



Preventive War—Lesson Plan

Student Objectives

- Learn the historical origins of the Bush Doctrine of preventive war.
- Identify the three parts of the Bush Doctrine.
- Analyze the reasons for supporting and opposing the Bush Doctrine.
- Identify areas of agreement and disagreement with other students.
- Decide, individually and as a group, whether the Bush Doctrine of preventive war should be a part of U.S. foreign policy; support decisions based on evidence and sound policy.
- Reflect on the value of deliberation when deciding issues in a democracy.

Question for Deliberation

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

Materials

- Lesson Procedures
- Handout 1—Deliberation Guide
- Handout 2—Deliberation Activities
- Handout 3—Student Reflection on Deliberation
- Reading
- Selected Resources
- Deliberation Question with Arguments
(optional—use if students have difficulty extracting the arguments or time is limited)



Preventive War—Reading

1 Following World War II, the United States began a decades-long struggle with the Soviet
2 Union to stop the spread of Communism. This confrontation was called the “Cold War” because
3 no “hot” war broke out directly between the two countries.

4 U.S. foreign policy was based on the concepts of containment and deterrence. Containment
5 meant stopping the spread of Communism. Deterrence meant preventing an attack through
6 threats of massive retaliation [very large response]. The Cold War ended with the break-up of the
7 Soviet Union in 1991. While the United States emerged as the most powerful nation in the world,
8 the attacks on September 11, 2001, proved that even powerful nations like the United States were
9 vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

10 After the September 11 attacks, President George W. Bush developed a new American
11 security strategy to prevent terrorists and dangerous regimes from developing, acquiring, or
12 using weapons of mass destruction. This new strategy, named the Bush Doctrine, called for the
13 United States to use force against foreign regimes to prevent the growth of a serious threat to the
14 U.S. over time. It also pushed for the expansion of democracy in Middle Eastern Muslim
15 countries and elsewhere in the world.

16 **Background of the Bush Doctrine**

17 The Bush Doctrine included principles that had been advocated by U.S. Department of
18 Defense officials when George W. Bush’s father was president. The officials unsuccessfully
19 backing the changes in policy during President George H.W. Bush’s administration included

20 Paul Wolfowitz, who became a deputy defense secretary under George W. Bush, and Lewis
21 Libby, who became Vice President Cheney’s Chief of Staff.

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

25 One year later, after a sharp debate within the Bush administration over what to do about
26 Iraq, the president addressed the United Nations. He warned that if the United Nations did not
27 disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction (banned by the United Nations after the 1991
28 Gulf War), the United States would act unilaterally in self-defense. After various U.N. efforts,
29 the United States decided to act with a “coalition of the willing” (a group of allies) to remove
30 Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. The coalition included Great Britain and 29 other nations. It
31 did not include any Arab states or some NATO members, including Canada, France, Germany,
32 Belgium, and Norway. On March 20, 2003, the coalition forces, consisting mainly of U.S. and
33 British troops, invaded Iraq. The Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein was toppled. To date, no
34 weapons of mass destruction have been found in Iraq.

35 **The National Security Strategy and the Bush Doctrine**

36 Many observers saw the actions of the United States as part of a new American defense plan.
37 They pointed to a document released by President Bush’s administration in September 2002
38 called “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” Reflecting the long-
39 held views of Wolfowitz and others, this new strategy became known as the Bush Doctrine.
40 Three of the main points of the Bush Doctrine are:

41 **1. Preemption.** The Bush Doctrine favors preemption, or striking first, over the old ideas of
42 containment and deterrence. In a world of terrorist organizations, dangerous regimes, and
43 weapons of mass destruction, the National Security Strategy document warns that the United
44 States “cannot let [its] enemies strike first.”

45 The National Security Strategy notes that international law permits nations to take pre-
46 emptive action against a nation that presents an imminent, or immediate, threat. It further notes
47 that the United States has long followed this policy. In the past, an imminent threat looked like
48 “a visible mobilization of armies, navies, and air forces preparing to attack.” Today, however,
49 terrorist organizations and certain countries may not use conventional armies and navies. Instead,
50 they may use acts of terrorism and possibly “weapons of mass destruction—weapons that can be
51 easily concealed, delivered covertly, and used without warning.” Therefore, supporters argue that
52 the idea of “imminent threat” must be adapted “to the capabilities and objectives” of these
53 enemies. According to the Bush Doctrine, the United States should stop terrorist organizations
54 and nations such as Iraq and North Korea before they are able to threaten or use these weapons
55 and tactics against the United States.

56 Critics of the Bush Doctrine say it is not a policy of preemptive war but preventive war. A
57 *preemptive war* is one against an enemy preparing to strike right away. A *preventive war* is one
58 against an enemy that will pose a danger in the future. They also worry that the Bush Doctrine
59 may encourage other nations to justify attacks on their enemies as “preemptive” wars. The
60 National Security Strategy cautions other nations not to “use pre-emption as a pretext for
61 aggression” and explains that the “reasons for [American] actions will be clear, the force
62 measured, and the cause just.” Yet critics say that this policy will make it hard for America to
63 succeed when trying to stop other countries from using “preemption” to start a war.

64 **2. Act Alone, If Necessary.** The Bush Doctrine identifies several ways to achieve the
65 security of the United States: establishing new military bases in the world, developing defense
66 technology, expanding intelligence gathering, and diplomacy. While the Bush Doctrine favors
67 cooperation with allies and international institutions like the United Nations, it also says that the
68 United States “will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary,” to defend itself. They point out that
69 the United Nations includes nations that may work against the best interests of the United States.

70 Critics argue that the Bush Doctrine implies that America will do what it chooses without
71 regard to international organizations or agreements. This approach, they say, undermines the
72 authority of these international efforts to combat many problems—such as drug-running, slavery,
73 and terrorism—that are also important to the United States. They also worry that a willingness to
74 use military force unilaterally may turn this “last resort” policy into a “first resort” tool. By going
75 it alone in the world, American power loses its legitimacy and the United States is seen as a
76 bully.

77 Supporters of the Bush Doctrine respond that the administration believes deeply in working
78 with other countries whenever possible. For example, the coalition of nations that fought the
79 2003 Iraq war with the United States had many member nations.

80 **3. Extend Freedom.** The third major element of the Bush Doctrine is for the United States to
81 “extend the benefits of freedom across the globe” in order to build “a balance of power that
82 favors freedom.” The National Security Strategy states that the United States should do this by
83 championing “nonnegotiable demands of human dignity,” including the rule of law, freedom of
84 worship, and respect for women. In addition, the strategy calls for the United States to promote
85 world economic growth through capitalist free markets and free trade.

86 Critics of this part of the Bush Doctrine say it is not realistic. They point out that it took
87 democracy centuries to take root in Western societies. Societies such as Iraq, which have no
88 democratic tradition, cannot be expected to form democratic institutions quickly. Critics think
89 the costs of such efforts, often called “nation-building,” will prove staggering. Other critics think
90 it is wrong for us to impose our way of life, especially our capitalistic system, on other people.

91 Supporters of spreading democracy see it as America’s responsibility to the world. They
92 point to Japan and Germany after World War II to show that democracy can grow quickly and
93 successfully. They argue that democratic principles can curb the spread of terrorist ideologies by
94 providing otherwise frustrated people with nonviolent avenues for political expression and
95 participation. They also say that the cost of building democratic societies is far less than the cost
96 of fighting undemocratic ones. They believe that a government chosen by the people and
97 responsive to their needs is a desire of people everywhere, not just in the United States.

98 **Implications of the Bush Doctrine**

99 Democracies in the 21st century are not sure how to defend the safety of their citizens.
100 Today’s enemies do not always fight wars with large armies or ships. Aircraft carriers and
101 nuclear missiles cannot stop a single person who has a suitcase filled with weapons of mass
102 destruction. Yet democratic nations need ways to protect themselves against such attacks. The
103 entire world will observe and study whether the Bush Doctrine addresses this problem for the
104 United States.



Preventive War—Selected Resources

Primary Documents

Truman, Harry S, "Truman Doctrine: Harry S. Truman's Address Before a Joint Session of Congress" (March 12, 1947), available from the Avalon Project at Yale Law School, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/trudoc.htm>.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2002), available from the Information Clearinghouse, <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article2320.htm>.

Analysis and Commentary

"The Bush Doctrine," *FrontPage Magazine* (October 7, 2002), <http://www.frontpagemagazine.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=3652>. A transcribed discussion between James Woolsey (former CIA director), James Lindsay (Brookings Institution), Victor Davis Hanson (visiting professor at the U.S. Naval Academy), and Daniel Brumberg (professor at Georgetown University).

Jervis, Robert, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly* (Fall 2003), Vol. 118: 3, http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99_article.cgi?byear=2003&bmonth=fall&a=01free&format=view.

Knight, Charles, "Essential Elements Missing in the National Security Strategy of 2002," *Defense Strategy Review Page* (Cambridge, MA: Commonwealth Institute Project on Defense Alternatives Commentary, November 2002), <http://www.comw.org/qdr/0210knight.html>.

O'Connell, Mary Ellen, "The Myth of Preemptive Self-Defense," *The American Society of International Law, Task Force on Terrorism* (Washington, DC: The American Society of International Law, August 2002), <http://www.asil.org/taskforce/oconnell.pdf>.

O'Hanlon, Michael E., Susan E. Rice, and James B. Steinberg, "The New National Security Strategy and Preemption," *Global Politics Policy Brief #113* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, December 2002), <http://www.brook.edu/comm/policybriefs/pb113.htm>.

Welsh, Steven C., "Preemptive War and International Law," *Center for Defense Information* (Washington, DC: Center for Defense Information, December 5, 2003), <http://www.cdi.org/news/law/preemptive-war.cfm>.



Preventive War—Deliberation Question with Arguments

Deliberation Question

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

YES—Arguments to Support the Deliberation Question

1. Times change, and so do threats. Today the United States is not threatened by conventional armies or navies but by weapons of mass destruction that can be easily carried, hidden, and used without warning. Faced such threats, the United States cannot let its enemies strike first.
2. The United States is in a unique position in the world; therefore, pre-emption or preventive war should be a tool unique to American foreign policy. Other countries should not use preventive war as an excuse for aggression. When the United States acts pre-emptively, it will do so clearly and justly.
3. The United States cannot put the security of the American people in the hands of the United Nations, which includes countries who do not care about America or seek to harm it. The United States must be able to act alone if necessary to protect its citizens and its vital interests.
4. People confuse the United Nations with international cooperation. Sometimes the United Nations will not do what the international community must do. As in the case of the Iraq War, the United States can—and does—work with other like-minded countries to meet international needs.
5. The best way to fight enemies is to make them into friends. Bad governments breed anger and unhappiness, which can lead to wars. Spreading freedom around the world will give people hope. That makes everyone safer. Our experience with Japan and Germany after World War II shows how U.S. intervention and support can grow democracy in previously totalitarian countries.



Preventive War—Deliberation Question with Arguments

Deliberation Question

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

NO—Arguments to Oppose the Deliberation Question

1. Every country has the right to attack an enemy who is threatening an imminent or immediate attack. No country has the right to attack because another country might become a threat in the future. The Bush Doctrine is a step back toward international chaos and frequent wars.
2. There is an important difference between pre-emptive and preventive wars. The Bush Doctrine sets a bad precedent by approving preventive war. The United States will have difficulty stopping attacks by other countries when it claims the right to wage war preventively.
3. A “go it alone” attitude is not good foreign policy. The Bush Doctrine undermines the authority of international partners and institutions that the United States needs to work with to deal with such international problems as drugs and terrorism.
4. The United States is a strong nation, but it is only one nation. To achieve its international goals, it must cooperate with other nations. Cooperation means working together on many things, not just what the United States wants.
5. The United States has no business invading other countries in order to establish the American way of life in government and economics. Freedom should be chosen freely, not forced on another country. Furthermore, establishing democracy and capitalism in countries having no experience with these systems will be very expensive.



Lesson Procedures

Step One: Introduction

Introduce the lesson and the Student Objectives on the **Lesson Plan**. Distribute and discuss **Handout 1—Deliberation Guide**. Review the Rules of Deliberation and post them in a prominent position in the classroom. Emphasize that the class will deliberate and then debrief the experience.

Step Two: Reading

Distribute a copy of the **Reading** to each student. Have students read the article carefully and underline facts and ideas they think are important and/or interesting (**ideally for homework**).

Step Three: Grouping and Reading Discussion

Divide the class into groups of four or five students. Group members should share important facts and interesting ideas with each other to develop a common understanding of the article. They can record these facts and ideas on **Handout 2—Deliberation Activities** (Review the Reading).

Step Four: Introducing the Deliberation Question

Each **Reading** addresses a Deliberation Question. Read aloud and/or post the Deliberation Question and ask students to write the Deliberation Question in the space provided on **Handout 2**. Remind students of the Rules for Deliberation on **Handout 1**.

Step Five: Learning the Reasons

Divide each group into two teams, Team A and Team B. Explain that each team is responsible for selecting the most compelling reasons for its position, which you will assign. Both teams should reread the **Reading**. Team A will find the most compelling reasons to **support** the Deliberation Question. Team B will find the most compelling reasons to **oppose** the Deliberation Question. To ensure maximum participation, ask everyone on the team to prepare to present at least one reason.

Note: Team A and Team B do not communicate while learning the reasons. If students need help identifying the arguments or time is limited, use the **Deliberation Question with Arguments** handouts. Ask students to identify the most compelling arguments and add any additional ones they may remember from the reading.

Step Six: Presenting the Most Compelling Reasons

Tell students that each team will present the most compelling reasons to **support** or **oppose** the Deliberation Question. In preparation for the next step, Reversing Positions, have each team listen carefully for the most compelling reasons.

- Team A will explain their reasons for **supporting** the Deliberation Question. If Team B does not understand something, they should ask questions but NOT argue.
- Team B will explain their reasons for **opposing** the Deliberation Question. If Team A does not understand something, they should ask questions, but NOT argue.

Note: The teams may not believe in or agree with their reasons but should be as convincing as possible when presenting them to others.

Step Seven: Reversing Positions

Explain that, to demonstrate that each side understands the opposing arguments, each team will select the other team's most compelling reasons.

- Team B will explain to Team A what Team A's **most compelling** reasons were for **supporting** the Deliberation Question.
- Team A will explain to Team B what Team B's **most compelling** reasons were for **opposing** the Deliberation Question.

Step Eight: Deliberating the Question

Explain that students will now drop their roles and deliberate the question as a group. Remind the class of the question. In deliberating, students can (1) use what they have learned about the issue and (2) offer their personal experiences as they formulate opinions regarding the issue.

After deliberating, have students find areas of agreement in their group. Then ask students, as individuals, to express to the group their personal position on the issue and write it down (see My Personal Position on **Handout 2**).

Note: Individual students do **NOT** have to agree with the group.

Step Nine: Debriefing the Deliberation

Reconvene the entire class. Distribute **Handout 3—Student Reflection on Deliberation** as a guide. Ask students to discuss the following questions:

- What were the most compelling reasons for each side?
- What were the areas of agreement?
- What questions do you still have? Where can you get more information?
- What are some reasons why deliberating this issue is important in a democracy?
- What might you or your class do to address this problem? Options include teaching others about what they have learned; writing to elected officials, NGOs, or businesses; and conducting additional research.

Consider having students prepare personal reflections on the Deliberation Question through written, visual, or audio essays. Personal opinions can be posted on the web.

Step Ten: Student Poll/Student Reflection

Ask students: “Do you agree, disagree, or are you still undecided about the Deliberation Question?” Record the responses and have a student post the results on www.deliberating.org under the partnerships and/or the polls. Have students complete **Handout 3**.



Handout 1—Deliberation Guide

What Is Deliberation?

Deliberation (meaningful discussion) is the focused exchange of ideas and the analysis of arguments with the aim of making a decision.

Why Are We Deliberating?

Citizens must be able and willing to express and exchange ideas among themselves, with community leaders, and with their representatives in government. Citizens and public officials in a democracy need skills and opportunities to engage in civil public discussion of controversial issues in order to make informed policy decisions. Deliberation requires keeping an open mind, as this skill enables citizens to reconsider a decision based on new information or changing circumstances.

What Are the Rules for Deliberation?

- Read the material carefully.
- Focus on the deliberation question.
- Listen carefully to what others are saying.
- Check for understanding.
- Analyze what others say.
- Speak and encourage others to speak.
- Refer to the reading to support your ideas.
- Use relevant background knowledge, including life experiences, in a logical way.
- Use your heart and mind to express ideas and opinions.
- Remain engaged and respectful when controversy arises.
- Focus on ideas, not personalities.



Handout 2—Deliberation Activities

Review the Reading

Determine the most important facts and/or interesting ideas and write them below.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Deliberation Question

Learning the Reasons

Reasons to Support the Deliberation Question (Team A)	Reasons to Oppose the Deliberation Question (Team B)

My Personal Position

On a separate sheet of paper, write down reasons to support your opinion. You may suggest another course of action than the policy proposed in the question or add your own ideas to address the underlying problem.



Name: _____

Date: _____

Teacher: _____

Handout 3—Student Reflection on Deliberation

Large Group Discussion: What We Learned

What were the most compelling reasons for each side?

Side A:

Side B:

What were the areas of agreement?

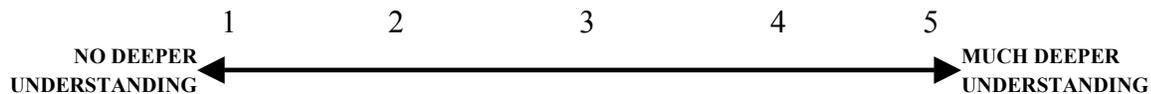
What questions do you still have? Where can you get more information?

What are some reasons why deliberating this issue is important in a democracy?

What might you and/or your class do to address this problem?

Individual Reflection: What I Learned

Which number best describes your understanding of the focus issue? [circle one]



What new insights did you gain?

What did you do well in the deliberation? What do you need to work on to improve your personal deliberation skills?

What did someone else in your group do or say that was particularly helpful? Is there anything the group should work on to improve the group deliberation?