social and political concerns of the local Indians. In August 1894, he became its secretary.

Early in 1896, Gandhi returned to India to see his family as well as to enlist support for his campaign for Truth in South Africa. In November Gandhi, Kasturbai, and their two young sons set sail for South Africa. This time they, and other Indian passengers, received a hostile reception from those opposed to Indian immigrants (a person who leaves his country of origin to reside permanently in another). Upon his return in January 1897, Gandhi found his position had changed. He was now viewed as the chief political representative of Indians in South Africa. He gave up his law practice and his Western way of living in order to devote himself full time to improving the conditions of Indians living in the country. Civil resisters were subject to severe punishments such as whippings or being shot and Gandhi himself was briefly jailed on a number of occasions for not obeying certain laws discriminating against minorities, such as requirements to register with the government as a minority person.

In 1910, Gandhi set up a satyagraha camp known as the Tolstoy Farm located near Johannesburg. The camp was to shelter those in the

Indian community affected by the protests and to teach the method of satyagraha. The struggle for civil rights that had begun in 1894 continued on until 1914, with a brief suspension during the Boer War (1899–1902). The Boer War was a conflict between British and Dutch colonists in parts of South Africa. During this time, the Indians supported the British government as a sign of loyalty. On June 30, 1914, the South African government gave in and moved to stop the oppression as public opinion grew in support of the peaceful protesters. The Indian Relief Bill was passed to stop anti-Indian discrimination in the country.

The Mahatma

Gandhi returned to India a nationally recognized celebrity in 1915. He began a series of satyagraha agitations in order to promote independence in his home country. He attracted large crowds at public meetings to promote Indian self-government (political independence from Britain) and explain his vision of the kind of programs that would best meet the nation's needs. He soon earned the title of Mahatma as he worked to advance the cause of India and ease the burden of poverty and ignorance for the poor.

People living simply was Gandhi's vision for India. He was most concerned with the rural peasants who formed the vast majority of the population in India yet whose issues were not represented in government. He opened schools in villages and promoted programs for the advancement of women and the Untouchables, India's lowest-ranking social group in its rigid caste system. Gandhi resisted the influences of Western industrialization and encouraged community farms and village industries. Industrialization is an economic change from an agricultural focus to one of producing large quantities of goods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by wage-earning workers operating machines located in factories. As a role model, he established the Satyagraha Ashram (spiritual community or village) in Ahmedabad in 1915. Dedicated followers went out from there to teach others how to set up similar communities for shared communal living. With the outbreak of World War I (1914–18), Gandhi once again supported the British war efforts. He hoped the show of loyalty toward the government would win him and his followers the favor of the British and hasten India's freedom.

Changing his strategy for reform, Gandhi led a series of local agitations starting in 1917 that involved acts of civil disobedience in India. In 1919, he led the first nationwide agitation that united Indians against

government proposals restricting their civil liberties (freedoms from government restrictions, such freedom of speech or right to a fair trial) and legal protections. The following year, Gandhi began a two-year Non-Cooperation Movement that demanded, among other things, Indian independence from Britain. Gandhi's technique involved arousing and uniting Indians to action using legitimate and peaceful means while preventing the heightened emotions from running over into violence. When confrontations resulted in violence, Gandhi would call off the activity until order was restored.

Gandhi's political activism in the independence movement resulted in his arrest on March 10, 1922. Charged with sedition (encouraging others to disobey the law) he was sentenced to six years in prison. Early in 1924, emergency surgery for appendicitis left him weakened and he was released from prison to recuperate at his ashram. Gandhi was elected president of the Indian National Congress that year. However, he mainly spent the remaining years of the 1920s writing from his ashram. Fondly referred to as Bapu (father), Gandhi was recognized as the Father of the Nation in India.

The Quit India movement

In December 1928, the English government in India received an ultimatum from the Indian National Congress. The demand was for dominion status (a self-governing nation that still acknowledges the British king or queen as chief of state) by December 1929, or a countrywide civil disobedience movement would be launched. Time passed without a favorable response from the British rulers. Gandhi came out of seclusion to lead the movement. He organized a series of individual and group satyagraha that soon grew into a mass movement of open defiance against the government in India. He was arrested in May 1930, but public protest only increased due to his arrest. Gandhi was set free the following January. He traveled to England in March 1931 to represent the Indian National Congress before the British government in London at a conference. Gandhi was unable to advance his political mission while in Britain. However, he did attract large crowds of curious and friendly citizens who listened to him speak of an independent India.

When political progress failed to materialize from his trip to Britain, the civil disobedience movement resumed in India in January 1932. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested and jailed by the new British colonial governor, Lord Willingdon (1866–1941), who adopted a new get-tough policy against the Indian nationalists. He also declared the

In 1930 Mahatma Gandhi organized a series of individual and group satyagraha that soon grew into a mass movement of open defiance against the government in India. Pictured here is his famous March to the Sea to make salt, in defiance of the British salt monopoly, April 5, 1930.

Congress as unlawful. Gandhi began a series of fasts (to not eat or only eat very little of certain things) to protest various causes while in prison. He was released again by the government in May 1933. Upon his release, Gandhi devoted himself to promoting the cause of the Untouchables, whom he renamed the Harijans (People of God). His efforts landed him back in prison by August, with a one year sentence. After a four-day fast, Gandhi was again removed to a hospital and quickly released. The government officials feared a national riot if he should die in prison.

Tension within India increased as World War II (1939–45) approached. Parties eager for Indian independence urged the Congress to take advantage of Britain's distraction with the international situation. Gandhi led a nationwide satyagraha campaign under the slogan "Do or Die." In addition, Congress passed the Quit India resolution on August 8, 1942. The resolution demanded immediate independence and the complete withdrawal of the British from India. Congress leaders, including Gandhi and his wife, Kasturbai, were imprisoned at once. Kasturbai died in prison on February 22, 1944. Gandhi was released on May 6 of that year after contracting malaria.

At the end of the war, negotiations for the future of India resumed. In August 1947, the British divided India into two self-governing dominions: India and Pakistan. Pakistan was created as a Muslim state within the subcontinent in order to accommodate the millions of followers of Islam in India. Gandhi wanted a unified India and did not agree to the division. He called for peace and brotherhood during the riots that accompanied the much-disputed partition of the country. On January 30, 1948, a young Hindu assassinated Gandhi during his usual evening prayer meeting in New Delhi.

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Heinrich Himmler

BORN: October 7, 1900 • Munich, Germany

DIED: May 23, 1945 • Luneberg, Germany

German administrator, military commander

Heinrich Himmler.

"The best political weapon is the weapon of terror. Cruelty commands respect. Men may hate us. But, we don't ask for their love; only for their fear."

German military commander Heinrich Himmler became a key organizer and officer-in-charge of Nazi Germany's infamous concentration camps during World War II (1939–45). The camps included the death, also known as extermination, camps, where millions of people were murdered in a very businesslike manner. The camps were the centerpiece of the German effort to exterminate all Jews living in Europe. Considered the second most powerful man in Nazi Germany behind dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), Himmler oversaw the murder of possibly as many as eleven or twelve million people including six million Jews, an event later referred to as the Holocaust. Other categories of victims besides Jews included Russian war prisoners, Slavic populations of Eastern Europe and Russia, homosexuals, Catholics, and Roma peoples known as Gypsies.

Himmler is one of the most notorious mass murderers in world history. He was driven by extreme loyalty to Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party and intense racial prejudice. Himmler was the mastermind behind the mass murders, which were motivated solely by prejudice and referred to as ethnic cleansing later in the twentieth century. He was able to convince thousands of people to carry out mass murders on an almost daily basis with few apparent feelings of guilt. He even authorized gruesome medical experiments on living inmates in concentration camps.

A comfortable upbringing

Himmler was born in October 1900 in Munich, Germany, into a middle-class family. He was the second of three sons. His father, Gebhardt Himmler, was a schoolteacher. His mother, Anna Maria Heyder Himmler, was a homemaker. Gebhardt ruled over the family members with a stern hand, expecting excellence from each of the children in their schooling and other endeavors. When Himmler was thirteen years old, the family moved fifty miles away from Munich to Landshut, where Gebhardt became headmaster (principal) of a school.

While Himmler was in high school, World War I (1912–18) raged across parts of Europe. The war raised Himmler's interest in military matters. When he graduated from high school, Himmler joined the Germany army and attended officer training school. However, just before he was to be commissioned an officer, Germany conceded defeat and the war ended. Himmler was discharged from his military responsibilities.

After the war, Himmler went to work on a farm to learn about agriculture. However, his chronic poor health forced him to quit the heavy labor of a farm job. He moved back into Munich and began studying agriculture at the university. While in school, Himmler became interested in the right-wing paramilitary organizations that were formed after the war by former German soldiers who remained upset about their defeat. Himmler joined one of the groups. It was named the Imperial War Flag. Anti-Semitism (prejudice against Jews) was very strong in Germany at this time. The Jews were blamed, or used as scapegoats (people blamed for something over which they have no control), for Germany's loss in the war. Himmler shared these sentiments with his fellow soldiers.

Joins the Nazi movement

In 1922, Himmler graduated from college and went to work for a fertilizer company. The following year, he began taking part in the

Nazi Extermination Camps

The following concentration camps were constructed during World War II with special facilities to carry out mass murders against Jews and others considered undesirable by the Nazis. The estimated number of people killed at each camp is also given. Approximately 80 percent of those killed at these camps were Jews. All of these camps except Jasemovac and Maly Trostenets were located in Poland. They all were operated by German commander Heinrich Himmler's SS troops.

- Auschwitz—1.1 million (the largest camp, first established in April 1940 as a concentration camp, with construction of extermination facilities begun in October 1941)
- Belzec—500,000 (began operation on March 17, 1942)
- Chelmno—152,000 (first death camp in operation on December 8, 1941, and continued until April 1943)
- Majdanek—200,000 (operated from April 1942 to July 1944)
- Sobibor—250,000 (operated from May 1942 to October 1943)
- Treblinka—800,000 (operated from July 1942 to October 1943)
- Jasenovac—600,000 (located in Croatia, most victims were ethnic Serbs)
- Maly Trostenets—60,000 (located in Belarus, it is the camp least known about because it was under Soviet Union rule following World War II until 1990s)

activities of the newly established organization called the National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazis for short. He participated in Hitler's unsuccessful military revolt to gain power in Munich, Germany, in early November 1923, an event known as the Beer Hall Putsch. The Nazis were considered a politically radical group by the general public at the time, and Himmler lost his job due to his association with them. During the 1920s, the Nazis were recruiting soldiers from the paramilitary groups to form its own military organization known as the Slutzstaffen or Security Squad (SS). The primary purpose of the SS at first was to provide an elite bodyguard unit for Hitler and other party leaders. By 1925, Himmler was accepted as a member of the SS and began quickly rising through its ranks.

In 1928, Himmler married a Polish nurse, Margarete Concerzowo, who operated a Berlin nursing home. They sold the nursing home and bought a small farm outside Munich from which they sold produce and raised hens. They had one daughter. As Himmler's Nazi responsibilities steadily grew, he would spend less and less time at the farm with the family. By January 1929, Himmler became the head commander of the SS. Himmler was elected as a deputy to the German parliament known as

the Reichstag in 1930. Himmler would also have two other children with his personal secretary after separating from his wife in 1940.

Growth of the SS

When Himmler took command of the SS in 1929, it numbered only 280 members. It was a very small part of the regular German army, known as the SA (Sturmabteilung, or Stormtrooper in English). Through aggressively promoting his troops with Nazi leaders, Himmler was successful in building the SS and expanding its responsibilities. When the Nazi Party rose to power in Germany in 1933, the SS ranks had dramatically increased to 52,000 soldiers. The SS also reflected the strong racism of the Nazis. All SS troops had to project a certain physical appearance. They had to represent the ideal German as viewed by the Nazis: blond, blue-eyed, and physically strong. Nazis and other Germans referred to this model as the Aryan race.

Not only did Himmler make sure the soldiers had the proper physical and racial characteristics, he also laid down the rules about whom the SS troops could marry. Himmler wanted to ensure the purity of the race by not allowing any contamination of undesired biological traits deriving from Slav, Jewish, or Roma ancestry. He even established a mandatory SS bride school to shape the future wives on the proper behavior of an SS wife.

In contrast, Himmler was short, slight in stature, and not very athletic. He was severely nearsighted. Having little personality, Himmler was never very comfortable socializing. He was often sickly and had a persistently weak stomach. Nonetheless, his zealous attitude and steadfast allegiance to Nazi leaders allowed him to gain a prominent position of power. There was nothing he would not do, no matter how ruthless, if commanded.

Nazis expand power

Prior to 1933, the SS were considered a small supplementary force to the regular army. However, with the Nazis now in power, Himmler wanted to make the SS special. In late 1933, he introduced a major new uniform change for the SS. Instead of the SA brown shirts, the SS adopted fearsome-looking black uniforms. Himmler also rose in rank equal to regular SA commanders, a promotion resented by the other commanders. That same year, Himmler established Germany's first concentration camp at Dachau, where political prisoners—people considered as

opponents or threats to the Nazis—could be held. It would be the forerunner of what was to appear later across Europe.

In early 1934, Hitler and the other Nazi leaders increasingly considered the traditional leadership of the regular German army, the SA, as a threat to Nazi rule. Hitler assigned Himmler and several other high-ranking party members to kill the commander of the SA, Ernst Rohm, and other senior SA officials. On June 30, 1934, Himmler and the others carried out the order, executing Rohm and others. The following day, the SS became a military organization fully independent from the SA; Himmler was its leader. No one dared to question Himmler for his actions.

Himmler's span of influence continued to grow throughout the 1930s. In 1936, Hitler gave Himmler and the SS control over all German local law enforcement organizations. The German secret police unit also came under Himmler's leadership. Himmler now enjoyed vast police powers in Germany and additional territories as Germany gained control of neighboring countries without open conflict. Himmler focused on security and espionage (secretly gathering and analyzing of information about potential enemies) throughout the region.

World War II

World War II broke out in September 1939 when Hitler unleashed Germany's massive war machine consisting of the latest in armored vehicles, tanks, and combat aircraft together with very large, well-equipped ground forces, which quickly overran Poland. Hitler wanted more than a military occupation of Poland, he wanted to destroy Polish society and replace it with German society. Himmler and the SS were charged with the task of eliminating Polish society. Himmler oversaw the construction of more concentration camps, where those people considered by the Nazis to be undesirable could be rounded up and imprisoned. The targeted people included Jews, Roma, priests, homosexual males, political leaders, Communist party members, and any others the Nazis held a racial or religious prejudice against. Not only were these peoples considered political opponents, but also threats to the purity of the German race.

Jews comprised such a large part of Polish society that the Germans needed to round them up and isolate them in crowded neighborhoods called ghettos before shipping them to camps. As Himmler remained in the background, his SS troops—dressed in their pressed black uniforms,

Heinrich Himmler (left) inspects Russian prisoners of war at a Nazi concentration camp. © CORBIS.

black caps, shiny black boots, and wearing swastika (a key Nazi symbol believed associated with the mythical ancient Aryan race) armbands—terrorized these crowded ghettos. As a show of extreme prejudicial cruelty, they murdered, raped, and robbed the Jews trapped in the ghettos as they rampaged through the ghettos' streets.

Himmler's responsibilities greatly expanded again in June 1941, when Germany launched a massive surprise assault against its ally, the Soviet Union. As the German army swept across previously Soviet-controlled territories, Himmler was charged with administering those newly gained lands and their peoples. As in Poland, the goal of the Nazis was to destroy the Soviet communist system and its society. In doing this, they wished to rid the population of the undesirables as in Poland, including Jews, Slavs, and Roma. Himmler chose a particularly bloody approach.

He sent out mobile volunteer death squads. These units searched out the targeted people and then gathered them on the outskirts of towns, where they would shoot them all as a group, execution style. The bodies were then buried in mass graves or burned in piles.

The Final Solution

During the 1930s the Germans under Hitler made life as unbearable as possible for German Jews to try to force them to leave the country of their own accord. Between 1933 and 1941, the number of Jews in Germany declined from 500,000 to 164,000. However, fewer countries were willing to accept more Jews in large numbers as time passed due to anti-Semitism in their societies. By late 1941, it was no longer effective to force Jews to leave. Millions of Jews were detained by the Germans, the highest concentration being in Poland. The Nazi leadership, including Himmler, decided the only option of eliminating the Jews was by mass extermination. They referred to this option as the Final Solution to the Jewish Problem.

On January 20, 1942, Himmler's assistant, Reinhard Heydrich (1904–1942), led a meeting of Nazi leadership known as the Wannsee Conference. They were to decide how to carry out the extermination, or genocide (killing of an entire race or particular population of people). The resulting plan was to transport the Jews from the ghettos by train to concentration camps specially equipped with gas chambers for killing large numbers of people at a time and crematoriums for burning their bodies. Many of the captives would be used as slave laborers for industries located at the camps until they died from exhaustion, malnourishment, or exposure to the harsh Polish winter conditions. The young, elderly, and infirm (sick) were to be killed as soon as they arrived in camp. Himmler ordered all gold teeth to be removed from the bodies to help pay for the camp expenses. The entire extermination process would operate with the cold efficiency of an industry and in complete secrecy. Gas chambers were even disguised as large shower rooms.

Though naturally a timid person, Himmler became the most feared man in Germany. He made sure the SS carried out anything Hitler ordered, no matter how evil the task. One example of his ruthlessness occurred in 1942, when Heydrich was killed by Czech resistance fighters in Prague. In reprisal, Himmler had every male in the region killed.

By 1943, the SS, which included thirty-five divisions or eight hundred thousand armed troops, had grown in size to rival the regular

German army. Himmler even began plans for SS industries, such as tank production. However, the existing German war production minister blocked those plans not wanting to see the SS expand any further. In response, Himmler ordered what resulted in an unsuccessful attempt to have the minister killed in February 1944. Himmler also made plans for a guerilla (an irregular combat unit) force in the event that Germany should lose the war. The guerillas would continue fighting for the German Nazi cause after the war officially ended.

With expanded SS capabilities, Himmler assumed field command of combat units for a while in late 1944. First he commanded troops in the Alsace region of France against U.S. and French troops. He then moved to the eastern front against Soviet troops. Given his lack of previous battlefield experience, he was ineffective in leading on the field of combat. Hitler soon brought him back to the home front to command troops stationed there. Hitler expanded Himmler's powers in other ways each year up to and through 1944 appointing him as Germany's interior minister in charge of overseeing activities within Germany. To many, Himmler clearly seemed to be the mostly likely successor to Hitler if anything should happen to the German dictator.

By the spring of 1945, it was becoming clear to Himmler and others that defeat in the war was unavoidable. On his own and behind Hitler's back, Himmler decided to seek negotiations for peace with the Allies. Using a Swedish contact, Himmler transmitted an offer for surrender to the Allied commander, U.S. general Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969). In return, Himmler requested a promise of freedom from prosecution. Himmler even gave some Jews a last-minute reprieve (pardon) from death in hopes that would win him favor with the Allied leadership. However, Eisenhower ignored the offer and declared Himmler a war criminal. Himmler's attempt to surrender soon came to Hitler's attention. Accusing Himmler of being a traitor to the Nazi cause, Hitler stripped Himmler of all commands and rank. Hitler committed suicide the following day as Allied troops were closing in.

Himmler was now a wanted man by the Allies and banished by the Nazis. Hoping to secretly escape from Germany, Himmler wandered for several days near the Danish border, posing as a member of a local police force. However, his forged identification papers aroused suspicion of a British patrol unit. They took him into custody on May 21, 1945. His true identity quickly became known. He was shocked that once they knew his identity he was still treated as a common prisoner rather than with the respect due an elite officer.

The Allies joined Himmler with other German leaders destined to stand trial at Nuremburg, Germany, on war crimes (violating international laws of war) charges. However, on May 23, before he could be interrogated, Himmler committed suicide by swallowing a potassium cyanide capsule he had been hiding in his mouth. The Allies buried him in a secret location so that Nazi sympathizers could not use his burial location as a gathering spot and place of inspiration. In an ironic twist, a great-niece of Himmler's later married the son of a Holocaust survivor who lived in Israel.

The numbers of people killed at Himmler's death camps in Poland were staggering. At Auschwitz alone, between 1.1 and 1.6 million people were killed. Some eight thousand people were killed at Auschwitz each day during its operation. Over 200,000 Gypsies were also killed at Auschwitz. At the Treblinka camp which was operated for seventeen months a staff of 120 Germans killed between 750,000 and 900,000. Belzec operated for ten months and claimed the lives of nearly 500,000 Jews. About 250,000 were killed at Sobibor. At some camps, gruesome medical experiments were performed on live victims, such as seeing the effects of freezing to death, testing various drugs, and performing amputations without medication. Some prisoners threw themselves into the electrified fences to give themselves a mercifully quick death. As Soviet troops were approaching Auschwitz in January 1945, the Germans marched 60,000 remaining prisoners 35 miles before boarding them on trains to other concentration camps. Approximately 15,000 died on the way. When the killings ended at some camps, all traces of the camps were removed and farms were built on the sites.

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John Hume

BORN: January 18, 1937 • Derry, Northern Ireland

Northern Irish statesman

John Hume.
AP IMAGES.

"All conflict is about difference, whether the difference is race, religion, or nationality . . . . Difference is an accident of birth and it should therefore never be the source of hatred or conflict. The answer to difference is to respect it."

John Hume became a social activist and political leader in his native Northern Ireland to resolve the religious prejudice that initially drove the conflict between Britain and the Republic of Ireland over the control of Northern Ireland. He served in the European Parliament (government) and was a strong advocate of the European Union. The European Union is an organization of European nations formed in 1992 to promote political and economic partnerships. Hume was a cofounder of the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), a nationalist party seeking civil rights for Catholics in Northern Ireland, and was instrumental in shaping the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the first attempt to bring an end to Northern Ireland strife by giving the Republic of Ireland some influence in Northern Ireland affairs.

One of the most effective leaders of the twentieth century, Hume gained respect on both sides of the peace process in Ireland and was one of the main authors of the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement of 1998 that eventually brought peace to the region. That year, Hume was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble (1944–). Hume was also awarded the International Gandhi Peace Prize in 2001 for his efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The boy from Derry

John Hume was born on January 18, 1937, to Sam and Annie Doherty Hume in the predominantly (mostly) Catholic city of Derry, on the island of Ireland. It was the same year that most of the island known as the Irish Free State declared independence from Britain and became known as Eire, which is Irish for "Ireland." It would later become known as the Republic of Ireland. Derry, however, was in the part of the island that remained under British rule. For this reason, Derry is also known as Londonderry because it is in the British-ruled northern counties of the divided island. Hume's Scottish ancestors were Protestants who moved to Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century and, through marriage, joined the Roman Catholic faith. John was the eldest of seven children.

Sam Hume worked as a civil servant before World War II (1939–45). However, high wartime wages in industry drew him to work at the local shipyards as a riveter. When the war ended, so did his employment. The family then existed on Sam's unemployment checks and Annie's earnings in the local shirt-making industry. Although the Humes lived in poverty, the children were raised with a sense of community and encouraged to help others in need. As the eldest son, John was responsible for adding to the household income. He had an evening newspaper route by the time he was eight years old. At the same age, he was chosen as an altar boy (attendant to the altar during worship service) at St. Eugene's Catholic cathedral in Derry. It was an honor that young Hume proudly earned.

Hume was among the first generation in Northern Ireland to enjoy free public education. He was a good student and went on to study at St. Columb's College in Derry and at St. Patrick's College in Maynooth. Hume originally intended to study for the priesthood. But his interests changed, and he graduated in 1958 from the National University of Ireland with a double major in French and history. He also spent several summers studying in France at St. Malo, Brittany, and the Institut

Catholique in Paris. On December 10, 1960, John married Pat Hone. The couple had five children. They were active in promoting their shared public causes over the decades. In 1964, Hume received a master's degree in history from St. Patrick's College in Maynooth before returning to Derry to teach school.

A divided population

Derry is located in Northern Ireland, where deep political divisions existed between the Unionists and the Nationalists throughout most of the twentieth century. Unionists, mostly Protestant citizens, wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of Great Britain, with London as its political base. Nationalists, who were mostly Catholic, favored Irish independence. They wanted to reunite the provinces of Ireland that had been divided since the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. Protestants held the majority of power in Northern Ireland's parliament located at Stormont, near Belfast. Therefore, Stormont was seen as a symbol of oppression by the Catholic community.

With these deep political divisions along religious lines, religious segregation existed in Derry. This meant that Catholics and Protestants were kept separate in public places. This separation resulted in varying economic and social conditions between Catholics and Protestants, conditions which left Catholic residents feeling like second-class citizens with restricted job and educational opportunities and living in impoverished neighborhoods. The Protestant majority lived on the east bank of the fast-flowing Foyle River that divided Derry. The city also had placed most public buildings and services, including both hospitals, on the east side. This left the unemployment office, police station, and courthouse on the west bank, where the Catholic minority lived. This discrimination led to a sense of hopelessness for Catholic young people, whose lives were blighted by poverty. Many families and youth left Derry in search of a better life.

A bid for unification

When Hume returned to Derry, he began searching for solutions to the divisions between the Catholics and Protestants. He wanted to unite the divided city and offer Catholics the means to improve their future. At this time, credit unions were an emerging community banking system that not only encouraged savings and investments, but also provided low-interest loans to members. The concept appealed to Catholics. Regular

banks, largely managed by Protestants, gladly accepted their savings but did not always want their business when they needed a loan. Catholics were more likely to be unemployed and were more likely to receive lower wages if they did find work. Bankers stereotyped (forming an opinion of each member of a group based on their common traits) them as probable risks if money was loaned out. Demonstrating an understanding of their clients, credit unions provided an additional form of insurance. If a member were to die with debts, those debts would be cleared. If, on the other hand, a member had savings in the credit union when they died, that amount was doubled and the money was distributed to the family.

Hume saw the credit union movement both as a unifying force for Catholics and Protestants as well as a way to help the Catholics cope with money issues. In 1960, Hume and four cofounders in Derry joined together and organized the first credit union branch in Northern Ireland. Because of his commitment to the ideas of the movement, Hume was selected as its first treasurer. He traveled throughout Northern Ireland to promote the community aspect of the credit union. He argued that if they would help each other in financial affairs, they could tackle other problems together as well. Hume successfully convinced the Catholic community but failed to win over many Protestants despite his policy of cooperation and inclusion that was meant to unite the two traditions in a common cause.

The gulf between the two religious communities widened in 1965, when Derry lost its bid to have Northern Ireland's second university established there. As chairman of the University for Derry Campaign, Hume came face to face with the political reality in Northern Ireland. It was revealed that some Protestant political leaders had secretly advised the government against choosing Derry. They feared losing their majority status and control if the university came to town and the town grew in numbers. They preferred that the Catholic population remain a minority in Derry, even if that meant losing the university bid. Hume decided he needed to personally run for public office in order to change the face of discrimination and promote unity in his hometown.

The Troubles

Hume became a leading figure in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), founded in 1967 to promote civil rights (legal protections and privileges given to all citizens in a country) for Catholics in Northern Ireland. NICRA joined with the student-led People's

Democracy (PD) to press for reform in the country's political system. Among the reforms they proposed were changes in the discriminatory manner in which public housing was assigned and change in unfair voting laws. Public demonstrations against the existing policies started out peaceful. However, rioting and violence soon followed on the part of both groups. The long-standing division between the Nationalists and the Unionists deepened, driven by activities of militant groups from the Republic of Ireland to the south. Most notable was the political party Sinn Fein and its armed branch, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The oldest political organization in Ireland, Sinn Fein was organized as a political party in 1905 to secure Irish unity and independence. It reorganized in the 1960s and launched a political campaign to gain support on issues other than separation. The following period in Irish history, known as The Troubles, soon become very deadly as violence continued sporadically for thirty years. Throughout this period, the British Army suffered almost 500 casualties, more than in any other conflict since World War II. More than 3,500 people, both civilian and military, were killed on both sides.

In 1968, the government introduced a reform program in response to the NICRA protests. The proposed program split the Unionist community. This division allowed several civil rights activists in the Nationalist party, including Hume, to gain office in the parliamentary elections of February 1969. Hume took his place at Stormont as a Member of Parliament (MP). With his own political standing increased, the following year he helped found the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP). During this period, Britain retained ultimate control of security in Northern Ireland and steadily expanded its power in the region. For example, in 1971 the British government introduced a measure that allowed imprisonment without trial of any suspected terrorists from the Republic. The IRA escalated the violence in response to increased British control. They waged their campaign to drive the British out of Northern Ireland and unite the thirty-two counties on the island into a single independent nation.

In March 1972, Britain suspended the Northern Ireland parliament at Stormont and took complete control of the country. A power-sharing leadership position was established through the Sunningdale Agreement between the Unionists and Nationalists. Hume was selected the Minister of Commerce. However, the power-sharing government fell apart in 1974 because of the lack of cooperation between the two groups.

The Belfast Agreement of 1998

The Belfast Agreement is also known as the Good Friday (the Friday before Easter that commemorates the Crucifixion of Jesus) Agreement because the plan for the peaceful future of Northern Ireland was reached on Good Friday, April 10, 1998. Negotiators included representatives of the governments of Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland. The negotiations were conducted with the help of other international diplomats. In order to include everyone and ensure a stable peace, the talks included Sinn Fein as well as political representatives of Protestant paramilitary organizations. The Belfast Agreement reaffirmed the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 that guaranteed that the political status of Northern Ireland could only be changed by a majority vote in Northern Ireland. The plan established an Equality Commission and a Human Rights Commission. They addressed the issues of reform in the criminal justice system and policing and help for victims of violence.

The Agreement proposed three levels or strands of interconnected institutions to govern Northern Ireland and ensure peace for its people. Strand One of the agreement arranged for the creation of the Northern Ireland Assembly and its elected executive position. Strand One was to deal with the citizens of Northern Ireland itself. Strand Two was to maintain productive relationships between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The two governments would work together within the North-South Ministerial Conference (NSMC) on all cross-border issues. Strand Three established a British-Irish Inter-Governmental Conference to promote cooperation between all members of the British Isles.

A large margin of voters in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland approved the Belfast Agreement. However, the IRA and other opponents of the Agreement continued their terrorist activities for several more years. However, in 2005 the IRA declared an end to their campaign and acceptance of the political arrangements created by the Belfast Agreement. They disarmed their members and destroyed their store of weapons.

In 1979, Hume was chosen as leader of the SDLP and elected to the European Parliament. Hume was elected in 1983 to the British Parliament as a Member of Parliament for the Foyle region that largely consists of the city of Derry. He used his parliamentary position to bring international attention to the call for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Hume's diplomatic efforts to help end the violence were instrumental in shaping the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. The agreement allowed the Republic of Ireland a limited say in Northern Ireland's political matters. However, many Unionists, Nationalists, and Irish Republicans rejected the agreement and The Troubles continued.

Hume reopened negotiations with Sinn Fein and the government in 1988. The talks resulted in a temporary ceasefire that lasted from 1994 to 1996. Renewed peace talks began in 1997 and resulted in the Belfast

John Hume (left) shared the Novel Peace Prize of 1998 with UUP leader David Trimble (right). At center is Irish activist and U2 lead singer Bono. © LEWIS ALAN/CORBIS SYGMA.

(Good Friday) Agreement of 1998 (see box). Hume had long been criticized for negotiating with terrorist groups. However, it was his contacts and political lobbying that proved critical toward pushing the peace talks along in the 1990s in Northern Ireland. As a result of his long and finally successful efforts, Hume shared the Nobel Peace Prize of 1998 with Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader David Trimble, who was leader of the UUP from 1995 to 2005. They were recognized for their leadership in promoting peace in Northern Ireland. Hume resigned from the leadership of the SDLP in 2001, the same year he was awarded the International Gandhi Peace Prize.

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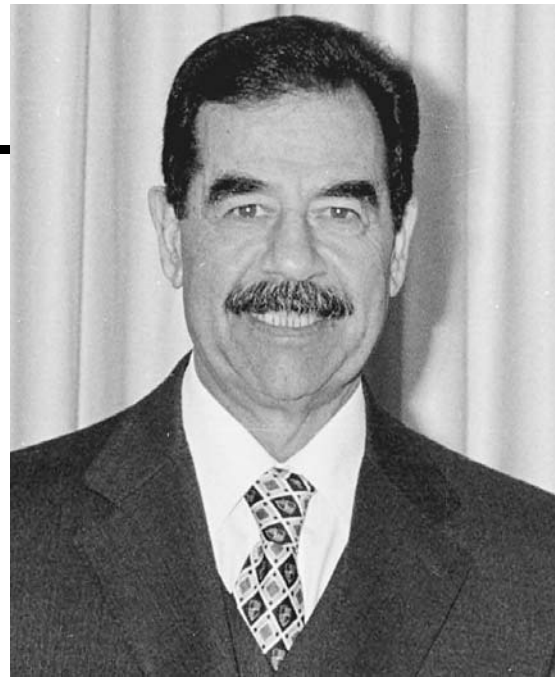
Saddam Hussein

BORN: April 28, 1937 • Al-Awja, Iraq

DIED: December 30, 2006 • Baghdad, Iraq

Iraqi president



Saddam Hussein.
AP IMAGES.

"Just as your beautiful skyscrapers were destroyed and caused your grief, beautiful buildings and precious homes crumbled over their owners in Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq because of American weapons . . ."

Saddam Hussein was a leading member of the Iraqi Baath Party and played a key role in the 1968 coup (military takeover) that brought the party to power. Saddam served as vice president in the Iraqi government for eleven years before becoming president of Iraq in 1979. In this position, Saddam was also chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. His reign spanned the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) and the Gulf War (1991) before he was deposed (forced to leave his position) by the United States and its allies during the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Saddam faced a war crimes tribunal (a special court established to try those accused of violating international laws of war) after his capture by U.S. troops. He was charged with numerous crimes, including genocide (the deliberate destruction of a

racial, religious, or cultural group), for the death of potentially thousands of ethnic Kurds in the 1980s.

Baathist beginnings

Saddam Hussein Abd al-Majid al-Tikriti was born into a Sunni Arab family in Al-Awja, near the town of Tikrit in northern Iraq. Almost all Muslims (those who follow Islam religion) belong to the two major sects or branches of Islam, Sunni and Shiítes. The Sunnis and Shiítes originally split over a dispute about which person should rightfully succeed the prophet Muhammad at his death in 632 CE.

Hussein's father, Hussein al-Majid, was a poor and landless peasant who disappeared. He was presumed dead six months before Saddam was born. His mother was Subha Tulfah al-Mussallat. She named her son Saddam, meaning "one who confronts" or, "the stubborn one." He was given his father's personal name of Hussein, also spelled Husayn, or Hussain. Abd al-Majid was his grandfather's personal name and al-Tikrit refers to one who was born and raised in or near Tikrit. Tikrit is located on the northern bank of the Tigris River. It had once been the location of a fortress that was a center of defense against foreign invaders. By the twentieth century, Tikrit had fallen into decay and was notable only for the castle ruins overlooking the town.

Saddam's official birth date is listed as April 28, 1937. Because precise records were not kept in the region where he was born, particularly in peasant families, it is possible the date is inaccurate by several years either way. When Saddam was born Iraq was politically unstable. A constitutional monarchy (rule by a single person) had been established in 1932 when Iraq became an independent state. Britain administered the country until that time and had two military bases in Iraq. It upheld a variety of treaties that allowed the British special political status. To achieve true independence, Iraq nationalists (those seeking independence from foreign influence) wanted to eliminate the British presence and influence in Iraq and other Arab lands of the Middle East. World War II (1939–45) brought the two sides into armed conflict in 1941 in what was known as the Rashid Ali Coup. The failed coup resulted in the defeat of the nationalists. The authority of the British-supported monarchy in Iraq was strengthened by their victory. Many nationalists who participated in the uprising were either jailed or executed.

Saddam's maternal uncle, Khairallah Talfah, was an army officer and an avid supporter of Arab nationalism. He participated in the ill-fated

uprising and was jailed for five years after being discharged from the army. Saddam had been living with his uncle, who was his foster father in his earliest years. When Khairallah was imprisoned, three-year-old Saddam was sent back to a small village near Tikrit to live with his mother. She had remarried in the meantime and Saddam had three half-brothers through their union. His stepfather was a brother of Saddam's late father. He treated the young boy harshly on his return. His stepfather took great pleasure in humiliating Saddam and would send the boy out to steal for him. He beat Saddam for any failure. Saddam was also bullied by the local village boys and often mocked for being fatherless. His only true pleasure was in the company of a horse that he truly loved. Saddam's own circumstances and the jailing of his uncle left him with deep resentments against the monarchy and its foreign influences.

The revolution

Saddam ran away from home at the age of ten and returned to live with his uncle after his release from prison in 1947. Khairallah would have a lifelong influence on Saddam both personally and politically. Khairallah's own son Adnan was three years younger than Saddam and soon became his best friend. Saddam began attending school for the first time, but he was not an able student. He graduated from primary school in 1955 and moved with his uncle to Baghdad at the age of eighteen. Saddam was enrolled at Karkh high school, a secondary school in the city.

When Saddam arrived in Baghdad in the mid-1950s, national fervor (intense feeling) and conspiracies, or plots, against the established government were still very much alive in the streets. Revolutionary sentiment (belief in the righteousness of rebellion) was further heightened throughout the Middle East with the Suez Crisis in 1955. Egypt seized complete control of the Suez Canal, a vital waterway for world trade connecting the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea, from Britain. Now Egypt blocked all Israeli shipping from reaching its destination. Israel and its allies immediately launched an attack defeating Egyptian forces. Despite Egypt's quick defeat at the hands of British, French, and Israeli forces, Egypt's actions were seen as a heroic act against the West. A wave of revolutions followed in the coming decades as the Arab world moved to unite politically. The Suez Crisis brought a passionate response in Baghdad that resulted in anti-West and Israeli riots in the fall of 1956. Wide public dissatisfaction with the Iraqi government grew since it did not join other Arab countries. Critics assumed that it was merely a puppet

The Baath Party

The Baath Party was established in Damascus, Syria, in the early 1940s but remained a minor political influence until the late 1950s. Also spelled Bàth or Bàath, the word can be translated as meaning revival, resurgence, or renewal. The party's pan-Arab motto is "One Arab Nation with an Eternal Mission." Seeking Arab unity in a single nation, the party's ultimate goal was to promote the spiritual rebirth of Arabs. However, divisions arose over ideology (guiding principles) and personal rivalries. Ultimately, the party accepted unity of purpose among Arab leaders rather than the actual unification of all Arab countries into a single country.

The birth of the Baath Party can be traced to the early twentieth century when Middle East boundaries were established by the world's great powers. These boundaries served the particular interests of each power at the time and kept the Arab world divided. In the mid-twentieth century, Arab nations decided to eliminate all traces of colonialism (control by foreign nations) and restore Arab pride. In particular, Baathists believed the creation of Israel in 1948 was specifically designed to keep the Arab world fragmented. They vowed that Israel must not be allowed to exist.

All party branches are combined to form the party's Congress. It elects the regional representatives from branches in the various Arab countries and they comprise the international council known as the National Command. It is the supreme decision-making body in the Baath Party. It was the dominant party in Iraq for several decades from 1963 until 2003 when it was outlawed by the occupying Western forces.

government (one controlled by a foreign country) of the West. The capital city, which Saddam now called home, plunged into turbulent competition over control of Iraq.

Saddam applied to the prestigious Baghdad Military Academy where his uncle had graduated. However, he failed the entrance examinations. In 1957, at the age of twenty, he joined the Baath Party (see box). The Baath Party was a revolutionary, pan-Arab (represents all Arabs) political party which Khairallah supported. Its motto was "One Arab Nation with an Eternal Mission." Finally, in 1958, army officers in Iraq overthrew the monarchist government and established the Republic of Iraq. Baathists opposed the new government and planned to assassinate the new prime minister. However, the plot failed and the conspirators, including Saddam, fled the country into exile. Saddam escaped to Syria and from there to Egypt. In Egypt, he studied law at Cairo University but left before earning a degree. While in Egypt, Saddam married his maternal (on his mother's side) first cousin, Sajida Khairallah Tulfah. They had five children.

Rise to power

In 1963, another regime change resulted and Iraq was now placed into the hands of army officers who had ties to the Baath Party. The new government, however, was deeply divided politically and lasted just nine months before being overthrown. During this time when the Baath Party was in power, Saddam returned to Iraq with other exiled Iraqis. Before long, they were forced underground (into secret operations) because of the political tensions. He became a member of the regional command of the Baath Party. In this capacity, Saddam played a major role in organizing the party to stage a second coup. This coup took place in July of 1968 and successfully brought the Baathists back to power. In payment for his contributions, Saddam was named vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and vice president of Iraq.

Saddam served as vice president from 1969 until 1979, when the aging ruling president Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1914–1982) resigned due to failing health and being pressured by Hussein. On July 16, 1979, Saddam became the president of Iraq, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He quickly moved to eliminate any challengers to his authority and implemented policies that brought social and economic sectors under government control. Saddam's government programs included compulsory (required) primary education, the founding of new universities, and a socialized (government controlled and operated) medical program. Among Middle Eastern countries, Iraq became a leader in providing social services, such as healthcare, to its people. Saddam sought to combine pan-Arabism with Iraqi nationalism. He saw himself in the role of leader in the united Arab world.

During the 1970s, Iraq invested much of its oil profits into industrial expansion in order to help expand the economy. At the same time, Iraq built strong ties with the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc of European nations. It distanced itself from Western governments, such as Western Europe and the United States. Despite his pan-Arab policies, Saddam created a Western-style legal system which gave women freedoms and rights to high-level jobs in government and industry. This made Iraq the only country in the Persian Gulf region whose legal system was not ruled according to traditional Sharia (Islamic) law. Unlike women in Western-style society, under Sharia law women may not be allowed to vote or participate in politics, to freely mix socially with others, or to wear what clothes they choose.

Claiming Kuwait

Iraqi society has long been divided along lines of ethnicity, language, and religion. Saddam's political efforts of modernization under the Baath Party leadership depended on the support of Sunni Muslims. Sunnis comprised roughly 20 percent of the population of Iraq. Shiíte Muslims were the majority religion and regarded Sunnis as enemies of the faith. As a result, Saddam's government was met with resistance due to its secular (not related to religion) policies.

Iraqi Kurds in northern Iraq brought a special challenge to Hussein. They are Sunni Muslims but not Arabs. They wanted self-determination, which meant having their own country. The Kurds had seen some success in gaining independence from the Iraqi government, in large part due to help from neighboring Iran in their separatist struggle. In 1975, Saddam negotiated the Algiers Agreement with the shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Shah (1919–1980). This agreement resulted in Iran's withdrawal of support for the Kurds.

Tensions between Iraq and Iran increased greatly following the Iranian Revolution of 1979. The **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini** (1902–1989; see entry) helped depose the shah of Iran and established the Islamic Republic of Iran. He called for Islamic revolutionaries across the Muslim world to follow Iran's example. Tensions across the Middle East escalated. Border clashes between Iran and Iraqi forces were followed by assassination attempts on top Iraqi officials. Saddam responded by attacking the oil-rich, Iranian-held land of Khuzestan in southwest Iraq, along the Persian Gulf, in September 1980. The area had a sizable Arab minority and Saddam declared it a new province of Iraq. The invasion marked the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War which lasted eight years. The Islamic, Arab, and international communities were divided over their response to the war. However, sentiment shifted toward Iran when it was learned that Iraq had used chemical weapons against Iranian forces and Kurdish separatists (people seeking to form a new nation from a part of one currently existing). The Iran-Iraq War became one of the longest and most brutal and destructive wars of the twentieth century.

One of the greatest atrocities of the war was an Iraqi army attack on the Iraqi Kurdish town of Halabja in March 1988. Halabja is located 150 miles northeast of Baghdad and less than 10 miles from the Iranian border. Iran had been supplying Kurdish rebels with arms to fight for independence from Iraq. Hussein and Ali Hassan al-Majid (1941–), who commanded Iraq forces in northern Iraq, were regularly directing attacks

on the Kurdish populations in the region from 1986 to 1989 in a strategy known as the Al-Anfal Campaign. On March 16 and 17, Iraq war planes continuously dropped bombs containing various poisonous toxic agents including mustard gas and cyanide. The devastation was so complete that information on the attack did not reach the outside world for several days. Journalists visiting the area soon afterwards reported that life ended suddenly in the town with many people dying almost instantly, left in the positions they were when the poisonous gas engulfed them. Many others died a slow agonizing death as the poison deteriorated their lungs. It was the largest-scale chemical weapons attack against a civilian population in modern history. Estimates of deaths ranged up to five thousand Kurds as reported by the U.S. State Department. Another ten thousand people were blinded or severely injured by the gases.

Investigations over the next few years by various organizations including Human Rights Watch indicated the Iraqi army was to blame for the mass killing of civilians at Halabja. They also estimated that approximately 180,000 Kurds died during the Al-Anfal Campaign overall. However, Western powers, including the United States, which backed Hussein in the war against Iran, tried to shift the blame on Halabja to Iran at the time.

Gulf War

Only two years after battling Iran, Hussein initiated another conflict. This time, his actions attracted the attention of the international community. On August 2, 1990, Hussein's Iraqi forces invaded the neighboring nation of Kuwait. Kuwait is a small Arab monarchy located on the coast of the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia lies to the south and Iraq to the north. Iraq had long-standing claims to the oil-rich country of Kuwait but the Iraqi Baathist regime had recognized its independence since 1963. Tensions over the exact border location, oil pricing, and the claim that Kuwait was illegally slant-drilling petroleum under Iraq's border prompted the invasion. Slant drilling refers to drilling at an angle from the surface wells to reach pockets of oil below the earth's surface. With the invasion, Iraq doubled its control of the world's crude oil reserves to 20 percent.

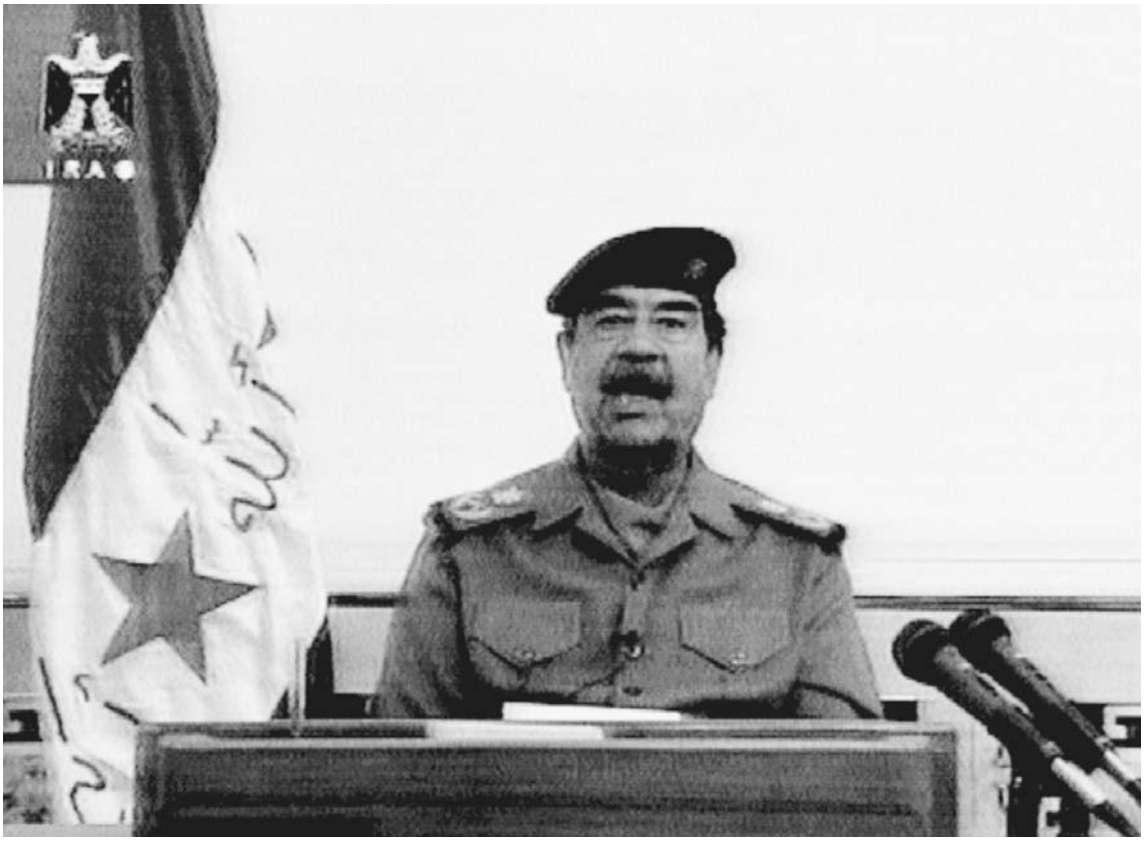
The United Nations (UN) Security Council, the part of the international organization that makes decisions aimed at maintaining peace between nations, gave Hussein a deadline to withdraw from Kuwait. It also approved the use of force if Iraq did not comply. Meanwhile,

international troops gathered along the Saudi Arabian border with Kuwait and Iraq to block any further advances of the Iraqi army while UN negotiations proceeded. Early in 1991, a coalition (of many countries) of forces led by the United States and Britain liberated Kuwait, but not before Hussein's forces torched the oil wells across Kuwait as they retreated.

Following his defeat, Hussein was faced with UN economic sanctions (restrictions) that included blockades of its oil exports. He agreed to abandon all chemical and biological weapons and submit to inspections within the country by UN observers. The economy and state infrastructure broke down as Iraqi citizens faced food rationing and the difficulties of living under strict military control. Those who could, fled to live abroad. The war had further divided the ethnic and religious factions in Iraq. Any uprisings were quickly repressed by Hussein in order to maintain control. The death toll due to the violence in the aftermath of the war was estimated at around thirty thousand persons.

The U.S. government accused Hussein of continuous violations of the terms of the Gulf War's ceasefire agreement. It also suspected Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and other banned weaponry. In December 1996, the deteriorating economic situation in Iraq prompted UN officials to adopt a program known as Oil-for-Food to feed its people. The program was intended to allow Iraq to sell its oil on the world market in exchange for food, medicine, and other humanitarian needs for ordinary Iraqi citizens without allowing Iraq to rebuild its military. However, increased tension over weapons inspections resulted in American and British missile strikes on Iraq between 1997 and 1998. By early 2001, their war planes were striking harder at suspected weapons sites near the capital city of Baghdad.

UN weapons inspections considered inconclusive by the United States and Britain in January 2003 led to a buildup of military forces around Iraq. Most governments and the UN Security Council did not back military intervention and counseled for continued inspections. On March 17, 2003, the United States issued an ultimatum (final demand) to Iraq, calling for regime change (change in government leadership) within twenty-four hours. The ultimatum was rejected and air attacks on Baghdad began three days later. U.S. and British forces entered Iraq from Kuwait on April 9, 2003. They deposed Saddam as president of Iraq. Saddam and his aides went underground, but Saddam was eventually captured in a small town south of Tikrit on December 13 of that year.



A video image shows Iraqi president Saddam Hussein urging the people of Baghdad to "strike the enemy with force" in a speech broadcast on Iraqi television on April 4, 2003. He predicted victory over the invading U.S. and British troops. © REUTERS NEWMEDIA INC./CORBIS.

Following his capture, Hussein and other members of the Baath Party became the key subjects of the Iraqi Special Tribunal. The tribunal was established to try Iraqi citizens charged with various serious crimes between 1968 and 2003 including crimes against humanity (murder of large groups of people), war crimes (those which violated international laws of war), and genocide (a deliberate destruction of a political or cultural human group). The trials involved hearings before five judges, no jury. Security became a major issue as one of the judges and two defense lawyers were assassinated in 2005 and 2006. Some world leaders, including top UN officials, believed Hussein could not receive a fair trial based on international standards (ability to offer a defense in front of a jury) in Iraq. For example, the judges included Shiite Muslims and other

long-standing enemies of Hussein. The UN officials believed the International Criminal Court at The Hague, Amsterdam, or a UN war crimes court such as established in Rwanda would be more appropriate. However, Hussein's trial remained in Iraq allowing the new Iraq government to seek justice for past crimes in its country.

The first legal hearing in Saddam's case was held on July 1, 2004. Hussein was accused of the 1988 poison attack at Halabja, the 1982 massacre of 148 Shiite Muslims in Dujail, invading Kuwait, ethnic cleansing by the removal of thousands of Kurds from the town of Kirkuk, and various actions against Kurds and other political opponents. On November 5, 2006, the court convicted Hussein and two other defendants of the 1982 massacre at Dujail and sentenced them to death by hanging. Saddam Hussein was hanged before dawn on December 30, 2006 in Baghdad, Iraq.

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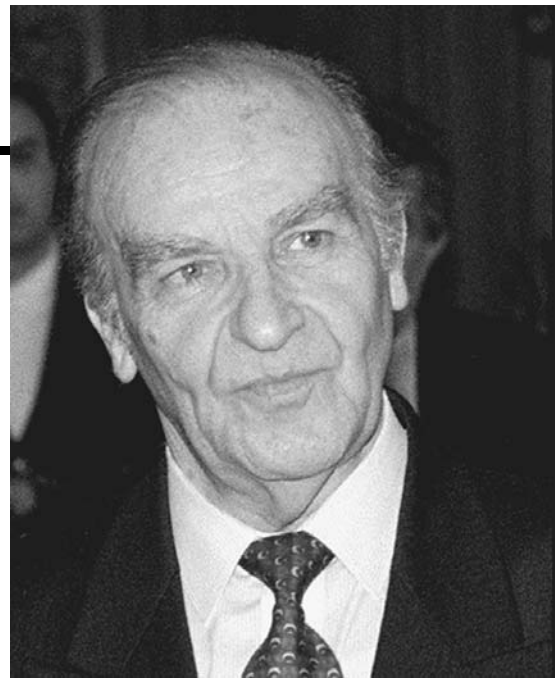
Alija Izetbegovic

BORN: August 8, 1925 • Bosanski Samac, Kingdom of Serbs

DIED: October 19, 2003 • Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnian president



Alija Izetbegovic. AP IMAGES.

"Bosnia is a complicated country: three religions, three nations and those 'others.' Nationalism is strong in all three nations; in two of them there are a lot of racism, chauvinism, separatism; and now we are supposed to make a state out of that."

Alija Izetbegovic (I-zet-beg-o-vic) was president of the nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1990 to 2000. The decade of the 1990s was a time of great political and ethnic upheaval in the Bosnian region. He was first elected president of this Yugoslavia republic in December 1990 following the end of Communist domination of the region. Communism is a system of government governed by a single dominant political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is prohibited and all religious practices are banned. Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of six republics of Yugoslavia at the time.

The major ethnic groups in Yugoslavia were Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Albanians, and Bosnians. The Communist Party was replaced by a number of political parties. Each party was largely associated with a

particular ethnic group. When Izetbegovic declared independence for Bosnia from Yugoslavia in April 1992, three years of bloody ethnic conflict followed between Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims.

A family of Muslims

Izetbegovic was born in August 1925 in Bosanski Samac, a town located in northern Bosnia. He was one of five children. Izetbegovic's father was an accountant and before Alija was born the family was well-to-do, living within the Serbian region of the Ottoman Empire (a vast Turkish empire comprising parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, founded in the thirteenth century and dissolved after 1918). They were devout Muslims (worshipers of Islam). The Ottoman Turks had brought the Islamic religion to the region in the fifteenth century. They fled to Bosanski Samac in Bosnia after Serbia gained its political independence from the empire in 1918. They feared retaliation from the new leaders against those who prospered during the Ottoman rule. Izetbegovic's grandfather was the mayor of Bosanski Samac.

In 1929, when Izetbegovic was just four years old, his father declared bankruptcy and moved the family to the Bosnian city of Sarajevo. There Izetbegovic received his schooling. Ten years later in 1939, World War II (1939–45) began when German forces invaded Poland. Over the next few years, more European countries fell under German control. In 1941, German forces invaded Yugoslavia. Bosnia was placed under the rule of Croatia, where Germany had established a puppet government (a government controlled by a foreign country).

Considerable ethnic violence occurred during the war. The Croatian government conducted mass murders of Serbs and Serbs massacred Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Still just a teenager, Izetbegovic joined a Muslim youth organization. It promoted a return to traditional Islamic values and rejection of nationalism (a very strong allegiance to a particular nation). With Germany still occupying Bosnia, he graduated from high school in 1943 and entered an agricultural school. He studied the next three years before becoming interested in law studies.

Promoting Islam in a communist state

Near the end of the war in 1944, a multi-ethnic Yugoslav force led by Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) forced out the Germans. He gained control of Yugoslavia and sought to end ethnic violence. Tito established a

communist government called the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and suppressed all ethnic and religious activities. Yugoslavia was under the direct influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union like other Eastern European communist governments created immediately after World War II. However, Tito was a strong ruler who maintained a greater degree of independence for Yugoslavia than was enjoyed by other nations. The new Yugoslav government imprisoned hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans and those Yugoslavs who disagreed with his ethnic cleansing program to labor camps and executed tens of thousands.

In 1946 Tito formed a secret police service (the UDBA) that executed Nazi collaborators, Catholic priests, and anyone who opposed the Communist-led government. His administration had become a virtual dictatorship. Izetbegovic had helped publish a dissident (opposed to the existing government) Islamic journal called *Soldier of God* in English. In 1946, the UDBA closed down the press and sent those involved with the publication to prison. Among them was Izetbegovic, who was convicted of hostile activity, including making anti-Soviet statements. In March 1946, he was sentenced to three years in prison.

In 1949, Izetbegovic received his release from prison and enrolled in the University of Sarajevo, where he earned a law degree in 1956. For the next twenty-five years, he worked as a lawyer and advisor for two large public corporations in Sarajevo, one in construction and the other in communications. Izetbegovic married Halida Repovac and they had three children. One son, Bakir, later became the head of Izetbegovic's security force.

Izetbegovic resumed publishing dissident literature promoting the Bosnian Muslim perspective in Yugoslav politics and society. He argued for a more fundamentalist, or strict observance, approach based on Islamic principles. He did not want to see Bosnian Muslims become absorbed by Serbian and Croatian nationalism. He recorded his beliefs and concerns in a 1970 book, *The Islamic Declaration.* In it, Izetbegovic called for renewal of a strong adherence to an Islamic way of life. He argued for a united Islamic community based on the Qur'an (also known as the Koran, the main religious text of Islam), while promoting modern education and economic improvement. Many viewed his book as a radical statement since he condemned non-Islamic beliefs and societies. These viewpoints of the Bosnian Muslims like Izetbegovic were unpopular with Tito and his communist government.

Forming Modern Bosnia

Bosnia is more formally referred to as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia refers to all of the nation except for a small, mountainous region in the southwest known as Herzegovina. Located in southeastern Europe, Croatia is Bosnia's neighbor to the north and west and Serbia and Montenegro to the east.

The Ottoman Turks had gained control of Bosnia in 1463. The Ottoman Turks ruled a vast multi-ethnic region that included southeastern Europe, the Middle East, and Northern Africa for several centuries. In 1878, the Austro-Hungarian Empire that controlled much of central Europe acquired control of Bosnia from the Ottomans and formally annexed the region as part of its empire in 1908. Serbia at the time had been seeking control of Bosnia because of the many ethnic Serbs living in Bosnia. In protest of the Austro-Hungarian rule, Bosnian Serb militant group assassinated the crown prince of Austria while visiting Sarajevo in Bosnia in late June 1914. This event triggered World War I. Following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarians in 1918, Bosnia became part of the newly formed Yugoslavia, with the Serbs in power.

A longer prison term

Tito died in 1980. Without a strong ruler like Tito around to keep ethnic tensions suppressed, social unrest began to surface. Also, anti-communist feelings developed in the region. Izetbegovic contributed to this trend with his 1980 book *Islam Between East and West.* It is considered his most influential work. In it, Izetbegovic compared the basic elements of Islam with that of communism and Christianity. The Yugoslav government began cracking down on dissidents, including nationalists and Muslim fundamentalists. Izetbegovic was once again arrested in 1983 for his publications.

In April 1983, Izetbegovic was tried in a Bosnian court with twelve other Muslim activists for their alleged hostile behavior. Izetbegovic was convicted and sentenced to fourteen years in prison. Human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, were watching what was going on in Yugoslavia. They strongly criticized the verdicts of Izetbegovic and the others since the condemned had used no force or even advocated the use of force against the government. Influenced by these organizations, the convictions were appealed to the Bosnian Supreme Court. The court ruled that indeed these were not criminal acts. However, Izetbegovic's sentence was reduced by just two years.

Izetbegovic considered these trials to be aimed more against Islam than against any individuals such as him. The Yugoslav public began viewing Muslims with suspicion after the publicity of the trials by the state-controlled media. As the communist government began crumbling, Izetbegovic received a pardon (a release from legal penalties) freeing him from imprisonment in 1988 after serving less than six years of his sentence. Nonetheless, while in prison Izetbegovic began suffering from heart disease leaving him permanently impaired.

Multi-ethnic politics

The fall from power of the communist party in the late 1980s led to the rapid growth of multiple political parties, often based on ethnic

affiliations. Izetbegovic and other Bosnian Muslims formed the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in 1989. Izetbegovic was elected its leader upon the founding of the party. Other ethnic groups of the region, including Croats and Serbs, came from Christian backgrounds and formed Catholic and Orthodox communities. They wanted independent ethnic states rather than a Muslim community, as Izetbegovic advocated. They considered the Muslims an outside influence to the region, introduced during the Turkish Ottoman occupation.

In the November 1990 multi-party elections, the SDA received more votes than any other party for seats in the new government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The election results reflected the overall ethnic makeup of the nation. To ease ethnic tensions, the presidency of Bosnia was created as a committee of seven members—two Croats, two Serbs, two Bosnian Muslims, and one non-ethnic affiliation. At the age of sixty-five, Izetbegovic was elected as one of the two Muslims and was unanimously selected by the new committee to be its leader on December 20, 1990.

Ethnic wars

In 1991, about 44 percent of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was Muslim Slavs, 31 percent was Eastern Orthodox Serbs, 17 percent was Roman Catholic Croats, and the remaining 8 percent was of various mixed backgrounds. Prior to 1990, these groups were highly mixed in almost all of the country. This situation was about to dramatically change.

By 1991, the Yugoslavian communist government had fully collapsed, leaving a federation of six republics. Through the early months of 1991, Izetbegovic proposed a new Yugoslav federation, or alliance, of the Yugoslav republics. They would be more politically independent of each other than before. However, this proposal was rejected by the Serbs and the Serbian leader **Slobodan Milosevic** (1941–2006). Soon, fighting between Serbs and Croats in neighboring Croatia began increasing ethnic tensions within Bosnia. During 1991, the other Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia declared independence, leaving Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia as the sole remaining members of the Yugoslav federation.

Though soft-spoken with a pleasant demeanor, Izetbegovic was to be a key figure in the ethnic conflicts that gripped the region for the next several years. From his presidential position, he tried to maintain peaceful relations within Bosnia. Izetbegovic hoped to make Bosnia a multi-ethnic

state. However, both the Bosnian Serbs and Croats sought their own countries. They both pulled out of the shared Bosnian government. The surge for nationalism by different ethnic groups led to armed conflict. Within months, Serbian militia (small civilian armed units), with help from the Yugoslav army, had seized control of most of Bosnia. The Serbs began declaring independence for the areas they controlled by January 1992.

Under pressure from other European nations, in January 1992 an agreement known as the Carrington-Cutileiro peace plan after the two diplomats who led in its development was signed by representatives of the Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. The agreement would divide the country into three ethnic regions. Izetbegovic was the Bosnian Muslim representative. However, two weeks after signing the agreement, Izetbegovic withdrew his signature because he could just not accept dividing Bosnia into separate ethnic sections. He could not give up on the idea of a fully united Bosnia. The agreement fell apart.

Bosnian Muslims face ethnic cleansing

Returning from the failed negotiations in Lisbon, Portugal, Izetbegovic called for a national referendum (general public vote) to determine the public support for independence for Bosnia. With the Bosnian Serbs boycotting (refusing to use or deal with) the referendum, the vote for independence by the Bosnian Muslim population was overwhelming. Based on the referendum results, the Bosnian parliament, or assembly, voted for independence from Yugoslavia on February 29. As president, Izetbegovic formally declared independence on March 3. On April 7, the European Union and the United States extended official recognition to Bosnia.

Fighting continued between Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Serbs who did not want independence. Izetbegovic was hoping that formal recognition of Bosnia would bring international support including peacekeeping forces, but none were sent. The Bosnian Federation Army was poorly equipped. As a result, Bosnian Serb militias and Yugoslav armed forces maintained control over large areas of Bosnia.

Izetbegovic became trapped in the besieged city of Sarajevo. The surrounding Serbian forces relentlessly shelled the town. In other parts of the country, the Serbs began a program of ethnic cleansing (deliberate attempt to eliminate an entire ethnic group) against the Muslims. They destroyed Muslim mosques (places of worship) and massacred Muslim populations by the thousands.

Receiving no support from the Western international organizations or countries, Izetbegovic sought assistance from Muslim countries. Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya sent arms, money, and volunteers. This support alarmed other national leaders who feared a violent Islamic fundamentalist state might be developing in Europe, one similar to that of Iran.

The Croats, still wanting their own independence, organized the Bosnian Croat army. In the spring of 1993, they began their own program of ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims. A three-sided war now existed between Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims, causing much confusion. The Bosnian government under Izetbegovic controlled about 25 percent of the country. The West still refused to come to Bosnia's defense since some contended the fighting was a legal civil war and not international war crimes.

By mid-1993, Izetbegovic was seeking a peace settlement that would maintain one single central government, but leave Bosnia divided into three ethnic territories. The idea was much like the agreement he had rejected the previous year. Bosnian Muslims also began calling themselves Bosniaks in September 1993, to downplay the Muslim association.

International assistance arrives

In February 1994, the United States pressured Croatia to stop its attacks of Bosnia. The Bosnian Croats then joined forces with the Bosniaks against the Bosnian Serbs. In addition, the Western international community finally began providing military support through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) organization. NATO is a military defense alliance established in April 1949 among Western European and North American nations. NATO planes began sporadic bombings of Serbian forces. They also enforced a no-fly zone over Bosnia that was designed to keep Serbian planes from bombing Bosnian targets. Military supplies began arriving. Croatia began supplying arms to the Bosnian Croat forces, and Izetbegovic was receiving military supplies from Iran. Throughout this time, Izetbegovic remained dependent on outside humanitarian relief and secret arms shipments.

By August 1995, word of the Srebrenica Massacre atrocities had gotten out to the world. Serbian special forces had murdered over eight thousand Bosniak men within only a few days in July 1995. Srebrenica was a town inhabited by Bosnian Muslims that divided surrounding areas primarily inhabited by Bosnian Serbs. The Serbs decided to get rid of all

Bosniaks living in Srebrenica and by early 1993 Serbian forces had isolated Srebrenica from other Bosnian Muslim areas. With its population running out of food, medicine, and water, the United Nations sent a small contingent of troops to help establish peace and get supplies to Srebrenica. However, by 1995 citizens were starving to death and in early July Serbian special forces moved into Srebrenica. As the group of lightly armed UN troops stood aside, the Serbs began the mass killings of the Bosnian Muslims. Endless truckloads of Bosniak males were taken from Srebrenica to killing sites in the country for execution. They were often bound and shot with automatic rifles before bulldozers pushed the bodies into mass graves with some wounded buried alive.

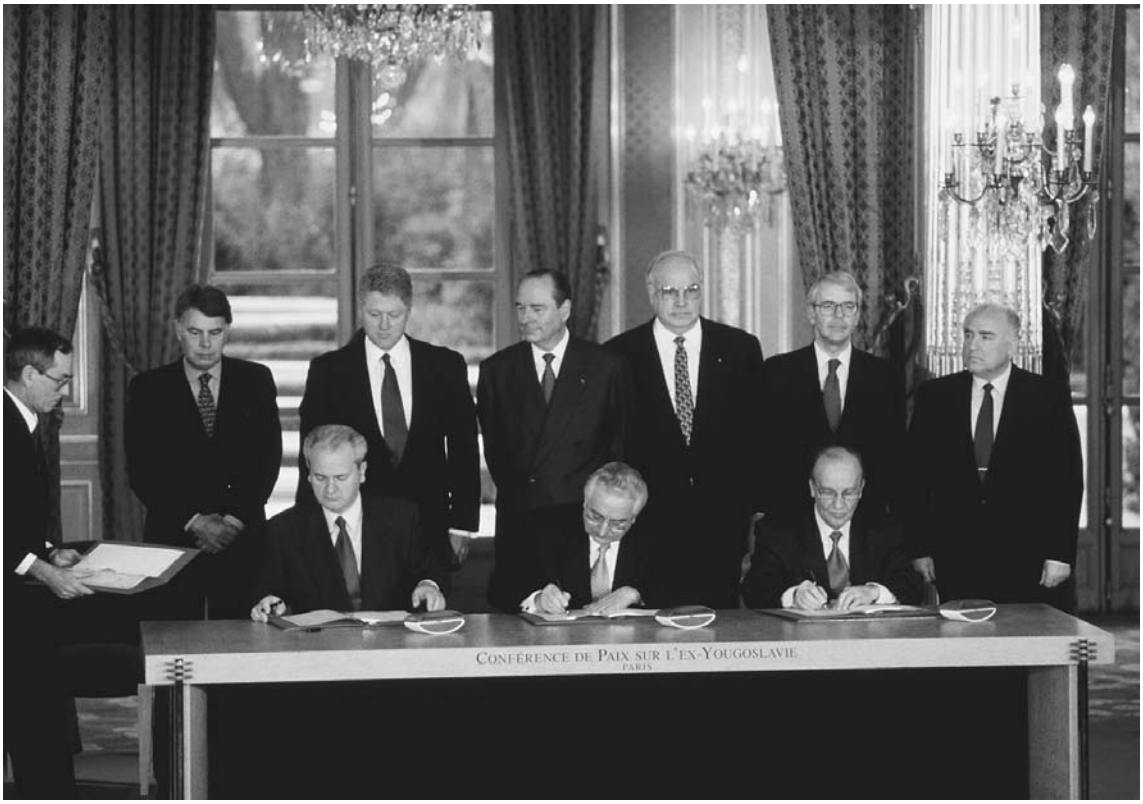
In reaction, NATO stepped up its bombing of Bosnian Serb positions. Croatian and Bosniak forces were then able to regain lost territory. The country was left roughly split into two parts, one controlled by the Serbs and the other by the Croats and Bosniaks.

Dayton Accord

With the country in ruins and fighting dragging on, Izetbegovic and other political and ethnic leaders of the region gathered to negotiate a ceasefire agreement. Since 1991, around 5 percent of the Bosnian population had been killed. Half of the population was now refugees (people who flee in search of protection or shelter). Very few areas in Bosnia remained ethnically mixed. The leaders came to the United States at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. It was the fourth effort to end hostilities since 1992. The talks at Dayton were difficult and lasted three long weeks. Finally, an agreement was reached in November 1995. It was formally signed later in Paris, France, in December.

Known as the Dayton Accord, the agreement kept Bosnia as a single country but divided it approximately in half, into the Serbian Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation. Izetbegovic, representing the Bosnian government, was reluctant to sign and recognize a Serbian region. He still preferred a unified multi-ethnic Bosnia. However, through the Accord, he was able to keep Bosnia as a single country.

The new Bosnian presidency was to be shared by three people, each representing the three major ethnic groups of the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims. Public elections were held in September 1996 to choose the three leaders. Each ethnic population selected the same person who had led them in war the previous years. This meant Izetbegovic was elected to represent the Muslims. He was also selected as the leader of the



Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic (sitting right) and the presidents of Serbia and Croatia sign the Dayton Peace Accord in December 1995, as leaders from six other nations observe. © PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS.

committee of three. They had limited powers in the two regions under the new weakened central government. The Dayton Accord also called for sixty thousand peacekeeping NATO troops and a return of refugees to their homes. That same year, the United States began providing assistance to Bosnia, but only after Izetbegovic had cut ties with Muslim assistance, as demanded by the United States. Though peace had arrived, piecing the country back together would be a long, difficult process as it slowly gained back its political functions from the United Nations-appointed administrators one by one, such as the court system.

Retirement

In August 1999, the *New York Times* published a report claiming that $1 billion of Bosnian public funds had been stolen by the leaders of the region. Izetbegovic denied the corruption charges. In June 2000,

Izetbegovic announced his retirement of public life, claiming age and health as reasons for leaving. He left office in October of that year at seventy-four years of age.

Considered a hero by many, Izetbegovic remained popular with Bosnians. He was often referred to by the nickname "Grandpa." Others, particularly in the West, were more critical of his years as a leader. They considered him a supporter of radical Muslim fundamentalism and were relieved to see him step down. He was not a strong supporter of Western-style democracies. However, in comparison to other ethnic leaders in the former Yugoslav region during his time—such as Milosevic—Izetbegovic was politically moderate. He promoted a nationalism that included strong ethnic and religious affiliations. During the war crimes trials, Bosnian Serbs and Croats made accusations of genocide against Izetbegovic. However, no indictments ever resulted because of the lack of sufficient evidence.

Izetbegovic maintained limited involvement in politics and provided public support to his former political party after retirement. This support helped the party rebound in the 2002 elections. In October 2003, Izetbegovic died from injuries suffered from a fall he had in his home. His injury was complicated by advanced heart disease.

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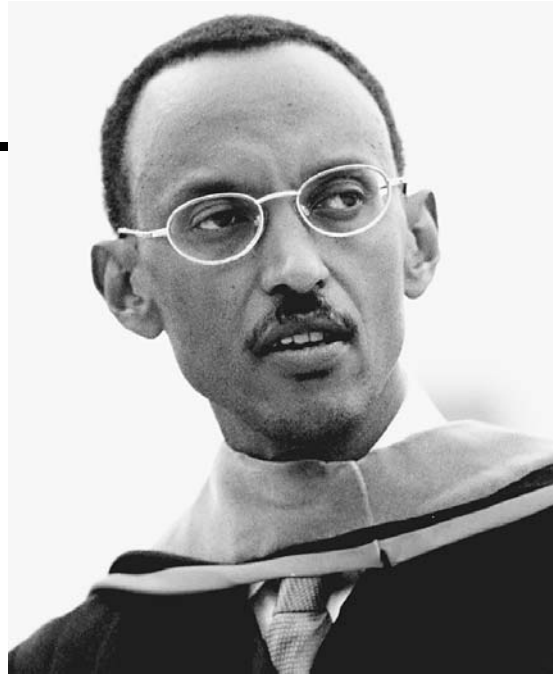
Paul Kagame

BORN: October 23, 1957 • Ntambwe, Rwanda

Rwandan president, military commander



"We cannot turn the clock back nor can we undo the harm caused, but we have the power to determine the future and to ensure that what happened never happens again."

Paul Kagame rose up to lead a tiny country in central Africa known as Rwanda following a horrific genocide of Tutsi Rwandans in the spring and early summer of 1994. Genocide is a planned, systematic attempt to eliminate a whole group of people by murdering all members of that group. Tutsi have long comprised approximately 14 percent of Rwanda's population. The majority people, the Hutu, account for 85 percent of the population. Beginning on April 6, 1994, and continuing through June 1994, Hutu murdered between 800,000 and 1 million of their Tutsi neighbors.

For centuries, the Tutsi and Hutu had lived peacefully side by side. However, arrival of European colonists, first from Germany in 1894 and later from Belgium in the early 1920s, led to prejudice and hatred between the two native groups. When the first Germans arrived in 1894 they quickly observed that the Tutsi and Hutu differed significantly

Paul Kagame. AP IMAGES.

in physical characteristics. The Hutu were generally short with thick bodies and big heads, wide noses, and prominent lips. Tutsi were tall and thin with fine facial features, thin noses and lips, and straight, white teeth. The Europeans figured through their racial prejudices that the fine-featured Tutsi were a superior race that were responsible for Rwanda's organized society. Further creating a myth of Tutsi superiority, the German colonizers described the Tutsi as gifted with intelligence, boundless energy, natural leadership abilities, refinement in speech manners, and capable of self-control and feelings of love and goodwill. The Hutu were considered an inferior race. Being favored by the colonists, the Tutsi were given all the positions of importance within Rwandan society. For sixty years, Hutu were deprived of all political and economic power.

Coffee plants were introduced to Rwandans by the German colonists in 1904. By the 1930s the country began to depend on coffee as its key export crop and Rwanda's main source of income.

In 1959, the Hutu revolted and took control of Rwanda's government. Hundreds of thousands of Tutsi became refugees (people who flee in search of protection or shelter) escaping across Rwanda's borders to neighboring countries of Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Zaire (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo). Hutu remained in power until 1994 when overthrown by Tutsi Paul Kagame and an efficient military force of Rwandan Tutsi refugees calling themselves the Rwandan Patriot Front (RPF). Despite taking Kigali, the Rwandan capital, Kagame and his RPF were too small a force to stop the genocide of their fellow Tutsi throughout the Rwandan countryside.

Later in 2003, Kagame was elected president of Rwanda. He faced the daunting tasks of healing the rift between Tutsi and Hutu and putting an end to racial hatred, rebuilding the nation's devastated economy, and securing the country's borders.

Kagames become refugees

Paul Kagame was born into a Tutsi family in 1957 in the Ntambwe commune, located 40 miles west of Kigali. He was one of six children, two boys and four girls. Kagame's father, Deogratius, was a successful businessman and also had agricultural interests. Both Deogratius and Kagame's mother, Asteria, were closely related to the royal family of Rwanda. However, with his independent business successes, Deogratius was proud to have no need of reliance on the royals.

In 1959, as the Hutu revolution spread, two-year-old Kagame and his family fled their home with only the belongings they could carry. Groups of Hutu men systematically moved through village after village, looting houses belonging to Tutsi, killing the inhabitants, and burning the houses to the ground. The Kagame family escaped north to Kagame's mother's birthplace of Mutara, near the Ugandan border.

By 1961, Deogratius concluded that Rwanda was too dangerous a place for his family. With no hope of security, no chance to pursue his businesses, and no education opportunities for his children, Deogratius moved his family to a border town inside Uganda. The Kagames began a new life as Rwandan refugees. They soon moved further north in Uganda as refugee camps were established. In 1962, the family settled in a camp known as Nshungerezi, in the Tori District of Uganda. Kagame was five years old and he would grow up in Nshungerezi.

Prejudice against the refugees was severe. Although many had lived comfortable, even privileged, lives in Rwanda before the 1959 revolution, the refugees had few employment or educational opportunities in Uganda. Most became laborers for Ugandan farmers and earned very little.

An excellent student

With the other refugee children, Kagame attended school in the camp where he learned English. English was spoken in Uganda, while French was the language of Rwanda. A bright student, nine-year-old Kagame went to primary school in the nearby town of Ntare.

Kagame rose to the top of his class and put Ugandan school officials in a difficult position. The top three students at Ntare qualified for a grant to go onto secondary school (school equivalent to high school). However, since Kagame was Rwandan, prejudicial practice prevented him from advancing. Only after his father arranged for tuition assistance from a Rwandan refugee network in Europe was the boy able to go to secondary school.

Discrimination against Rwandan refugees

Kagame continued to excel academically, as did other Rwandan refugee students who managed to obtain an education. Some moved into Ugandan cities, substantially improved their economic situation, and began to return to lifestyles similar to those enjoyed in Rwanda before 1959. Ugandans resented the success of young Rwandans and harassed and taunted them for being refugees. Discrimination in education and

employment was commonplace. Some Rwandans changed their names and tried to pass as Ugandans to attend school or find a job. Rwandans were not allowed citizenship in Uganda. The rejection young Rwandans experienced significantly impacted their thinking and attitudes, leaving them with a sense of not belonging and a desire to return to their homeland.

Exploring Rwanda

In 1977, at the age of twenty-one, Kagame's curiosity about his homeland led him to travel into Rwanda. He quickly located relatives still living there and contacted friends who had returned to Kigali to live. Kagame spent two months crisscrossing the country that he had only heard stories about. With a desire to learn further about the country of his ancestors and thoughts of someday returning permanently, Kagame visited Rwanda again in 1978.

Rwanda was quiet during those years. Juvenal Habyarimana (1937–1994) had taken leadership of the country in 1973, continuing the Hutu line of authority. Although there were many restrictions on Rwandans traveling away from their homes, Kagame assumed he was not suspicious, but was relatively safe as a student traveling alone. However, if Rwandan authorities had realized he was related to the former Tutsi royal family and a Rwandan refugee living in Uganda, his journey in Rwanda could have become perilous.

While in Rwanda, Kagame learned of Habyarimana's efforts to develop and improve the economy of the exceedingly poor nation. All Rwandans were expected to follow Habyarimana's direction without questioning. Habyarimana promised reforms and a better life. Kagame listened and learned. His trips in 1977 and 1978, although only a few months of time altogether, greatly influenced his thinking and expanded his knowledge of Rwanda's economic and political challenges. The idea of someday returning to Rwanda and being involved in the political process was firmly planted in Kagame's mind.

Forming political philosophies

Back in Uganda, Kagame's emerging political awareness moved him to action. He joined a movement under the leadership of Ugandan rebel leader Yoweri Museveni (1944–). Museveni's group, the National Resistance Army (NRA), seemed to Kagame the Ugandan faction most likely to lend support to the exiled Rwandan Tutsi.

The philosophy on which Museveni founded the NRA and its political wing, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), was different from the countless other African resistance movements that had formed in the twentieth century. Rather than becoming a small group intent on dominating the population in yet another round of oppression followed by resentment, Museveni's movement attempted to create a nationwide inclusive political community, one that included even those people in Uganda commonly discriminated against such as women, youth, and various minorities, including the Rwandan Tutsi exiles. Museveni believed in allowing people to vote for their leaders, but not in political parties, which he said soon would become tribal-like groups concerned with their own narrow interests. His movement also supported some capitalist-style an economic system in which production is privately owned, financed through private investments, and the demand for goods is established through an open market system largely free of government involvement) economic development. Kagame, by 1980 a young lieutenant in the NRA, absorbed Museveni's basic ideas and would incorporate them when he returned to Rwanda as a rebel leader and ultimately president of Rwanda. Understanding these basic NRA philosophies, along with training as a guerrilla resistance fighter, would guide Kagame and numerous other young Tutsi exiles in their attempt to retake Rwanda in 1990.

The NRA was victorious in 1986 when it overthrew the then-president of Uganda, Milton Obote (1924–2005). The NRA was fourteen thousand strong, and four thousand of its best fighters were Rwandan Tutsi refugees. Kagame, who rose to the rank of major, was chiefly involved in intelligence-gathering (obtaining information, sometimes secretly) throughout the Uganda countryside. With the 1986 victory, Museveni sent Kagame to Cuba for nine months to learn ways of building a permanent army, policies, and institutions from Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz's (1926–) administration.

Establishment of Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

After Kagame's return and with the fighting Uganda over, the Rwandan fighters developed plans to retake their homeland. They organized into a more tightly functioning rebel movement determined to destabilize the Rwandan Hutu government and institute an entirely new rule in the country. The Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation (RANU) that had been founded in 1979 gained members and strength. In 1987, the

RANU changed its name to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Fred Rwigyema (1957–1990), Kagame's friend and fellow NRA rebel fighter, became president of the RPF. At the same time in Uganda, both Kagame and Rwigyema were serving in important government positions under Museveni. Kagame was head of military intelligence for the NRA and Rwigyema advanced to Deputy Minister of Defense.

Kagame sent to Kansas

Despite Kagame and Rwigyema's rise to prominent positions within Uganda's government, Museveni knew that prejudice against Rwandan refugees was again growing within the country. The National Ruling Council, Uganda's legislature, began attempts to bar Rwandans from owning property and to remove them from the army.

By late 1989, feeling strong political pressure, Museveni removed Kagame and then Rwigyema from their posts. Museveni saw this as a way to distance himself from his Rwandan friends. In 1990, he sent Kagame for military training to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; it was Kagame's first visit to the United States. The assignment was, in reality, a way to get Kagame out of the country since Museveni knew Kagame and Rwigyema were quietly planning a military push into Rwanda that would be launched from inside Uganda. If Kagame was absent, Museveni hoped the plans for an invasion into northern Rwanda by the exiles would be halted.

Habyarimana's government faltering

Rwandan Tutsi exiles felt increasingly unwelcome in Uganda. The pressure mounted to return to Rwanda. The Rwandan exiles had continued to organize and arm the RPF. They had gained a great deal of experience fighting for Uganda's NRA. By 1990, Rwandan president Habyarimana was struggling to stay in power. Coffee prices that had sustained Rwanda's economy had fallen drastically in the 1980s due to competition from other coffee-growing countries. Most of Rwanda's population no longer had enough food since it had long been purchased from other countries with coffee profits. There was increasing infighting among Habyarimana's administration over what little money did come in, now chiefly aid from foreign countries. Habyarimana's government seemed on the verge of collapse. It was time for the RPF to make its move.

RPF invades Northern Rwanda

Led by Rwigyema, the RPF began a military push into Northern Rwanda in October 1990. Kagame, who was a leader of the RPF but still in Kansas, was kept informed of all the action. Kagame immediately began the process to leave Fort Leavenworth. He arrived at the frontlines in Northern Rwanda to take command as news of Rwigyema's death in battle reached him. From 1991 and through 1993, the RPF continued raids into Rwanda, then retreated back to the Ugandan border.

On April 6, 1994, Habyarimana's jet, which was returning to Kigali, was shot down. Everyone aboard, including Habyarimana, was killed. Within hours, Hutu extremists ordered the previously planned genocide of Tutsi to begin. The extremists had convinced Hutu peasants that killing all Tutsi would solve all of the country's woes.

Kagame ordered his RPF to march to Kigali and attempt to take the city. On April 8 Kagame led his RPF into Kigali, where they battled the Rwandan army, the Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR), and Hutu militias for control of the city. By April 12, the FAR and militias began moving southward, giving up the city. By late May, the RPF controlled the airport and, through June, pushed south and west. The FAR and militias retreated westward. Despite successes of the RPF, the genocide of Tutsi continued throughout the countryside. The retreating FAR and Hutu militias murdered all Tutsi—men, women, and children—in their paths. The RPF, although a highly efficient army, was small and concentrated on Kigali and the airport. It had no way to also halt the Tutsi massacres occurring countrywide. As the FAR and militias fled, millions of Hutu fearing for their safety left their homes and fled with them, an act that created millions of Hutu refugees.

By July, Kagame's forces were in complete control of Kigali. On July 19, 1994, officials were sworn in for a new Tutsi government called the Government of National Unity. Although Pasteur Bezinungu, a Hutu who supported the Tutsi, was placed in the position of president, Kagame held the real power in Rwanda. His official titles were vice president and commander-in-chief of the army. He and his administration set about

The Kagame Cup

Despite attempting the superhuman task of reviving a nation shattered by the 1994 genocide, President Paul Kagame also shows the world a very identifiable regular guy—that of a sportsman. He is an avid tennis player and, just like a large portion of the world's population, a great fan of soccer. His favorite team is, naturally, the Rwandan national team, *Amavubi,* mascot name the Wasps. When in 2002 the Confederation of East and Central African Football Associations (CECAFA) was out of money and its regional tournament seemed unlikely, Kagame donated $60,000 of his own money. He also donated money for a trophy. The tournament was saved. In appreciation, CECAFA officials named the tournament the Kagame Cup.

the overwhelming task of holding the peace and rebuilding the government. Kagame oversaw a country with little infrastructure (roads, buildings, airports, and other public facilities), destroyed roads, minimum access to air traffic, and little communication capabilities.

When Kagame and the RPF took power, they were determined to have a multi-ethnic government. Although Kagame was the real leader, prominent Hutus within the new government included President Pasteur Bizimungu, prime minister Pierre-Celestin Rwigyema, and the minister of interior Seth Sendashonga. Kagame stressed cohesive cooperation, political education, and responsible accountability. Kagame's approach closely mirrored Museveni's philosophy in Uganda. His goals were ambitious, since Rwandans were largely illiterate (unable to read and write) and had no knowledge of political processes. Political information was supplied at a grassroots (level of common village people) level to every village. Kagame flatly refused a U.S.-style of democracy with multiple political parties. In African societies, he believed competing parties only served to further divide an already divided people. He knew each side would battle the other and only end up in another war. Kagame stated that no one still advocating division would be tolerated within the government. Also certain rights, such as a free press, were curtailed for the same reason.

After only a few years, the multi-ethnic nature of Kagame's government seemed to fall apart. Sendashonga was assassinated in Nairobi; Rwigyema resigned in February 2000 on charges of misconduct in regard to the misuse of educational funds which he denied and he fled to Germany and the United States. Bizimungu resigned at the end of March 2000, saying other RPF parliamentarians (elected members of the legislature) falsely accused him of tax avoidance and suspicious construction deals. In 2004 he was convicted of illegally forming a militia and embezzlement and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. Within a month of Bizimungu's resignation, Kagame was elected president of Rwanda with 81 of 86 parliamentary votes.

The Kagame government, despite its power, was a transitional (temporary) government. By the end of 2003, a permanent constitution, president, and legislative representatives were to be in place. The idea of having a constitution that defined the structure of government, rights of the people, and responsibilities of the elected officials was completely new to Rwandans. Before 1994, government was run at the whim and will of whoever was president. Nevertheless, the grassroots education campaigns

Paul Kagame waves to a crowd of supporters at a campaign rally in Muvumba, Rwanda, a few days before the first presidential elections since the 1994 genocide. AP IMAGES.

and informational meetings instituted by Kagame paved the way for approval of the constitution on May 26, 2003. Approximately 95 percent of voters approved the constitution. In opposition to his advisor's wishes, Kagame insisted on universal suffrage, which meant all Rwandans eighteen years of age and older were allowed to vote. The constitution's acceptance set the stage for the presidential election in August.

By 2003, most Rwandans associated the relative stability of the past nine years with Kagame. Kagame and the highly organized RPF labeled his chief opponent, Faustin Twagiramungu, as a divisionist (one who creates disagreements among groups). Twagiramungu, living in exile in Belgium since 1995, was a moderate Hutu who had opposed the Habyarimana government and the genocide. When the genocide began, moderate Hutu were murdered along with Tutsi. Twagiramungu barely escaped by reaching the Zaire border. He returned to Rwanda in June 2003 to take on Kagame's well-oiled political machine (well-organized

political party). He reasoned that since 85 percent of the population was Hutu, he surely would be elected. Instead, Kagame received a majority of Hutu votes in the August 2003 election. Strides in reconciliation between Tutsi and Hutu were apparent in their cooperation with each other, and the Rwandan economy was starting a slow but seemingly sure recovery. Kagame received 95 percent of the vote. By democratic standards there were many irregularities, such as the RPF arresting Twagiramungu's campaign leaders two days before the election. But for a country struggling to overcome the effects of a genocide that occurred just nine years earlier, the vote clearly reflected who the Rwandans wanted to lead their nation. European election observers conceded the election had been peaceful and was a good start for the new Rwanda. On September 12, 2003, President Kagame was inaugurated (sworn in as president) before a massive crowd.

The legislative election was not completed at the end of September. The RPF candidates also won an overwhelming majority in the parliament. Surprisingly, 39 of the 80 newly elected parliamentary representatives were women.

Kagame is known as a extremely hard working president. He and his staff frequently keep long hours, sometimes working until 9 or 10 at night. His command of English, attributed to growing up in English-speaking Uganda, plays an important role in communication with two important international friends, the United States and Britain. U.S. and British officials refer to him as an excellent communicator, sincere and to the point. Kagame has visited U.S. president George W. Bush's (1946–; served 2001–) ranch and spoken in numerous U.S. cities before audiences of academic and government officials and before Rwandans living in the United States. He has close relations with former U.S. president Bill Clinton, who has taken a special interest in the well-being of Rwanda since leaving the White House. By the mid-2000s, Kagame remained confident about Rwanda's healing process and optimistic about its future.

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Helen Keller

BORN: June 27, 1880 • Tuscumbia, Alabama

DIED: June 1, 1968 • Westport, Connecticut

American social activist, author

Helen Keller. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

"The public must learn that the blind man is neither genius nor a freak nor an idiot. He has a mind that can be educated, a hand which can be trained, . . . and it is the duty of the public to help him make the best of himself."

Helen Keller was an international advocate for the disabled throughout much of the twentieth century. After overcoming, to a large extent, the effects of her own blindness and deafness, she toured the world promoting acceptance of the disabled in society. She showed that even severely handicapped persons are capable of making important contributions to society. Through her activism, she gave hope and inspiration to those facing various types of physical or mental disabilities. Through her numerous writings and lectures, Keller became known as one of the great humanitarians of the twentieth century. She substantially altered public perceptions of the disabled by reducing long-standing prejudices.

A devastating illness

Keller was born in June 1880 on a cotton plantation called Ivy Green in the rural northwestern community of Tuscumbia, Alabama. Father Arthur H. Keller, a former captain in the Confederate Army during the Civil War (1861–65), was editor of the *North Alabamian,* a weekly local newspaper. Her mother was Kate Adams Keller. For the first eighteen months of her life, Keller was a perfectly normal child. But in February 1882, nineteen-month-old Keller suddenly came down with a severe fever that left her unconscious and with little hope of survival. The fever lasted for just days before suddenly disappearing. Though doctors at the time diagnosed the disorder as "brain fever," more modern physicians labeled it either scarlet fever or meningitis. Both illnesses can cause swelling of the brain and unconsciousness. The family was at first greatly relieved that the illness quickly passed. However, it soon became apparent that young Keller was left deaf and blind, conditions that created muteness (inability to speak).

For the next several years, Keller received no formal schooling. She created a hand signal system with over sixty signs to communicate with her family. She also learned to do small things such as fold laundry and get things for others. Through these years her growing frustrations over her extreme physical limitations led to increased antisocial behavior. Her often violent temper tantrums made life miserable for the family. By the time she was six, Keller's behavior was out of control, and her parents realized they needed help.

The arrival of Anne Sullivan

In 1886, Keller's mother read about the education of another deaf and blind girl, Laura Bridgman (1829–1889), by Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876). Desperate for solutions to the family plight, Kate traveled to see a specialist in Baltimore to seek advice. The doctor directed her to the famous inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell (1847–1922), who lived in nearby Washington, D.C. Bell was pursuing his favorite interest, teaching deaf children. Keller was six years old when Bell examined her. Bell recommended her parents write to Michael Anagnos, the director of the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston, where Bridgman had been educated.

Following Bell's advice, the Kellers contacted Anagnos, who promised to find a personal tutor for Keller. He soon hired a former student from Perkins Institution, Anne Sullivan (1866–1936). Sullivan, the daughter of poor Irish immigrants, nearly lost her sight at the age of

five. Anne contracted the eye disease at a poorhouse where she was sent in February 1876, after her mother had died and her father disappeared. She entered Perkins in 1880 for specialized instruction. While at Perkins she had two operations that helped her regain partial sight. After graduating, Anne had trouble finding work her limitations would allow her to do. Therefore, at just twenty years of age, Sullivan eagerly accepted the job as Keller's tutor. Sullivan traveled to Keller's home in Alabama, arriving on March 3, 1887. Sullivan would instruct and assist Keller for the next forty-nine years until Sullivan's death.

Sullivan first had to overcome Keller's severe behavior problems and instill discipline in her. To do this, with the support of Keller's family Sullivan and Keller moved into a small garden house behind the main home and began working for hours each day, staying apart from others. To communicate with Keller, Sullivan drew letters with her finger in the palm of Keller's hand. During the first few weeks, progress was painstakingly slow. Keller had trouble understanding what the words Sullivan was spelling actually meant in the real world. Then one day in early April, Sullivan took Keller to a well on the property. There, with water running over one of Keller's hands, Sullivan made motions for the word "water" in the palm of her other hand. Suddenly and for the first time, Keller understood the ways of language. The words actually stood for various physical things. From that day on, progress was fast. Keller demanded names for all familiar objects. She also learned to read sentences by following raised words on cardboard. She then began making her own sentences by arranging words in a frame.

Learning to read and speak

From 1888 to 1890, Keller and Sullivan spent the winters in Boston at the Perkins Institution, learning to read Braille. With the assistance of Sullivan she also began writing letters, as she corresponded with numerous people across the country who were learning of her accomplishments. In addition, Keller wrote diary entries and short stories, which Sullivan shared with Anagnos. Eager to show the world what a deaf and blind person was capable of doing, he published many of them in articles he wrote about Keller. They received circulation nationwide and Keller became a celebrity. In 1888, Keller even traveled to Washington, D.C., where she met U.S. president Grover Cleveland (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97). She also met various other celebrities, such as humorist Mark Twain (1835–1910).

In 1890, Keller learned of a deafblind Norwegian girl who had learned to speak. Keller was eager to try. She began learning to speak under the direction of Sarah Fuller at the Horace Mann School for the Deaf in Boston. At the same time, Sullivan began having Keller touch the lips and throat of others as they spoke, to feel the vibrations and help her learn to lip read while she (Sullivan) finger-spelled the words being spoken into the palm of Keller's free hand. Keller was a fast learner. Not only did she learn English, but French, German, Greek, and Latin as well.

Problems arose in 1891, when Anagnos published a short story written by Keller. Charges of plagiarism (inappropriately copying the work of others) erupted. It turned out the story was strikingly similar to one that had been read to Keller years earlier. Keller never got over the questioning by the public and Anagnos of her honesty. Her relation with Anagnos and the Perkins Institution ended.

In 1894, fourteen-year-old Keller and Sullivan moved to New York City to attend the Wright-Humason School for the Deaf. There Keller improved her lip-reading skills over the next two years while working on her new speech abilities. Despite working at speech since she was nine years old and quickly gaining rudimentary (the most basic) speech, her vocalizations always remained high-pitched. She was usually not understandable to people hearing her for the first time. Her speech was also inaudible (unable to be heard) in large public meetings. Keller did learn to use a typewriter and used handwriting only for signing her name. In conversation with others, she needed interpreters to fingerspell in her hand. She then responded by the interpreter vocalizing her finger-spelled replies.

A college education

By 1896, Keller and Sullivan had returned to Massachusetts where Keller enrolled in the Cambridge School for Young Ladies in preparation for attending college. Her studies included history, mathematics, physics, and literature. As before, Sullivan attended classes with Keller, spelling the lectures, letter-by-letter, into Keller's hand. Sullivan also helped with homework, finger-spelling reading assignments. Keller also studied two years with a private college tutor in addition to Sullivan. She passed the Radcliff College admissions examinations in 1899 and was now ready for college studies.

In 1900, Keller entered Radcliff, located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She was the first deafblind person to enter an institution of higher learning. It was long and hard work for both Keller and Sullivan. While at Radcliff, Keller wrote her first book using both a Braille and a regular typewriter. It

Helen Keller reads with her teacher, Anne Sullivan. While Keller attended Radcliffe College, Sullivan helped her with her studies by finger-spelling books into the palm of her hand. © CORBIS.

was an autobiography titled *The Story of My Life.* Harvard professor and literary critic John Macy edited the book. The book did not sell well upon its publication in 1903, but later after she gained fame for her outstanding work with the blind and deaf it became a classic. After four years of study, Keller graduated magna cum laude (with high honors) at the age of twenty-four. Keller was the first deafblind person to earn a college degree in the United States. In May 1905, Sullivan married Macy, who became one of Keller's regular interpreters. The three of them lived together in Wrentham, Massachusetts.

Establishing a writing and speaking career

With Macy's college professor income being limited, Keller sought other sources of income to support her and her activities. Since early childhood and as her fame began to grow, Keller received donations from philanthropists (those who devote much time or money to help others) including American industrialists John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) and Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919). Keller's writing also provided some income. In 1908, she published her second book *The World I Live In.* Though well received, it generated little income. Through Sullivan and Macy, Keller authored eleven books and hundreds of magazine articles in popular publications such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Atlantic Monthly.* These articles earned her some money.

In 1906, Keller was appointed to the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind, which promoted inclusion of the disabled into mainstream society. She traveled and lectured throughout the world, encouraging establishment of similar commissions in other states and countries. As Keller toured, she began speaking out on other social issues, including women's suffrage (right to vote). Promoting justice for all and improvements in living conditions of the working class, Keller became a self-proclaimed socialist (one who supports a government system that controls economic production and distribution of a nation). In 1909, she joined the Socialist Party of Massachusetts and began speaking on its behalf. Frustrated by the Socialist Party's lack of effectiveness in improving the working conditions of laborers, in a bold move she joined the radical labor union (an organized group of workers joined together for a common purpose, such as negotiating with management for better working conditions or higher wages), the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), in 1912. The IWW, which was founded in Chicago in 1905 and peaked in membership in 1923, often used violent tactics to challenge industrial leadership in seeking a new economic system with improved working conditions for industrial laborers. It was one of the few unions at the time to welcome women and minorities to its membership. The following year, she published *Out of the Dark,* a series of essays about socialism. The public would slowly cool to Keller's political activism.

Lecture circuit

Needing more money for living expenses than donations and book sales could provide, Sullivan and Keller began charging a fee for their public

talks in 1913. They joined the Chautauqua lecture circuit in 1914, the same year that Sullivan's marriage to Macy fell apart and they separated, though never divorcing. The Chautauqua program was a popular summer traveling lecture series in the early twentieth century that started each year from the rural lakeside village of Chautauqua in southwest New York, which sponsored a range of famous speakers including famous lawyer and three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925). As their income increased, Keller and Sullivan hired Polly Thomson, a Scottish immigrant, to be their secretary. The trio traveled across the country, giving inspirational talks about overcoming handicaps and speaking against disability prejudices. A great deal of prejudice against blindness existed at the time because it was commonly associated with the venereal disease (a sexually transmitted disease) of a parent. The disease caused blindness at birth. Keller and Sullivan dispelled the myth that all blindness was caused by such disease. Keller advocated for improved services for the disabled of all types. The talks brought good income from the large crowds they steadily drew.

In 1915, Keller established Helen Keller International, a nonprofit organization dedicated to the prevention of blindness through education. Keller saw success in arguing against the handicapped being placed in asylums and institutions. Placing handicapped individuals in institutions was a normal practice in those days in order to shut off handicapped people from mainstream society. In 1916, Keller was involved in her first romantic relationship and became engaged to be married to Peter Fagan, whom she and Sullivan had hired as a secretary. However, they cancelled their marriage plans after Keller's mother repeatedly tried to discourage their marriage.

When the lecture circuit crowds and the income they generated began decreasing, Keller and Sullivan joined a vaudeville (a multi-act theater entertainment popular from the 1880s to 1920s) company, the Orpheum Circuit, from 1922 to 1924. They continued giving similar presentations much as they had on the lecture tours. Their worldwide fame continued to grow and they now made $2,000 a week, a large sum for that time. In addition to the United States, they toured Europe, Asia, South America, and Africa. They traveled to thirty-nine countries including Japan, where they were exceptionally popular.

The Chautauqua and vaudeville stage act had a consistent pattern. First, Sullivan would come on stage and recall the first efforts to teach

Keller. Then Keller would enter, and together they demonstrated methods used to teach the deaf to speak. Next, Keller would give a talk followed by a question and answer period with the audience. Keller showed much wit in her interactions with the crowds. Her wit charmed the audiences and help them realize that deafblind people were, in reality, little different from people considered normal.

By 1924, Keller's political activities as a socialist began attracting increased criticism from the public. Though socialism was attractive to so many laborers and workers at that time who wanted greater government control of industry due to often harsh working conditions imposed on them by the wealthy company owners. On the other hand, socialism was seen as a threat to the upper classes and government who advocated for very little regulation of business. As attendance began dropping off, she decided to withdraw from political activism and focus once again on fighting prejudice against the disabled. Leaving the vaudeville circuit, Keller and Sullivan began making fund-raising appearances for the American Foundation for the Blind. The appearances were again very popular and raised considerable funds for the organization. In 1927, Keller decided to take a break from the speaking circuit to write another book. She published *My Religion* that year in which she described her interest in Swedenborgism, a religious movement that Keller identified closely with during her life. Swedenborgism was established in England in 1787, a variation of Christianity based on the earlier writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). The public viewed the book with mixed emotions, some disappointed she did not associate with a major religion. Following its publication, Keller returned to fund-raising for the Foundation. By 1930, Keller had established the Helen Keller Endowment Fund for the Foundation. In return, the Foundation established a trust fund to provide the financial support Keller needed. Traveling the world, Keller and Sullivan met numerous dignitaries, including King George (1895–1952) and Queen Elizabeth (1900–2002) of Britain.

A major change in Keller's life came when Sullivan died in October 1936. She was buried at St. Joseph's Chapel in Washington Cathedral in Washington, D.C. Thomson took over as the key assistant and interpreter for Keller. The two women moved to Westport, Connecticut, where Keller would live the rest of her life. Keller continued advocating for improved treatment of disabled persons. By 1937, about thirty states had established commissions for the blind. Keller published another book in 1938, this one titled *Helen Keller's Journal.*

An Inspirational Story

Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan were the inspiration for a number of plays and movies. The first was a silent movie titled *Deliverance,* released in 1919. In it, Keller played herself in her adult years. In 1953, a film documentary was released about Keller's life titled *The Unconquered.* It won an Academy Award. In 1957, a successful live television play appeared. *The Miracle Worker,* written by William Gibson (1914–), focused on the breakthrough in communication that occurred between Keller and Sullivan the day at the well. Gibson then rewrote the drama into a Broadway play that opened in October 1959. The play was a major hit and ran on Broadway for almost two years. It won a Pulitzer Prize in 1960. The play was next made into a Hollywood movie and released in 1962. Actress Anne Bancroft (1931–2005), who played the role of Sullivan, received an Academy Award for Best Actress. Patty Duke (1946–), who played Keller, received an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress. *The Miracle Worker* was again made into television movies in 1979 and 2000. Another television movie about Keller's life titled *The Miracle Continues* was released in 1984.

During World War II (1939–45) she worked with blinded soldiers teaching them how to adapt to life without eyesight. She also reentered politics briefly in 1944 to campaign for the successful reelection of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), who was seeking a fourth term in office.

Following the war, Keller published other books. Her most famous book, which was about her longtime teacher and friend Sullivan, and simply titled *Teacher,* was published in 1955. Keller followed that with *The Open Door* in 1957. Thomson suffered a stroke in 1957 and died in March 1960. Her nurse, Winnie Cobally, took care of Keller after Thomson's death. Keller suffered the first of several strokes in October 1961.

Keller received numerous awards throughout her later years and was recognized for her humanitarianism (providing assistance to others in need). She received honorary doctorate degrees (an award to recognize special achievements in education and research) from various institutions of higher learning including Glasgow (in Scotland), Harvard, and Temple University. She was the first woman to receive a doctorate degree from Harvard. She also received awards from various nations including Britain, France, and Yugoslavia. In September 1964, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1963–69) awarded her the prestigious Presidential Freedom Award, one of the two highest awards given to civilians in the United States for her tireless crusade to help the disabled. The following year, Keller was elected to the Women's Hall of Fame in New York City.

Keller died in her sleep at her Easton, Connecticut, home in June 1968 just short of her eighty-eighth birthday. She was buried next to Sullivan in the Washington Cathedral.

In 2003, the state of Alabama honored Keller by issuing a state quarter featuring her likeness. The Helen Keller Hospital in Sheffield (northwestern Alabama) was dedicated to her. In 2005, a documentary of her life, *Shining Soul: Helen Keller's Spiritual Life and Legacy,* was produced by the Swedenborg Foundation.

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Leontine Kelly

BORN: March 5, 1920 • Washington, D.C.

American religious leader

"We were not reared that politics was not a part of a Christian's duty. If we were going to pray for liberation and equality, then we also had to work for it."

Leontine T. C. Kelly was the first black American woman to be elected to the top ministerial (leader of a worship service) office of a major religious denomination. In 1984, she became a bishop in the United Methodist church and was assigned to administer the Nevada and California Conferences. Known as an excellent administrator and dynamic preacher, Kelly served over one hundred thousand members in nearly four hundred churches during her tenure as bishop.

Because of her position, Kelly became the first woman to preach on the National Radio Pulpit of the National Council of Churches in 1984. She also served as president of the Western Jurisdiction College of Bishops and on the Executive Committee of the Council of Bishops. In October 2000, Kelly was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York.

Religious prejudice

Leontine Turpeau was born in Washington, D.C., on March 5, 1920. She was born in the parsonage, or church house, of Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal Church where her father, the Reverend David De Witt Turpeau Sr., was minister. Her mother, Ila Marshall Turpeau, joined her husband in ministry and was an active supporter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

(NAACP). Founded in 1909, the NAACP is one of the oldest and most influential organizations dedicated to eliminating racial and other forms of prejudice through legal action, educational programs, and encouraging voter participation. Her parents' leadership roles in ministry as well as social activism were a strong influence on Leontine and her seven siblings while growing up. In the late 1920s, the family moved briefly to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, before settling in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1939 the Reverend Turpeau entered politics and was elected to the Ohio legislature for four terms.

Being raised in the parsonage of a Methodist Church proved to be a valuable education for Leontine for her future career path. She learned the rites and lessons of the Methodist faith and observed as her parents made their church the economic, cultural, and political center of their community. Methodism has its religious roots in eighteenth-century England. John Wesley (1703–1791), an ordained Anglican priest, and his brother Charles (1707–1788) founded the Methodist movement on the Oxford University campus around 1729 and it quickly grew. The movement originally became known as Methodism because of the consistent, religious practices Methodists followed. The movement soon came into conflict with the official Church of England. The resulting religious prejudice led to an anti-Methodist sentiment that brought much criticism aimed toward Methodist converts.

In the early 1770s, Francis Asbury (1745–1816) accepted John Wesley's call for volunteers to become missionaries in the American colonies. Asbury joined other itinerant (travel to different communities) preachers who spread Methodism to all the colonies and their frontier settlements on horseback. He was a leading force in Americanizing (make more independent from England's religious organizations) the church after the Revolutionary War and, in a move sanctioned by Wesley, organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1784. In 1794 the first black African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church was dedicated and in 1816 Bishop Asbury ordained Richard Allen (1760–1831) as America's first black bishop. Racial prejudice leading to segregation (separation of the races in public places) was deeply entrenched in society during the Civil War (1861–65) and, although Methodists opposed slavery, deep divisions developed within the church. By the early twentieth century, the church was facing many serious challenges including a split over racial equality in society as well as opposition to American involvement in World War I (1914–18) based on their pacifist beliefs.

The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was a network of homes, businesses, and churches across the United States that helped runaway slaves escape throughout the nineteenth century. The slaves were escaping the American South to slave-free states in the Northern United States and to Canada. The system was made up of people, both black and white, who formed a loose network to aid runaways needing food, shelter, and a guide on their escape route. Participants faced great personal risk in aiding fugitive slaves for it was a federal crime to help slaves flee from their owners.

The terminology of the Underground Railroad developed in the 1830s when steam railroads were coming into use. Once slaves managed to escape from a slaveholder, they were taken to a place called a depot or station where they could rest and eat. Sometimes a conductor would enter a plantation posing as a slave to guide the runaways to a station. Conductors also had the dangerous responsibility of guiding runaways from one station to the next. The stations were run by stationmasters who received money or goods from stockholders. Stockholders provided money as well as letters of recommendation to help runaway slaves find jobs. The Underground Railroad operated until emancipation (freedom from slavery) was achieved in the late nineteenth century in the United States. Memories of the Underground Railroad and those who participated in helping slaves escape including former slave Harriet Tubman (1822–1913) provided inspiration to social activists, such as Bishop Leontine Kelly, in the twentieth century seeking to end racial prejudice in America. Tubman made thirteen trips guiding some seventy slaves to the North and was responsible for providing information to another seventy slaves who made it north.

Racial missionaries

Leontine and her siblings found a tunnel leading from the basement of their Cincinnati parsonage to the church next door. It had once been a station of the Underground Railroad (see box). The children were told how previous church members had taken great personal risk in helping fugitive slaves seeking aid from them during difficult times. Leontine was excited to be a part of such a church. However, she also questioned her father about the barriers of race and gender that persisted in their religious tradition during her lifetime. Her father explained that it was the duty of black Americans to be racial missionaries to the larger white church and to be patient while they worked for social change. The Turpeaus instilled a strong sense of self-confidence in their children and a deep commitment to the social and economic advancement of minorities. The lessons were not lost on Leontine as an adult.

Leontine received her basic education in Cincinnati's public schools and graduated from Woodward High School in 1938. She enrolled at

West Virginia State College (later West Virginia State University) and completed her junior year in 1941. Leontine left the college without completing her degree in order to marry fellow student Gloster Current. The couple had three children. During World War II (1939–45), as they had earlier in World War I, Methodist church leaders professed pacifism (strongly opposing war). They were very vocal in calling for alternatives to international armed conflict. Following World War II church leaders supported the establishment of the United Nations (UN; an international organization founded in 1945 composed of most of the countries in the world) as a means for nations to resolve their disputes that were commonly driven by nationalism and ethnic prejudice.

The Galilee United Methodist Church

Leontine and Gloster divorced in 1955. Leontine was deeply affected by the divorce. She immersed herself in prayer and Bible study in order to deepen her own faith and spirituality before moving on with her life.

Ready to begin a new life, Leontine married James David Kelly, a United Methodist minister, in 1956. They moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he was the minister of the East Vine Avenue Methodist Church. She resumed studying for her bachelor's degree at Knoxville College. In the mid-twentieth century, the Methodist Church was facing internal problems of unity. Out of this strife a movement grew, its goal to join with other Protestant denominations. Two issues central to the controversy had to do with a growing uneasiness with the problem of racism, both in the church and in the nation, and with women's rights to full clergy status. As a result, women were granted full clergy rights in 1956.

In 1958, James was reassigned to Richmond, Virginia. Leontine transferred to the Virginia Union University in Richmond and completed her degree with honors in 1960. That same year, she was certified as a lay speaker (church members who are not ordained as ministers) in the Methodist church and began teaching social studies at the local high schools. Finally in the later 1960s, a merger of church organizations came about. The Methodist Episcopal Church became the United Methodist Church.

In 1966, James was reassigned to Edwardsville, Virginia, to pastor the Galilee United Methodist Church. When James died in 1969, the congregation asked Leontine to serve as layperson in charge of the church and

temporarily fill the vacancy left by her husband. It was at this time that Leontine felt the call by God to become an ordained (granted priestly authority) minister herself. Because her father, brother, and both of her husbands had been ministers, she was comfortable with the responsibility and began formal studies toward ordination. Kelly completed the course of study for ordained ministers and was ordained as a Deacon in the Methodist church in 1972.

Kelly left the Galilee Church in Edwardsville in 1975 to serve as Director of Social Ministries for the United Methodist Virginia Conference Council on Ministries until 1977. Continuing her studies, Kelly earned her Master of Divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond in 1976. She was ordained as an Elder (one who assists pastors during worship services as well as conducts other church administrative duties) in the church in 1977. Throughout the 1970s, Kelly became increasingly involved with the United Methodist clergywomen's movement. The goal of the movement was to break down the barriers posed by gender prejudice and gain greater access for clergywomen in all the church's administrative positions, including the office of bishop. Kelly left the Virginia Conference Council in 1977 when she received a call to pastor the Asbury-Church Hill United Methodist congregation in Richmond. While at Asbury through the early 1980s, Kelly became active in educational programs. She served on the Richmond School Board and was director of a cooperative urban outreach ministry that was headquartered at Asbury.

Bishop Kelly

Kelly left Asbury in 1983 to join the United Methodist Church's national staff. She served as Assistant General Secretary in the area of Evangelism (spirited traveling preachers) for the Board of Discipleship in Nashville, Tennessee. Kelly also served on the Health and Welfare Ministries Division of the General Board of Global Ministries.

Earlier in 1980, the United Methodist Church had elected its first female bishop, the Reverend Marjorie Swank Matthews (1916–1986). Due to mandatory (required) retirement policies, Matthews left her position in 1984, leaving the church once again without a female bishop. With nineteen new bishops due to be elected that year, Methodist clergywomen recruited competent female candidates to apply for the position. Kelly was selected as one of the candidates and eventually was accepted into the position.

On July 20, 1984, Kelly was consecrated (dedicated to religious service) as bishop in the Western Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church. Her selection made her the second woman, and the first black

woman, to be elected to the top ministerial office of a major religious denomination in the United States. Bishop Kelly moved to the San Francisco area from Tennessee to assume her duties over the California and Nevada conferences. She was now responsible for supervising over one hundred thousand members in 386 churches. Kelly used her tenure as bishop to increase the church's involvement in community development to help the poor and needy. She was an advocate especially for women and ethnic minorities within her jurisdiction.

Bishop Kelly accepted several church leadership roles during her term. She was selected to serve on the executive committee of the Council of Bishops, was chosen as president of the six-member Western Jurisdictional College of Bishops, and was also a member of the General Board of Church and Society.

Upon her retirement in 1988, at the age of sixty-eight, Kelly taught for one year as a part-time visiting professor at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. In her retirement from the ministry, she became active in several Methodist church projects including the Bishops' Initiative on Children and Poverty, and the Africa University in Zimbabwe. In 2000, Bishop Kelly was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York.

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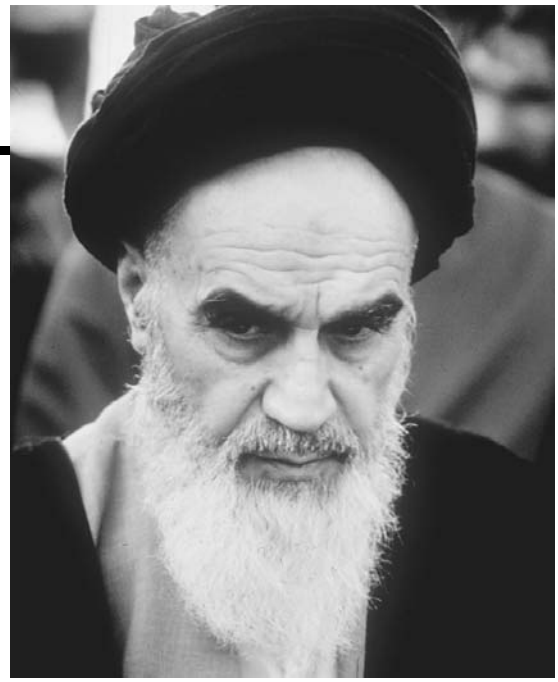
Ruhollah Khomeini

BORN: c. 1902 • Khomein, Iran

DIED: June 3, 1989 • Tehran, Iran

Iranian religious cleric, political leader



Ruhollah Khomeini. HULTON ARCHIVE.

"Islam was dead or dying for nearly fourteen centuries; we have revived it with the blood of our youth. . . . We shall soon liberate Jerusalem and pray there."

The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was an Iranian political and spiritual leader who founded the Islamic Republic of Iran. He served as its Supreme Leader until the time of his death. Opposed to Western influence and the secularization (separation of government from direct religious influences) of Iran, Khomeini joined the revolution that deposed the Shah of Iran in 1979. Officially ordained as the Leader of the Revolution, he called for Islamic revolutionaries across the Muslim world to follow Iran's example. The Iran Hostage Crisis and the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) occurred under his leadership. He was named *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year in 1979 and appeared on its cover again in 1980 and in 1987.

A Persian heritage

Ruhollah Khomeini was born in the rural town of Khomein, south of the capital city of Tehran, Iran. His exact date of birth is disputed but generally is

The Constitutional Revolution in Iran

At the turn of the century, Iran was in a state of chaos with Russian influence in the north and British influence in the south of the country. The central authority of the Shah (king) in Tehran was limited by the power of rural chieftains and khans (landowners), in addition to the interference by foreign powers. In an effort to modernize the political system and end foreign influence, a group of intellectuals and high-ranking clerics proposed a written code of laws for Iran. Their stated goal was to establish a democratic government where the people would rule themselves.

Opponents viewed the reforms as the Westernization of Muslim Iran. The resulting dispute brought about the Constitutional Revolution in 1905. An elected government was established and a constitution was written in 1906. The parliamentary system limited the scope of royal power. Many clerics joined the new order as teachers and legislators. Although the constitution still relied on Islamic law, other clerics remained resentful about the events that altered their role and authority in Iranian society.

The Nationalists who supported the Shah, and the Democrats who supported the Constitution, briefly lived together peacefully. However, the Shah soon had many Democrats detained on a variety of charges. Some were killed and others sought asylum (safety) with foreign embassies. After bloody riots broke out in the streets of Tehran, the Shah dissolved the National Assembly and declared martial law (law enforcement placed in the hands of a military rather than civil authorities). The fighting ended in 1909 with the Democrats gaining complete control of the capital and the government. The Shah was forced into exile in Russia and his thirteen-year-old son was named as his successor. The National Assembly continued to struggle for control of the country throughout the difficult years of World War I and into the 1920s.

recorded between 1900 and 1902, the same time as the birth of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran (see box). Ruhollah was the son and grandson of Shiite mullah's (Muslim religious leaders) who were minor landowners. His grandfather, Seyyid Ahmad, migrated to Khomein from India, but the family historically originated in northeastern Iran. Men in the family assumed the title of Seyyid because they claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad (571–632). Ruhollah's father, Seyyid Mostafa, died while Ruhollah was an infant. His mother, Sadiqeh, and an aunt raised Ruhollah and his four siblings in Khomein. His early education was in the local religious school with private tutors added later for special subjects such as logic and science. Before his sixteenth birthday both his mother and his aunt had died, leaving Ruhollah under the guardianship of his elder brother, Morteza.

As World War I (1914–18) came to an end, Ruhollah prepared to continue his education in an Islamic (see box) seminary. In 1921, he chose the seminary in Arak in order to study under some of the most

prominent clerics of his time. Seminary students wore skull caps and short jackets until they commited themselves to religious learning and were initiated at a special ceremony. Ruhollah was initiated in the summer of 1922. He exchanged his skull cap for the customary turban, which identifies a true seeker (talabeh) who has publicly committed to a new way of life. It is a symbol of respect and responsibility in Muslim society and is worn with a long cloak and tunic. Ruhollah's turban was black because he was a seyyid. Non-seyyids who are members of the clergy wear white turbans and are known as sheikhs.

After his initiation, Ruhollah followed his teacher and mentor to the emerging seminary at Qum (also spelled Qom), located ninety miles south of Tehran. Attaching oneself to a successful mentor was very important in the competitive atmosphere of a seminary because major scholars were assured monetary support from wealthy Muslim donors. Under the guidance of his mentor, Ruhollah studied law and Islamic taxation. He also took a special interest in mystical philosophy (Irfan). After graduation, Ruhollah spent many years teaching as well as writing extensively on these subjects. In 1929, he married Khadija Thaqafi, the daughter of a wealthy and respected cleric. They had several children during their sixty-year marriage.

The turban and the crown

In 1921, Reza Khan Mirpanj (1878–1944) led a coup (surprise overthrow of the government) in Iran that eventually gave him supreme power as the King of Kings. He became Shah and founded the Pahlavi dynasty to carry on his line of descent. Reza Khan believed that adopting Western institutions and creating a modern economy was the only way for the country to rid itself of poverty and foreign interference. He pursued a secular (not related to religion) campaign with a dress code which required men to wear European suits and hats. Mullahs had to apply for a permit in order to keep their religious dress and traditional turbans. Ruhollah helped his students with their exams to ensure they qualified to keep their clerical dress. Ultimately, Reza Khan introduced a controversial law forbidding women to wear veils. The religious community resisted Reza Khan's move toward republicanism (a government run by representatives elected by the public) and fought any legal changes that might weaken Islam. In 1941, British and Soviet troops occupied Iran forcing Reza Khan into exile in South Africa. His son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was sworn in as the Shah while still in his early twenties.

Islam

Islam is the youngest of the world's great universal religions in the twenty-first century. A follower of Islam is called a Muslim (one who submits). The founding of the Muslim community began under Muhammad the Messenger, born around 571 CE in the stony valley of Mecca, in current day Saudi Arabia. The final word of Allah (God) given to his prophet Mohammed is recorded in the Qur'an (also known as the Koran). This divine revelation of commands, rewards, and punishments was originally written in Arabic. Its central article of faith states that "There is no God but Allah."

After the Qur'an, the next most important Islamic text is the Hadith. It is a record of the acts and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions. The Hadith transmits the sunna, the traditions and practices of the Prophet, to illustrate what he would approve of even into modern times. Islam emphasizes the brotherhood of men in fulfilling the will of Allah. So it is a matter of great concern that a clear direction specifically outlines the moral and social regulations for living a good life. A Muslim communes (intimately communicates) with Allah at all times. Therefore, there is no separation between faith and life, including politics and business, to a believer. Mecca remains the most holy city in Islam. It is a focal point for all Muslims as well as the center of the hajj, the foremost of all Muslim rituals. The hajj is a compulsory pilgrimage to Mecca that is undertaken by over two million Muslims each year.

Muslims conceive of their religion as a community that obeys Allah not with passive acceptance, but in the joyful performance of the Sharia (Way), which is the Law of Islam. The Sharia is seen as a comprehensive legal system that governs all phases of Islamic life. For the first four centuries of Islam, the collecting of the Hadith and the codification of the Law were the chief activities of Muslim scholars. Of the various law schools that formed, four survived as the main body of Sunni (Traditional) Muslims. The four accepted schools that define religious duties and interpretations of the law are the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafii, and Hanbali. Branching off of the main body of Muslims are a variety of sects, Shiites, who feel they are set apart from all other Muslims and regard Sunnis as enemies of the faith.

Ruhollah led a delegation of mullahs to Tehran in order to protest the continuation of the Pahlavi dynasty when Mohammad-Reza was sworn in. However, he returned to Qum without having experienced much support. The following year he published the first version of his booklet Kahf-ol-Asrar (Key to the Secrets), which condemned anyone who criticized Islam. Three years later, an author he had specifically mentioned in his booklet was murdered by the terrorist group Fedayin-e-Islam (Martyrs of Islam) for criticizing the faith and therefore betraying Islam.

In the 1950s, Ruhollah was acclaimed as an ayatollah (major religious leader). He changed his surname to the town of his birth in accordance with clerical tradition. The Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had long been interested in politics. He was widely read on the subject but now took an

active role in the process. Initially, like his mentor before him, Khomeini viewed the clergy's role in politics as supervisory rather than as outright rule. He was reluctant to claim personal leadership. Ultimately, he would side with the activist faction of Islam to promote an Islamic state.

The Shah had already indicated he no longer needed the support of the clerics as he proceeded with his father's secular modernization throughout the 1950s. The government announced a legislative bill in 1962 that would allow women to vote for the first time. It also did not require candidates for local councils to be Muslims. Khomeini considered this an attack on traditional Islam and began a political campaign against the Shah. His power base was among the bazaar (a market place where many kinds of goods are sold) merchants, guilds (an association of people in the same trade or business), and lower clergy of Iran who were not opposed to Islamic reform but traditionally resisted challenging government power because of the possible financial penalties. This group was now open to disputing the authorities because they felt their livelihood was threatened by the Shah's attempt to shift power toward the new commercial and industrial middle class.

With the passing of time, it became evident that there was a need for a new style of leadership in the clergy if the mullahs were to fight secularization and the narrowing of their powers. People were looking for an individual leader to unite the faithful and bring together all the diverse views of Islam, especially in Iran and Iraq. With his position of leadership established, Khomeini easily found followers among the devout. His black turban ensured financial contributions could be counted on. Muslims believed a donation tax to Khomeini would gain Allah's favor because he was a descendant of the prophet Muhammad. The money he brought in allowed Khomeini to increase his influence among the clergy by spending it in the theological centers. In 1963, Khomeini began to use his position as a spiritual leader in Iran to publicly denounce the government of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. He went on to condemn the United States and Israel as co-conspirators with the Shah in their efforts to erase Islam. The Shah responded by forcing Khomeini into exile in 1964. He first went to Turkey, then Iraq, and finally to France in 1978.

The rule of the Ayatollah

During his exile, Khomeini continued to agitate for revolution. He sent tapes of his sermons to circulate in bazaars and homes in Iran. Over time, he became the acknowledged leader of the opposition. Khomeini wrote a

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini greets the crowds at Tehran University after his return to Iran from exile in France during the Iranian revolution. © ALAIN DEJEAN/SYGMA/CORBIS.

book titled *Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists* that outlined his plan for an Islamic republic in Iran. When the Shah was deposed in January 1979, he fled to the West for safety. Khomeini was invited to return to Iran, where he declared a provisional (temporary) government while elections were prepared. Former members of the overthrown monarchy faced vigilante (groups of people administering punishment outside the law) bands who were merciless in the wake of the revolution. Human rights violations included mass interrogations (questioning) and executions of anyone who opposed the revolutionary government.

The Iranian people voted overwhelmingly to replace the monarchy with an Islamic republic and a new constitution. Every eight years, the citizens of Iran would elect a group of clerics called the Assembly of Experts. This assembly would select and monitor the Supreme Leader, who would have absolute authority in the theocratic system (government ruled by religious authority). The constitution also required that a

president be elected every four years from a group of approved candidates. Khomeini was officially ordained as the Leader of the Revolution and initiated as the Supreme Leader for life in the new Islamic Republic of Iran.

Anti-American sentiment was running high in Iran. In reaction to the American refusal to return the Shah to Iran for trial, Khomeini supporters seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, taking hostages. Additional hostages were taken at the Iranian Foreign Ministry. Khomeini announced that Iran's Parliament would decide the fate of the American embassy hostages. Before long, the Americans launched a failed rescue mission. Fifty men and two women were held hostage for 444 days before their release was finally negotiated.

Islamic revolution

Sharia (Islamic law) was introduced under the Ayatollah Khomeini's rule with a dress code for both men and women. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press were allowed only as long as they did not contradict Islamic law. Opposition to the religious rule of the clergy or Islam was not tolerated at any level. Those who disliked post-revolutionary Iran were allowed to leave the country.

Khomeini called for Islamic revolutionaries across the Muslim world to follow Iran's example. He called his campaign an effort to export the revolution. The secular state of neighboring Iraq viewed Khomeini's campaign as dangerous because it threatened to incite Iraq's majority Shiites as it had done in Iran. Believing Iran to be in a weakened position, Iraq launched a full-scale invasion of Iran in September 1980, an act which started the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq's aggression was supported by the West, who feared the possibility of the spread of Islamic revolutions throughout the oil-rich Persian Gulf states. The high costs of the eight-year war finally convinced the involved parties to accept a truce negotiated by the United Nations (an international organization founded in 1945 composed of most of the countries in the world). Nothing was gained by either party.

In early 1989, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued a fatwa (religious decree) against a British Muslim author named Salman Rushdie. Although Rushdie had no ties to Iran, Khomeini considered his novel, *The Satanic Verses,* offensive to Islam and to the prophet Muhammad. Khomeini called for Muslims everywhere to kill Rushdie if given the opportunity, as it was their religious duty. Rushdie went into

hiding and eluded capture. Suffering from cancer, Khomeini died a few months later. However, the fatwa lived on, contributing to the bitterness existing between Iran and the West. Millions of Iranians mourned the loss of their leader, who was buried at Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran.

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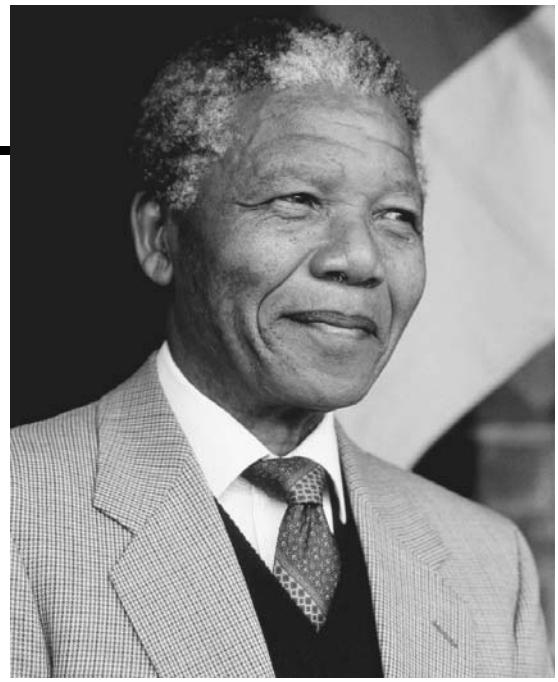
Nelson Mandela

BORN: July 18, 1918 • Transkei, South Africa

South African social activist, politician



Nelson Mandela. © DAVID TURNLEY/CORBIS.

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society. . . . It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Nelson Mandela is a South African political leader and lawyer who emerged as a national voice in the fight against apartheid. Apartheid is an official policy of racial separation and discrimination that literally means "separateness." In his struggle against racial discrimination, Mandela became a leader in the African National Congress and cofounder of the African Youth League. He was also a cofounder and leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). His political activities resulted in a long imprisonment that made him an international symbol of the conflict in South Africa. Mandela's prison number, 46664, has been immortalized in song and film in recognition of his role as a cultural icon (familiar symbol) of freedom and equality worldwide.

From 1994 until 1999, Mandela presided over South Africa as the first president to be elected in a multi-racial democratic election. Faced with a deeply divided nation, he received global praise for his diplomacy in bringing

South Africa into the twenty-first century and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. In South Africa, he is respectfully known as Madiba, an honorary title descending from his elders, who ruled in the eighteenth century.

Rolihlahla: The troublemaker

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, in the tiny village of Mvezo, South Africa. He is the son of Nosekeni Fanny and Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, appointed chief of Mvezo by the Thembu tribal king. The village is located in the district of Umtata, capital of the Transkei, which is situated 800 miles east of Cape Town and over 500 miles south of Johannesburg. Transkei is home to the Thembu, who belong to the Xhosa nation and speak the Xhosa language. Gadla named his son Rolihlahla, which literally means "pulling the branch of a tree," but whose meaning would more accurately translate as "troublemaker." Gadla was an advisor to the king of the Thembu people and a historian of the Xhosa nation. Each Xhosa belongs to a clan that is named after a male ancestor. Mandela belongs to the Madiba clan, named after a Thembu chief who ruled in the eighteenth century.

When Mandela was seven years old, he became the first member of his family to attend school. His mother Fanny was a Christian and sent him to a nearby Methodist mission school where he would receive an English education. On his first day of school, his teacher, Miss Mdingane, told him his new English name was Nelson. Two years later, Gadla died and Mandela was informally adopted by Jongintaba Dalindyebo, reigning king of the Thembu people. He would be Mandela's guardian and benefactor (one who assists another) for the next ten years. Mandela transferred to a Methodist school next door to the palace and received all the benefits and advantages provided to the king's other children. At the age of sixteen, Mandela participated in the Xhosa ceremony, which marked his passage to manhood. He received the name Dalibunga, meaning "Founder of the Bungha." Bungha is the traditional ruling body of the Transkei.

A continuing education

As a member of the royal household, Mandela was being prepared to counsel (officially advise) the rulers of the tribe, just as his father had done before him. In order for that to happen, it was necessary that Mandela continue his education. In 1937, nineteen-year-old Mandela traveled to Healdtown to attend the Methodist College at Fort Beaufort. He received a liberal arts education. He also developed an interest in long-distance running and boxing as well. An excellent student, Mandela finished his

courses with such high marks that he was enrolled in the South African Native College at Fort Hare to begin work on his bachelor of arts degree.

The College at Fort Hare was the only residential center of higher education for blacks in South Africa. Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches combined their resources to establish the college. It drew scholars from all over Southern, Central, and Eastern Africa. To receive a degree from the college ensured personal advancement in any career then open to black Africans. Mandela arrived in 1938 wearing his first suit, an outfit given to him by Jongintaba to celebrate the occasion. During Mandela's second year at Fort Hare, he reacted to university policies he found objectionable. He participated in a boycott (to stop buying a certain product until demands are met) of the Students' Representative Council and was asked to leave the institution. Upon his return home, King Jongintaba announced that he had arranged marriages for both his son Justice and for Mandela, according to Thembu law and custom. Both young men were displeased with the selections made for them. They agreed that their best option was to escape. They departed for Johannesburg.

Life under apartheid

Mandela managed to find work as a clerk in a law firm in Johannesburg. With ambitions of becoming a lawyer, he registered at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and completed his degree by correspondence course (method of schooling where study materials and tests are mailed between instructor and student) in 1942. Early in 1943, Mandela enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand to work on a bachelor of laws degree, or LL.B. Witwatersrand, also located in Johannesburg, was one of only four English-speaking universities in South Africa that allowed blacks to attend courses in specialized fields. For the first time, he attended classes with white students. It was a new experience for Mandela as well as for the university because he was the only black student. His law professor was not especially encouraging, as he held the view that neither women nor Africans were meant to be lawyers. He believed they all lacked the discipline to master the fine points of the law.

Keenly aware of the racist laws that separated whites from nonwhites in South Africa, Mandela chose to dedicate himself to the liberation of his people. In 1943, he and other young members of the African National Congress (ANC) formed the African Youth League (AYL) to work for social change in their country. In 1944, Mandela married Evelyn Mase. They had four children together.

The AYL advocated non-cooperation with the ruling political party by encouraging strikes and boycotts (to stop using a certain service or buying a certain product). Racial tensions were high in South Africa as World War II (1939–45) came to an end. The Nationalist Party (NP) proposed a system of government called apartheid (a policy of racial separation and discrimination). The NP won the general election in 1948 and immediately began putting laws in place to impose apartheid in South Africa.

That same year, Mandela was admitted to the bar. He and a partner set up the country's first black legal practice. His law firm provided affordable legal counsel to many blacks who were caught up in the increasing discrimination of the apartheid system but had no other means to fight back.

Mandela continued in an active role with the ANC, and when it launched the Defiance Campaign in 1952, he was the national organizer. For his part, Mandela was arrested and given a nine-month suspended sentence. Under the national Suppression of Communism Act, Mandela's name was added to the list of those who were banned from public meetings and had their movements and activities severely restricted. Mandela used some of his newfound free time to renew his interest in the sport of boxing.

In 1955, South Africa's nonwhite population formed the Congress of the People to oppose the policies and practices of apartheid. They met outside of Johannesburg that year and adopted the Freedom Charter, a formal declaration of freedom. The NP responded by arresting 156 individuals and charging them with treason (attempting to overthrow the government). The Treason Trials lasted until 1961, with all of the accused being acquitted (found not guilty). Mandela's marriage to Evelyn ended in divorce in 1957 and the following year he married Winnie Nomzano. They had two children together.

Spear of the Nation

The Treason Trials had served to focus the world's attention on South Africa and its racial policies by the time they ended in March 1961. Continuing oppression and escalating violence within the country resulted in the NP banning the ANC in the spring of 1960. Lacking a political outlet for liberating his people, Mandela no longer focused on nonviolent methods. He joined other ANC leaders in forming Umkhonto we Sizwe, meaning the "Spear of the Nation," in November 1961. Mandela was chosen as their leader. The fight was taken underground (secretly conducted) with a campaign of sabotage. The movement targeted government offices used to administer apartheid and military bases used to enforce it.

Stephen Biko

Stephen Biko became a prominent opponent to apartheid while a student at the University of Natal Medical School. Convinced that nonwhites in South Africa needed an organization of their own, he cofounded the South African Students' Organization (SASO) in 1969 and was elected its first president. The SASO urged blacks to reject their physical and mental subjection. Biko encouraged all races, not just blacks, to work together toward that end. In 1972, Biko began working full time for the Black Community Programmes (BCP). He also submitted articles to the SASO newsletter under the pen-name (a name used by an author other than their real name) Frank Talk. The BCP's purpose was to draw the black community's attention to its own oppression and to encourage a sense of pride with the slogan of black consciousness. His efforts resulted in the influential Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), with Biko as a leading voice.

Biko was banned by the apartheid government in 1973, which meant he could neither talk to more than one person at a time nor make speeches. His movements were restricted to his home town of King William's Town. The popular young activist was arrested four times between 1975 and 1977 for organizing protests against laws of discrimination. Biko was arrested under the Terrorism Act following the Soweto Riots of 1977 and suffered fatal injuries while in police custody. His death caused outrage in South Africa and international condemnation against the apartheid government. Biko was seen as a martyr by a generation of black students. In 1987, his story was told in Richard Attenborough's film *Cry Freedom.*

Mandela began a life on the run from the authorities. He secretly left the country and met with African leaders in Algeria and elsewhere in January 1962. He returned at the end of summer and was arrested, charged with incitement (urging civil disobedience), and sentenced to five years in prison. In 1964, this became a life sentence when Mandela was convicted with other prominent ANC leaders at the Rivonia Trial. Charges involved sabotage and crimes of treason. Mandela was moved to a high-security prison on Robben Island, off the coast of Cape Town, to serve out his life sentence. While at Robben Island, a movement began to secure Mandela's release, with Winnie Mandela campaigning constantly on behalf of her husband. Mandela's name became closely associated with anti-apartheid campaigns. Global interest grew in the future political actions of South Africa.

International condemnation of South Africa increased in the aftermath of the Soweto Riots in 1976. The rioting occurred between black youth and government authorities when Stephen Biko (see box), the popular young anti-apartheid leader, died in police custody. Biko became an immediate worldwide symbol, second only to Mandela, in the struggle against apartheid. From prison, Mandela called for continuing pressure

by the people to crush apartheid in order to create a democratic and free society. After eighteen years in his tiny cell at Robben Island, Mandela was moved to a prison on the mainland called Pollsmoor because of his ill health. His refusal to make a political deal to secure his own release in 1985 gave him almost mythical status to black South Africans. It also resulted in an outpouring of honors and tributes from around the world.

Rise to the presidency

Mandela was finally released in February 1990, after twenty-eight years in prison. South African president F. W. de Klerk (1936–) called for the release of political prisoners and officially ended apartheid's forty-two-year rule in South Africa. The ban on the ANC was lifted and Nelson Mandela became its president. His triumph was somewhat marred in 1991 when Winnie Mandela was sentenced to six years in prison on four counts of kidnapping a fourteen-year-old black activist who was eventually murdered. Her sentence was suspended and a fine was imposed. The couple separated in 1992 and divorced in 1996 on grounds of Winnie's adultery (extramarital affairs).

The laws of apartheid took years to unravel, but the last whites-only vote was held in 1992. The government negotiated a multi-racial government and a new constitution for South Africa. In 1993, Mandela and de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in promoting a new democratic nation. General elections in 1994 resulted in a win for the ANC, and Mandela became the new president of South Africa.

From 1994 until 1999, Mandela presided over South Africa's transition while faced with a devastated economy and ecology. He was praised for his international diplomacy and his ability to heal the wounds of apartheid while bringing the nation into the twenty-first century. Mandela personally promoted racial harmony by publicly embracing former enemies and proponents of apartheid. He invited his prosecutor from the Rivonia trials to lunch as an example of the spirit of tolerance required to heal the divided nation. In 1998, Mandela married Graca Machel, widow of Samora Machel, former president of Mozambique.

Nelson Mandela's political success was tempered by the ruinous HIV/AIDS epidemic that devastated South Africa at the end of the twentieth century. Mandela and his administration were severely criticized for their ineffectiveness in dealing with the disease that took many lives. Following his time in office, Mandela sought every opportunity to bring attention to the tragedy in his country in order to educate

Nelson Mandela exits prison in February 1990; he was held there as a political prisoner for twenty-eight years. © PATRICK DURAND/ CORBIS SYGMA.

and promote research internationally. In 2003, his prison number was used in the 46664 AIDS fund-raising campaign. Despite declining health, Mandela spoke at the XV International AIDS Conference in Bangkok in the summer of 2004. His eldest son died of the disease in January 2005. Mandela continued to lend his voice to educational organizations of all kinds that promote the ideals of international understanding and peace.

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Wilma Mankiller

BORN: November 18, 1945 • Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Native American political leader, social activist

Wilma Mankiller. STEPHEN SHUGERMAN/GETTY IMAGES.

"Prior to my election, young Cherokee girls would never have thought that they might grow up and become chief."

Wilma Mankiller, a member of the Cherokee Nation (Native American tribal government located in Oklahoma), became a social activist in the 1960s, seeking an end to prejudice and discrimination against Native Americans in the United States. When she became Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1985, Mankiller was the first female chief of a major tribal government in the United States. The Cherokee Nation was the second largest tribe in the United States. Only the Navajo had more members. During her ten years as Principal Chief, Mankiller was a driving force in the economic development of the tribe, with a goal of becoming economically self-sufficient.

Native American poverty

Wilma Pearl Mankiller was born at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in November 1945. Tahlequah was the capitol of the Cherokee Nation. Her father, Charlie Mankiller, was of Cherokee ancestry and her mother, Irene Mankiller, of

Dutch-Irish. She had six brothers and four sisters. Her family had a farm on Mankiller Flats in remote Adair County, where she grew up. The name Mankiller came from an old military title acquired by one of Wilma's ancestors, reflecting the rank of a person responsible for protecting a village.

Mankiller's great-grandfather was among sixteen thousand Native Americans who were forced to relocate as white settlement spread throughout the southeastern United States. They were sent to newly set aside lands for Indians west of the Mississippi River in the late 1830s. The Native Americans affected were primarily members of Indian tribes living in the Southeastern United States referred to by American white society as the Five Civilized Tribes for their pursuit of farming, living in relatively permanent villages, and ownership of slaves. They included the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminoles. The U.S. government abandoned efforts to civilize, or develop, Indian peoples by forcing them to become full-time farmers. Instead, it adopted policies to isolate Indian peoples often through forced removals to new areas.

The 1830 Indian Removal Act led to mass relocations of those surviving Indian peoples still remaining east of the Mississippi River. By the end of 1836 some 6,000 Cherokee had voluntarily moved to the new territory set aside for them in the future state of Oklahoma. However, thousands refused to leave and remained in their traditional homelands of the Southeast. Finally, in March 1838 an American military force of 7,000 soldiers under the command of General Winfield Scott (1786–1866) began rounding up Cherokee in Georgia. From there he moved to Tennessee, North Carolina, and Alabama. In all some 17,000 Cherokee were taken at gunpoint from their homes, not allowed to pack or take belongings. They were first taken to gathering areas in preparation for the long march to the west. The 1,800-mile, six-month forced march became known as the Trail of Tears. They traveled by boat, foot, and wagon. One-fourth of those who embarked on the long wintertime march died along the way. Many more died after arriving in the newly established Indian Territory that later became the state of Oklahoma. Mankiller's great-grandfather, John Mankiller, survived the ordeal. He was given the family farm in 1907, the year Oklahoma gained statehood, as part of the government settlement for the forced relocation of the Cherokee.

A move to California

After the Mankiller farm suffered two straight years of drought (little to no rain), the family decided in 1956 to accept an offer through the U.S.

government Indian relocation program to move to San Francisco and start a new life. Mankiller was ten years old when they moved. Their experience in California proved very difficult. Wilma's father was never able to get stable employment as promised by the program, and they faced very strong prejudice. Even her name attracted taunts in school. A family tragedy occurred in 1960, when one of her brothers died from burns suffered in a home accident in the state of Washington, where he lived and worked as an agricultural laborer.

After graduating from high school, Mankiller enrolled in Skyline Junior College in San Bruno, California, and then switched to San Francisco State College where she attended classes from 1963 to 1965 before leaving without graduating. Mankiller studied sociology and found a job while in school as a social worker. At San Francisco State College she met Hector Hugo Olaya de Bardi. They married in November 1963 when she was still just eighteen years of age. They had two daughters in the mid-1960s. In 1971, Mankiller's father died in San Francisco of a kidney disease. The family took him back to Oklahoma to be buried. Mankiller herself would soon suffer the same kidney disease, but would be able to treat it.

Social activist

The hardships and disappointments Mankiller faced growing up in Oklahoma and San Francisco inspired a social activist spirit. She met other young American Indian activists at San Francisco State who formed an organization known as United Indians of All Tribes. Among other activities and protests, these activists adopted a plan to occupy and reclaim Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay as Indian country. The leader was Richard Oakes (1941–1972), a San Francisco State student and member of the Mohawk tribe. The Alcatraz occupation (see box) inspired not only Mankiller, but a new Indian rights movement called the American Indian Movement (AIM). This movement would join other social movements active at the time such as those centered around civil rights, gay rights, and women's rights. She decided to commit her life to helping American Indian peoples.

Mankiller participated in other demonstrations in the San Francisco area and also served as a volunteer for San Francisco attorney Aubrey Grossman, who defended American Indians in legal cases. She also worked in preschool and adult education programs for the Pit River Tribe in Northern California. During the early 1970s, she gained skills in community organization and program development. Mankiller's time-consuming and emotional commitment to social justice and making a

Indian Occupation of Alcatraz Island

Cherokee political leader Wilma Mankiller began her fight against ethnic and racial prejudice as a student at San Francisco State University in the late 1960s. In 1969, a group of American Indians from many different tribes, who called themselves United Indians of All Tribes, seized control of Alcatraz Island. They occupied the island for eighteen months. Alcatraz Island, located in the middle of San Francisco Bay, had been used as a U.S. military installation after 1850 and was converted to a federal maximum security prison in 1934. In 1963, the prison operation was closed and it became a historical site. The United Indians claimed that the island should be returned to Indian ownership as it had been prior to 1850. The protest group also wanted to establish a native education and cultural center there. The Indians were finally forcibly removed by federal law enforcement agents, and many were arrested. However, the dramatic occupation inspired the beginning of the American Indian Movement and the social activism of many people like Mankiller. American Indian groups continued using the island for ceremonies into the twenty-first century.

difference eventually strained her marriage. In 1974, she divorced and became a single parent and returned to her ancestral home in Oklahoma in 1976.

A return to Oklahoma

Upon returning to her home, Mankiller found a job as community development director of the Cherokee Nation. She tackled various rural development projects that involved repairing housing for the poor and improving water systems.

Mankiller also resumed her academic studies. She enrolled in the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, where she earned a degree in social science in 1977. She then entered graduate school, majoring in community planning at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville in 1979. This meant a long commute from her home in Oklahoma. One morning when returning from school, Mankiller was struck in a head-on collision with another car that was passing on a curve. Mankiller was seriously injured and barely survived. The driver of the other car, who died in the crash, was one of her best friends. Mankiller persevered through almost twenty operations to repair the injuries from the accident. Her leg was barely saved from amputation.

During her long period of recovery, she had time to reflect further on her life, and she deepened her spiritual commitment to helping others.

However, other health issues followed in the aftermath of the accident. In 1980, Mankiller came down with myasthenia gravis, a serious condition that involves a deterioration or weakness of muscles.

Eventually Mankiller recovered from her injuries and was able to successfully treat the muscle disease. She resumed work for the Cherokee tribe, trying to improve the educational opportunities and economic conditions not only for the Cherokee Nation but for the region of northeastern Oklahoma in general. Her popularity increased as her programs, including community revitalization projects, brought national attention. Her reputation as an expert in community development became well established.

Government leadership

In 1983, Ross Swimmer, who had been serving as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma since 1975, asked Mankiller to run as his Deputy Chief in the next election. Mankiller accepted the invitation. The tribe consisted of seventy thousand tribal members and controlled approximately 45,000 acres of land in Oklahoma. During her candidacy, she faced considerable gender prejudice in the male-dominated tribal society of the Cherokee. She received repeated threats on her life and had her car tires slashed.

Despite the prejudices Mankiller experienced, she and Swimmer were victorious in the tribal elections. Mankiller took office on August 14, 1983, and served as Deputy Chief for over two years, until Swimmer received an appointment to be head of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C. Swimmer resigned his position and Mankiller was sworn in as Principal Chief on December 5, 1985. Her gender continued to be an issue at first, as some male tribal members held back support for her new programs. However, she soon won respect by showing her capable leadership skills, and dedication for tribal economic improvement. For example, Mankiller helped Cherokee members establish small businesses through creation of the Cherokee Nation Community Development Department and other programs.

A role model for women

Mankiller remarried in October 1986 to longtime friend Charlie Soap. Soap had been the tribal director of economic development before she took the position. In 1987, Mankiller received much satisfaction when she ran for the tribal leadership office on her own and won with 56 percent of the vote. Mankiller had clearly become accepted as a legitimate leader despite old gender prejudices.

President Bill Clinton congratulates Wilma Mankiller after presenting her with the Presidential Medal of Freedom for her strong leadership of the Cherokee Nation, January 1998. AP MAGES.

Mankiller received many awards for her dedication to improving the lives of American Indians and being at the forefront of American Indian politics as a woman. She had become a role model for American Indian women, and the recognition she achieved reflected that. In 1986 she received the American Leadership Award from Harvard University in 1986 in recognition of her political leadership skills and was inducted into the Oklahoma Women's Hall of Fame. She received an honorary degree from Yale University in 1990. Four years later, she entered the National Women's Hall of Fame in New York City and the general Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

Health problems returned to plague Mankiller toward the end of the twentieth century. In 1990, she needed a kidney transplant to survive.

Her brother Donald provided the kidney. Despite her health condition, she chose to run for another term of office in 1991. She won election once more, this time in a landslide victory that garnered 82 percent of the vote.

In 1993, Mankiller published an autobiography titled *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People.* The book made the national best-seller list. In the book, she provided a history of the Cherokee people. Mankiller also addressed the modern problems of the Cherokee Nation, including the need for improved opportunities for jobs, education, and healthcare. She identified the need to maintain and reinvigorate elements of Cherokee culture, such as Cherokee language. For that purpose, she established the Institute for Cherokee Literacy.

Retirement from tribal office

In August 1995, Mankiller decided not to run for reelection. She departed from her position as Principal Chief largely due to health problems and to pursue other, local issues. In 1998, U.S. president Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001) awarded Mankiller a Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award given for distinguished service to society. She had clearly become the most popular Cherokee of the twentieth century. The population of the Cherokee increased from 55,000 to 156,000 during her tenure as leader. The tribe had around 1,200 employees and an annual budget over $75 million.

Mankiller remained active into the twenty-first century as an inspiration for others. In 2004, she published the book *Every Day is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women.* Female activist **Gloria Steinem** (1934–; see entry), who was married at Mankiller's home, wrote a foreword for the publication.

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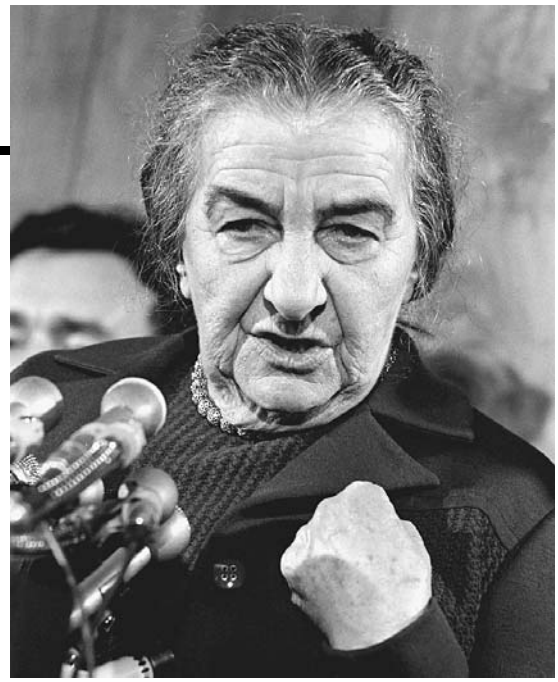
Golda Meir

BORN: May 3, 1898 • Kiev, Russia

DIED: December 8, 1978 • Jerusalem, Israel

Russian-born prime minister of Israel, feminist



Golda Meir. AP IMAGES.

"Peace will come when the Arabs will love their children more than they hate us."

Golda Meir was the fourth prime minister of the State of Israel since its establishment in 1948. At the age of seventy-one, Meir became the third female prime minister of government in modern history. With the establishment of Israel in 1948, Meir was appointed the first ambassador to the Soviet Union. The following year, she was elected to the first parliament (government) of the State of Israel. She was eager to help form the developing nation. In 1956, Meir became Israel's foreign minister, one of the first female foreign ministers in the world. Meir served as Israel's prime minister from 1969 until 1974. Throughout her term of office, Meir focused on the rights of Jewish people to settle in Israel. The major event of her administration was the 1973 Yom Kippur War fought between Israel and an Arab coalition (alliance) led by Egypt and Syria.

The kibbutz of Merhavia

Golda Mabovitch was born in Russia in 1896 to Blume Naiditch and Moshe Yitzhak Mabovitch. Like most Jews living in Eastern Europe, Meir's family

celebrated all the Jewish holidays and festivals, although the Mabovitchs were not particularly religious people. Moshe was a skilled carpenter who had moved his family from their hometown in Pinsk to Kiev, the largest city in the Russian Ukraine region, before Golda was born. He won a government contract to make furniture for school libraries. However, the job was canceled soon after they arrived. As a result, the family faced grueling poverty.

The population of Kiev was infamous (had a horrible reputation) for its hostility toward the Jewish people who lived in the city. The Mabovitch family spoke Yiddish in the home and the synagogue (Jewish place of worship), but they spoke Russian when they ventured outside of these safe places. Even as a child, Meir was aware that the fear and hardships her family suffered were because they were Jewish. Meir's parents moved her and her two sisters back to Pinsk in 1903, when rumors began to circulate that a pogrom (organized massacre of a minority group) would soon be coming to Kiev.

Pogroms

When the territories of Poland were divided among several neighboring countries in the eighteenth century, Russia became home for the largest body of Jewish people in the world. The government's response to an anticipated problem of controlling the Jews was to establish a program known as the Pale of Settlement. The Pale mapped out provinces where Jews were allowed to settle. Their movement outside those areas required government approval.

In the early twentieth century, civil war in Russia was dividing the nation. Jews became scapegoats (people blamed unfairly for others' difficulties). The government blamed Jews as the source of many problems afflicting Russia, including its severe economic difficulties. Revolutionists hoping to overthrow the government sought to incite a general uprising among the people. Relying on the anti-Jewish sentiment that existed in the country, they made false accusations against the Jews in order to increase religious prejudice.

Prejudice directed at Jews in Russia resulted in violent pogroms against them. Angry mobs of people attacked the homes, shops, and synagogues of Jewish people with the intent to destroy them. Windows were smashed, doors broken down, and buildings looted of their contents. What was not stolen was destroyed. Civil and military authorities often showed little concern or had insufficient forces to offer protection from the mobs. By the mid-twentieth century, tens of thousands of Jews had been murdered during the pogroms and many thousands more had been wounded.

Zionism

Zionism is the name given to a movement that calls for the reuniting of Jewish people and the resumption of Jewish reign in the Land of Israel. The term Zionism was coined late in the nineteenth century. The idea gathered greater momentum early in the twentieth century. Zionism was especially important in Eastern Europe because of widespread persecution of Jewish people who made their homes there. Inspired by the writings of Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), small groups of Zionists began arriving in the Arab province of Palestine, the spiritual center of Jewry throughout the centuries. Herzl, a Jewish journalist from Austria, was founder of the World Zionist Organization. He is commonly called the father of the State of Israel.

Jews across the globe joined the Zionist movement to work together for the creation of a Jewish state. The social climate in many European countries became increasingly anti-Jewish following World War I (1914–18). Zionist youth movements formed around the world, motivated by the desire for a Jewish homeland. By World War II, they had played an important role in keeping the dream alive through education and political awareness. Following the war and the Holocaust, many survivors settled in Palestine and were instrumental in building the kibbutz movement (a collective farm or settlement in modern Israel).

The large number of Jewish immigrants arriving in Palestine created a great deal of tension. The majority of Palestinian citizens were Arab Muslims. The stage was set for the long-term Arab-Israeli conflict into the twenty-first century. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, Jews became a religious majority of the nation's population. The new state included a Minister of Religions in its cabinet to address the need for Jews, Christians, and Muslims to coexist in Israel. Citizens of the first generation born in Israel were called Sabras. Although intensely proud of their Jewish heritage, many considered themselves to be more Israeli than Jewish.

Leaving prejudice behind

Seeking to escape their extreme poverty, the family immigrated (left their country of origin to reside permanently in another) to the United States in 1906, when Golda was eight years old. They settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and began the process of fitting in to a new country and learning a new language. Golda began school for the first time and also worked behind the counter of her mother's small grocery store. Along with her family, Golda embraced Zionism (see box). In 1915, she joined the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist Organization).

Following graduation from high school, Golda enrolled at the Teachers' Training College that was part of the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Golda married Morris Myerson in 1917 and they immigrated to Palestine in 1921. After nearly two months aboard the *SS Pocahontas,* the couple arrived in Palestine and settled in the

kibbutz of Merhavia. A kibbutz is a large commune based mainly on agriculture, but which relies somewhat on industry.

A declaration of independence

Golda Myerson soon became involved in political and social activities. She joined those that favored the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine-Eretz Israel (Land of Israel). Being a gifted orator (public speaker) in both English and Yiddish, Golda rose rapidly in leadership positions. She and Morris had two children after they left the kibbutz and moved to Jerusalem. In 1934, Golda was invited to join the Executive Committee of the Histadrut (Jewish Labor Federation), becoming the Secretary of its Council for Women Workers.

The German Nazi Holocaust (1933–45) dominated European Jewish lives from the late 1930s to the mid-1940s and thereafter. Approximately six million Jews and millions in other targeted groups, such as Gypsies and homosexuals, were murdered in mass killings that often involved gas chambers in specially constructed concentration camps. The camps were designed to kill as many people as possible, as quickly as possible. The escalation of anti-Jewish sentiment was fostered to some degree by the earlier pogroms. During the Holocaust, Meir lost all but one of her extended family members. They had remained in Pinsk after she and her family fled.

Immediately following the war, Golda was chosen president of the political bureau of Jewish Agency in 1946. The British held a mandate over the territory of Palestine, meaning they had been assigned the responsibility by the League of Nations, an international organization formed after World War I, to administer the government of territories formerly ruled by the defeated Turkish Ottoman Empire. British authorities had arrested most of the Jewish community's senior male leadership for seeking independence from Britain. These important posts placed Meir at the negotiating table with the British. This experience gave her invaluable training as a statesman (a person with experience in administering governmental affairs).

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted the resolution to partition (divide) Palestine. The UN is an international organization formed in 1946 following the end of World War II (1939–45) to help resolve disputes between nations when necessary and maintain peacekeeping efforts at all times.

Golda Meir, as Israel's Foreign Minister, attends the United Nations General Assembly in November 1956. AP IMAGES.

On May 14, 1948, Jewish leaders in Palestine signed a declaration of independence and the new State of Israel was proclaimed. Just days before the state was formally recognized, Meir was sent in disguise as an Arab woman on a dangerous mission to meet with King Abdullah I (1882–1951) of Jordan. Her goal was to persuade him not to join in the anticipated Arab attack on Israel following the British withdrawal. Arab Palestinians, with the help of other Arabs, planned to drive the Jews out of the region before the land could be subdivided. Meir was unsuccessful in her mission because the King had already decided his army would join other Arab nations and invade the Jewish state. In the months following the UN decision to partition Palestine, the country was plunged into war. Israel prevailed in defending its new state. The war of 1948-1949 is often called the Israeli War of Independence.

With the establishment of Israel, Meir was appointed as its first ambassador to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the United States were left as the two world superpowers following World War II.

She was elected to the first Knesset (parliament of the State of Israel) in the elections of 1949 on behalf of the Israeli Labor Party known as the Mapai. Morris Myerson died in 1951. Several years later Golda took the Hebrew version of her name, Meir, in 1956. That same year, she became Israel's Foreign Minister. Meir was well known on the international political scene and spoke frequently at the United Nations, especially following the Sinai Campaign. The Sinai Campaign occurred when the Israeli army occupied the Sinai Peninsula in eastern Egypt in October and November 1956, in response to Egyptian terrorist attacks and blockades. Meir retired from the Foreign Ministry in 1965 after serving almost a decade in that position. She became a leader of Mapai.

The Six-Day War

Between June 5 and June 10, 1967, Israel participated in another war. This time, the fighting was against the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The Israelis quickly defeated the Arab forces.

At this time, Meir was able to use her growing political popularity to unite several labor political parties in Israel. In 1968, the Mapai, Rafi, and Ahdut ha-Avodah parties joined together as the new unified Israel Labor Party. Meir was their secretary general. Following the death of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol (1895–1969) in March 1969, Meir was chosen to become the fourth Prime Minister of Israel. Throughout her tenure as Prime Minister, Meir continued to focus on the rights of Jewish people to settle in Israel.

On October 6, 1973, Israel was once again found itself at war with its Arab neighbors. Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Libya forces combined in a massive coordinated assault against Israeli forces along the Suez Canal in the south and at the Golan Heights in the north. Israel was unprepared for the attack, and the Arab forces won a number of initial victories. The United States intervened in the war by supplying military weapons that allowed Israel to resist its enemies and maintain its borders. Because the war began on the Jewish holy day called Yom Kippur, it is often referred to as the Yom Kippur War. A postwar inquiry led to heated debates over who was to blame for Israel being caught off-guard by the attack. Demands for new leadership in the country escalated. Nonetheless, Meir and the Labor Party were reelected at the end of 1973. However, due to the decline in political support, she was unable to get her cabinet members (key governmental advisors) to agree on policies. Meir resigned in April 1974. She died on December 8, 1978, and was buried on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem.

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Slobodan Milosevic

BORN: August 29, 1941 • Pozarevac, Serbia

DIED: March 11, 2006 • The Hague, Netherlands

Serbian political leader

Slobodan Milosevic. © BAS CZERWINSKI/REUTERS/CORBIS.

"We are not angels. Nor are we the devils you have made us out to be."

Slobodan Milosevic was a political leader of Serbia and a key figure in the Yugoslav ethnic wars of the 1990s and the breakup of the socialist federation of Yugoslavian states. Milosevic led Serbia's Socialist Party from 1992 to 2001. He maintained power by suppressing political opponents and controlling the media. Milosevic pursued nationalist policies involving strong ethnic prejudice. He was the first sitting head of state in history to be charged by an international tribunal for alleged war crimes (violating international laws of war). He was indicted (formally charged with a crime) by an international tribunal in May 1999 for crimes against humanity (murder of large groups of people) and later charges were added for genocide (the deliberate destruction of a racial, religious, or cultural group).

An educated background

Milosevic was born in August 1941 in Pozarevac, Serbia, at a time when the region was occupied by German forces during World War II (1939–45).

His parents were both of Montenegrin background. His father, Svetozar Milosevic, was a deacon in the Serbian Orthodox Church. His mother, Stanislava Milosevic, was a schoolteacher. They separated shortly after Milosevic's birth. Both later committed suicide. His father died in 1962 and his mother hanged herself in 1974.

Milosevic studied law at Belgrade University, where he became active in politics. At eighteen years of age he joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which later in 1963 became known as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Communism is a system of government in which the state controls the economy and a single party holds power. Milosevic became head of the ideology (guiding ideas) committee of the student branch. During this time, he made friendships through the party that would be critical to his later climb to political prominence. One key friend was Ivan Stambolic (1936–2000), president of Serbia in the 1980s.

Entering the business world

Following graduation with his law degree, Milosevic became an economic advisor to the mayor of Belgrade in 1964. In 1965, he married a childhood friend, Mirjana Markovic. Mirjana was a professor and also politically active in the League of Communists. She would serve as one of Milosevic's political advisors throughout his career. They had two children, a son and a daughter.

In 1968, Milosevic went to work in an executive position for Tehnogas, a state-owned natural gas company. In just five years, he became its president. By 1978, Milosevic became head of one of Yugoslavia's largest banks, Beobanka. His banking business took him on frequent travels to the United States and France,where he learned English and French.

A political rising star

As he did in business, Milosevic rose fast in politics. He became a member of the Serbian Communist Party's central committee and then in 1982 a member of the presidium, the Party's top decision-making authority.

Serbia had long been in a region of political instability. Following World War I (1914–18) and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Serbian kingdom joined the kingdom of Montenegro and various ethnic groups who had been ruled by the Ottomans. Among them were the Slovenes, Croats, Slavic Muslims, and Serbs. Together these groups formed Yugoslavia. The Serbs held political dominance. When World War II broke out in 1939, the German army and its allies overran Yugoslavia and divided

it for military occupation. In 1944, Communist forces pushed the Germans out, and a new Yugoslavian government formed; it was composed of six republics. Josip Tito (1892–1980) strictly ruled the new Yugoslavia, suppressing all ethnic hostilities, until his death in 1980. Mounting ethnic tensions led to an eight-person shared presidential position.

Milosevic became active full time in the League of Communists by 1984, when he began serving as an advisor to former law school friend Stambolic. Milosevic was elected to follow Stambolic as chairman of the Belgrade City Committee of the League of Communists in April 1986. In that position, Milosevic became a prominent leader in Serbian politics. He gained much popularity among Serbs by publicly protesting the treatment of Serbs in Kosovo, a southern province of Serbia dominated by ethnic Albanians who controlled local governments. Milosevic charged ethnic persecution including police brutality.

Gains political leadership

Milosevic's public charges fueled confrontations between Serbs and Albanians. Milosevic claimed Serbian leaders—including Stambolic, who was now head of the League of Communists of Serbia—were not doing enough to protect Serbs. Milosevic's constant attacks finally led to the resignation of Stambolic as leader of the League of Communists in December 1987. He remained president of Serbia. In February 1988, Milosevic replaced Stambolic as head of the Communists of Serbia.

As party leader, Milosevic quickly began orchestrating elections of Serbs into key regional political positions, including in Kosovo itself in early 1989. He had an Albanian leader in Kosovo arrested. With the growth of Milosevic support in Serbian politics, the Serbian assembly ousted Stambolic as president in 1989, replacing him with Milosevic.

In full leadership of the government by 1990, Milosevic led the National Assembly of Serbia in reducing the autonomy (independence) of Serbia's provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. This was a very unpopular move in Kosovo, where Albanians greatly outnumbered Serbs. As a result, the new Serbian leaders in Kosovo ruled harshly, so as to keep Albanians under control. This caused alarm in other Yugoslavian provinces and among international human rights organizations.

With a declining economy, there was a growing clamor for economic and political reform in Serbia. Milosevic wanted to maintain strong government control over the economy, known as socialism. Milosevic

adopted populist (promotes the interests of common people) strategies, while at the same time promoted socialist state control of the economy.

Breakup of Yugoslavia

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and European Communist governments in 1990, nationalism (belief that a particular nation and its culture, people, and values are superior to those of other nations) rose in importance as the unifying influence of ethnic groups. The LCY separated into various political parties. Readily adapting to the changing political conditions in the region, Milosevic led the transition of the Yugoslav League of Communists in Serbia to the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) by July 1990. He also guided the adoption of a new Serbian constitution by September 1990 that gave the president strong powers. In December, the first elections under the new constitution were held. Milosevic retained his political leadership of Serbia and his Socialist Party won a large majority of the vote for other elected positions. In the Kosovo province, most ethnic Albanians boycotted the elections. The elections showed that Milosevic was truly a popular leader among Serbs.

Milosevic's plan during this realignment of Yugoslav peoples was to establish a strong Serbian state that included all Serbs in the region, including those in Bosnia and Croatia. This idea, referred to as Greater Serbia, created an anti-Serbian backlash in other Yugoslav republics. Elections led to new governments in the other Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia. The new leaders promised greater political independence for their regions. In 1991, Milosevic was unwilling to accept a proposal from leaders of Croatia and Slovenia to create a new Yugoslavia composed of a loose confederation of largely independent states. The old federation of Yugoslavia had lost political unity. In March of that year, Milosevic declared that the federation was officially dead and Serbia was politically independent. This change gave the Serbs and Milosevic greater domination in domestic politics in their own country.

In response, Slovenia and Croatia both declared their political independence in June 1991. Macedonia did the same in September 1991 and Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 1992. Milosevic's Greater Serbia idea caused the breakup of the Yugoslav federation to speed up. With the departure of these various former Yugoslav states, the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed in May 1992. It included only Serbia and Montenegro. Though Dobrica Cosic was elected the first president of the Federal Republic, Milosevic held the true power from his Serbian president position.

The Srebrenica Massacre

On June 2, 2005, prosecutors presented evidence at the war crimes trial of Slobodan Milosevic concerning the mass murder of Bosnians by Bosnian Serbs known as the Srebrenica Massacre. Until then, many Serbs had not heard of the extent of the tragedy or had been unwilling to accept that it actually occurred. However, after the evidence was presented at the trial, the Serbian public became outraged by the past actions of their special forces. Criminal investigators estimated that the Serb special forces under the direct command of General Ratko Mladic (1943–) murdered 8,106 Bosnian Muslim males of all ages. It was the largest mass murder in Europe since the Holocaust of World War II.

In the early 1990s, conflicts between various ethnic groups in Yugoslavia escalated. Once such conflict occurred between the Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, who had begun calling themselves Bosniaks in 1993. When Bosnia and Herzegovina declared their political independence from Yugoslavia in October 1991, Serbian president Milosevic vowed to carve out some Bosnian territory for Serbia. Fighting between Bosniaks and Serbs followed. While the Bosnian Serb forces were well equipped with tanks and artillery, the Bosniaks were poorly armed.

One key area the Serbs wanted was Srebrenica, a Bosnian Muslim area dividing surrounding areas primarily inhabited by Bosnian Serbs. Serbs decided to get rid of all Bosniaks living in Srebrenica. By early 1993, Serbian forces had isolated Srebrenica from other Bosnian Muslim areas. Its population was running out of food, medicine, and water. The United Nations sent a small contingent of troops to help establish peace and get supplies to Srebrenica.

By 1995 the situation was near catastrophic. Citizens were starving to death. In early July, Serbian special forces made their move and entered UN-controlled areas. As the group of lightly armed UN troops stood aside, the Serbs began the mass killings of the Bosnian Muslims. The Serbs would move through the crowds of panicked Bosnians, picking out males to be executed. Endless truckloads of males were taken from Srebrenica to killing sites in the country for execution. They were often bound, blindfolded, and shot with automatic rifles. Then bulldozers pushed the bodies into mass graves. Many people were wounded and buried alive with the dead. Women, children, and the elderly were placed on buses to be displaced to Bosnian territory elsewhere. Hundreds of the women and female children were raped while on their way to other territories.

Thousands of males initially escaped and attempted a long march to safe areas, but most were killed by Serb forces who tracked them down and fired on them with tanks, machine guns, and artillery. Many committed suicide, sensing the futility of the situation. Within only a few days, the massacre was over. In an effort to hide or destroy the evidence of mass murders, in late 1995 Serbs moved many of the graves using heavy equipment.

Reports by the few survivors led to investigations. By 2005, the UN had recovered about six thousand bodies in an effort to document the mass killings. They searched for and excavated mass graves. Mladic and other Serb military officers were indicted for genocide and various other war crimes. Investigators claimed it took considerable planning to kill so many people in only a few days.

Milosevic further fueled ethnic conflict by charging that the Croats were intent on exterminating Serbs in Croatia. The Serbs in Croatia began seeking independence from the new Croatia in 1991. Milosevic sent Serbian militias (armies composed of citizens who are not professional soldiers) to assist the Serbs in Croatia. This led to open conflict that lasted into early 1992.

The ethnic fighting spread in March 1992 to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian Serbs gained control of 70 percent of the country. Hundreds of thousands of non-Serbs were displaced from the Serb-controlled area. Thousands were killed and raped. One of the war's atrocities was the Srebrenica Massacre (see box). As in Croatia, the Serbian government and its leader Milosevic were directly involved in the fighting.

Alarmed by the deteriorating situation in the former Yugoslav region, the United Nations (UN; an international organization founded in 1945 composed of most of the countries in the world) imposed trade sanctions (restrictions) on the new Federal Republic in 1992 due to its interference with Croatia and Bosnia. Additionally, the new Yugoslavia was not admitted to the UN and was excluded from many other international organizations. During this time Milosevic often sought Russian assistance. He even visited leaders in China in November 1997.

Fighting continued in Bosnia and Croatia into 1995, as the Serbian economy declined due to the international sanctions. Finally, Milosevic pulled out Serbian forces and reduced support for the Serbian rebellions. As a result, Croatian forces overran Serbs in August and forced them from Croatia into neighboring Bosnia and Serbia. In September, the Bosnian Serbs were defeated by Croatian and Bosnian ground forces supported by North Atlantic Treaty Organiztion (NATO) air strikes. NATO is a military defense alliance established in April 1949 among Western European and North American nations. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs were displaced.

Ready to see the UN sanctions lifted, Milosevic signed the Dayton Agreement in November 1995 along with Bosnian, Croat, Serb, and Muslim leaders and the Croatian president. This officially ended the Bosnian conflict. While Bosnia remained a single state, it was divided into two ethnic areas to preserve the peace. Milosevic was now considered a peacemaker by many.

War in Kosovo

By 1996, Milosevic's second term of office as president of Serbia was running out and the constitution did not allow a third term. Therefore, seeking to retain control, he ran for the less important position of president

A graveyard in Serbia marks the individual remains of numerous Kosovo Albanians who were among the thousands killed in the 1999 war. The bodies were previously buried in a mass grave. This site was one of the key pieces of evidence in the trial of Slobodan Milosevic.

of Yugoslavia. He won easily and assumed his new office in July 1997. A friend and supporter of Milosevic won his former Serbian office.

The long-standing conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo finally broke into open hostilities in 1997. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), an armed Albanian group seeking independence for Kosovo from Serbia, began attacks against Serbian security forces and politicians. The fighting continued to escalate into 1999, when Serbian forces retaliated with greater intensity by launching a major offensive. Several thousand Albanians were killed and most of the Albanian population in Kosovo was displaced. In response, NATO launched numerous air strikes for ten weeks in the spring of 1999, forcing back the Serbian forces in Kosovo. Kosovo came under control of the United Nations and its peacekeeping force. Many Serbs now fled Kosovo, fearing retaliation by Albanians. During the Kosovo War, about ten thousand people were killed and four thousand remained missing.

War crimes charges

In May 1999, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) located in The Hague, Netherlands, indicted (formally charged with a crime) Milosevic and four other top Serbian officials on war crimes and crimes against humanity (murder of groups of people) allegedly committed in Kosovo. The charges cited mass population displacements and murder of three hundred ethnic Albanians. Despite the charges and military loss in Kosovo, Milosevic still received strong popular support in Serbia. Milosevic and his supporters claimed the ICTY had no legal basis to charge him and others for crimes.

On September 24, 2000, Milosevic ran for reelection as president. Yugoslav's economic problems had worsened and Milosevic's popularity was declining. Despite losing the election, he refused to accept the results. A mass public demonstration against Milosevic in Belgrade on October 5 led him to concede the end of his political career. With Milosevic gone, the UN added the new Yugoslavia as a member state on November 1.

Following his departure from office, Yugoslavia's new administration charged Milosevic with corruption and abuse of power. His actual arrest did not come until some time later on April 1, 2001, when he surrendered to Yugoslav authorities after an armed standoff at his fortified Belgrade rural home.

Enticed by Western countries offering large amounts of financial aid, the Yugoslav authorities turned Milosevic over to the ICTFY for his war crimes trial on June 28. The resulting public outrage that Milosevic had been sent away forced Yugoslav officials to resign the following day. Within days, war crimes investigators began finding mass graves in Kosovo. On October 1, the ICTFY added further charges of genocide in Bosnia and war crimes in Croatia.

The trial

Milosevic's trial began on February 12, 2002. With his training as a lawyer and unwillingness to accept the legitimacy of the court, Milosevic served as his own lawyer. Many of his supporters in Serbia agreed with Milosevic's opinion of ICTFY, and his popularity rose again. A legal team located back in Belgrade assisted in pulling together documents for him.

The lawyers for the prosecution had to prove that Milosevic as president of Serbia had direct responsibility for the events that unfolded within Croatia and Bosnia. The prosecution took two years in presenting its case against Milosevic. Throughout that period, they provided detailed

summaries of the wars in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo. The recounting of events drew much attention from the populations of the former Yugoslav federation. Despite this ongoing trial and publicity of the prosecution's evidence, Milosevic ran for a seat in Serbia's parliament in December 2003; he was defeated.

As the trial progressed, Milosevic's health steadily declined. He suffered from high blood pressure and experienced a severe case of influenza. The illnesses led to repeated delays in the trial. As time came for him to provide his defense to the court, the judge required that he use the services of two court-appointed British attorneys due to his poor health. Always known for his stubbornness and unwillingness to compromise on issues, the defense attorneys found that not only was Milosevic uncooperative, but many defense witnesses refused to appear due to their disdain for the court proceedings. In December 2004, the judge ordered the two lawyers to continue despite Milosevic's lack of cooperation with them.

Other criminal investigations also took place. In the summer of 2000, Stambolic was kidnapped. His body was not found until 2003. Milosevic was accused of ordering Stambolic's murder. In 2005, former members of the Serbian secret police, along with several criminal gang members, were convicted of various murders including Stambolic's.

Milosevic's trial came to an abrupt end on March 11, 2006, when Milosevic was found dead in his detention cell. He died of a heart attack. Just before his death, Milosevic had requested another delay in his trial so he could travel to see a physician in Russia. However, ICTY was hesitant to approve such a request for fear he would escape while under Russian supervision. Supporters claimed the tribunal hastened his death due to less than adequate medical attention. Opponents lamented that he avoided punishment and embarrassment.

A memorial ceremony was held in Belgrade. It was attended by tens of thousands of supporters. Milosevic was buried in his hometown of Pozarevac.

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Mine Okubo

BORN: June 27, 1912 • Riverside, California

DIED: February 10, 2001 • New York, New York

Japanese American artist

"On February 19, 1942, by executive order of the President, the enemy alien problem was transferred from the Department of Justice to the War Department. Restriction of German and Italian enemy aliens and evacuation of all American citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry was ordered."

Though she was born an American citizen, Mine Okubo was one of 112,000 Japanese Americans imprisoned by the U.S. government during World War II (1939–45). The removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast was the largest mass evacuation of citizens in U.S. history simply because of their race. Treatment of Japanese Americans during the war represents one of the most striking chapters of ethnic prejudice (a negative attitude towards others based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience) in U.S. history, resulting in endless hardships and misery.

Though Okubo had never been to Japan and spoke little Japanese, she was imprisoned simply because her parents had come to the United States from Japan years earlier in order to give their children a better life in America. Prior to the war, Obuko had studied and worked hard to build an art career. She had studied in California and trained in Europe. However, unexpectedly she applied her artistic skills to record the Japanese American experience in the various stark, isolated internment camps scattered across much of the western United States for the next several years. Her drawings and written accounts documented the gross

ethnic injustice toward a part of the American population. Later generations could learn these lessons about the consequences of prejudice through her art and writing. She survived her imprisonment and built a highly acclaimed, long-standing art career.

An artist mother

The daughter of Japanese parents, Okubo was born in June 1912 in Riverside, California. She had six brothers and sisters. Her parents were born in Japan, but while young had traveled to the United States, where they met. Her mother had graduated from the Tokyo Art Institute and was an artist specializing in calligraphy (ornamental line drawing) and painting. In 1903, Japan sent her mother to the St. Louis Exposition of Arts and Crafts to show her work. Liking America, she later came back and eventually met her husband, a landscaper and gardener. Though poor, they were able to sustain themselves and raised a family. She gave up her art to care for her family.

Okubo was greatly influenced by her mother and developed her own artistic skills. In 1933 and 1934, Okubo attended Riverside Junior College, where she majored in art; later she transferred to the University of California at Berkeley. Like many students during the Great Depression (1929–41; a time of severe economic hardship worldwide), she worked at various jobs while going to school. She was a seamstress, housemaid, agricultural fieldworker, waitress, and tutor. During her graduate studies at Berkeley, Okubo learned the art techniques of fresco (an ancient form of painting by mixing paint with glue) and mural painting. She earned her bachelor's degree in 1935 and a master's degree in fine arts in 1936. In 1938, Okubo won Berkeley's highest art honor, the Bertha Taussig Traveling Scholarship. Inspired by an uncle who spent much time in Paris, France, as an artist, Okubo used her scholarship to travel to Europe. She visited France, England, Sicily, and Italy to experience various art traditions. For eighteen months, she lived on a very modest budget. In Paris, she studied under noted painter Fernand Leger (1881–1955). The trip greatly influenced Okubo's art style by adding life, color, and vitality to her creations.

World War II begins

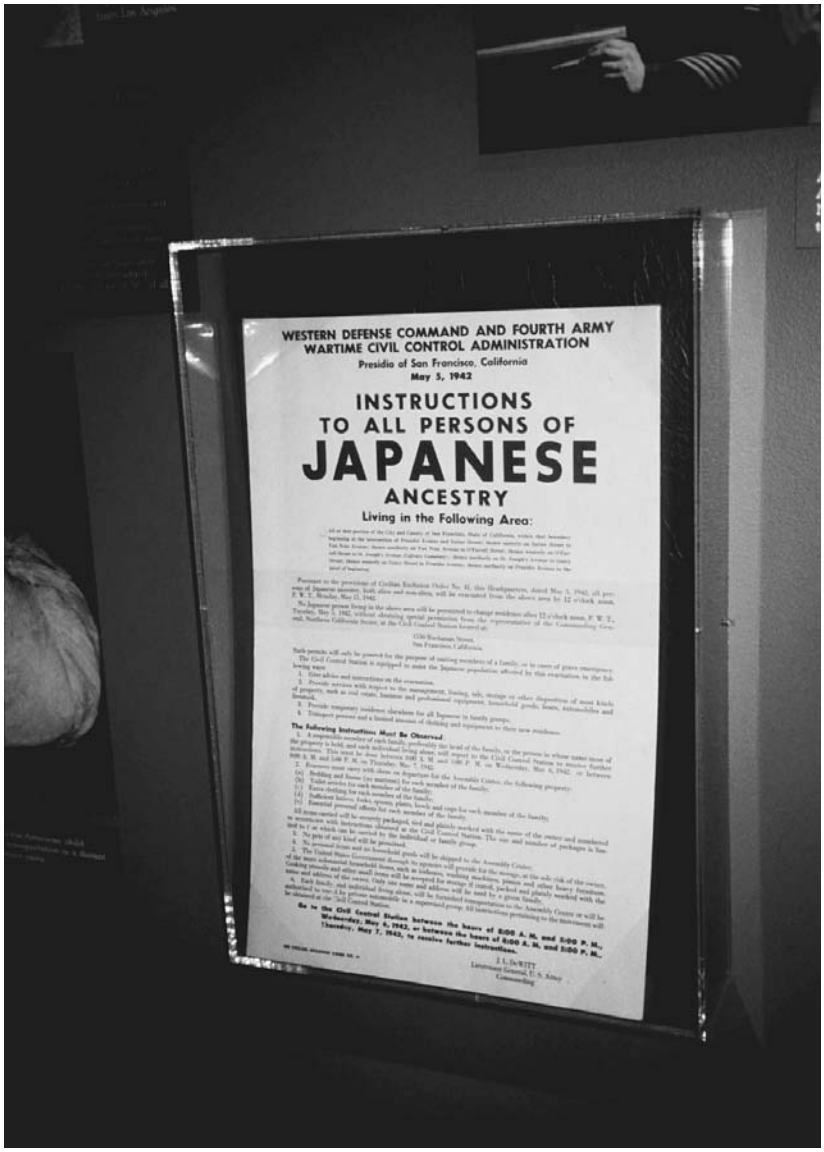
When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939 starting World War II, Okubo was traveling in Switzerland. New travel restrictions were adopted in Europe because of the war. These restrictions delayed Okubo's return to her home base in France by several months. Upon her return, word arrived that her mother was seriously ill. With her mother ill and war breaking out,

Okubo decided it was time to return to the United States after eighteen months of travel. When her mother died shortly after her return, Okubo moved back to Berkeley. She took along her younger brother, Toku, who enrolled in college at Berkeley.

The Great Depression was still underway with jobs scarce. She was able to find work through one of the governmental programs creating jobs for unemployed citizens, the Federal Arts Project (FAP). The FAP was established by the federal government in 1935 to provide employment to unemployed artists. It goal was to provide artwork for non-federal public buildings. Until 1941 FAP artists painted over 2,500 murals and created almost 18,000 sculptures in addition to other art forms. As part of her duties, Okubo demonstrated fresco painting at the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. At the exposition, she was able to work with famous Mexican artist Diego Rivera (1886–1957) who was painting an 1,800-square-foot mural depicting Latin American unity. While Rivera worked up on his scaffolds, Mine answered visitors' questions below. Okubo also created mosaics and fresco murals commissioned by the U.S. Army at Fort Ord and the Oakland Hospitality House. Like many other artists of the Depression, Okubo's work was influenced by the economic hardships and prejudice she saw around her. In 1940 and 1941, she held two exhibitions of her work at the San Francisco Museum.

Enemy aliens

The surprise Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on December 7, 1941, would forever alter Obuko's life and that of thousands of other Japanese Americans. The U.S. government labeled Japanese Americans as enemy aliens along with German and Italian Americans, meaning they were citizens of countries officially at war with the United States and viewed with some suspicion. Within hours of the attack, agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) swept into Japanese American communities, arresting prominent (important) people they thought might have feelings of loyalty to Japan. Okubo's father had long been active in traditional Japanese religious organizations in the United States and was among those arrested. The government sent him to a detention camp (a temporary facility created to hold political prisoners, war prisoners, and others deemed undesirable) in Missoula, Montana, and later to Louisiana. The government also closed all banks operated by Japanese Americans and froze (prohibited withdrawals from) Japanese American bank accounts.



Executive Order 9066 required all persons of Japanese ancestry, whether U.S. citizens or not, from areas of California, Washington, Oregon, and Arizona to sell their homes and possessions and report to a central relocation station. KATHLEEN J. EDGAR.

Only a few weeks later, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) ordered the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. At the time, 112,000 Japanese Americans lived along the West Coast, with 93,000 (including Obuko's family) living in California. The public was very fearful that the Japanese might attack the U.S. mainland. Despite the lack of any evidence, ethnic prejudices grew as they suspected that most any Japanese American could be a spy or

saboteur (person who deliberately destroys property of enemies during wartime). The policy affected all Japanese-Americans, even those with only one parent of Japanese ancestry.

The U.S. government ordered Okubo to report to a central relocation station established at Berkeley's First Congregational Church on April 26, 1942. The government assigned Obuko and her brother a number that would serve as their personal identification for the next few years: 13660. The government gave them just three days to sell or store their belongings and report for relocation. They could only take with them what they could carry on board the buses in which they were transported. Toku was scheduled to receive his degree from the University of California only a few weeks later, a date he would be forced to miss. On May 1, government officials transported them to the Tanforan Race Track in San Bruno, California. Others were taken to abandoned stockyards and unused fairgrounds. Upon arrival, they were all given tests of loyalty to the U.S. government in the form of a series of questions quickly read to them in English, a language many did not speak well if at all.

Mine and Toku stayed at Tanforan for six months, in horse stalls only slightly changed for human use, while waiting for permanent relocation camps located away from the coast to be constructed. Like Obuko and her brother, two-thirds of the 112,000 Japanese Americans rounded up were American citizens. Finally, the permanent camps were finished. The Obukos were sent to the Topaz camp in the high desert country of Utah.

In addition to Mine, her younger brother, and her father, other family members went elsewhere. The government sent her older sister to the relocation camp at Heart Mountain in Wyoming. The military drafted (forced into service) her older brother, not realizing because of his large size that he was a Japanese American. By June 1942, all Japanese Americans living on the West Coast had been uprooted from their homes.

Recording camp experience

As was true for all Japanese American detainees, life in these remote camps was challenging for Okubo. At one point, camp authorities discovered Okubo and her brother were siblings and not spouses. They tried to separate them because of the lack of privacy within the small living quarters, but Okubo successfully resisted. Japanese Americans were not allowed to have cameras, so Okubo began using her art skills to sketch scenes of daily life for the outside world to eventually see. Camp authorities did not know she had her sketching supplies with her.

Japanese evacuees are pictured at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California preparing to depart for a permanent relocation camp, 1942. © CORBIS.

Instead of using the bright, energetic colors she used in Europe and Berkeley, Obuko chose to use stark black-and-white drawings. They reflected the moods of imprisonment. Not only did Okubo want to capture the pain of confinement in her artwork, but also the Japanese American culture at the time. In all, she drew around two thousand sketches during her lengthy detention, completing as many as fifty drawings in a single month. Because privacy was almost nonexistent in the camps, Okubo would nail a quarantine sign on her door to keep from being discovered while drawing and then hid her drawings.

In addition to sketching, Okubo joined with others at Topaz to publish a camp magazine called *Trek.* Camp authorities allowed this

Japanese American Relocation Camps

At first the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was going to place the uprooted Japanese Americans in existing communities away from the West Coast. But quickly they discovered no communities would accept the Japanese Americans. So, hurriedly, they constructed ten camps in seven states. Most were located in the remote, barren desert country. California and Arizona each had two camps. Others were located in Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and Idaho. Two other camps were placed in Arkansas. The prison camps were surrounded with barbed wire and armed guards. They included wooden barracks and community bathing, toilet, and eating facilities. There was no privacy, and sanitation was very poor. Thin walls divided the barracks into small, one-room apartments lit with bare light bulbs. Cots were provided for sleeping. A family shared each apartment.

The government released all remaining detainees in December 1944. The detention of Japanese Americans during World War II was a great tragedy. In addition to having no legal rights to challenge their imprisonment, Japanese Americans lost an estimated four hundred million dollars in property and income. Despite the prejudice and fears aimed at Japanese Americans, no Japanese American was ever charged with war crimes. In fact, about thirty-three thousand Japanese Americans served in the U.S. armed forces, fighting for the very government that imprisoned their families on the home front. A Japanese American regiment fighting in Europe became the most decorated army unit of World War II. More than four decades after the internment of Japanese Americans in the United States, a formal U.S. government apology was issued in 1988 by President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004; served 1981–89).

activity because distribution was limited to people within the camp. Using equipment and supplies they could scavenge, they published three issues, one in December 1942 and others in February and June 1943. The publication described Topaz camp experiences. As the art editor, Okubo drew the cover illustrations that showed the collective efforts of the camp detainees. The first cover showed a family in camp preparing for Christmas.

While at Topaz, Okubo witnessed the difficulties of prolonged imprisonment for families with young children. Parents struggled to raise children as normally as possible while surrounded by armed guards and barbed wire. Through time, detainees built a self-sufficient community in the desert. With the few materials available they built homes, schools, churches, and even a jail. Okubo's art showed the pain felt by people shoved aside by the society they lived in. Parents who had worked hard to provide their children opportunities in America had lost everything and had no time left in their lives to start over.

Okubo finds a way out

In 1943, the government began permitting detainees to leave the camps if they could show proof of employment. It was not easy for a person of an ethnic minority, imprisoned in a remote desert camp, to land a job. Nonetheless, about one-third of detainees were able to leave by early 1944. Most jobs found through friends or family were as field laborers, since a shortage of field workers existed.

From Topaz, Okubo mailed some camp sketches to an art show in San Francisco. Her work won an award and led to a job offer from *Fortune* magazine to illustrate an article for them. In January 1944, Okubo received her release and moved to New York. She began working on the April *Fortune* issue, which focused on Japan. Given the ongoing ethnic prejudice against Japanese American, Okubo still faced many challenges. For example, she had difficulty finding an apartment available to her in New York.

In spite of the prejudice, Okubo's art quickly gained attention. With her new income, she could now afford to resume painting. Later in 1944, she held an art exhibit at the prestigious Rockefeller Center in New York. The following year, Obuko joined a traveling art show in which paintings and drawings of Japanese relocation camps were shown. Columbia University Press published a collection of her camp sketches in a 1946 book titled *Citizen 13660.* Obuko's book was the first published account of Japanese American internment. That same year, the Riverside Public Library, located in her California hometown, proudly featured her work in an exhibit.

The wide recognition of her work allowed Okubo to work as an independent illustrator for the next decade. Her illustrations appeared in most leading magazines. Besides *Fortune,* titles included *Life* and *Time* magazines and newspapers like the *New York Times.* Her drawings appeared in children's books and as anatomical (dealing with biological parts of humans, plants, and animals) drawings in medical books. Forever influenced by the prejudice she experienced, she continued to address social issues in the United States in her artwork. After her war internment experience, Okubo wanted to get closer to her ancestral roots and turned more to Japanese folk art for inspiration.

A celebrated artist

While working as an illustrator from 1950 to 1952, Okubo returned to Berkeley to lecture in art at the university. She also appeared in a 1965 CBS

television news program investigating Japanese American internment. All the while, she kept busy with various art exhibits across the country, from California to Massachusetts. She won many awards for her work. Among the numerous publications her work appeared in during this time was a 1970 *Time-Life* book on life in America in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1972, she had her first major show of her work on the West Coast, held at the Oakland Museum in California. In 1981, Obuko testified at a public hearing in New York City before the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Okubo stressed the need for the continuing education of American youth about the consequences of prejudice and the need for a formal U.S. apology to those detained during the war. Her book *Citizen 13660* won the 1984 American Book Award, an award established in 1978 by the Before Columbus Foundation to recognize outstanding achievements by American authors. The award focuses on multicultural diversity in American literature. The book continued to be used in classrooms in history and ethnic studies classes into the early twenty-first century. In 1991, Okubo received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Women's Caucus for Art.

Okubo never married. Faced with the pronounced prejudices through her life, she pursued a lifelong search for her own self-identity, and a study of social relations. Her art continued to be showcased at various museums across the nation including the Oakland Museum. She died on February 10, 2001, at her home in New York's Greenwich Village.

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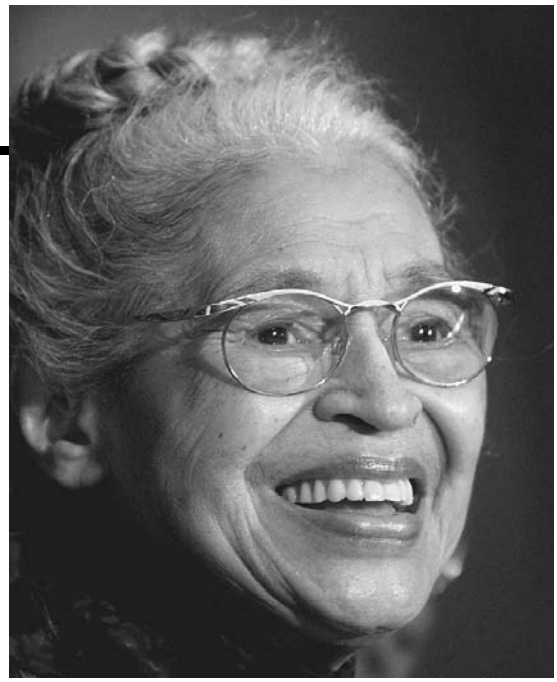
Rosa Parks

BORN: February 4, 1913 • Tuskegee, Alabama

DIED: October 24, 2005 • Detroit, Michigan

American civil rights activist



Rosa Parks. AP IMAGES.

"I would like to be known as a person who is concerned about freedom and equality and justice and prosperity for all people."

By not giving up her bus seat to a white man on December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks's quiet defiance triggered the escalation of a major social movement by black Americans seeking equality under the law. Parks, a reserved, hardworking black woman, became one of the great contributors to the growing Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s. The Civil Rights Movement was a largely nonviolent struggle between 1945 and 1970 by black Americans who sought to bring full civil rights and equality under the law to all black Americans. Civil rights are the protections and privileges that law gives to all citizens in a society, such as the right to a fair trial, freedom from discrimination (treating some people differently than others or favoring one social group over another based on prejudices), right to privacy, right to peaceful protest, right to vote, and freedom of movement. The movement eventually ended legally enforced racial segregation (keeping races separate, such as in public places) in the South in the

1960s, though discrimination continued to be a major factor in everyday life. Parks herself remained active in her fight against racial prejudice (a negative attitude towards others based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience) into the twenty-first century. She was a worldwide symbol of freedom and social justice.

Growing up in the South

Parks was born Rosa Louise McCauley on February 4, 1913, in Tuskegee, Alabama. Her father, James McCauley, was a carpenter and her mother, Leona McCauley, a teacher. Her parents soon separated as James was eager to find greater opportunities in the North. Rosa, along with her mother and younger brother, Sylvester, moved to her grandparents' farm in Pine Level, Alabama, 30 miles south of Montgomery. There she grew up in a rural southern setting with her mother the only teacher in a one-room schoolhouse.

Rosa experienced the daily consequences of laws designed to keep blacks separate from whites in public. Known as Jim Crow laws, the state and local governments in the South passed numerous laws and ordinances since the 1890s, enforcing racial segregation. Hostility by whites toward blacks was severe. Rosa later remembered lying in bed hearing the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist terrorist organization, riding by in the dark of night. She also heard stories of lynching (killing by mob action, as by hanging or burning) in the area.

Leona sent Rosa at age eleven to Montgomery to live with a widowed aunt so she could enroll in a private school for black youth, the Montgomery Industrial School for Girls. Founded by liberal-minded (not tied to traditional social roles) women from the North and partly supported by the Congregational Church, the school introduced Rosa to philosophies of self-worth along with strict discipline. Parks cleaned the classrooms in the school to help pay her tuition. The school also taught Rosa to take advantage of the few opportunities that come along for a black woman in American society. Rosa next attended classes at Alabama State Teachers College, later renamed Alabama State University, but left before graduating to get married.

Settling into Montgomery

In 1932, at the age of nineteen, Rosa married Raymond Parks. They settled in Montgomery, Alabama. Raymond had been an orphan and trained as a barber. He worked at the Atlas Barber Shop while Rosa worked at various jobs as a file clerk, insurance saleswoman, and seamstress. With both of them employed, they enjoyed a modest level of prosperity.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Founded in 1909, the NAACP is one of the oldest and most influential organizations dedicated to eliminating racial and other forms of prejudice. The organization has always emphasized combating the many outcomes of prejudice, such as discrimination and violence, by providing legal services in key court cases and lobbying, or petitioning, legislatures including the U.S. Congress for stronger laws recognizing equality. Discrimination in employment, education, and healthcare has been a frequent issue addressed.

The NAACP grew out of efforts by thirty-two prominent black Americans who began meeting in 1905 to take action against the many challenges facing people of color. The group had to first meet in Canada, near the U.S. border, because of racial segregation at American hotels. Harvard scholar W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963) and anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931) played key roles in the founding. The American Jewish community also provided significant financial assistance.

The first decades of the NAACP were spent fighting the Jim Crow laws of the South, which enforced racial segregation in society, and lobbying for anti-lynching laws. The organization was unsuccessful throughout the 1930s in gaining passage of anti-lynching legislation. Successes in fighting segregation were slow but steady until they finally reached the 1954 landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education,* which ended state-sponsored racial segregation in public elementary schools. The success in *Brown* spurred further efforts to end segregation. These efforts included the Montgomery bus boycott after the arrest of Rosa Parks for not giving up her bus seat to a white man.

While other black organizations throughout the late 1950s and 1960s emphasized more direct action against discrimination and segregation—such as public protests and marches—the NAACP maintained its focus on legislation and court battles.

The NAACP's national office in the early twenty-first century was located in Baltimore, Maryland, with seven branch offices situated from New York to California. In 2004, the organization had approximately 500,000 members.

Both Rosa and Raymond were also active in civil rights work all of their adult lives, and sought to improve life for blacks in the South. They both joined the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP; see box). Rosa was one of the first women to join the Montgomery chapter. During the 1930s, Raymond volunteered his time to help the legal defense of nine young black men charged with the rape of two white women based on hearsay, or word of mouth, and no evidence. The case became infamous (well known in a negative way) with the black youth becoming known collectively as the Scottsboro defendants (despite lack of evidence and a good defense, the defendants were found guilty by an

all-white jury). Rosa was youth adviser for the Montgomery NAACP and worked as the chapter's secretary from 1943 until 1956. Rosa was also active in the Montgomery Voters League, dedicated to increasing black voter registration, worked with the black labor union Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and did volunteer work for the African Methodist Episcopal church.

Parks persistently fought the Jim Crow laws of the South. In mid-1955, Parks received financial assistance to attend a workshop at an education center in Tennessee known as the Highlander Folk School. The workshop taught skills in organizing and mobilizing black citizens to fight for workers' rights in labor unions and racial equality, including school integration. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court had issued the landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education.*

Bus rules

Parks passionately disliked the Montgomery city bus system and the Jim Crow laws and rules of behavior that applied. For example, blacks were often required to first step on board and pay their fare at the front of the bus, then get back off and go to the door near the rear to board for their seat. Sometimes the white bus driver would pull away before they could get back on. Once Parks refused to get off the bus after paying her fare and go to the rear door. The driver threw her off the bus. After the *Brown* decision, blacks were no longer willing to tolerate segregation on the buses and became increasingly frustrated with the slow changes.

According to other city bus rules, the front several rows on a bus were reserved for whites. Blacks could not sit in them, even if the section was empty and the black section was standing room only. If the white section was full, then whites could request that blacks seated in the "colored" section get up and move further toward the back. That would not only include the person sitting in the seat desired, but others in that row as well.

The NAACP, along with the Women's Political Council (WPC), had tried working with the city bus company to improve treatment of blacks, but with little success. By 1955, the NAACP was looking for an incident that could be used to legally challenge the bus rules. In March 1955, fifteen-year-old Claudette Colvin, a high school student in Montgomery, Alabama, was arrested for refusing to give her seat to a white passenger. After consideration, the NAACP decided not to take the case because they feared the teenager would not be mentally strong enough to withstand the controversy and personal attacks that would accompany the lawsuit challenging segregationist policies.

The fateful challenge

On December 1, 1955, forty-two-year-old Parks boarded a city bus at the end of a day's work as a seamstress at Montgomery Fair department store. Carrying a bag of groceries, she sat in the colored section immediately behind the full white section. A white man boarded the bus and approached Parks, asking that she give her seat to him, a move that would require the other three black passengers on that row to move as well. Tired of the constant humiliation at the hands of whites, Parks refused to obey, although the others got up and moved. The bus driver next ordered her to move to the back of the bus, but she still refused.

The police were called and took Parks to the police station. She was booked, fingerprinted, and jailed. They charged her with disorderly conduct for violating a city bus ordinance. Allowed one phone call, Parks called E. D. Nixon, leader of the Montgomery NAACP, and informed him of her arrest. Nixon notified the WPC and word of Parks's arrest spread quickly through the Montgomery black community. A meeting of fifty local black leaders was called for the following night. Participants at the meeting formed the Montgomery Improvement Association led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), the young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Parks was named to the executive committee of the organization. The organization called for blacks to boycott the city buses on December 5. Since approximately 70 percent of the people who rode the city buses were black, this action posed a great financial threat to the bus company. Around forty-two thousand blacks car-pooled, rode taxis driven by black cabbies who only charged bus rates, or walked instead.

A legal landmark

After her arrest Parks lost her job at the department store. Parks was found guilty on December 6 and fined fourteen dollars. The Improvement Association called for the bus boycott to continue indefinitely. The bus boycott sparked further protests against racial segregation in other parts of the South and the Civil Rights Movement received a great boost. Finally, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on November 13 that city bus segregation was unconstitutional. The Montgomery boycott lasted 382 days until December 20, 1956, when the city ended its segregationist rules in response to the Court decision. The boycott was financially devastating to the bus company which resisted changing its rules until forced by the Court ruling.

The NAACP leaders decided that Parks would be an excellent defendant, perhaps because she was so familiar with NAACP activities

Rosa Parks (center) riding at the front of a newly integrated bus following the 1956 Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public transportation. DON CRAVENS/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

and because of her history of social activism. After discussing it with her husband and mother, Parks agreed to accept the NAACP's assistance in challenging her conviction. White lawyer Clifford Durr, an outspoken critic of racial prejudice, took the case for the NAACP. Parks had at times worked for Durr and his wife, Virginia, as a part-time seamstress.

A lower court overturned Parks's conviction and the law that it was based on. The city appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In November 1956, the Court upheld the lower court's decision that the Montgomery city ordinance was unconstitutional (conflicts with a nation's constitution). The decision outlawed racial segregation in public transportation, marking yet another major setback for Jim Crow laws.

Move to Michigan

Because of her defiant actions, Parks and her family faced continuous threats during this time period. Eventually, her husband Raymond suffered a

nervous breakdown. In 1957, with her legal case freshly resolved, Parks, her husband, and her mother moved to Detroit, Michigan, to start a new life and be closer to her brother. Parks worked as a seamstress there for eight years. Then from 1965 to 1988, she served as an administrative assistant on the congressional staff of U.S. Representative John Conyers (1929–). She also remained active in the NAACP and joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an organization formed in 1957 following the successful Montgomery bus boycott to promote nonviolent civil disobedience of unjust laws. Parks took part in marches and rallies in support of civil rights issues, including the famous 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery in protest of racial barriers to black voting rights. She also supported the end of apartheid (separateness of races by minority white government) in South Africa in the 1980s.

Ten years after Raymond's death, Parks founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute of Self Development in 1987 in Detroit. The Institute promotes education and career training for black youth. Among its activities was a summer program for youth called "Pathways to Freedom." The participating youth toured the country in buses learning about the nation's history and particularly the civil rights movement. They visited locations of critical events in the movement's history. Parks frequently joined the tours.

Highly recognized

Known for her grace and dignity in her fight against racial prejudice, Parks received numerous honors and traveled extensively, meeting various world leaders. Detroit renamed Twelfth Street in 1969 in her honor, now called Rosa Parks Boulevard. In 1980, readers of *Ebony* magazine (founded in 1945, one of America's oldest African American periodicals) chose Parks as the woman who had accomplished the most in advancing the black cause in the United States. She received at least ten honorary college degrees. The SCLC established an annual Rosa Parks Freedom Award named in her honor. She was inducted into the Michigan Women's Hall of Fame in 1983 and the Alabama Academy of Honor in September 1999. In February 1990, on her seventy-seventh birthday, Parks was honored at Washington's Kennedy Center by a gala event.

Parks received the Medal of Freedom award from President Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001) in 1996. She also received the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal of Honor in July 1999, the highest honor a civilian can receive in the United States. The Rosa Parks Library and Museum was dedicated in November 2001 at Troy State University in Montgomery. In January 2002,

Parks's former home in Alabama was added to the National Register of Historic Places.

Parks wrote of her experiences. She published an autobiography, *Rosa Parks: My Story*, in 1992 and a book, *Quiet Strength,* in 1994. In 2002, the CBS television network released a movie made for television that directly involved Parks in its production titled *The Rosa Parks Story* starring actress Angela Bassett.

Not all experiences in the 1990s were good for Parks. In 1994, twenty-eight-year-old Joseph Skipper, a young black man, broke into her home and attacked Parks, stealing $53 in cash. He was caught the next day. The public was outraged by the attack on such a highly respected and elderly woman. Parks lamented that social conditions would be such that youth would beat up elderly women for modest sums of money.

In the early twenty-first century, Parks still lived much of the year in Detroit but spent winters in Los Angeles. She remained active in the civil rights causes. The actual bus she boarded on December 1, 1955, became a permanent exhibit at the Henry Ford Museum in Michigan.

Parks died in October 2005 at her Detroit home of natural causes. Her death attracted considerable national attention in recognition of the central role she played in changing American society. Parks was only the twenty-ninth person and the first woman to lie in honor in the rotunda of the nation's Capitol building as thousands strolled by her casket to pay respects. The cities of Detroit and Montgomery reserved the front row seats of their buses in tribute to Parks following her death until her funeral.

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Soraya Parlika

1944 • Afghanistan

Afghan social activist

Soraya Parlika. AP IMAGES.

"It was a very emotional moment. After years, the women of Afghanistan came out in the open. Under the Taliban we all wore burkas and did not know each other. Now we all know each other's faces."

Soraya Parlika was one of the foremost female activists in Afghanistan, even during the period in the 1990s when the country was under severe Islamic rule of the Taliban. For twenty-two years—from 1979 to 2001—Afghan women faced severe deprivations, first under Soviet Union domination, followed by civil war, and later Taliban rule. They were subjected to rape, forced marriages, domestic violence, torture, persistent fear, and general exclusion from society. These conditions caused not just physical harm, but long-lasting mental problems.

Because the Taliban banned females from education, Parlika operated secret schools for young women in the Afghanistan capital of Kabul during their rule from 1996 to late 2001. She also secretly hosted women's rights meetings in her home. Parlika had a great concern for the poor of the world and found the women of Afghanistan as impoverished as any group of people in the world.

The Red Crescent

When the Taliban took control of Afghanistan in 1996, Soroya Parlika was head of the Afghan Red Crescent organization. The Red Crescent is the same humanitarian organization that people in the Western world associate with the Red Cross. The goal of the Red Crescent and Red Cross organizations is to ease human suffering often caused by prejudice and its resulting violent consequences.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was founded in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1863. A branch was founded in each of almost two hundred nations, including creation of the American Red Cross in 1881, in the United States. During a war between Russia and Turkey in the late 1870s, a new symbol was adopted in place of the Red Cross—the Red Crescent. It was feared the Christian likeness of the cross would alienate Muslim soldiers. The Red Crescent, they believed, would be more acceptable. The ICRC adopted the Red Crescent as an official symbol of the humanitarian organization in 1878 for non-Christian countries. In 1919, following World War I, the League of Red Cross Societies was established to better coordinate Red Cross activities. By 1983, the League was renamed the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to reflect the growing number of Red Crescent branches that represented almost all nations that had majority Muslim populations. They included around 33 of 185 worldwide branches.

Communist oppression

Soraya was born in 1944 to wealthy parents. Parlika was a Pashtun, a long-standing ethnic group that lived in parts of Afghanistan and neighboring Pakistan. During the 1970s, the Communist government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was established under the watchful eye of the Soviet Union. Communism is a system of government where a single political party controls all aspects of society including all economic production and distribution. All religious practices are banned. Parlika and her brother became active Communist Party members. He was appointed a foreign minister in the Afghan government. Parlika was a good student and earned a university degree. She stayed in the academic setting as a university administrator. Parlika also became head of the Afghanistan Red Crescent, the Middle East branch of the Red Cross (see box).

By the late 1970s, Communist rule was becoming increasingly harsh toward its citizens, particularly toward Afghan women. Political opponents were frequently executed or sent to prison. The oppressive strategies only increased the number of people in Afghanistan opposed to the Communist rule. Many Afghans fled to neighboring Pakistan and Iran, where they organized resistance movements (groups of people fighting

invaders of their country either through force or nonviolence) seeking independence from Soviet control.

In 1979, Parlika was arrested and sentenced to eighteen months in prison for organizing a women's movement that opposed the policies of Afghan president Hafizullah Amin (1929–1979) and his Communist rule. While in prison, she was tortured and bore for life the scars from cigarette burns on her arms. The government officials wanted the names of the women in her women's rights group, but she refused to tell them.

Civil war and rise of the Taliban

As nationalism (desire for independence) increased in Afghanistan, the Soviets grew uneasy. Islamic guerillas known as the mujahideen proved increasingly effective against the Afghan army. In late December 1979, Soviet secret police assassinated Amin as regular Soviet troops launched an invasion into Afghanistan to reestablish firm control. The mujahideen with U.S. backing proved very effective in their war against the Soviet Union, and eventually achieved victory in 1989.

The end of Communist rule left a void in Afghan political leadership. Much of the country was locally ruled by various rival militant leaders known as warlords. Various factions competed for control, which led to a civil war by 1992. During the Afghan civil war, women suffered greatly as the country experienced tremendous destruction. The modest economic development accomplished under Soviet rule was devastated. Many women were murdered and raped by the mujahideen factions as civil strife raged for several years.

The Taliban finally established control in 1996. With their rise to power, the Taliban suppression of the warlords was often brutal with executions. After 1996, the Taliban ruled about 70 percent of the Afghan population. Others remained under local rule. As described by Elaheh Rostami Povey in her 2003 article "Women in Afghanistan: Passive Victims of the Borga or Active Social Participants," the Taliban placed new restrictions on women. For example, one restriction was that they had to wear burkas (long flowing garments that cover the whole body from head to feet) at all times in public to conform to the modesty expected of women. Women who disobeyed could face execution. Meanwhile, the Afghan economy slowed to a halt. Hunger and poverty became widespread, affecting women and children the most.

The Taliban denied women their basic rights to education. Within three months of taking power in Kabul in 1996, the Taliban sent

103,000 girls home from schools; 4,000 women studying at Kabul University were forced to leave. They also fired 7,800 female teachers comprising 70 percent of all teachers, and 50 percent of government workers who were female.

Poorest of the poor

As reported by Povey, amid these changes existed some 3,500 female-headed households in the country. The number of these households increased following the death and devastation during the Soviet war and civil war. Women's husbands and other male kin had been killed at alarming rates during more than twenty years of fighting. These women were frequently referred to by other members of society in a derogatory fashion as "unprotected women."

According to Povey, they were marginalized (unable to enjoy full benefits of society like others) from society. Unable to find work and not allowed to obtain an education, they became the poorest of the poor in Afghanistan. They received food and clothes from female neighbors and relied on women's support networks for basic necessities, such as simple things like soap. The unprotected faced persistent discrimination and violence. They even received less food and few other necessities such as soap from aid agencies, largely because they were not registered citizens, and so basically did not have the official paperwork needed to receive aid. To survive, women made handicrafts and sold them to other women. Others simply begged. The Kabul streets were full of women and children beggars. Many suffered malnutrition and disease.

Afghan women's movement

During the years of civil war and Taliban rule, Parlika became leader of a small underground (secret) women's movement that steadily gained membership throughout the 1990s. At the time of the Taliban rise to power in 1996, Parlika lived on the third floor of a Soviet-built block tower apartment complex in Kabul. It was bullet-riddled from the wars fought in Kabul. The apartment became a secret gathering place for women from all across the city.

The Afghan women's movement, as in the West in the 1960s and 1970s, was largely composed of well-educated women of means, such as doctors, teachers, and lawyers. Reaching out to the unprotected and other women, many women such as Parlika risked their lives by using their own homes for schools and support centers. These networks were able to

sustain some social unity in the region during these traumatic times of upheaval. This was critical for the process of reconstructing Afghanistan society that began in 2002 after twenty years of war.

A network of secret schools

As described by Povey in her 2003 article, in the early 1980s, the Women's Vocational Training Center was established in Kabul. It offered courses in English and other languages, computer skills, handicraft, animal husbandry, and other skills like sewing and knitting women could use to earn money. With the rise of the Taliban, these training programs had to go underground (into secrecy). The women participating in the underground schools risked imprisonment and torture. The courses continued to teach women how to make their own clothing and other necessities.

Parlika organized a network of secret schools for girls. They were located in private apartments across the city of Kabul. These loose networks of schools had little knowledge of each other. Courses included mathematics, computers, weaving, English, and music. The number of women in these home schools usually numbered from five to ten. The parents paid $1 each month for each course. Students had to hide their school books, notebooks, pens, and pencils under their head-to-toe burkas. Boys were also included in these networks and many men supported these schools, too. Not all Afghani men supported the subordination of women in society.

The Taliban's religious police from the Department for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice regularly patrolled the city looking for the secret classrooms in the network of schools. They often used tips from informers. They would raid a house and arrest and beat the women found there. Sometimes the men who owned the house were beaten as well. Usually detention lasted several hours.

Northern Alliance takes control

The deadly terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, brought worldwide attention to Afghanistan. The Al-Qaeda Islamic terrorist group was accused of carrying out the attack. The Taliban were accused of providing a safe haven for Al-Qaeda operations, including training camps.

With extensive military support from the United States, in late 2001 a coalition of various Afghan groups calling themselves the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan, also known as the

Northern Alliance, started a war against the Taliban to gain control of Afghanistan. By early 2002, the Northern Alliance had gained control of most of Afghanistan. A transitional Afghan government led by Hamid Karzai (1957–), a Pashtun like Parlika, was established with the Northern Alliance maintaining a strong influence.

After the Taliban

Though the Taliban were gone from Kabul and other areas of Afghanistan, those leaders replacing them still held much the same attitudes about women and their place in society. Afghanistan society remained very conservative and male-dominated. Gender prejudice and discrimination persisted. Men remained resistant toward anything that resembled a women's activist movement. Parlika, like others, did manage to change from the full-length burka to a light-weight head scarf.

Immediately following the fall of the Taliban, Parlika planned a march of unveiled Afghan women to the United Nations compound in Kabul. The goal was to demand that women be included in the new Afghan government. However, the Kabul police warned that even with the Taliban gone, they could still not guarantee safety for her and her followers.

Parlika canceled the protest march realizing that the warning about security problems given by the government was just an excuse. The government really did not support women's activism and their improvement in society. Nonetheless, around two hundred women still gathered outside Parlika's apartment and lifted their veils in unison. Following the emotional moment, they left with burkas back in place covering their faces. It was a symbolic gesture toward greater social freedom for women. They also voiced demands for greater job opportunities as well. Two women were appointed to leadership roles in the new Afghan government.

By late November 2001, Parlika had become a public figure sought out by the international news media. However, the Northern Alliance was again seeking the names of participants in her civil rights group that totaled some four thousand women.

A new start

With the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, female teachers began preparing to return to work in the following spring when schools reopened for a new year. Afghan schools usually closed during the winter months because of

Soraya Parlika, pictured here in September 2005 addressing a crowd on a campaign stop, was one of many women running for the Afghan legislature. SHAH MARAI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

the lack of heating. Girls were to take placement exams after missing five years of school. However, approximately ten thousand girls and women had kept up their schooling in the secret school networks and could return at higher class levels than when they left. They could earn certificates of skills learned during the Taliban years.

Parlika sought to maintain her network created during the Taliban rule to continue helping disadvantaged youth. She hoped to expand the courses offered. Parlika called her network the Afghan's Women's Cooperative Association. The network provided an after-school tutoring program. The program was to help students catch up from the years missed and provide help on homework for those who had lost fathers or older siblings who might have ordinarily helped. Another program provided skills training for boys who had lost fathers. Parlika had to look toward international aid to pay her teachers, since the Afghan government had trouble paying its regular school teachers on a regular basis.

As reported by Povey, despite continued gender prejudice in Afghan society, women became more visible in public. In February 2002, the *Cultural Journal of Afghanistan Women* was created. Also, a daily newspaper was started that focused on women's issues. However, major obstacles were left to overcome in Afghan society. By 2002, about 35,000 female-headed households existed in Afghanistan. Around three thousand female-headed households lived in just one of the refugee centers in Kabul.

The goal of Parlika and other Afghan women leaders after 2002 was to further break the cultural taboos against women and change society. She helped establish the National Union of Women of Afghanistan to help professional Afghan women. They looked at changes that had already occurred in other predominantly Muslim countries, including Iran where women could pursue college educations, vote in public elections, and hold public office. These examples gave hope to Parlika and others.

Political gains

A major part of Parlika's effort after 2001 was lobbying, or petitioning, for the new Afghan government to be more representative of the ethnic and religious diversity of Afghanistan. Due to Parlika's activism, the United Nations (UN) encouraged the various Afghan political factions to include women in their delegations. However, the rise of the Afghan women's movement caused unease among Afghan's leaders. Karzai easily won reelection in 2004 as Afghan president. In the meantime, the Northern Alliance splintered into a number of political factions. The Afghan National Army took over military responsibilities from the Northern Alliance.

In September 2005, at the age of sixty, Parlika was one of many women running for the Afghan legislature. It was the first such election held in Afghanistan in over thirty years. Since women were still hard to reach while campaigning, Parlika had to focus on the vote of men. Approximately 2,800 candidates—including nearly 600 women—were competing for 249 seats in the lower house of parliament (assembly of people that make laws of a nation). The youngest candidate was a twenty-five-year-old female basketball player. However, the elections also attracted a resurgence in Taliban guerilla warfare in the southern and eastern portions of the country. The election results were announced on November 12, 2005, after many charges of corruption. Women won 28

percent of the lower house seats, more than the 25 percent guaranteed by the Afghanistan constitution. Ominously, the Taliban continued its resurgence into 2006 in the southern part of the country.

Through her dedication in fighting gender prejudice, Parlika became an inspiration for many other women who risked their lives and boosted the spirit of their communities during hard times. For example, Parlika had led the way in devising a means to cope with harsh realities under Taliban rule and empowered women in the process to develop and strengthen feelings of self-worth and self-confidence. Many men in Afghan society supported Parlika's efforts as well. She directly raised hopes of rebuilding an Afghan society with greater social justice for all.

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Alice Paul

BORN: January 11, 1885 • Moorestown, New Jersey

DIED: July 9, 1977 • Moorestown, New Jersey

American social activist, lawyer

Alice Paul. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/ CORBIS.

"I never doubted that equal rights was the right direction. Most reforms, most problems are complicated. But to me there is nothing complicated about ordinary equality."

Alice Stokes Paul was one of the foremost women's rights activists of the twentieth century who energized the movement for women's suffrage (the right to vote) and led the fight for an Equal Rights Amendment. Through aggressive protest strategies she learned while visiting England, Paul was instrumental in getting the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ratified in 1920, granting voting rights to women. She came close in obtaining ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) over a half century later in the 1970s. Her tireless work and dedication influenced many governmental policies and was a model for feminists worldwide.

A Quaker upbringing

Paul was born in January 1885 on a family farm near Moorestown, New Jersey, to a Quaker family. (Quakers are members of the Christian group

Society of Friends, which is opposed to war, oathtaking, and rituals.) She was the oldest of four children. Her Quaker upbringing taught her nonviolence and toleration of others. It also taught that everyone should equally enjoy social justice, meaning that all citizens receive fair treatment and an equal opportunity to enjoy the benefits of society. She learned the values of honesty and service to others early in life.

Paul's father, William M. Paul, was a successful businessman. He founded and was president of the Burlington County Trust Company. William had descended from the noted Winthrop family, who were early leaders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the early seventeenth century. Her mother, Tacie Parry Paul, was a descendent of William Penn (1644–1718), founder of the Pennsylvania Colony and strong believer of religious tolerance. Tacie was one of the first women to attend prestigious Swarthmore College near Philadelphia. She was active in social causes and even took Alice with her to a suffrage (right to vote) meeting when Alice was just a child. Paul's father died of pneumonia in 1916 but left the family financially secure.

An eager student

Paul was always eager to learn and thrived in an academic environment throughout her life. At sixteen years of age in 1901, she graduated at the top of her class from Moorestown Friends School, a Quaker school. From there she attended Swarthmore, following in her mother's footsteps. Paul graduated with a degree in biology in 1905 and was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Gamma Mu honor societies.

During her senior year at Swarthmore, Paul's interests began to turn more toward political science and economics. A professor helped her obtain a College Settlement Association Fellowship to attend the New York School of Social Work, where she studied about how to best help others. From there she transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, where she earned a master's degree in sociology.

After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, Paul received a Quaker Fellowship to travel to Woodbridge, England, in the fall of 1907. There she took classes at the University of Birmingham while doing social casework in the community.

An introduction to the fight for suffrage

While studying in England, Paul met the daughter of noted British suffragist Emmeline Parkhurst (1858–1929). Inspired by Parkhurst's dedication to gaining the right to vote for women, Paul became active in the

British suffrage movement. Paul took part in her first suffrage protest parade in 1908.

Parkhurst and others in Britain who formed the Women's Social and Political Union were more aggressive and confrontational in their protest activities than suffragists back in the United States. The British tactics often led to arrests. Paul was arrested three times for picketing and other means of protest and briefly jailed at the Halloway Prison. Her interest began shifting again from social work to the study of law. During this period, Paul met fellow American Lucy Burns (1879–1966), a graduate of Vassar College, at a London police station.

Back to the United States

In 1910, Paul returned to the United States and resumed graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Concentrating on law and women's rights, she received a doctorate in sociology in 1912. Her key topic of research interest was the legal status of women in society.

Paul's interest in women's suffrage continued. After completing her doctorate, she moved to Washington, D.C. At twenty-seven, she was ready to devote herself to the struggle for women's suffrage. She had joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) upon her return to the United States. NAWSA had been founded in 1890 by activists Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906). Suffragists in the United States were more focused on obtaining the right to vote on a state-by-state basis rather than nationally, as was the case with Parkhurst and her fellow activists in England. The American suffragists were experiencing only modest success, primarily in nine Western states. Wyoming was the first state to grant women the right to vote.

Paul sought to introduce the aggressive tactics used in Britain. However, most members resisted such militant measures, and friction within the organization grew. Meanwhile, Paul and Burns assumed leadership of NAWSA's congressional committee in 1912. They began campaigning for a Constitutional amendment to give women the right to vote nationally.

Seeking suffrage

With the election of Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924; served 1913–21) as U.S. president in November 1912, Paul planned her first major protest event. On the day before Wilson's inauguration (swearing in) in Washington, D.C. on March 3, 1913, Paul led a massive suffrage parade

down Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House. More than eight thousand suffragists participated in the parade, while more than half a million bystanders gathered along the route. It attracted major media coverage for days. A few days later, members of NAWSA's congressional committee met with the new president to express their needs. However, Wilson and his Democratic Party that now controlled both houses of Congress remained noncommittal.

Despite Paul's success at organizing the Washington parade, friction within NAWSA remained high over her aggressive strategies. In the summer of 1914, Paul and Lucy finally broke from NAWSA and formed the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. With her Quaker background, Paul promoted aggressive—but nonviolent—tactics in an effort to make change at the national level through the proposed Constitutional amendment. The weekly publication *Suffragist* began circulation in November 1914. It covered Congressional Union activities. As in Britain, the American suffragists often faced jail time when arrested for disturbing the peace or unlawful assembly. The colors of the Congressional Union became a common sight around the nation's capital in signs and banners. In January 1915, the proposed Constitutional amendment finally made it to the House floor, where it was debated for six hours before failing in the resulting vote. In the election year of 1916, Paul merged the Congressional Union with the Woman's Party to form the National Women's Party (NWP).

The National Women's Party

Though NWP members were largely white, middle-class women, they had a strong will and willingness to face threats, arrest, and imprisonment. In January 1917, Paul organized picketing (a line of people holding banners or signs in front of a business or organization they are protesting the policies of) of the White House for the suffragist cause. Twelve women, who became known as the Silent Sentinels, held banners demanding the right to vote. It was the first known organized effort to picket the White House. By that time the United States was on the verge of entering World War I (1914–18), which had been raging since 1914 in Europe. Wilson finally declared war on Germany in April 1917. Paul argued that the United States could not morally fight for democracy abroad while denying half of its citizens the right to vote. The picketing at the White House continued for eighteen months. The women activists braved harsh winter conditions. The NWP protesters became a major topic of discussion in the city.

Many people accused Paul and other suffragists of treason (disloyalty) for protesting during a time of war. Police became more aggressive in confronting the suffragists. In June, they began arresting the suffragists on charges of obstructing traffic. Burns and almost thirty others were the first arrested. Almost half of them were sentenced to sixty days at the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia. Like other prisons at the time, the workhouse had dismal living conditions. The cells were dark, small, and unsanitary. Mealworms infested the food served to the inmates and guards regularly harassed and mistreated the inmates. These women were also beaten and endured forced feedings. Picketing continued despite the arrests. In August, a scuffle broke out, and for three days picketers were beaten and dragged about by angry crowds. Police did nothing, but stood by and watched.

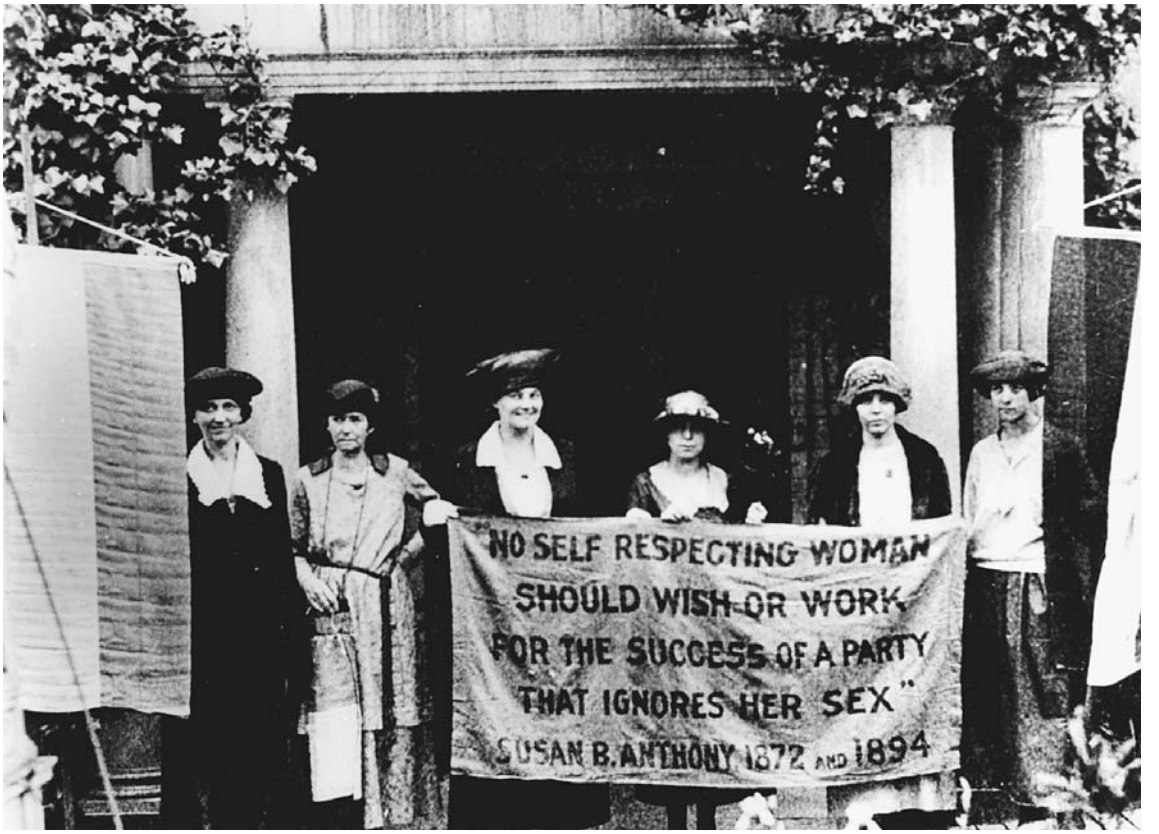
By September 1917, Congress established committees in both houses to consider women's suffrage. Nonetheless, the protests continued, and Paul was arrested in October. She was sentenced to seven months in the Occoquan. Soon after arriving at the workhouse, Paul began a hunger strike to demand better conditions for what she termed political prisoners held there. In response, authorities moved her to the psychiatric ward and force-fed her by shoving tubes into her nose and down her throat.

Suffrage achieved

By later in November the suffragists were released from the workhouse. Finally, President Wilson relented under the constant pressure of Paul and her organization. In January 1918, Wilson announced his support for the suffrage Constitutional amendment. The picketing ceased. However, when the U.S. Senate failed to pass the bill so it could go to the states for ratification, Paul resumed the pickets. When forty-eight picketers were arrested, a public outcry led to their immediate release.

Success came the following year, when both houses passed the Constitutional amendment and it went to the states for ratification. Ratification came in 1920 when Paul was just thirty-five years old. The new Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution now guaranteed voting rights for women in the United States.

Following the success in achieving suffrage, Paul gave up her leadership position in the NWP. However, she remained a major influence as chair of the international relations committee and served on the executive committee. Paul returned to school once again and earned multiple law degrees, first from Washington College of Law in 1922. She followed that with a doctorate in law from American University in 1928.



Alice Paul, second from left, and officers of the National Women's Party (NWP) in front of NWP headquarters in Washington, D.C., June 1920. AP IMAGES.

Equal rights

Paul's next goal was to pass another Constitutional amendment guaranteeing equal rights to men and women. Paul wrote the first draft for the amendment, called the Equal Rights Amendment, or ERA. It was first introduced into Congress in 1923.

The idea of equal rights for men and women was controversial among feminist leaders at the time. Whereas Paul wanted equal rights with no special favors, other feminists were fighting for special protections for women, such as in the workplace through special labor laws. But Paul stood firm for equal rights, not special accommodations. She also resisted linking her ERA campaign with the abortion rights efforts for fear of losing key support from the public.

A worldwide campaign

When the ERA failed to pass Congress, Paul turned to a worldwide effort. Through the 1920s and 1930s, she lobbied, or petitioned, through the League of Nations, an international organization created in 1919 to resolve disputes among nations and improve global welfare. Paul became active in various organizations. She served on the executive committee of Equal Rights International, an organization that sought an international equal rights treaty among nations. She also became chairperson of the Women's Research Foundation from 1927 until 1937. In 1938, Paul founded the World Party for Equal Rights for Women, otherwise known as World Women's Party. It was located in Geneva, Switzerland, at the headquarters of the League of Nations. Through this organization, she promoted increased political power of women worldwide.

Paul returned to the United States in 1941. She was elected chairman of the NWP once again where she continued promoting women's rights and the ERA. As she had earlier with the suffrage amendment, Paul began a long-standing effort to get the ERA passed. However, little progress could be seen for years.

With the outbreak of World War II (1939–45), women were needed in factories to replace the men who had gone into military service. Existing protective labor laws were suspended and an interest in equal rights between men and women increased. Both Democrats and Republicans in Congress supported the Equal Rights Amendment and it was debated in Congress. However, it still did not pass. Other successes did come for Paul, as well as many other influential activists, following World War II. She was able to get gender equality included in the preamble (the introduction to a formal document) to the new United Nations (UN) charter. Created in 1946, the United Nations replaced the League of Nations as the key international organization to resolve problems around the world.

Following World War II, Paul saw the proposed ERA languish. Women achieved a major victory, however, when sex discrimination and equal rights in employment were added to the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act. Passage of the act was largely driven by racial discrimination during the years leading up to its passage.

The ERA was repeatedly introduced in Congress, but to no avail. In 1972, it finally passed both houses of Congress and was sent to the states for ratification. The bill proceeded through the ratification process with intense lobbying by feminists in each state. In 1974, Paul suffered a stroke that left her disabled. Thirty-five states ratified the ERA by 1977.

Equal Rights Amendment

Feminist Alice Paul was the driving force behind a prolonged effort that lasted through much of the twentieth century to establish a guarantee of equal rights for everyone under the law, regardless of gender. She pursued this goal through a proposed Constitutional amendment known as the Equal Rights Amendment, or ERA. After 1923, the proposed amendment was introduced into Congress each year for almost a half century until it finally passed Congress in 1972. Every year until then it was blocked in congressional committees. Among opponents of the ERA were labor unions whose members feared competition for their jobs from women, conservatives who feared the ERA would bring a basic change to gender relations and traditional families in America, and even some feminists who favored special protections for women rather than full legal equality for men and women.

The 1972 version sent by Congress to the states for ratification was very brief, consisting of only three short sections. The main section, Section 1, stated, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged [reduced] by the United States or by any State on account of sex." According to the U.S. Constitution, the legislatures of three-fourths of the fifty states in the United States must vote approval for a proposed amendment to become legally ratified and part of the Constitution. Congress gave the states seven years to ratify the ERA. By the deadline in March 1979, thirty-five states had ratified the amendment, just three short of the necessary number. A controversial extension of three years to 1982 failed to bring in further state approvals.

Supporters of the ERA began reintroducing the proposed amendment in Congress every year again starting in 1982. However, overall support in Congress had slipped by then even though public polls consistently indicated the majority of the public favored adoption of the ERA. Nonetheless, politicians believed the ERA was no longer needed since court interpretation of many laws and constitutional provisions had greatly expanded the rights of women through the late twentieth century. In addition, many new job opportunities had opened for women in fields usually dominated by men including upper management positions in businesses.

Though the U.S. Constitution was never revised with the ERA, twenty states added ERA amendments to their state constitutions since 1879. These prohibited sex discrimination by those state governments.

With only three more states needed to become a Constitutional amendment, Paul died of heart failure on July 9, 1977, in Moorestown. Although she died believing passage of the amendment was close at hand, the ERA was actually defeated (see box).

The legacy of Paul's tireless efforts to erase gender prejudice and gain equal rights for women lived on. For example, in 2004 HBO Films broadcast a movie about Paul and other suffragists titled *Iron Jawed Angels.* In 2005, Swarthmore College named a newly built dormitory on campus in honor of Paul.

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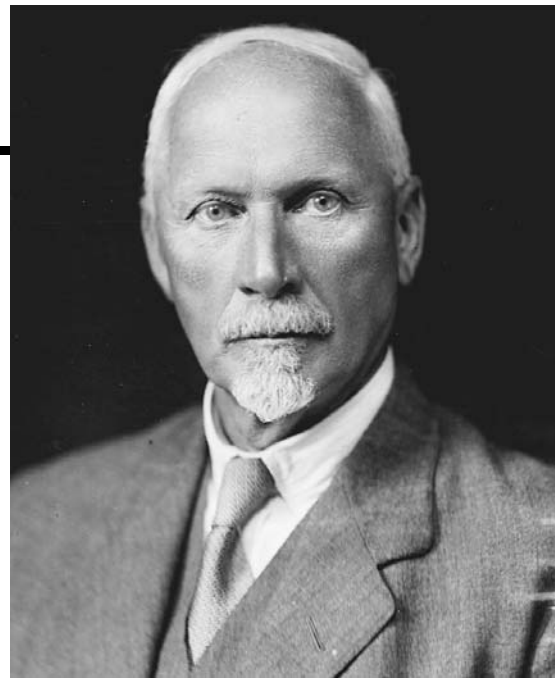
Jan Smuts

BORN: May 24, 1870 • Riebeek West, Cape Colony, South Africa

DIED: September 11, 1950 • Pretoria, South Africa

South African political leader, humanitarian



Jan Smuts. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/ CORBIS.

"We forget that the human spirit, the spirit of goodness and truth in the world, is still only an infant crying in the night, and that the struggle with darkness is as yet mostly an unequal struggle."

Jan Christian Smuts was one of the most influential statesmen of the twentieth century in addition to an innovative and successful military leader for Britain. While serving as prime minister of South Africa from 1919 to 1924 and from 1939 to 1948, Smuts sought to maintain South Africa's membership in the British Commonwealth (association made up of the United Kingdom, its dependencies, and many former British colonies) while maintaining as much political independence as possible. He was the only person to be part of the development of both the League of Nations in 1919 and the United Nations in 1946. Both were international organizations established to resolve conflicts between nations driven by such factors as ethnic and religious prejudice (a negative attitude towards others based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience) and nationalism (the belief that a particular nation and its culture, people, and values are superior to those

of other nations). Smuts also led the way to lessening colonial rule in the world that was largely based on racial prejudice. He opposed apartheid (governmental policy of racial separation and discrimination) that nonetheless became a cornerstone of South African society through most of the second half of the twentieth century. Apartheid was the hallmark of racism in the world during that time.

An Afrikaner and Boer

Smuts was born in May 1870 on a family farm near Malmesbury in British-controlled Cape Colony in South Africa. He was one of six children. His father, Jacobus Abraham Smuts, was involved in politics and served as a representative for Malmesbury in the Cape House of Assembly. Though British citizens, his family was of Dutch descent and worshipped the strict teachings of the Dutch Reform Church. His Dutch ancestors arrived in South Africa in 1692. Therefore, Smuts was born an Afrikaner and a Boer. Afrikaners are a distinct ethnic group in South Africa composed primarily of descendents of Dutch colonists who began arriving in southern Africa in 1652 as part of the Dutch East Indian Company. Afrikaners also included French Huguenots escaping religious persecution in France in the 1680s and other peoples from around Europe. Forming a common society, they began calling themselves Afrikaners in 1707 and spoke the Afrikaans language.

By the 1830s, Britain had gained control of the South African Dutch colonies. Many Afrikaners moved further into remote areas to establish new settlements outside the existing reach of British authority. They began calling themselves Boers to distinguish themselves from Afrikaners, who moved elsewhere or stayed put under British rule. The Boers were pastoralists (people who raise and herd livestock) and maintained racial prejudice against the black Africans they came in contact with. They created the independent states of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In the meantime, British rule spread, ultimately reaching the Boer states and leading to a series of Boer Wars (1880–81; 1899–1902).

A gifted student

In 1876, when Smuts was six years old, his father moved the family to a large farm called Bovenplaats near Riebeek West. Growing up on the farm, Smuts acquired a strong appreciation for nature and excelled at horseback riding and hunting. He did not begin a formal education until he was twelve years of age, in 1882. Smuts's mother, in the meantime, taught him English. His family sent Smuts to a local boarding school in

Riebeek West. His intellectual abilities quickly became evident as he caught up with kids of his own age—even after his late start—and graduated with them.

Smuts entered Victoria College in Stellenbosch in 1886 at the age of sixteen. As a young man, Smuts always had a studious and serious outlook. He socialized very little, and many considered him to be shy. At Victoria College, he received a well-rounded education in the sciences and arts, including the classics of literature. In 1891, he graduated with honors, earning degrees in both literature and science.

Upon graduation, Smuts received a scholarship to study at Christ's College at Cambridge in Britain. He studied a diverse range of subjects including science, philosophy, and poetry, but with a focus primarily on law. Smuts graduated in 1894, again with high marks. Though offered a fellowship to further study law, Smuts decided it was time to return home to South Africa.

A break with the British

Smuts opened a law practice in Cape Town, but his serious, aloof manner did not help attract clients. Seeing little financial success in law, Smuts became increasingly interested in politics and journalism. He wrote articles for the *Cape Times* newspaper and promoted a more united South Africa while maintaining a strong cooperative relationship between Britain and the Boers. He joined the Afrikaner Bond, a political party that promoted the interests of Afrikaners. Through his growing connections, Smuts was appointed legal advisor for Cape Colony's colonial prime minister, Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902).

However, Smuts became very upset with British rule after Rhodes unexpectedly directed a raid, known as the Jamison Raid, against Afrikaners in the Transvaal with the intent of sparking a war between Afrikaners and British forces. Disenchanted, Smuts resigned and moved to Johannesburg in August 1896 to start a new life practicing law again. In late 1897, he married Isie Krige, whom he had met years earlier at Victoria College. They eventually had four daughters and two sons. In 1898, they moved to Pretoria, the capital of the South Africa, after not finding Johannesburg to their liking.

The second Boer War

In Pretoria, Smuts renewed his involvement in politics. Smuts was now a strong opponent to the British rule of South Africa and supported Afrikaner

nationalism. Smuts threw his support behind Transvaal president Paul Kruger (1825–1904). Quickly impressed with the twenty-eight-year-old Smuts, Kruger appointed him state attorney for Transvaal in 1898. During this time, the Afrikaners became increasingly hostile to growing British influence, and the second Boer War finally broke out.

In October 1899, the two largely independent Boer republics declared war against Great Britain. During the early period of the war, Smuts was assistant to Kruger in communications with various diplomats and generals, including General Louis Botha (1862–1919). However, as Britain began to gain the upper hand militarily, Smuts took an active military command. He reorganized the Afrikaner army into guerrilla units. Smuts then pioneered the strategies of guerilla warfare, such as hit-and-run attacks and harassing the vastly larger British army. As a commando leader, Smuts fought many successful battles, but was unable to win the war. Through a negotiated ceasefire with Britain, the Boers lost their independence in May 1903. Around 27,000 Boer civilians, including children, were killed. The Boers had lost about 15 percent of their population.

Seeking independence from British rule

Following the war, Smuts returned to his Pretoria law practice. Returning also to politics, Smuts helped organize a new political party called Het Volk, meaning People's Party, in 1905. The party's goal was to promote Afrikaner causes while accepting British rule. Botha was elected the party leader and Smuts was Botha's deputy. For fifteen years—from 1904 to 1919—Botha and Smuts were a dominant presence in South African life. Renewed movement toward independence from British rule led Botha and Smuts to travel to London to negotiate for increased independence for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Smuts and Botha were able to gain British acceptance for the South African territories to regain greater independence and become self-governing dominions (self-governing nations that are members of a trade alliance or commonwealth).

Through 1906, Smuts worked on a new constitution for the Transvaal. By December, public elections were held to establish the new Transvaal parliament. Smuts was among those elected, representing a region near Pretoria. His People's Party won most of the seats in a landslide victory. With Botha leading the new government, Smuts was appointed to two cabinet posts—Colonial Secretary and Education Secretary. During this period, Smuts implemented policies restricting the rights of the many Asian workers in the region. Young lawyer **Mahatma Gandhi** (1869–1948; see

entry) fought against the South African prejudice. The Transvaal economy boomed under the People's Party leadership and Smuts's popularity increased.

With the success of Transvaal under independence, the movement to unify South Africa grew again. Smuts was a leading proponent for unification. He proposed a plan with English as the official language, the capital in Pretoria, and actual voting rights for all adults, including women and black Africans. In October 1908, Smuts called a constitutional convention to begin constructing yet another new government. However, opposition to many of Smuts's proposals by others also favoring unification forced him to compromise on voting rights and other parts of his plan. Finally, a delegate convention agreed on a constitution. It was ratified (formally approved) by the four South African colonies. Botha and Smuts took the new constitution to London for the British government's acceptance. It was accepted by Parliament and signed into law by the king of England in December 1909. In 1910, the Union of South Africa officially came into existence. Afrikaners of the various provinces united to form the South African Party.

Botha, who now became prime minister, appointed Smuts to three important cabinet positions—interior, mines, and defense. Soon, political discontent surfaced as many protested the power of Smuts. This led him to resign from his positions with defense and mines, but he added the treasury cabinet position to his remaining interior position. Labor unrest also rose in South Africa, first with striking miners and then a railway strike that turned into a general labor strike. Many protested Smuts's successful but forceful reaction to both. A split in the party followed the events.

Promoting a League of Nations

World War I (1914–18) broke out in October 1914. Though the South African parliament voted to ally (side) with Britain, many Boers opposed joining Britain and rebelled. Smuts had to put down the internal rebellion before engaging German forces in southern Africa. Smuts formed the South African Defense Force and defeated German forces in German South West Africa. Following success there, Smuts was promoted to British lieutenant general in 1916 and sent with his forces to German East Africa. There he enjoyed further success. Given his growing reputation, Smuts was invited to join the British war cabinet in early 1917 in London. For the remainder of the war, he took part in developing all war strategies, including creation of the Royal Air Force.

Both Smuts and Botha participated in the Paris Peace Conference that lasted from January 1919 to January 1920. The purpose of the conference was to negotiate terms of surrender for the defeated German forces from WWI. Smuts favored lenient treatment of Germany. He also proposed creation of a strong international organization to maintain peace in the world, a group that would be called the League of Nations. While in London during the war, Smuts had written a pamphlet, published in December 1918 and introducing the name and concept he believed was needed to combat prejudices related to rising nationalism and ethnic conflicts in the world. Despite his efforts, the resulting Treaty of Versailles dictated harsh terms for Germany (Germany had to accept full responsibility for causing the war and make reparations to certain Allied countries) and a much weaker League of Nations than he proposed. Smuts guided the implementation of the resulting weaker League nonetheless.

Prime minister

Soon after returning to South Africa, Botha died in August 1919. Smuts replaced Botha as South Africa's prime minister. He served for five years. Smuts emphasized both cooperation with the British and exercising as much independence as possible for South Africa as a dominion. During this time, he influenced the British government to grant dominion status to its colonies around the world and change the name from British Empire to British Commonwealth. Redefining the relationship between Britain and its colonies actually preserved the British rule that brought much criticism from Afrikaner nationalists who wanted total independence. Smuts, unlike many Afrikaners, wanted South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth. Smuts also opposed strict racial segregation promoted by the majority of Afrikaners. In 1924, he suffered a defeat to a coalition (an alliance) of the National Party and labor.

Smuts was somewhat cold in public, but warm and personal in private. He had a very sophisticated mind and could not tolerate mediocrity, or weakness. Therefore, his popularity was always limited and he was often mistrusted by his supporters due to his impatience with people.

While out of political office, Smuts remained leader of the South African Party. He also returned to his academic interests. In 1926, he published the book *Holism and Evolution,* considered a major science breakthrough. In the book, Smuts developed the concept that all things in nature are interconnected; this is called a holistic theory. This same idea

South African prime minister Jan Smuts, seated, signs the United Nations Charter in San Francisco, California, June 26, 1945. NAT FARBMAN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

he had applied to politics in seeking the creation of the Union of South Africa, the League of Nations, and the British Commonwealth of Nations. Smuts also collected plants on botanical expeditions throughout southern Africa in the 1920s and 1930s. As leader of the opposition party, Smuts helped block efforts of the National Party leaders in power to take rights away from black Africans, including the right to vote. He wrote and proposed laws to protect the civil rights of all South Africans including blacks. He also campaigned to strengthen the League of Nations.

Creating the United Nations

Smuts reentered public office in 1933 when prime minister Barry Hertzog (1866–1942) appointed him as deputy prime minister to form a coalition against more extreme South African nationalists. They formed a new party called the United Party. World War II started in September 1939 when Germany invaded Poland. Hertzog sought neutrality (not favoring either side in a war) toward Germany, and Smuts proposed an

alliance with Britain as in World War I. Hertzog's position proved highly unpopular and he resigned from office, a move which made Smuts prime minister of South Africa once again. Smuts then declared war on Germany. Having formed close relations with British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) during World War I, Smuts—now in his seventies—was once again invited to be a member of the British war cabinet in London. In May 1941, Smuts was named Field Marshal of the British Army and was responsible to prevent Germany and its ally Italy from conquering North Africa. Plans were even made that in the event Churchill should die during the war, Smuts would become prime minister of Britain.

Upon the defeat of Germany in May 1945, Smuts traveled to San Francisco in the United States to help draft the charter of the United Nations. Again, Smuts promoted a strong international body to preserve peace and this time the idea was adopted. Smuts signed the Paris Peace Treaty, becoming the only statesman signing the treaties ending both World War I and World War II.

Popularity falls

Following the war, Smuts returned to South Africa as prime minister. However, his close relationship to Churchill and the British government decreased his popularity among the growing number of South African nationalists who wished to keep their distance from the British government. In addition, his support of the Fagan Commission (see box) that advocated an end to all racial segregation in South Africa also decreased his popularity. Smuts is thought to be the first person to use the term apartheid when he delivered a speech much earlier in 1917. He wanted a nation free of racial prejudice and discrimination. Smuts opposed the segregationist policies promoted by the National Party led by Daniel Malan (1874–1959). In the May 1948 national elections, Malan narrowly defeated Smuts, ending Smuts's public career. This election led to forty years of severe racial segregation, known throughout the world as simply apartheid.

Smuts retired to his farm near Pretoria. In 1948, he was elected chancellor of Cambridge University. He was the first person living outside Britain to be elected to that position. Smuts suffered a heart attack in May 1950 and died several months later in September at the age of eighty. In 1960, South Africa achieved complete independence from Britain. In 2004, Smuts was named one of the top ten South Africans by voters in the country.

Fagan Commission

South African prime minister Jan Smuts was opposed to policies proposed by the rival National Party calling for strict racial segregation in the nation. The issue of race relations was becoming more of a divisive issue following the end of World War II in 1945. Black Africans were moving to the cities in large numbers in search of jobs in newly developing industries. In an effort to resolve the issue, the South African government established the Fagan Commission in 1946 to recommend what should be done about race relations. Many segregationists supported rules that restricted entry of blacks into cities and forced them to live in distant rural areas. The Fagan Commission recommended loosening the restrictions on black movement into urban areas. This would help establish a reliable workforce of laborers for the growing businesses. Smuts, whose popularity was at a low at the time, fully endorsed the commission's findings.

In reaction, the National Party established its own commission, known as the Sauer Commission. This second commission came to an opposite conclusion. It reported that white workers and businessmen feared that black Africans would take away job opportunities by working for lower wages. The commission recommended stricter segregation policies that would reach all aspects of South African society. Blacks would be allowed to enter a whites-only area to work only when issued a permit. The Sauer Commission report set the direction for apartheid that the National Party installed when it defeated Smuts in the 1948 national elections. Apartheid would dominate race relations in South Africa for the next forty years.

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Gloria Steinem

BORN: March 25, 1934 • Toledo, Ohio

American social activist, writer

Gloria Steinem. AP IMAGES.

"We are talking about a society in which there will be no roles other than those chosen or those earned, we are really talking about humanism."

Gloria Steinem is a political activist who became an effective national spokesperson for the women's rights movement in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, a movement frequently referred to as the second wave of feminism. Steinem founded several organizations to promote the cause of women's rights and established the first national women's magazine actually run by women. She had a special ability to present feminist issues to a wide audience.

An unsettled childhood

Gloria Marie Steinem was born in March 1934 in Toledo, Ohio, at the height of the Great Depression (1929–41), a period of economic downturn in the world that led to high unemployment and much hunger. Her father Jewish American father, Leo Steinem, was a traveling antiques dealer. Her mother, Ruth, was a newspaperwoman. Through much of

the year, the Steinems traveled around the United States in their dome-roofed house trailer, buying and selling antiques. They spent summers at their small resort in Clear Lake, Michigan. Gloria spent her first ten years living this nomadic (traveling) lifestyle. Her mother tutored her while on the road.

As an adult, Steinem was proud of her family's political activism. Her paternal (on her father's side) grandmother, Pauline Steinem, had gained notoriety as president of the Ohio Women's Suffrage Association from 1908 to 1911, and was a representative to the 1908 International Council of Women. However, Steinem did not have much exposure to this aspect of the family in her early life.

In the mid-1940s, Gloria's parents divorced. Leo left for California to find work and Gloria went with her ailing mother, who was suffering from severe mental depression, back to Toledo. In her early teens, Gloria cared for her mother while helping to support the family. For the first time in her life, she began attending school on a regular basis. By the time Gloria was fifteen and a senior in high school, her mother had become incapacitated (unable to care for herself) by depression. Her father agreed to care for her mother for a while so Gloria moved to Washington, D.C., to live with a sister who was ten years older while she finished school.

Beginnings of social activism

Upon graduation from high school, Steinem received a scholarship to attend Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. Smith is the largest women's college in the United States. She entered college in 1952, majoring in governmental studies. Steinem was also attracted to political activism. She worked for Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson's (1900–1965) presidential campaign in 1952. Steinem graduated with honors from Smith in 1956 as magna cum laude (with high honors). She was also elected to the Phi Beta Kappa honor society.

Steinem had become engaged to marry during her senior year at Smith, but broke off the engagement when an opportunity to study political science in India came along. Steinem continued her studies in India for the next two years. There she adopted Indian dress and customs and became interested in India's political issues. Steinem joined nonviolent protests against governmental policies that were strongly prejudiced against certain elements or castes (strict social classes) of Indian society. She also witnessed caste riots in southern India while visiting there. As a result of her experiences, Steinem developed a deep sympathy for the powerless

populations in the world. Steinem was a freelance (self-employed) writer for Indian newspapers and joined a group known as the Radical Humanists. The Indian experience vastly broadened Steinem's horizons by showing her the extent of human suffering in parts of the world.

Upon her return to the United States in 1958, Steinem looked for work as a journalist. However, she found that gender prejudice was well established in the profession. Editors seemed to want only male journalists. Finally, in 1960, Steinem was hired as assistant editor for the political satire magazine *Help!* in New York City. Steinem also began writing freelance articles for various popular publications, including *Esquire, New York Times, and Show.* Steinem kept her professional life separate from her personal interests. Her articles were about fashion, celebrities, and vacation destinations rather than advocating for social justice.

In the national spotlight

Steinem burst onto the national scene in 1963 when she wrote an investigative article for *Show* magazine about the opening of the New York City Playboy Club. She wrote about the working conditions of women who worked for the Playboy Club as waitresses wearing skimpy outfits. To gather her information, Steinem applied and was hired as a Playboy waitress. She worked for three weeks. Her article "I Was a Playboy Bunny" attracted national attention for its portrayal of the gender prejudice—including low wages and discrimination—faced by the women working in the clubs. The article was made into a television movie in 1985 called *A Bunny's Tale.*

Steinem was now a celebrity and could work full time as a freelance writer. She now received more substantial writing assignments. Throughout the 1960s she published a number of pieces on well-known political figures. She also did some script writing for the popular television show *That Was the Week That Was* in 1964 and 1965. Among the interviews she wrote was one with Playboy founder Hugh Heffner (1926–). In the interview, Steinem debated with Heffner about women's rights and other social issues.

Journalist becomes activist

Throughout the 1960s, Steinem became increasingly committed to political causes including women's rights, racial justice, and world peace. She supported the Civil Rights Movement, antiwar protests against the unpopular Vietnam War (1957–75), and **Cesar Chavez's** (1927–1993; see entry)

Second Wave Feminism

Gloria Steinem became recognized as a leading spokesperson for a revitalized feminist movement in the United States often referred to as the second wave of feminism. The second wave grew in the early 1960s and lasted through the 1980s. Whereas the first wave of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century focused on absolute legal rights such as the right to vote called suffrage, the second wave was concerned with the injustices and inequalities built into society that affected day-to-day life. These included limited job opportunities, political powerlessness, sexual exploitation, and restricted reproductive rights. Women learned how the effects of social mores (well-established customs) reached into every aspect of their personal lives. This awareness of gender prejudice burst into the broader public realm in 1963. The presidential Commission on the Status of Women chaired by former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) issued a report emphasizing that gender prejudice reached into every aspect of American life. That same year, author Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique,* a bestseller on gender prejudice in America.

From that beginning of awareness came the following successes in reducing gender prejudice in America. In 1964, the landmark Civil Rights Act was signed into law, making gender discrimination in employment illegal. In 1972, Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments, which greatly expanded educational opportunities for young women. That same year, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was sent to the states for ratification (approval and passage). In 1966, the National Organization of Women (NOW) was created to promote women's issues. In 1973, the landmark *Roe v. Wade* U.S. Supreme Court decision legalized abortion. In addition, many prestigious universities that had been male-only, such as the Ivy League schools of Harvard and Yale, became coeducational in the 1960s and 1970s. A major disappointment was handed to feminists in 1982 when state ratification of the ERA fell three states short of the thirty-eight states needed. Steinem's *Ms.* magazine chronicled these issues for the second wave. The second wave feminists tried to establish a common feminist identity to achieve political solidarity. Their efforts fell short, and the third wave of feminism began in the 1990s, composed of women of color who felt passed by during the second wave.

United Farm Workers labor union of Latino fieldworkers. As her fame intensified, the media treated Steinem as the outspoken leader of the Women's Liberation Movement. Feminism was reborn in the early 1960s (see box). In her growing public role, she was attracting other public figures to the movement. Steinem also worked on behalf of various political candidates, including the presidential campaign of U.S. senator Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968), which was cut short by his assassination in June 1968.

In 1968, Steinem and Clay Felker (1928–) founded *New York* magazine. She provided a monthly political column for the magazine called *The City Politic* while serving as contributing editor. It was also

at this time she attended a meeting of a radical feminist group known as the Redstockings. Though there on a writing assignment, Steinem became even more taken by the gender prejudice issues they discussed. She was deeply moved by their personal stories. Increasingly Steinem was not only writing about women's issues but accepting speaking engagements on the topic as well. She was becoming an active member of the movement rather than a journalistic observer.

Ms. magazine

In July 1971, Steinem helped found the National Women's Political Caucus with other activists Betty Friedan (1921–2006), **Bella Abzug** (1920–1998; see entry), and Shirley Chisolm (1924–2005). The Caucus encouraged women's active participation in the upcoming 1972 presidential election campaign. Also through the Caucus, Steinem found investors to help launch a new magazine that would be dedicated to covering contemporary social issues from the feminist perspective. Steinem had come to realize that only a magazine controlled by women could openly address women's issues.

By late 1971, Steinem had produced the first issue of *Ms.* magazine. That thirty-page issue appeared in the December 1971 edition of *New York* magazine. All three hundred thousand copies were sold in just eight days. *Ms.* magazine was the first national women's magazine run by women. Within five years, it had a circulation of five hundred thousand. As its editor, Steinem's reputation as the national feminist leader was firmly set. Through *Ms.,* she became an influential spokesperson for women's rights issues, including unequal pay and sexual exploitation. However, now she was not just a writer but had the demanding responsibilities of an editor, too.

Involved in national politics

In 1972, Steinem attended the Democratic Party National Convention held in Miami, Florida. She fought to add an abortion rights segment to the party platform (a declaration of guiding principles). Steinem also called public attention to the under-representation of women and racial minorities among the convention delegates. Following the convention, Steinem covered Democratic candidate U.S. senator George McGovern's (1922–) campaign as a journalist.

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s, Steinem continued applying her organizational skills to the women's movement. In 1974, she

Gloria Steinem (center) was among 5,000 participants in a late-1970s march against pornography. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

founded the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the only national organization for women who are labor union members. Its goal was to improve the working conditions of women. Through 1975, Steinem helped plan the women's agenda for the next Democratic Party National Convention in 1976. In doing so, she relentlessly lobbied, or petitioned, liberal politicians on behalf of women's rights. The Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81) won the election.

In 1977, Steinem was a participant at the National Conference of Women held in Houston, Texas. It was the first conference of its kind. The conference's goal was to draw the nation's attention to women's issues. It also served to draw attention to the feminist leadership including Steinem.

Life changes

Well into the 1980s, Steinem continued writing for *Ms.* magazine and speaking out on women's rights. Her life took a major turn when she was

diagnosed with breast cancer in 1986. The following year, *Ms.* magazine was sold to new owners, who showed far less dedication to its publication. The magazine faded out of production over the next few years until reviving in 1991 when Steinem, who recovered her health, returned as consulting editor. The magazine actually went ad-free in 1989, when it was bought from Australian publisher Fairfax by American Feminists. Liberty Media bought the magazine (and Steinem returned to help run it) from American Fems in 1998 and maintained the ad-free policy. But she was not responsible for implementing it. She had long been critical of the gender prejudice and other prejudices expressed by advertising in general. In 2001, Steinem recruited various women as investors known as the Feminist Majority Foundation to purchase the magazine. Steinem remained on the advisory board into the twenty-first century.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Steinem published several books. In 1983, she published a collection of essays in *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions,* in which she recounted twenty years of her earlier experiences and described the lives of other influential women. In 1992, she published *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* that was a self-help book to inspire others. She explained how low self-esteem can influence every aspect of a woman's life. Two years later, she published *Moving Beyond Words* in which she shared her views on various social topics.

Numerous awards were bestowed upon Steinem. Notably, in 1993 Steinem was elected into the National Women's Hall of Fame in New York. In 1998, she was inducted into the American Society of Magazine Editors Hall of Fame along with Hugh Hefner of *Playboy* magazine. During the 1990s Steinem encountered more health problems. In 1994, she contracted trigeminal neuralgia, a disorder that causes very sharp facial pain.

Much to the surprise of all her friends, sixty-six-year-old Steinem married South African David Bale (1941–2003), father of actor Christian Bale (1974–), on September 3, 2000. The wedding was at the Oklahoma home of fellow feminist and Cherokee Indian tribal leader **Wilma Mankiller** (1945–; see entry). Tragically, Bale died only three years later on December 30, 2003, of brain lymphoma (cancer). He was sixty-two years old.

Overcoming personal hardships, Steinem's activism continued into the early twenty-first century. She sought to erase class, race, and sexual prejudice among women and bring several generations of feminists

together in a common cause. In 2005, she appeared in the documentary film *I Had an Abortion.* In it, she described an abortion she had years earlier in London while on her way to study in India. She also had become a member of another political party, the Democratic Socialists of America. Steinem also served on the advisory board of Women's Voices, Women Vote, an organization that seeks to increase the participation of unmarried women in the political process.

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Mother Teresa

BORN: August 26, 1910 • Skopje, Republic of Macedonia

DIED: September 5, 1997 • Calcutta, India

Macedonia-born Roman Catholic nun

Mother Teresa. AP IMAGES.

"We think sometimes that poverty is only being hungry, naked, and homeless. The poverty of being unwanted, unloved, and uncared for is the greatest poverty."

Mother Teresa won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997 and accepted it on behalf of the "unwanted, unloved, and uncared for." In 1950, she founded an order of nuns called the Missionaries of Charity in Calcutta, India. She served as its director for nearly fifty years. Teresa founded five additional branches of the Missionaries of Charity that included the Missionary Brothers of Charity, the Contemplative Brothers, the Mission of Charity Fathers, the International Association of Co-Workers, and the Contemplative Sisters. Her order's work for the poor expanded across the globe and could be found in more than one hundred countries in the early twenty-first century.

Born in the Republic of Macedonia, Mother Teresa adopted Calcutta as her home and became an Indian citizen. Her personal mission was to provide for the physical and spiritual needs of the poorest of the poor while living among them. Her efforts earned her the name Saint of

the Gutters. Although she was Roman Catholic, Teresa showed no discrimination (treating some people differently than others or favoring one social group over another based on prejudices) as she worked with Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, and those having no religious beliefs. Much of her early work focused on giving comfort to the dying, but she soon added orphanages, soup kitchens, and medical clinics as others joined her order. At the time of her death, the Missionaries of Charity included more than three thousand members.

From Macedonia to Calcutta

Mother Teresa began life as Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu. She was born on August 26, 1910, to devout Roman Catholic parents in Skopje, Macedonia. Agnes was the youngest of three children and was called Gonxha, or flower bud, by her elder sister Aga and brother Lazar. Religion played an important part in the family's life. Agnes was christened into the church on August 27, a date which later would be confused with her actual birth date. As she grew up, Agnes and her sister took part in many church activities including the choir, religious services, and missionary presentations. Agnes had a passion for music and poetry and had a real gift for communication as well. She threw herself wholeheartedly into every activity she undertook and became a central figure in organizing activities with her parish.

Agnes's parents, Nikola and Dranafile (Drana) Bojaxhiu, were both Albanian (see box) but had been drawn to Skopje because it was a commercial (trade) center. They were prominent (active and important) members in the community and took a keen interest in their children's education. The family home was a happy place. It was always open to anyone who needed help, especially the poor. Nikola was a successful businessman who spoke five languages and sat on the town council. Agnes was only eight years old when her father died suddenly. Drana was left without financial security and took work as a seamstress to support her family. Despite their circumstances, the family home continued to be a gathering place for those even poorer than themselves. Drana repeatedly instructed her children to "be only all for God."

Agnes received her early education at a convent-run primary school. However, after her father's death, she attended a state secondary school in neighboring Croatia, which was also largely Roman Catholic. It was there that Agnes first learned about the work of Catholic missionaries in India and was inspired to the mission field herself. The Bojaxhiu family had

Novitiate

When a woman enters a convent she faces a trial period that lasts a number of years. It is a time spent in prayer and meditation in order to determine if she is prepared to voluntarily leave mainstream society. At the end of the novitiate, she takes her final vows. Convents typically have walls separating the nuns from the outside world. They are usually restricted from leaving their cloister, or religious residence, unless engaged in limited activities such as teaching. There are parlors within the convent to allow nuns to have outside visitors, but those visitors are not allowed to associate freely within the convent itself. A nun who is elected to head her convent is usually referred to as the Mother Superior.

In the Roman Catholic Church, there is a distinction between nuns and religious sisters. They are distinguished by the type of vows they take and the focus of their work. The religious community of a nun is referred to as a religious order and the religious community of a sister is called a congregation. However, both sisters and nuns are addressed as Sister. Women who belong to orders like the Sisters of Charity are religious sisters, not nuns, and they live among the people they serve. Mother Teresa developed a program called Come and See that allowed young women to come and try out their suitability for the Missionaries of Charity.

participated in the annual pilgrimage (spiritual journey) to the chapel of the Madonna of Letnice on the slopes of Skopje's Black Mountain for many years. Groups of the faithful would make their way up the hillside in what became the highlight of the church year. Because of Agnes's delicate health as a child the family would go in a horse-drawn carriage and visit the shrine when it was less crowded. When she was twelve years old, Agnes spent time once again praying in the chapel on the annual pilgrimage. She informed her mother that she felt herself called to a religious life. She intended to be a missionary and to give the life of Christ to the people.

The pursuit of her dream began with an application to join the Sisters of Loreto, the Irish branch of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Agnes chose this community of nuns because she had heard of their work among the poor in Calcutta, India. In 1928, she joined the pilgrimage to Letnice for the last time and left her family behind to join the Loreto Order in Rathfarnham, Ireland (near Dublin). She would never see her mother again.

Agnes had inherited her father's gift for languages and quickly learned English, the language in which her spiritual studies were conducted. Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu took the name of Sister Mary Teresa of the Child Jesus after the French Teresa of Lisieux. The French Teresa had been known as the Little Flower because it was said she did no great things, only small things

with great love. On December 1, 1928, Teresa left Ireland and traveled by boat on her long voyage through the Suez Canal, across the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Bay of Bengal before finally arriving in Calcutta, India, on January 6, 1929. One week later, she boarded a train to the Himalayan station of Darjeeling where she would begin a two-year course of studies. It was there that Teresa was made a Loreto novitiate (see box) and received her nun's black habit (uniform) and veil. Her preparation for the religious life included the practical task of learning the Hindi and Bengali languages of her new home.

The call within a call

Sister Teresa made her first vows, known as temporary vows, on May 24, 1931, and began teaching in the Loreto convent school of Darjeeling. For a brief time, she was able to work helping the nursing staff at a small medical station in Darjeeling as well. Sister Teresa was soon sent to Loreto Entally, one of six schools operated by the Sisters in Calcutta. In the same compound at Loreto Entally was St. Mary's high school for Bengali girls, where lessons were conducted in Bengali and English was taught as a second language. Teresa taught geography and history in English. The Loreto nuns believed the best way to overcome the problems of poverty in India was through education, and so Teresa also taught at St. Teresa's primary school outside the compound of Loreto Entally. The slum children she taught at St. Teresa's lived in poverty-stricken conditions but were eager to learn. They called her Ma, which means Mother. Sister Teresa took her final vows of poverty, chastity (sexual purity), and obedience as a nun on May 24, 1937. She became Mother Teresa in accordance with the tradition of the Loreto nuns. She eventually became the principal of the school at St. Mary's.

Beyond Loreto Entally's protective walls was the worst slum in Calcutta, Moti Jheel (which means Pearl Lake). Every Sunday, Teresa visited the poor who lived in the slums and the patients in a local hospital of Moti Jheel. She had little material wealth to offer but she shared her faith with Christians, Hindus, and Muslims alike. Millions died and many more sought help during the war years of World War II (1939–45) and the famine (mass starvation) of 1943 in India. Orphans and "war babies" were left on the doorsteps of Loreto in increasing numbers. Hundreds of children were evacuated to convents outside the city for their safety while Japanese forces occupied nearby Burma during the war.

After the war, Teresa returned to the convent with her charges but found a shortage of teachers and food for the children. She continued to teach and daily went outside the convent to beg for food. The year 1946 brought increasing conflict between Hindus and Muslims and eventually ended in the partition and independence of India. However, its immediate effect was bloodshed in the streets of Calcutta where Teresa went to beg. On August 16, 1946, the Muslim League declared Direct Action Day. The city witnessed more than five thousand citizens killed and another fifteen thousand wounded before it was over.

Teresa's health had never significantly improved and she was directed to take a summer retreat for a period of spiritual renewal and a physical break from work. She boarded a dusty train for Darjeeling on September 10, 1946. It was then that she received her "call within a call." Teresa heard the call of God to leave the convent and help the poorest of the poor while living among them. She took it as an order. To deny the call would have been to break the faith. The date was celebrated later by the Catholic Church as Inspiration Day.

Returning to Entally in October, Teresa sought permission from her superiors to leave the convent school and begin a new congregation that would care for the unwanted and abandoned in the slums of Calcutta. She waited patiently for permission to begin her new order. It was granted two years later by Pope Pius XII (1876–1958) on April 12, 1948. Mother Teresa would call her religious order the Missionaries of Charity.

Home for the dying destitute

To prepare for her mission, Mother Teresa received training in medicine at Holy Family Hospital northwest of Calcutta. She studied with those who specialized in obstetrics (care of women during pregnancy, childbirth, and the recovery period), emergency medicine, and infectious diseases. Returning to Calcutta, she exchanged her nun's habit for a simple white cotton sari with a blue border and left the convent to work alone in the slums. Without any funding, Teresa started an open-air school for slum children and began to teach them the Bengali alphabet and basic hygiene (cleanliness). The school soon grew in numbers and she was joined by several of her former students. Local people saw her work and donated school supplies, a house to teach in, and financial support.

Every day, Teresa saw tragedy in the lives of the dying in Calcutta. Those too weak to move were being eaten by rats in the streets. The bodies of those who died during the night were hauled away in the morning by garbage collectors. Teresa sought help from Indian government officials to

In 1955 Mother Teresa founded her first orphanage for abandoned babies and children. She called it Shishu Bhavan (Sowing Joy).

secure a place for the dying to end their days with dignity. In 1952, she secured a house in an abandoned Hindu temple to Kali, the Goddess of Death. Teresa renamed it Nirmal Hriday (Place of the Pure Heart) and began gathering the deserted and dying that she found on the streets.

Those with Hansen's disease, or leprosy, suffered an especially cruel fate in Indian society. People afflicted with leprosy were shunned by family and strangers alike for fear of contracting the mysterious and dreaded disease. Leprosy is a bacterial disease that attacks the skin and results in the loss of soft tissue and bones such as noses, ears, and lips. Although it is only a slightly contagious disease, the physical deformities it inflicts make it a frightening disorder for both those who suffer from it and those who witness it. For the poor, the rotting flesh that marked a leper resulted in a life of separation and begging. Teresa committed herself to gathering the lepers to Nirmal Hriday. She obtained a mobile medical clinic to reach those too ill to travel to the home. She arranged for the latest anti-leprosy treatments that could contain the disease and ensure it would not be passed on to others. In Calcutta, Teresa

became known as the Saint of the Gutters because of her work with the poorest of the poor who were diseased and dying.

Seeking the heart of God

Mother Teresa was joined by a number of Sisters and in February 1953, the Missionaries of Charity moved into a building that became known as the Mother House. Everyone began addressing Teresa simply as Mother. In the fall of 1955, Teresa founded her first orphanage for abandoned babies and children. She called it Shishu Bhavan (Sowing Joy). The home also had a soup kitchen, clinic, and shelter for expectant mothers who had been rejected by family and society.

In 1965, the Indian government offered Teresa land to start a leper colony that would be entirely self-sufficient. She named it Shanti Nagar (Place of Peace) and used it to teach those who came to stay the practical skills necessary to restore their dignity and confidence. She would eventually give the same human face to those who suffered from AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) around the world. Teresa also set up centers around India to provide emergency aid to survivors of natural and human disasters such as floods, epidemics, and riots.

Teresa had the ability to gain attention and support for her cause of helping the poor from both ordinary citizens and world leaders. People around the world heard of the work done by the Missionaries of Charity and wanted to help. They offered material supplies and financial donations that eventually allowed Teresa to establish branches around the globe. In 1967, Teresa established the Missionary Brothers of Charity, who supplemented the work done by the Sisters. Teresa eventually founded four more branches of the Missionaries of Charity. They consist of the Contemplative Brothers, the Mission of Charity Fathers, the International Association of Co-Workers, and the Contemplative Sisters.

Mother Teresa received numerous awards and honors (see box), including the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979, for her work with the poor and suffering. She experienced declining health but continued her life's work until her death in 1997. She received a state funeral in India with dignitaries from around the world in attendance. Tens of thousands of Christians, Hindus, and Muslims lined the streets of Calcutta to pay their respects to Mother Teresa as her body passed by. In 2003, Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) beatified Mother Teresa of Calcutta, the initial step toward sainthood in the Catholic Church.

Awards and Honors

The following is a partial list of the awards and honors bestowed upon Mother Teresa.

- 1962: The Padma Sri (Order of the Lotus), by the Indian government.
- 1962: The Magsaysay Prize, by the Conference of Asiatic States.
- 1970: Good Samaritan Prize and the Kennedy Foundation Prize, in the United States.
- 1971: Pope John XXIII Peace Prize, by the Vatican.
- 1972: Pandit Nehru Award for International Understanding.
- 1973: Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion, by the British government.
- 1975: Albert Schweitzer Award for humanitarian work, in the United States.
- 1977: Honorary doctorate, by Cambridge University, England.
- 1979: Balzan Prize, by the Italian government.
- 1979: The Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1985: Presidential Medal of Honor, by the U.S. government.
- 1987: Soviet Peace Committee Gold Medal for promoting peace and friendship among people.
- 1990: International Leo Tolstoy Medal, by the Soviet government.
- 1992: Peace Education Prize from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization).
- 1996: Made an honorary citizen of the United States, by the U.S. government.

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Leyla Zana

BORN: May 3, 1961 • Diyarbakir, Turkey

Turkish human rights activist

Leyla Zana. AP IMAGES.

"Violence has outlived its time. . . . The language and method of solution of our age is dialogue, compromise and peace. It is not die and kill, but live and let live."

Leyla Zana is a Turkish citizen of Kurdish ancestry. Leyla grew up in the village of Silvan near Diyarbakir, a city in southeastern Turkey with a large Kurdish population. Kurds descended from Indo-European people who have inhabited the mountainous regions of southeastern Turkey, northern Iran, northeastern Iraq, and northeastern Syria for at least four thousand years.

Turkey has long considered recognition of the Kurdish people and their culture a threat to Turkish unity. The Turkish government fears that any form of official recognition that the Kurds are distinct from the Turkish people would encourage the Kurds to push harder to form a new nation out of Turkish territory. Many Kurds living in Turkey wish to unite with Kurds from Iran, Iraq, and Syria and establish their own country, Kurdistan. Kurds that favor separation from Turkey are called separatists.

Supporting separation has long been considered a crime in Turkey and results in harsh consequences, such as imprisonment. For decades, Kurds living in Turkey have been subjected to human rights violations at the hands of the Turkish government. Violations include prejudice (a negative attitude towards others based on a prejudgment about those individuals with no prior knowledge or experience) and discrimination (treating some people differently than others or favoring one social group over another based on prejudices) in employment and education; continued suppression of freedom of expression in personal speech, in writings, and in media broadcasting; and forced displacement when homes belonging to Kurds are purposely destroyed. Worse yet, imprisonment, torture, unexplained disappearances of family members, and even murder are part of the life of Kurds in Turkey.

Zana has worked since the early 1980s for human rights and recognition of the Kurdish minority in Turkey. She has been a tireless advocate of a peaceful solution to Kurdish-Turkish conflict, referred to in Turkey as the "Kurdish problem." In her struggle for Kurdish rights, Zana has served as an elected representative in the Turkish parliament (government), but was also imprisoned in the Ankara Central Prison for nine years. Having experienced prejudice against women within her own family, Zana has also been a strong voice for women's rights.

Zana's Kurdish Muslim home

Zana was one of six children, five sisters and one brother. As with most Kurds, her family members are Muslims, followers of the Islam religion. In Kurdish Muslim homes, women are treated as servants or mere objects with no rights as human beings. While Zana's mother worked, her father slept much of the day, then would go out in the evening to talk with his friends. Zana's mother had no children for her first twelve years of marriage, then four daughters, one after the other. However, the birth of girls was not important in Kurdish society. Zana remembered if one of her sisters cried in the night her father would throw both mother and baby outside, no matter the weather. They would have to sneak back in once the father had fallen back asleep. Zana resisted and rebelled against the position of Kurdish women in Kurdish society from an early age. When only nine years old, she struck out at her uncle while he was beating her aunt.

Zana's father followed traditional Muslim thinking and practice of limiting his daughters' education, choosing instead to prepare them to be wives and mothers. Even though Zana enjoyed schooling and was a very

The Kurdish People

In the early 2000s, there are between twenty-five and thirty million Kurdish people worldwide. The majority of Kurds live in the four countries of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. They populate approximately 230,000 mountainous square miles of southeastern Turkey, northwestern Iran, northeastern Iraq, and northeastern Syria. The Kurdish people originated from Indo-European tribes that have inhabited this region for as long as four thousand years. Turkey is home to the largest Kurdish population, 13.5 to 15 million. About 6.5 million Kurds live in Iran, 4 to 5 million in Iraq, and about 1 million in Syria. Several million more live in various Asian countries.

In the seventh century, Arabs conquered the Kurdish people and required them to become followers of the Islam religion. Islam followers are known as Muslims and belong to one of two factions, Shiite or Sunni. Like all Muslims, Kurds also are either Shiite or Sunni. Most are Sunni. Unlike other Muslims, hatred between Shiite Kurds and Sunni Kurds does not exist. Whether they are Shiite or Sunni, they are first and most importantly Kurds, one people.

Kurds are one of the largest ethnic groups without their own country. Most Kurds wish for an independent homeland to be carved from Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. It would take the ancient name of Kurdistan, long used to refer to the area. In the 2000s the lack of a Kurdish homeland is known as the Kurdish problem. Periodic revolts of the Kurds in all four countries occurred throughout the twentieth century. The Kurdish revolts are referred to as separatist movements. The separatist movements have been dealt with severely by the governments in all four countries.

Suppression of Kurds has led to repression in employment, education, politics, and in speaking the Kurdish language. Kurdish political parties are frequently banned and Kurdish leaders imprisoned and tortured. However, the ultimate discrimination and suppression of Kurds occurred in Iraq. During the 1980s, Iraqi leader **Saddam Hussein** (1937–2006; see entry) directed genocide against Iraqi Kurds. Genocide is the deliberate destruction, or killing off, of a racial, religious, or cultural group. Entire Kurdish villages were destroyed where Iraqi military were commanded to kill any living thing, human and animal alike. In 1988, lethal chemicals, such as mustard gas and nerve agents that would instantly destroy their lungs by blistering them internally or leaving the person paralyzed, were unleashed on the Kurdish town of Halabja. About twelve thousand people died in three days.

promising student, her father allowed her only one and a half years of formal education. Zana strenuously objected to leaving school, but she could not go against his will.

As recalled by Zana in "About Leyla Zana" on the website http://www.hist.net/kierser/ma11/About_Leyla_Zana.html, she continued to be precocious and rebellious as she grew. As a preteen, she refused to wear the traditional Muslim head scarf. Zana resented strict Muslim rules. At the age of fourteen, Zana's father demanded she marry her cousin, thirty-five-

year-old Mehdi. Zana resisted the prospect of marrying, and tells the story of beating her fists against her father when told she must marry Mehdi. However, Muslim daughters must obey their fathers, and Mehdi and Zana were married in 1975.

Marriage to Mehdi

Although Mehdi had little formal education, as a young adult he quickly rose to leadership roles in his community of Silvan and later in nearby Diyarbakir. He joined political groups fighting for the rights of workers. The rebels of that day in Turkey were promoting communism (a political and economic system in which a single political party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned). There was not yet an organized Kurdish rights movement. By the time Mehdi married Zana, he had already served four years in prison, one in 1967 and three from 1971 to 1974, for his rebellious Communist stands against the Turkish government.

Zana's politically conservative family always supported the Turkish government. When she married Mehdi, he introduced her to new ideas. Mehdi became not only Zana's husband and father of her children, but within a few years, her teacher and mentor in political activism. Between 1975 and 1980, Zana's life was controlled by Mehdi though she learned a lot from him during that time. She gave birth to their son Ronay in 1976.

In 1977, by an overwhelming majority, Mehdi was elected mayor of Diyarbakir, a city of 225,000 people. In 1980, after a military coup (takeover) and change of government in the Turkish capital of Ankara, a harsh time of discrimination and oppression of Kurds began. Mehdi, along with thousands of men speaking out for Kurdish rights, was arrested and imprisoned. He was sentenced to thirty-five years and spent the next eleven years in prison. His only crime was standing up for the Kurdish people and for speaking the Kurdish language in public. Speaking Kurdish was banned in Turkey until 2002.

Wife of a political prisoner

With Mehdi's sentencing, Zana, pregnant with their daughter Ruken, felt powerless. She had little idea how to support her young family. Ronay was just five years old. Each week of that first year without Mehdi, Zana went to the prison to visit him. Many days when she went to visit Mehdi, she was not allowed to see him. She realized that he and other prisoners were being brutally tortured.

At the prison she met a wide array of people—relatives and friends of other prisoners—and learned more and more about the political turmoil building in her region. It was apparent to her that many, like her husband, were political prisoners held because of their activism rather than any wrongdoing. Zana learned more of the prejudice and discrimination against her Kurdish people. She recalled as a child going into Diyarbakir with her mother and being poorly treated because their Kurdish peasant clothing marked them as Kurds.

With Mehdi's encouragement, Zana began to read and study. Reading was difficult because the books she chose were written in the Turkish language and she spoke Kurdish. Zana recalled struggling through many books, but little by little she became proficient in Turkish. One book she read was about the history of the Chinese Communist Party. The Communists were fighting against the traditional Chinese leaders and were often imprisoned. Zana compared the situation of the imprisoned Kurdish leaders to the situations she read about in books. Zana received a secondary school (a school equivalent to high school) diploma in Diyarbakir without ever attending classes.

Political activist

By 1984, Zana had become a political activist like her husband. She was confident enough to not only think, but act, on her own. The movement for Kurdish civil rights and, more radically, Kurdish separation from Turkey was growing. Zana participated in demonstrations for Kurdish rights outside the prison where Mehdi was held. For the first time, Zana experienced the feeling of power and self-worth as a person. As Zana grew in her knowledge of Kurdish issues, the Kurdish separatist or liberation movement intensified.

Zana championed increased rights for women in the Kurdish community. She organized women's activist groups that established offices not only in Diyarbakir, but also in Istanbul. She became a spokeswoman for women whose Kurdish husbands were wrongfully imprisoned. Zana worked for human rights groups in Diyarbakir and also became an editor of a Diyarbakir newspaper, *Yeni Ulke*.

A 1988 arrest

In 1988, Zana was arrested and spent fifty-seven days imprisoned. She had come to visit Mehdi on a hot July day. Many other women and mothers with small babies were waiting to visit their husbands. When the women

could hear their husbands being beaten on the other side of the wall, they revolted, shouting and throwing rocks at prison guards. Eighty-three were arrested, including Zana, who was accused of inciting (starting) the riot. As Zana relates in "Turkey: Leyla Zana, the only Kurdish Woman MP" at website http://chris-kutschera.com/A/leyla_zana.htm, during her nearly two months of imprisonment, a period she has continuing nightmares of, she was interrogated and tortured with beatings and electric shock. She was also stripped of her clothes and paraded in front of guards and male prisoners.

Zana's experiences only reinforced her commitment to the struggle for Kurdish rights and the search for peaceful solutions. By 1990, the troubles between the Turkish government and Kurds had turned violent. Upwards of thirty thousand people would be killed by fighting between Turkish forces and Kurds in the early 1990s.

Member of parliament

Young and highly intelligent, Zana soon rose to political leadership roles in Diyarbakir. On October 20, 1991, at the age of thirty she was elected to the Turkish parliament; she was one of eight other elected women serving. Receiving 84 percent of the votes in her Diyarbakir district, Zana was the first Kurdish woman representative. The year of Zana's election, Mehdi was released from prison.

In parliament, Zana hoped to encourage Kurdish-Turkish relations and recognition of Kurdish identity. When taking the oath for parliament, Zana spoke in Kurdish and wore the colors representing the Kurdish flag, yellow, green, and red. Her language and clothing outraged members of parliament. Her strong Kurdish presence caused denouncements from other parliamentarians that she was a separatist and statements that she was not welcome in the government legislative body. Some called for her arrest, but members of parliament are immune from arrest for their actions on the parliament floor. Rather than a separatist, Zana was actually a voice for peace and cooperation between Kurds and the Turkish people. She called for an end to Turkish government oppression and violence against Kurds and the end to imprisonment and torture of Kurdish political prisoners.

In May 1993, Zana traveled to Washington, D.C., where she spoke at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and briefed U.S. Congress members on the plight of the Kurdish people within Turkey. She explained that Turkish and Kurdish political leaders had been unable

to openly and honestly address the so-called Kurdish problem. The Turkish government continued to suppress calls for Kurdish rights by destroying Kurdish villages and throwing Kurdish leaders into prison where they were interrogated and tortured in hopes of breaking their spirit. She urged the United States to side with more moderate Turkish leaders who hoped a peaceful resolution could be negotiated.

Parliamentary immunity had protected Zana from arrest for three years since her controversial oath-taking in October 1991. When in 1994 she joined the newly formed Democracy Party, her immunity was revoked. The Turkish government long had a practice of closing down parties that worked on Kurdish rights issues. They banned the Democracy Partly, lifted Zana's immunity, and arrested her and three other Kurdish parliamentarians.

Fifteen-year sentence

In December 1994, State Security Court No. 1 in Ankara, made up of Turkish civil and military judges, convicted Zana and the three other Kurdish parliamentarians on charges of separatism and illegal activities. The court identified Zana's call for peaceful resolutions between Kurds and the Turkish people as advocating separatism. Her illegal activities included wearing the Kurdish colors of yellow, green, and red in front of parliament in October 1991 and ties to the armed Kudistan Worker's Party. Known as the PKK for *Patiya Karker Kurdistan,* the party is a militant group working for Kurdish independence. Zana denied any association with PKK. Turkey, the United States, and the European Union (EU) list the PKK as a terrorist organization. (The EU is a governmental body composed in 2005 of twenty-five member European states including Britain, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.) The court sentenced Zana to fifteen years in prison.

The sentence was viewed by human rights groups worldwide as unjust. With her confinement in Ankara Central Prison in 1994, Zana became the symbol of the Kurdish struggle for peace and social justice, for an end to prejudice, discrimination, and oppression of Kurds. Amnesty International (AI), a worldwide organization working for peace and justice, named Zana and her three imprisoned colleagues prisoners of conscience. Prisoners of conscience are people who have been imprisoned because of their race, religion, beliefs, sexual orientation, or color of skin and have not advocated violence. AI considered the imprisonments unjust and merely punishment for involvement, even though nonviolent, in the Kurdish problem.

In October 2004, shortly after her release from jail, Leyla Zana (left) traveled to Brussels, Belgium, to receive the European Parliament's Sakharov prize, an award she had waited nine years to accept. © THIERRY ROGE/REUTERS/CORBIS.

International honors

Throughout the second half of the 1990s and while imprisoned, Zana received constant recognition and awards. She was praised as an individual willing to lose her freedom in the struggle for justice for her people. International peace and human rights awards in chronological order include: the Rafto Prize for Human Rights from Norway (1994); the Bruno Kreisky Peace Prize from Austria (1995); the Aix-la-Chapelle International Peace Prize from Germany (1995); the highly prestigious Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought from the European Parliament (1995) (The European Parliament together with the Council of Ministers makes up the legislative branch of the EU representing about 450 million

people); the Rose Prize from Denmark (1996); nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize three times between 1995 and 1998; and Woman of the Year Prize from Northern Italy (1998).

Imprisoned but not silenced

Although Zana's imprisonment was widely protested, she remained confined at the Ankara Central Prison. Her voice, though, was not silenced. She wrote continuously and was published in various magazines, newspapers, and organization publications. Zana wrote about Kurdish identity and traditions, and the Kurdish people's struggle for recognition and civil rights. She completed an entire book, *Writings From Prison* and had it published in 1999.

Zana stated in her book she did not really expect to be released from prison. Her words proved correct when on September 26, 1998, the Ankara State Security Court added to her sentence for her article published in the People's Democracy Party newsletter about the Kurdish New Year called Nevruz. The court said she violated the law against inciting racial hatred because she wrote about the Kurdish longing for life free of oppression.

Zana found yet another cause to speak out about—the harassing treatment of political prisoners, and lack of medical care. Although ailing at times, she refused hospital visits to protest the harsh treatment of political prisoners.

Courts review case

In July 2001, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) reviewed Zana's and the three other parliamentarians' trial and ruled against the Turkish court's decision. However, Turkey did not recognize this finding and Zana remained confined. The ECHR hears human rights complaints from the Council of Europe made up of forty-six member states. Although not associated with the EU, the ECHR hands down decisions that are closely monitored by the EU.

Turkey, hopeful of becoming a candidate for EU membership, adopted a number of legal reforms. In February 2003, a new Turkish law allowed for new trials of individuals where the ECHR found Turkish court proceedings unjust. In a new trial in April 2004, the convictions and sentences of Zana and her colleagues were reaffirmed by the State Security Court. AI reported the retrial was full of practices that did not measure up to international fair trial practices. AI called for Turkish

authorities to eliminate State Security Courts so as to allow Turkey to better conform to EU standards of justice. In June 2004, the Turkish Supreme Court of Appeals overruled Zana's verdict on a legal technicality. Zana and the others were at last set free.

Zana traveled to Brussels, Belgium, to receive the European Parliament's Sakharov prize, an award she had waited nine years to accept. In a speech before the EU assembly gathered to honor her, Zana, speaking at times in Turkish and others in Kurdish, called for greater rights for Turkey's Kurds and for improved communication to work out issues. According to the Internet Web site *Qantara: Dialogue with the Islamic World,* she told those assembled that "violence has outlived its time . . . The language and method of solution of our age is dialogue, compromise and peace. It is not die and kill, but live and let live." She received a standing ovation. While in Brussels, Zana was reunited with Medhi and her two children, the first time since her imprisonment.

Ruling their rights of free expression had been violated, the ECHR in January 2005 awarded Zana and the other three freed parliamentarians a monetary sum from the Turkish government. Planning to establish a new political party, Zana sought to reenter politics.

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