

HIST 304 U.S. HISTORY SINCE 1876

TOPICS:

1. Introduction
2. Brief Summary of U.S. History before 1876
3. Party politics During the Gilded Age 1870 – 1900
4. U.S. Expansionist Policy in the 19th Century
5. The U.S. Role in the 1st World War
6. The Great Depression of the 1930s
7. The U.S. Role in World War II
8. The Cold war
9. The Civil War
10. The 1960s Liberation and Counter Liberation Movements.
 - a. John F. Kennedy
 - b. Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam War
11. The Era of Energy, inflation and Middle East Crisis of:
 - a. Richard Nixon
 - b. Gerald Ford
 - c. Jimmy Carter
 - d. Ronald Reagan
12. The End of Cold War
 - a. George Bush Snr.
 - b. Bill Clinton
 - c. George Bush Jnr.
 - d. Barack Obama
 - e. The Post – Cold War Challenges
 - f. The War Against Terrorism
 - g. The Global Economic Crisis
 - h. Election of Donald Trump and the future of U.S. Relations with the World.

Prepared by Prof. Z.D. Goshit

(08033941624)

Reading List

1. Blum, et al, A the National Experience: A History of the United States.
2. Thomas G. Paterson, ed. The Origins of the Cold War, Second Edition, Lexington, Massachusetts, Toronto,
3. John Spanier – American Foreign Policy since World War II, 11th edition.

Continuous Assessments

Answer One Question not more than four pages typed.

1. What were the main challenges that faced the U.S. democratic experience in the 19th century?
2. Account for the factors that influenced the U.S expansionist policy in the 19th century.
3. Discuss the various explanations as to why the U.S. entered the First World War – 1914 – 1919 .
4. Why did President Woodrow Wilson lose the support of his nation after World War 1?
5. Critically discuss the causes and impacts of the Great Depression of the 1930s on the U.S.
6. Analyse the contributions of the U.S. to the success of World War II, 1939 – 1945.
7. Analyse the origin and growth of the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.
8. Discuss the significance of the 1960's – 1970's in the U.S. History.
9. What were the causes and impacts of the Cold War on the U.S?
10. Discuss the main causes of disagreements between the Executive and legislature in the 19th century.
11. Critically examine the administration of President John F. Kennedy.
12. Analyse the role of the U.S in the Vietnam War of 1954.
13. Examine the significance of the Watergate scandal by President Nixon.
14. Discuss President Jimmy Carter and the hostage crisis in Iran.
15. Analyse the achievements of President Ronald Reagan.
16. What role did the U.S. play in ending the Cold War.
17. Discuss the achievements and challenges of President Bill Clinton.
18. Analyse the significance of the terrorist attack in the World Trade Centre and Pentagon on September 11, 2001.
19. Examine the U.S. War on terrorism after September 11, 2001.

20. Assess the significance of the election of President Barack Obama in the U.S. history.

21. Discuss the administration of President Donald Trump.

INTRODUCTION

The period from 1877 to the present is the most crucial in the U.S. history and the world at large. It was during this period that U.S. became a major world power – military and economically.

From 1860 – 1865, America was involved in a civil war. The war was between the North, which was an industrialized area and the South, which was predominantly an agricultural area. Many reasons for the war but the most important was the abolition of slavery. The South opposed the abolition of slavery because it was the basic source of labour for its agriculture. The civil war was won by the industrialized North, which used its economic power to dominate politics in America. After the war, the Federal Government embarked on Reconstruction of the south. Reconstruction was both a success and failure, mainly because the South opposed it.

Thus Reconstruction and integration of the Blacks were the main issues which dominated party politics and administration in the U.S. after the civil war. The other challenges posed by industrialization and its problems.

Party politics was characterized by the division between the South and the North (Republican Party); and intra-party conflict between the radicals and the conservatives on both camps. There was also the conflict between the three arms of government – the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. All this meant that party – politics in the U.S. from 1877 to 1914, was quite complex, contradictory, violent and stormy. One of such difficult problems was the issue of the Black's civil and political rights. This created a lot of conflict between the Blacks. And this made the Blacks to form their organizations to protect them i.e. Blacks civil Rights Movements.

Apart from the domestic problems, there was also the external one- the world wars, which America had to take side. It was the ability of America to resolve these issues and manipulate the international system in her favour, which made her a world power.

LECTURE ONE:

PARTY POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION 1877 – 1914 RESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1876

PRESIDENT Grant had been in power from 1868 – 1876. But he did not stand for 1876 election. Republicans presented Rutherford B. Hayes while the Democrats presented Samuel. T. Tilden, Governor of New York. Both candidates promised to end Reconstruction. The two parties had identical programmes – no ideology and mission either than elections and offices. They both struggled for control of Presidency, Congress and state Government. The Congress became powerful while the President simply became a figure head.

The election was won by Hayes of Republican Party. After his election he announced he wouldn't run for second term. This weakened his positions. Democrats had majority in the senate. He ended reconstruction. He tried to clean corruption in Post Office and Treasury. He was opposed by some people in his party. Republicans were divided into two – the Stalwarts headed **by Conkling and Half – Breeds led by curious Charismatic Senator** from Maine, James Blaine. He was involved in railway fraud. His letters to colleague in corruption named Mulligan always ended in "Burn this Letter". Conkling and Blaine opposed Hayes effort to appoint people on merit. Hayes tried to create Civil Service Commission but was opposed by Congress. Hayes named two of Conkling, supporters but Conkling fought back persuading Congress not to approve appointments. Hayes sent in names several times, which were turned.

Stalwarts – sole interest in politics seemed to be in office and power. They controlled tightly discipline party organizations in their states. They controlled senate which became key to and reward of power form Senate party leaders managed patronage appointments.

The Mugwumps – split in 1872 Were worried by Grant corruption, hence they made and nominated their own candidate.

They called themselves Liberal Republicans led by high minded reformers, journalist and scholars. Their belief was that good government ought to be "clean" controlled not by party patronage but by a civil service system that would make it immune to influence and bribery.

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR IN 1880 ELECTION

Republicans met in 1880 to nominate a candidate; Conkling and his Stalwart faction supported Grant. Blaine and his half Breeds with Mugwups denied Grant nomination. Convention turned to unknown person James A. Garfield, a man of pure character and veteran of House Representative from Ohio. Stalwarts nominated for V.P Chester A. Artur. Democrats chose Hancock Union General and ex-Military man. Garfield won the election with a wide margin.

Garfield tried to push ahead with cleaning of the Civil Service but was shot in July 1881. He was succeeded by Arthur, who continued with his programmes. He got the Civil service Law, Rengletion Act through the Congress in 1883. The law put one job on Federal merits and from then enabled the Presidents to appoint supporters to non-civil service jobs; they couldn't be removed from office. Through this process by the 1880s majority of Federal jobs were put under civil service Act.

1884 ELECTION: GROVER CLEVELAND VS JAMES BLAINE

Arthur made no one happy – not even Stalwarts, half – Breeds or Mugwups. He was simply ignored during Republication of 1884. They turned to Price of Half-Breeds, James Blaine. Mugwups made it clear they would support Democrats if they nominated a “good government” man. Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, a reform mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York. Campaign was hot on both sides with accusations on persons. Cleveland won narrowly. He was a believer in *laisse-faire*. Government should maintain only law and order and conduct foreign policy.

He vetoed the bill to support relief for farmers and pensioners. Congress responded with a billgranting general pension to all disabled veterans. Cleveland tried to reduce tariffs on agricultural product. He lost the election of 1888 to Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison.

Republicans congress went ahead to push for highest protective tariff Law in the history of the U.S and won. The initiative came from congress because as President Harrison later said “when I came to office I found that the party Managers had taken it all to themselves”. They had sold out every place to pay election expenses.

The major issue that influenced debate during his time was legislation to curb the power of trusts Companies. This resulted in the congress passing the Sherman Anti-trust Act on July, 1890. Its provisions were weakened by the judicial department which was reluctant to punish violators. The republicans Congress also passed Mckinley Act in 1890 on tariff. This led to defeat of Republican party in both houses.

LECTURE TWO:

U.S. EXPANSIONIST POLICY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The U.S had been expansionist from the beginning of her independence in 1775. By the first half of the 19th century, population of the U.S was expanding. From thirteen (13) colonies, U.S. continued to expand westwards and bought places that formally were under Spain or France such as Luisinia Territory, Florida, Texas and Alaska. Many Americans believed it was the Manifest Destiny to expand in to new realms.

By the second half of the 19th century, U.S. had little room to expand. Expansionism of the 1890s involved acquiring possessions outside U.S. continent and island Territories i.e., U.S. was acquiring colonies. U.S. was joining Britain, France, Germany etc. in great imperial drive, which by the end of the century would bring much of the Developing countries under control of industrial nations of West.

By 1890s, U.S. had defeated Spain and embarked on national imperialism and was on its way becoming “World Power”. This was to lay foundation for the future U.S. Foreign policy and problems accompanying it.

Factors that influences U.S. Expansionist Policy in the 19th Century

1. The subjugation of Native Indians had established a foundation for U.S. colonial control over other people. Fredrick Jackson Turner had predicted American “arousing of the Frontier”, when resources and land would be exhausted and there would be a need to find more land to expand to.
2. Charles Darwin’s Theory of the “Survival of the Fittest” was interpreted by the Americans to mean that only powerful nations would survive by dominating weaker ones.
3. Myths of Americans Superiority – Based on Darwin’s Theory, American Writers and missionaries had argued that it was U.S. Manifest Destiny to

Civilize others. U.S. was a superior nation and that God had given them the divine mission to civilize others.

4. The ablest apostle of imperialism was Alfred Mahan, a Captain and later an Admiral in the Navy. In three major works, The Interest of America in Sea Power 1897 Mahan argued that the sea power nations were the great nations of history. U.S., a huge land had to base its greatness on sea power.
5. Economic Factors – By 19th the Century. U.S was an industrialized nation. It was producing more goods than it could consume at home. Foreign trade was becoming increasingly important to American economy e.g. \$392 million goods exported in 1870; \$1.4 billion by 1900. Senator A. J. Beverage of Indiana said “we are producing more than we can consume. Therefore, we must find new markets for our goods, new occupation of our capital, new work for our labour”. Politicians then advocated for aggressive foreign policy to provide an outlet.

SOME CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF U.S. EXPANSIONISM IN LATIN AND CENTRAL AMERICA

U.S. expansion to Latin America was based on Monroe Doctrine announced in 1823 by President Monroe. Mainly to preserve the hemisphere for America and to keep Europeans out.

The main motive of the U.S. in advocating this doctrine was simply to allow her create a commercial Empire in Latin America. This was to enable her find markets for her products and acquire some vital materials. These raw material included sugar, coffee, etc. therefore, she advocated for Free Trade in the area. Free trade was used as an excuse to interfere in the internal affairs resources of Latin American Countries to enable U.S. expatriate the natural resources of Latin America, she embarked on construction of infrastructure such as road, rail road's, and canals. To achieve her aim, U.S. had to fight serious wars with other European powers like Spain, Portugal, France and Britain, who had founded Colonies in Latin and Central America since the 15th C. U.S. succeeded because she used her military and economic power to defeat other Europeans and also to suppress local oppositions in Central and Latin America.

1. For example in 1893, U.S. removed Queen of Cuba, annexed the country and Colonized it until 19th Century Cuba became a major sugar producing area for the U.S.

2. Between the 1860s and the 1870s, U.S. interfered in Peru and Chile and constructed rail road to enable her transport with ease raw materials.
3. Between 1850 and 1860, America forced Hawaii to sign treaty to allow her establish a sugar industry. In 1893, U.S. landed Marines and deposed the Queen of Hawaii, annexed it and in 1900, passed an Act, which conferred American citizenship on the subjects.
4. In 1895 U.S. and Britain clashed over Venezuela, in which the boundary was set.
5. In December, 1898, U.S. bought Philippines from Spain at \$20 million through Treaty of Paris.
6. In 1893, U.S. took over the construction of Panama Canal and invested huge sum of money. This after the French Company – De Lesseps had been driven out.
7. In 1913, U.S. marines entered Nicaragua to protect lines and property of U.S. Citizens to prevent a revolution. U.S. remained in Nicaragua until 1933. The people reacted and this led to Nationalist Movement in the area. By the end of the 19th Century. U.S. had established her presence in Central and Latin America. Up to the 20th Century, U.S. had colonies in places like Cuba, Nicaragua and Panama etc.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1914 – 1919

It broke out on August, 1914 and lasted to 1919. The war was between the European powers. When the war broke out, in Europe, President Woodrow Wilson of American urged his people to be neutral in “thought and in words”. Eventually, this did not work; and on the 2nd April, 1917, the president appeared in Congress asking for the declaration of war. This was approved on the 6th April, 1917, when the Congress passed a joint resolution declaring war on German Empire.

There are debates among American Scholars as to why America entered the war. Four major reasons are usually given.

1. Neutrality – Although, at the beginning Wilson urged Americans to be neutral, this was not possible in practice. This was because the American public opinion spoke in favour of the allies. American cabinet made up of members sympathetic to the British cause. U.S. had big trade relation with the allies; while with Germany it was negligible. U.S. had sold to the Allies war equipment worth \$40 million in 1914 and rose to \$290 million in 1916. Britain imposed embargo on Germany; Germany waged sub-marine war on

Allies, sunk Americans ships and killed 160 lives. Wilson was unhappy so appealed to Congress to declare war.

2. Economic Factors – This became popular in the 1930s during the Great Depression. Advocate of this view maintain that the U.S. entered the war to placate its businessmen. J.P. Morgan had sold to the French U.S bonds. He carried out campaign in media in media. He made a lot of money. Loan had also been given to the Allies after saying no; while non to German. Wilson entered war to save the rich. About 2\$ billion loan to the Allies compared to \$27 million to the Central Powers.
3. National Security – This became popular in the 1940s against the background of the Second world War. Lipmann. A U.S. journalist claimed that U.S. entered the war to prevent German occupation of Europe.
4. Idealistic Factor – This view claims that World War I was war to end all wars. It was to make the world safe for democracy. America has a mission from God to maintain peace. It was for this reason that the U.S. entered the war.

PREPARATION FOR WAR

The U.S. made several preparations at the home front before it finally entered the war.

1. World War I Board, headed by Baruch. It regulated production and purchase of raw materials. Experts were brought to White house to plan for the war.
2. United Food Agriculture – The dominant figure was Herbert Hoover. For 15 years, he dominated politics in Washington his goal was to increase production. For the first time, the Government supported farmers to increase production. Prices were fixed high to motivate them. Motivation ended after World War I. Farmers enjoyed prosperity in the 1920s.
3. Fuel Administration – To peg coal prices high to increase output. Prices dropped at the end of the war.
4. U.S. Rail road Administration – Government came into determine operation. A lot of money was spent on repairs.

Wilson for Liberal Democracy. He was not a pioneer of the ideas but simply articulated them. He was a spokesman for Liberal Democracy while Lenin was for Socialist. U.S. sent Col. House to hold talk in February, 1916 with Lord Grey of Britain to prepare for conference but failed. In 1916 Wilson turned to Military

preparations. Campaign for re-election by asking democrats not to allow Republicans to win.

His slogan was 'He kept us out of war'. Had support of many e.g. socialists. He tried to negotiate for peace and on 22nd January, 1917 came out with 14 points. He came out with "Peace Without Victory" but all failed. Germans embarked on submarine warfare knowing that this might plunge U.S. into war. Wilson cut diplomatic ties with Germany. He called upon the congress to arm the nation. In February 1917, the British Secret Service interrupted a secret note from German Government, that if U.S. entered the war, Mexico could ally with Germany and Japan to take over Texas, Arizona etc. This was given to the U.S. on 17th February, 1917. U.S. There was a Socialist Revolution in Russia and the Tsar overthrown, Germany sunk U.S. sub-marines and killed many. Wilson was determined to fight against Germany. Asked the Congress for permission and this was given on 6th April, 1917. U.S. entered the war against Germany; which was defeated in 1919.

The Peace Treaty and League of Nations

It was easier to win than to make peace. This turned out to be Wilson's highest test and cause of fall. He was opposed both within and outside the country. He called for general elections but he was defeated because of Republican opposition. He went to the Paris Conference himself. Though popular abroad, his long absence from home undermined his power. His peace Commission had only one Republican out of 5 members. Republican such as Taft and Roosevelt didn't give him their support.

In Paris, things were difficult for Wilson. Discussions were dominated by Allied Powers Britain, France, Italy and U.S; the Central Powers were merely called upon to sign the treaty. Peace was difficult because personality clash between members. Britain wanted a harsh document to punish Germany. While U.S. wanted peace. Wilson dominated scene because that the idea of the treaty was his thinking. He could not get it because he lost support of the Liberals who fought to defeat it. The Treaty of Versailles was signed by Germany on 28th June, 1917 not as drastic as France wanted it. Germany admitted fault, lost her colonies, and imposed armament upon her and an indemnity of \$5 billion. In 1923 Democrats lost election in the U.S. Wilson failed to get support from the U.S. for the formation of League of Nations. Americans were simply against it. There were too many problems and the Great Depression was coming. U.S. withdrew into isolationism.

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the New Deal

The 1920s on the surface was a decade of prosperity for the U.S. More goods were produced and consumed. Buyers and investors were confident. New York Stock Exchange enjoyed its period of boom. But much of investment was on credit. Such investment was gamble and depended on high prices to make profit. Prosperity was unevenly distributed. Blacks, farmers etc. did not enjoy the boom. Production was great but high prices deprived many people. Then in 1929 came the “bubble burst”. In September the popular index of stock stood at 452, two months later it dropped to 234. Most holders to brokers’ loan were ruined. On Black Tuesday, October, 1929, the market index fell to 143 points. It reached its lowest point in 1932. Wages dropped from \$53 billion to \$31 billion. Industrial production fell from 26 percent in 1929 to 51 percent in 1932.

Causes of the Depression

- i. Misdistribution of Income – TOP 5% received 28% of national income. Had to invest to keep economy moving. Bought mainly on credit and as income fell, there was troubled.
- ii. Tariff Act of 1930 – made it impossible for foreigners to sell in U.S. markets and goods dropped.
- iii. Government tax policies reduced purchasing power and production declined.

HOOVER’S POLICIES

President Hoover of Republican. Party believed the economy was sound and refused to intervene in the economy. He also believed that government should not help the poor, and unemployed. Government’s help would make them more dependent. As things worsened, he was forced to act reluctantly. In 1932, Hoover signed a law creating Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). To lend money to banks and relief agencies but no success. Then came 1932 Election. Depression hurt chances of Republican. Democrats were willing to accept the situation as a crisis. Hoover was attacked. Earlier in 1930, Democrats had won in Senate and Congress.

President Franklin Roosevelt: Democrat’s candidate Franklin Roosevelt campaign Slogan was “New Deal”. To relieve the suffering and create more jobs. He won election with 23 million votes against Hoover’s 15 million. On March 1933, Roosevelt took over power. He announced that problem needed courage and

action. He then launched a New Deal and declared Direct Relief and Economic Stability in 100 days.

- i. Emergency Banking Relief Act: Government to buy stock in banks
- ii. Federal Government Relief Act – Distributed money to States for distribution to the poor – creation of jobs.
- iii. Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1933 and \$4 billion was spent to create jobs.

Other Agencies created included Works Progress “Administration”, Farm Credit Administration, National Recovery Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) etc.

Further reforms were made. These were Civilian Conservation Corps – set up for employment of Youths; and Social Security to develop backward areas; National Labour Relations Act of 1935; and Social Security Act of 1935 – created an insurance and retirement scheme for workers.

Roosevelt shied away from many other things – no civil Rights Legislation, no attempt to redistribute income, no attempt to balance gap between rich and poor, between social classes, races. sexes etc.

Legacy of New Deal included:

- i. Mixed economy – government got involved in the economy and spent more money
- ii. Government’s involvement in new areas like banking
- iii. Tremendous increase for President’s power
- iv. Coalition of groups e.g. Blacks and others.
- v. Benefited mainly the rich class.

There are debates about whether New Deal was Revolutionary or Conservative:

New Deal was not an organized programme based on clear and political social theory. Main aim was to use government’s power to solve economic crisis. It pulled academics, economists and social scientist known as Brain Trust in Washington.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939 – 1945

This has attracted controversy among historians: the orthodox and revisionists. The question is did Germany and Japan constitute a threat to the U.S. Security? There are two perspectives by the Revisionist and the orthodox or interventionists.

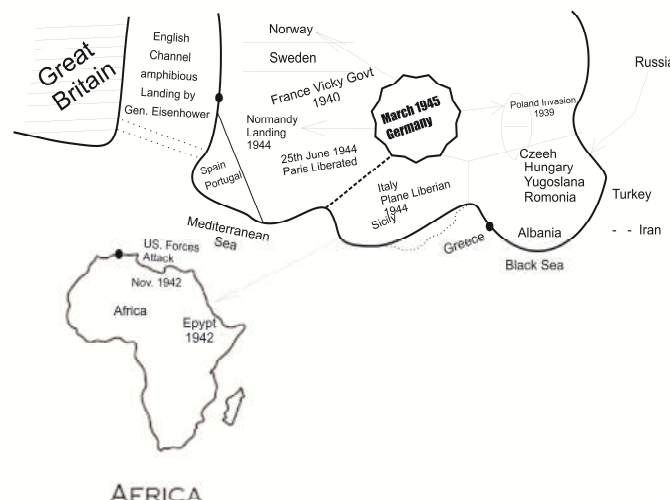
The Revisionists maintain that the Axis did not threaten the U.S. interest. Germany had no plans to attack Europe. Japan was concerned with Asia only. President Roosevelt deliberately maneuvered Japan in to war. Roosevelt told lie to the American people that he was working for peace, while preparing for war. The result of U.S. entries were negative, it upset the Europe's balance of powers. U.S. should have stayed out of the war.

The Orthodox known as interventionists or internationalists argue that the Axis powers threatened the U.S. Security and national interest. By 1940, Germany had conquered most of Europe and U.S. might face it alone. Germans and Italians were planning to attack West Africa. Japan was aggressive in Asia. Germany was the greatest threat and necessary to defeat it.

Britain would have been defeated by Germany without U.S. involvement tried to avoid war with Japan on oil, freezing of assets etc. Fundamental causes of U.S. involvement in the war lay outside the U.S. and World War II.

The Course of World War II: - Two Fronts – Europe (Germany + Britain) Asia (Japan)

WORLD WAR II 1939-45 IN EUROPE



In 1939, war broke out in Europe among the European powers – the Axis led by Germany and the Allied Powers led by Great Britain. President Roosevelt of the U.S. remarked that “This Nation will remain neutral in action but I can not ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well”. Roosevelt’s hope was to offer much military aid to the Allies without going to war. The congress repealed arms embargo and began shipment to Britain after the fall of France. At the same time, it started plan on atomic bomb. Informed Japan that she would terminate trade treaties. American First Committee was formed to oppose U.S. entry.

1941 Lend Lease Act empowered President to sell, lend etc. defence materials to many countries that deemed strategic to American defenses. The original aid was \$1.3 billion. January, 1941 Churchill and Roosevelt met at New Foundland to sign the Atlantic Charter – collective Security, self-determinations etc. (Four Freedoms).

In November, U.S. Navy engaged in skirmishes with German submarines. In 1941 Roosevelt announced that it would cut relationship with Japan if it continued with the attacks on Indochina. U.S. intercepted Japanese plan to attack so step up defense at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, etc. In December, 1941, Japanese attacked and destroyed the U.S. Navy, Air force killing 2,403.

American. Japan took Philippines and move towards Australia and India.

Roosevelt announced sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific and asked for declaration of war. In December, II, Hitler joined his Japanese ally and declared war on U.S., this forced the U.S. to step up military mobilization before the war to 1.4million by July, 1941. Blacks, women etc. were involved, but Blacks were segregated from whites. U.S. organized Economic Production and ordered secret building of atomic bomb War Production Board was created on January, 16, 1942. The War Man Power Commission recruited new workers for arm Production. Several other preparations were made.

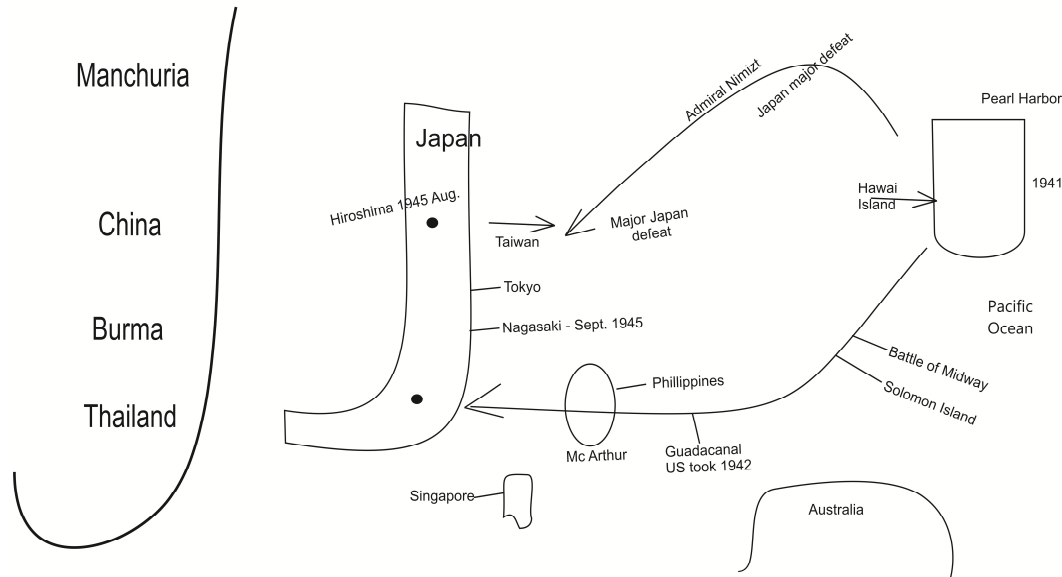
Internationally, Roosevelt had met with Churchill, British Prime Minister in 1941, signed Atlantic Charter to guarantee self-determination. They met in Casablanca, Morocco in January, 1943, demanded unconditional, surrender of the Axis Powers. In November, 1942, Allied Forces landed in N. Africa and in 1943 defeated Germans. Responded to attack on France, Russia annoyed, she favoured opening of 2nd front in France to divert German attack on Russia. Victory led to fall of

Italian fascist Mussolini and push Germans out of Italy. In 1945, General Eisenhower ordered an offensive on Germany. Russia entered Vienna. On April, Hitler committed suicide in his bunker in Berlin.

Soon after this, there was problem between Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt. They had met at Tehran conference in 1943 and Yalta in 1945, Roosevelt tried to restrain Britain hostility towards Russia. Roosevelt had wanted to gain support of Stalin even after the war, to gain their support against Japan in Asia. He did little to achieve them. By the time of defeat of Germany, Roosevelt was dead and Truman had taken over, U.S. got more suspicious about Russia and produced new bomb. Hoped to convince Russia, but this was mistaken. Poland became the most contention issue – Russian soldiers changed the boundary. Russia wanted huge reparation from Germany. Germany was divided into 4 zones among Russia, Britain, France and U.S.A. Alliance generated into conflict between U.S.A and Russia. This was the beginning of the cold war.

THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

WORLD WAR II IN ASIA



The burden of the war here fell on the U.S. and China, with aid from Australia and Britain. The major Army commander was Gen. Douglas MC. Arthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. In 1942, Japanese advance had slowed down. In March 1944 Mc. Arthur took over Manila. The conquest of Solomon Island, Manila, Iwo Jima and Okinawa, bombardment of Japan from air and sea by long range B.29 bombers

in Island hopping by American superior fire power crippled Japanese Navy and Air Force. In April, 1945 he launched an attack on Japan with B-29 Bombers especially Tokyo. Japan refused to surrender. This culminated into bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6th August and 9th August 1945 respectively with atomic bomb, the most dangerous weapon at that time. This bomb inflicted heavy destruction on the cities.

In Hiroshima about 80,000 thousand people were killed or seriously wounded from the blast. The shock created in the aftermath of the bombing was terrible. Two days after Hiroshima, U.S. declared war on Japan and marched rapidly into Japan – held Manchuria. After Nagasaki Japanese sued for peace. With their surrender, World War II ended on August, 14 the 1945. The use of atomic bomb in this war shows that it was a war fought with high technology with each side using self-guided radar and a new jet fighter plane by Germany; Britain radar system rate. The atomic bomb was invented by U.S. scientist who fled from Europe. It was called Manhattan project under Gen. Groves of Army Corps of Engineers. Others in 1943 U.S. shared information with Britain, but kept away from 1942. were Oppenheimer, a physicists. Top secret building in Manhattan started from Russia, which would lead to suspicious and cold war.

THE COLD WAR

There are three schools of thought about its origin. These are the orthodox, Revisionist and Post-Revisionist.

(1) The Orthodox

This follows chronologically the U.S. official line. It put the blame for the cold war on Russia, because of its policy of communism, which opposed democracy. Communism meant Stalinism, a system of extra ordinary cruelty and repressive at home but insecure Command of most communist parties throughout the whole World. It was aggressive and insatiable.

(2) Revisionist

This emerged in the late 1950s and put the blame on the U.S. It over-reacted to the U.S.S.R. threat/security expansionism. That U.S. whipped out anti-communist emotions in order to hide its real intention of establishing economic hegemony throughout the world; U.S. wanted to seek an “open-door” policy for American trade and investment because U.S. capitalism had to expand in order to survive.

(3) Post-Revisionist

A synthesis of orthodox and revisionist. It took at the situation from both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. point of view. USSR had suffered a great deal from the Second World War and perceived Western interest in Eastern Europe as a threat to its security. Stalin was not as aggressive as perceived, he was cautious and refrained from using the Red Army outside his own sphere of vital interest. In the same way the U.S.A. interest in Eastern Europe shouldn't be regarded as a desire for economic expansion because her economic stake was negligible. So the champion of free trade advocated accommodation with Russia and not confrontation. Also the U.S. post-military policy was not that of World Empire because it demobilized its troops. Nor were the American leaders obsessed with anti-communist because in China, they worked for coalition between Chiang Kai Shek and Mao Tse Tung.

The Course/Causes of the War

The end of the Second World War, saw the World dominated by the two Superpowers – USSR and USA (bipolar) engaged in geographical rivalry and ideological disagreement. The relationship is known as “Cold War” i.e. war not fought with hot Weapons (nuclear) but soft Weapons. The problem had started during the second World War, when the western powers delayed attack on Western front. Russia looked at that with suspicion.

(1) Yalta Conference

After the 2nd World War, the Big Three-Roosevelt of the U.S.A., Stalin of Russia and Churchill of Britain met at Yalta in February, 1945. Stalin had made Concessions on a number of vital issues and promised good will for the future. He had supported self-government and allowed free elections in Eastern Europe. At the end of the conference the Americans felt happy. The news of good will was to be embodied in the United Nation.

However certain events soon happened which shattered that hope of peace. Principally because of USSR expansionism in Germany, Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, where she established pro-communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania. (Russia's policy of sphere of influence) these were areas of vital link to the USSR. Soviet foreign policy were the maintenance and enhancement of national security and maintenance of hegemony over eastern Europe. Russia believed in sphere of

influence and not self determination or Wilsonian universalism. Russia continued to move into the Persian Gulf and into the Mediterranean Sea. Greece, Turkey and Iran were the first to feel the Soviet pressure. When the situation became serious Britain landed in Greece to save it from the communist. USA followed suit and promised to assist Iran using force.

(2) The Emergence of Truman:

By this time, Truman the U.S. new President who initially was inexperienced had established himself over control. He, Stalin and Truman met at Postdam outside Berlin at the end of July. After the War, there was vacuum in the heart of Europe. During this conference Germany was divided among Britain, France, USA and USSR. Postdam was the last meeting between Stalin and the Western leaders; suspicion increased on both sides. The Administration was confused at first; Secretary of State of the USA, James Byrnes had no faith in Russia while Secretary of Commerce, Henry A. Wallace argued that Russians should be given a benefit of doubts. Defence Secretary, Jame V. Forrestal persuaded that Russians were bent on World Conquest and advocated a hardline policy. Breifly there was crisis over Iran, but in May, 1946 through U.S. pressure, the Russians withdrew their troops from Iran.

(3) The Powers of Atomic Bomb

The powers of atomic bomb increased fear and suspicion. In 1946 Stalin remarked that the capitalist system rendered War inevitable. On March 6, 1946 Churchill of Britain speaking at Fulton, Missouri in the U.S. with Truman beside him responded by lamenting against the “expansionist tendencies” of the Soviet Union. From Shettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an Iron Curtin had descended across the continent. He said Russia could only be contained by military force.

In 1949 German Federal Republic was established in the West while the German Democratic Republic in the East. Churchill said the cold war had started and the USA must realize that.

(4) The Greek Crisis

In the meantime Communist pressure was mounting against Greece and Turkey. Early in 1947, Britain notified that in five weeks it must end financial support to a Greek Government besieged by communist guerrillas receiving support from Marshal Tito, the communist leader of Yugoslavia. Truman decided that America must take up the burden, America realized

that Big Three Cooperation had ended. It would no longer show any friendship towards Russia. Early in 1946, George Kenan, the U.S. Foreign services foremost expert in the Soviet Union, had presented what was to be the basis for new American Foreign policy that would recognize the hostile attitude of Soviet Union. In short the Soviet Union had no community of interest with the capitalist states; they saw their relationship with the Western powers in terms of an innate antagonism. This would continue until the capitalist system was destroyed. The struggle between the US and USSR was going to be a long one.

(5) The Truman Doctrine or Containment Policy

In March 1947 President Harry Truman went before a joint session of Congress to deliver the most important speech in American history. He announced what was to be known as the Truman Doctrine. The U.S. would only survive in a world in which freedom flourished. "I believe that it must be the policy of the U.S. to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures". He divided the world between free people (democratic) and totalitarianism (communism). In May 1947 the Congress passed a Bill granting 400 million dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey over the next 15 months and authorized the dispatch of American personnel to assist with reconstruction and to provide their armies with appropriate instruction and training. The U.S. thus began the policy of containment of communism. With this the Cold War had started as the Soviet Union would react swiftly.

(6) THE MARSHALL PLAN

After the World War II, European Countries were ruined economically. They had to depend on the U.S. for most of their necessities. European countries did not have enough dollars to purchase commodities required for recovery. The result was an ominous dollar gap- a term feared by the Europeans. U.S. security and the European balance of power had many things in common. U.S. could not permit the USSR to control Western Europe. U.S. solution was injection of dollar to western Europe. This was contingent upon economic Cooperation among the European States. The economic Cooperation Act of 1948 called specially for European Economic Integration. U.S. had enjoyed the benefits of large market without internal barriers. European nations (1/4 size of the U.S) had shut their markets from one another with tariff walls, quota systems etc.

The U.S Secretary of State, George Marshall first stressed the economic cooperation required by the U.S.; he asked the European States to devise a plan for their common needs and common recovery. The U.S. would provide the funds while Europeans would do the training. The result was the organization for European Economic cooperation (OEEC). The cost of European's recovery for a period of 4 years was 33 billion dollars. The president asked for 17 billion dollars, which congress approved 13 billion dollars.

EUROPEAN'S SPLIT INTO WEST AND EAST

U.S. deliberately extended the invitations to all nations of Europe to join the plan. But Soviet Union rejected this when in Paris, Soviet foreign Minister, V.M. Molotov denounced the plan and left.

U.S. COMMITMENT TO EUROPE'S DEFENCE

Marshall Plan was not sufficient to guarantee peace in Europe. There was a need for a military defence. In 1947 Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg signed the Brussels Pact Collective self-Defence. In 1949 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) mostly European Countries with the U.S. were committed to Europe's defence.

Summarily Truman Doctrine had prevented a Soviet break-through in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Marshall Plan had set Europe on the path to economic recovery and health. NATO had guaranteed Europe its security.

(7) SOVIET SHIFT TO ASIA

American foreign policy was successful in defending Europe but then Russia shifted to Asia. It was here that dramatic clashes of the Cold War occurred during the next four years. It was a disaster. The collapse of Nationalist China was followed by the Korean War, which dragged on and Truman administration had lost popularity. This led to confrontation with communist China for 20 years. During the War, US had 2 fold purposes in Asia; to defeat Japan and to create a powerful and friendly China in its place. U.S. took several steps to confer upon China the status of a great power. But many obstacles; division within China communist and Nationalist, each struggling for supremacy. The communist eventually won the War. The Communist marched in to Manchuria and dealt a serious blow to the Nationalists.

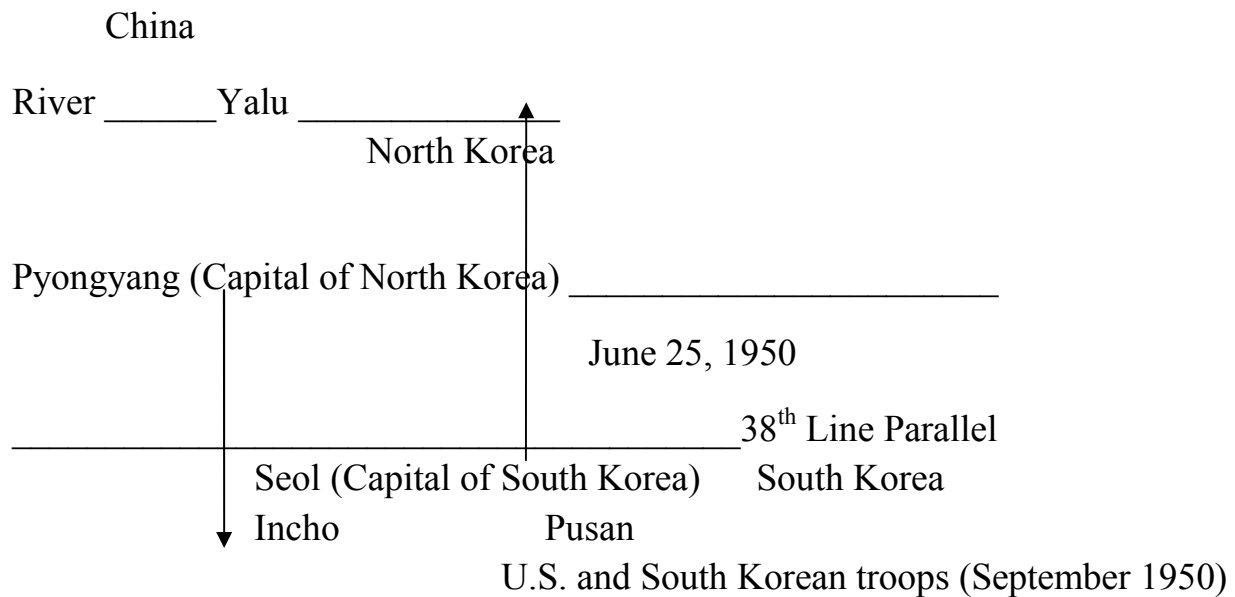
(8) THE COLD WAR IN ASIA

In Asia, U.S.A. suffered a serious of defeat in the hands of the Communists. In China, Chiang Kei Shek, U.S.A. ally lost power to Mao Tse Tung, who established a communist Party. Truman and Democratic Party were accused of being weak by the Republicans.

(9) THE KOREAN WAR

Here, the U.S.A. was forced to engage in war with the Communists. War broke out between North Korea and South Korea in June, 1950. When N. Korean troops backed by Russia crossed 38th Line Parallel and invaded S. Korea. U.S. was forced to come to the aid of S. Korea. Gen. MC Arthur was ordered to enter into Korea. U.N.O. voted and demanded N. Korea to pull out and offered it support. Army contributions came from many countries but 90% from U.S.A., U.S. and Korean troops moved to Pusan. On September, 1950 surprise amphibious landing near Seoul at Incho Scattered N. Korean soldier. U.S. troops pushed them to pre-War line capturing Capital, Pyongyang on October 20, 1950.

Gen. MC Arthur tried to get into China. Chinese Army came out across R. Yalu, forcing U.N. troops to retreat, ending brilliant MC Arthur's victory. He was dismissed from the army in 1951. Attacks and counter-attacks took place up to 1953 when the two sides signed peace agreement under President Eisenhower. U.S. lost 37, 700 soldiers while several others were wounded. Korea lost 1.5 million.



COLD WAR AT HOME

At home anti- Communist feelings were aroused, J. Robert Oppenheimer was scrutinized. In 1959 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were arrested and convicted for passing secret of atomic bomb to Russia. They were executed in 1953. Suspicion was focused on schools, teachers, books, government workers, etc. charges of Communist infiltration filled departments and Democratic party. Sen. Joseph McCarthy (Republican) led the War known as McCarthyism.

Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty was appointed to draw up a list of dangerous people. 20,000 workers were screened ,many left government work. Many congressional hearings were held to ascertain the truth. This led to internal Security Act. In 1948 Algiers Hiss (State Dept.) was accused but was defended by Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson was also accused. By 1950 McCarthy was discredited, Eisenhower called him to order.

EISENHOWER AND THE GLOBAL AGE OF THE 1950S

1952 – 1958

- Ike (Eisenhower) ewon elections with 34 million votes compare to 27 million of Democrats.
- Election ended many years of Democratic rule. America was defeated in China and N. Korea. Purging of communist during the era of Sen. MacCarthy.

- He ended Korean War – 34,000 Americans dead and 103,000 wounded. War ended with a debate over globalist policy – advocate of global defense won the debate and U.S. expanded its aids across the World.
- He inaugurated philosophy of dynamic “conservatism” – in money and liberal to human beings.
- He rolled away many achievements of New Deal – cut welfare packages. He was slow to denounce McCarthyism. In 1954 McCarthyism ended.
- Black Civil Rights movement scored a goal with a repeal of the 1896 Education Law.
- There was opposition from the whites – Ku Klux Klan –
- In 1957 Governor of Arkansas refused to accept blacks to Little Parks Central School. Eisenhower sent troops (Federal) to the school to accompany black students.

Two year later school was desegregated. 1957 passage of Civil Rights Acts established U.S. commission on Civil Rights. 1953 Rosa Parks (a black tailor from work) sat in a bus and refused to stand up at Montgomery, Alabama. Her arrest sparked off a year long black boycott of city buses and organized their own.

- Inspired by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., blacks decided to walk rather than take a back seat. Supreme Court supported them. In 1960, 4 black students from N. Carolina sat down at segregated lunch Canter and ordered Coffee.
- Their action started sit-in- movement that swept across south and ended segregated.

FOREIGN POLICIES

- Ike and John Dulles continued Containment Policy but no new initiatives.
- Introduced Liberation and massive retaliation was his phrase against USSR and China.
- There was new look for American Military and Air Power and nuclear weaponry de-emphasized conventional weapons.
- Holding of line against communism. After dead of Stalin he tried to improve relations with Kremlin and agreed to end joint occupation of Australia.
- He joined Nikita Nkrushev to Geneva for a summit conference on unification of Germany.
- Armed race with Russia continued. Rebellion against Russia by Poland and Hungary in 1956 but no help from U.S.A. In 1957 Russia launched man-made satellite (SPUTNIK) and America felt vulnerable by attack from air.

- John Dulles travelled extensively for face to face for negotiations. An America U.Z spy plane crashed in Moscow and relation with China worsened. Threats came from Latin America, Middle East Israel C.I.A was active in Middle East. Crisis over Suez Canal because of rise of Gamal Nasir of Egypt. In 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle east – Age of Consensus between Republican/Democrats shunned extremism on end of stability, continuity and cultural wholeness.

EMMANCIPATION OF SLAVES 1861 IN U.S.A.

Slavery officially ended in the U.S.A. in 1861 by President Abraham Lincoln. This was after a bitter civil war from 1861 – 1865 between the North and the South over the issue of slavery. Life for the ex-slaves in the immediate post-bllum period was characterized by serious crisis – lack of employment, poverty, racial discrimination (Jin Crow Laws in the South), lack of voting rights etc. The blacks were then forced to make adjustments and adaptation to their new realities.

One of such common realities was that of lack of land for agricultural purposes. Prior to this period slaves had been used to working on the farms of their masters through which they had earned a living. Now they were free but had no land or money of their own. The Government had promised them land, mule and capital but these were not forth-coming. On the other hand, their former white masters had land but no labour. This forced the two former enemies to enter into an agreement known as share-cropping and tenancy. Under this system, the Blacks worked for the white planters and shared the crops at the end of the harvest. This system tied the Blacks to the whites. But the White planters pushed ahead with the cultivation of only crop eg. Cotton, this became a monoculture economy. It did not only cause food shortage but as prices declined, most farmers were ruined. Moreover, as the farmers depended on the banks for their credits and loans, they were forced to mortgage their crops in advance to these financial institutions. The conditions of both the white and black farmers continued to deteriorate as a result of boll weevils attacks on cotton in the 1880s. During the Great Depression of the 1930s farmers and blacks were the most affected. But the proportion of blacks who suffered were far higher than those of the whites.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN U.S.A.

This could be divided into three periods:

- (i) Period before 1861 emancipation

- (ii) Period after civil war to 1945 and
- (iii) Period from 1945 to present.

During the first period, they were still under bondage and could only react but running away, killing their masters, revolt among others. They were hardly organized.

The Black Civil Right Movement started properly after their emancipation. This was because they realized that freedom had no meaning as they were still denied economic opportunities, political and civil right, social segregation based on Jim Crow's Law, see paper etc. To achieve these basic rights, they decided to organize themselves under their leaders. Most of them were educated, had newspapers, wrote novels, musicians and politicians. The problems of the blacks were compounded by the increasing effects of industrialization and urbanization and organized opposition from the whites through organizations such as Ku Klux Klan. These white organizations opposed, attacked and lynched many black.

Among the first black leaders was Booker T. Washington. He was one of the early educated blacks who eventually became the Principal of Tuskegee College for the training of skills. His philosophy was based on accommodation between the two races. Thus while he was loved by the whites, he was criticized by Blacks as an accommodationist. He founded the National Urban League in 1901.

From America's Black Past Edited By Eric Foner

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND HIS TIMES

The unquestioned leader of the black race in America at the dawn of the twentieth century was Booker T. Washington. By the time of his death, Washington had exerted an influence in national affairs seldom equaled by a black man in American history. His achievements were all the more remarkable when his humble beginnings are considered. Washington was born in Virginia in 1856, the slave son of a white father and slave mother. During reconstruction he studied at Hampton institute, one of the educational institutes for blacks newly established by philanthropic northerners. The leading spirit of Hampton was General Samuel Armstrong, who believed he could train economically successful black elite which, by example, would inspire the mass of blacks to seek to better their conditions. His emphasis on the virtues of a practical, utilitarian education had a strong impact on the young Washington, and when he himself became a director of an educational institution, Tuskegee institute, Washington followed the lines laid down by

Armstrong. At Tuskegee in the 1880's and 1890's, blacks were trained in such diverse skills as farming, brick making, blacksmithing and printing, and in personal habits of thrift, cleanliness and industriousness.

The occasion of Washington's emergence as a national figure was his speech in 1895 at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition, before a racially mixed audience which included many prominent northern and southern whites. Washington planned his speech carefully, making doubly certain not to give offense to his white listeners. He declared that blacks for the time being would abandon their struggle for equal social and political rights, and concentrate on economic advancement. Washington reminded southern whites of the "fidelity and love" blacks had shown them, and asked in return only the assurance that they continue to employ black as the major labor force of the South, and that the economic progress of skilled and dedicated blacks not be impeded, the Atlanta speech won immediate acclaim throughout the nation. Frederick Douglass had died in the same year, and it appeared that the Tuskegeean had replaced Douglass as the national spokesman for the black race.

Washington's educational, social, and political philosophies were intimately related. His reading of black history convinced him that slavery and reconstruction had not prepared blacks for freedom, because they had never been trained in the attitudes essential for economic achievement- belief in the dignity of labor and habits of thrifts and hard work. At Tuskegee, therefore, he stressed character building and the inculcation of middle-class values. Industrial education, one historian has observed, meant for Washington accepted the common nineteenth-century attitude that through self-help one could rise from poverty to riches; indeed his autobiography, *up from slavery*, was a black Horatio Alger tale. This outlook helps explain Washington's willingness to postpone political equality for blacks. The real need of the black community, he insisted, was economic power, not political participation, which could never be more than illusory so long as blacks were economically dependent on whites.

In one sense, Washington was a black leader created by whites. Ironically for an advocate of racial self-help, he was financed by the wealthiest whites in America. Contributors to Tuskegee included such multi-millionaires as J.P. Morgan, Rockefeller, and Collis P. Huntington. Equally ironic is the fact that this man who urged a suspension of political activity by black was himself a confidant of President Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and their patronage arbiter in black affairs.

And Washington's influence over black affairs was further enhanced by his secret financing and manipulation of a number of black newspapers.

Washington's close relations with powerful whites go far towards explaining his undoubted predominance in black affairs from 1895 to the founding of the NAACP in 1911. Yet it is by no means the entire story. For his outlook strongly appealed to important elements in the black community as well. For one thing, Washington's philosophy represented what might be called politics of survival. His program of economic progress was quite possibly the only feasible one under severe circumstances which faced southern blacks at the turn of the century. Another source of Washington's strength is indicated by August Meier, in the article "Negro class structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington." Meier points out that Washington drew support from a rising black middle class, which had experienced economic success at first hand, and which almost exclusively served a black clientele. Unlike the older black leadership, which had extensive social and economic contacts with white society, this new class was more interested in business and race solidarity than political affairs. Allan Spear's study of the Chicago ghetto in the early twentieth century confirms Meier's conclusion that businessmen were whole-hearted supporters of Washington's outlook. Washington spoke their language- he was devoted to the middle-class capitalist values, and violently opposed to labor unions. Indeed, he often promised southern whites that they could rely on black workers not to organize or strike.

Washington's outlook was an attempt to meet the problem of a people ill-equipped by slavery for either political leadership or economic progress. He taught his people that to be accepted by white society they must absorb the middle-class values of that society and prove themselves in the terms in which white Americans judged one another- by economic success. Yet, as C. Vann Woodward has pointed out, Washington's economic outlook was fast becoming obsolete at the turn of the century. There was nothing wrong with training black for jobs, but the jobs Washington chose- skilled crafts and independent farming- were increasingly threatened by industrialization and mechanized agriculture. For the black population, economic opportunity lay in the city and factory, but Washington urged his people to remain in the South and on the farm.

It would be unfair to criticize Washington for abandoning political rights altogether, for he secretly fought for nondiscriminatory suffrage provisions in southern constitutions, arguing that property and literacy tests should be applied equally to both races, and he always insisted that whites would be forced to share

political power with blacks once the latter had achieved economic independence. To a large extent, he was a creature of his times. As his contemporary Kelly Miller noted in comparing him with Frederick Douglass: “Douglass lived in the day of moral giants; Washington lives in the era of merchant princes. The contemporaries of Douglass emphasized the rights of man; those of Washington, his productive capacity.... Douglass was a moralist, insisting upon the application of righteousness to public affairs; Washington is a practical opportunist, accepting the best terms which he thinks it possible to secure.”

The next great leader of that period was Dr. W.E.B. Dubois. He attended University of Harvard and obtained a Ph.D. He wrote many books. He founded the National Association for Advancement of Coloured people in 1907. He was an active Pan-Africanist Movement. He later joined the Communist Party and had citizenship of Ghana at age of 95. He influenced many African nationalist such as Zik, Nkrumah, etc.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois Greatest black leader ever produced in the USA lived 10 decades.

- Was militant integrationist, Pan-Africanist, a separate black commonly and revolutionary socialism.
- Born in 1868 –
- Advocate of black mission M’ – defined racial groups, not nations or individuals as most important elements in world history. Like others had unique contributions to make to the progress. By human values – could help redeem western civilization from materialism and decades “spiritualness” of the black race – black must maintain race identity in a plural society but enjoy equality of rights.
- Each should keep its special identity and not to be “homogenized” in the melting pot.
- He believes educated blacks talented truth should provide racial leadership or else blacks would accept white leadership.
- Rejected Washington “industrial education for blacks. Purpose of education is to train people for leadership and embrace all branches of education.

He criticized Washington’s position that blacks should postpone political & social right to concentrate on economic activity.

- In his book "The Soul of the Blacks Folk, 1903 devoted a chapter to criticism of Washington.
- Blacks must insist in all rights of American citizens – right to vote, to full civic equality and to equal educational opportunities.
- His book provided Programmes.
- He cannot struggle with this paradox – how to achieve equality in American society without abandoning the distinct identity and qualities of the blacks race.

One feels his two-ness – an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warning ideas in one dark body....

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, this longing to attain self consciousness manhood, to merge his double self into a better and power self He wouldn't Africanize America for Africa has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach the Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He wishes simply to make it possible to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon.

He believed in cultural pluralism – negro were American by birth, in language in pol idea and in religion. Beyond him their Americanism didn't go. As a race we must strife by race organization, by race solidarity, by race unity. Separate educational and business were necessary.

Marcus Garvey was another great black leader. He was born in Jamaica but later migrated to the U.S. He became one of the mass mobilizers and provided new identity. In 1914 he founded Universal Negro Improvement Association and a Magazine – New World. He also founded Steamship line to transport blacks to Africa and declared himself President of Africa in Exile. Had disagreement with Dubois, later jailed and exiled to Britain. **Marcus Carvey:** Black Moses led his people.

- He was a Black nationalist & race pride
- At the heart of his ideology lay his view of Africa; the liberation of Africa from foreign domination. "If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa shall be for the blacks peoples in the world".
- He believed that black Americans should take the lead in the struggle to redeem Africa – Back – to – Africa movement.

- He believed that skilled and educated Americans blacks had a duty to assist in the development and liberation of Africa.
- Garvey established a Provisional government in exile for Africa with himself at the head, with a black cabinet, black generals, black flyers, a black cross contingent of masses and even a religion, the African Orthodox Church , with a black God.
- He believes that the 2 races be kept separate not to inter manage.
- He clashed with Dubois – who considered Garvey a dangerous demagogue, who hatched substantive programme and merely inflamed racial hatred.
- He accused Dubois a traitor to members of his race because his intergrationist goals and his cooperation with the whites in NAACP.

As the blacks moved to the North because of industrialization, they came together in big cities like New York and Chicago. Here they became great writers, dramatists, novelists, musicians etc. One of such was Harlem Renaissance. (Period of Great revival). Events like the First and Second World Wars, the Great Depression of the 1930s etc. were to have further impact on the blacks. They were discriminated against in the army and they suffered most during the Great Depression.

The Blacks Civil Right Movements started properly after their emancipation. This was because they realized that freedom had no meaning as they were still denied economic opportunities, political and civil rights, social segregation based on Jim Crow's Laws, see paper etc. To achieve these basic rights, they decided to organize themselves under their leaders. Most of them were education, had Newspapers, wrote novels, musicians and politicians. The problem of the blacks were compounded by the increasing effects of industrialization and urbanization and organized opposition from the whites through organizations such as Ku Klux Klan. These white organizations opposed attacked and lynched many blacks.

The black Civil Rights Movements assumed new dimension after the Second World War 1939 – 45. The 1896 Education Law, had accepted the principle of "Separate but equal" School system. In 1954 the Blacks challenged it and won the case and the schools were desegregated. This was in spite of opposition from the whites. Another strategy adopted by the Blacks was sit-in- Movements. In 1956, Martin Luther King Jr. founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to coordinate these strikes. He toured different areas and raised money. In 1956, 4 students sit in a restaurant in N. Carolina and refused to leave until they were served with food. At Montgomey, Alabama, Rosa Parks, a black woman sat in a

bus and refused to move for the whites. By this period 50 campuses had organized sit-down-strikes, which had attracted a large crowd. They were attacked by the whites and arrested by the police but they were not discouraged. Martin Luther believed in non-violence. Martin Luther believe in non violence creatively use the philosophy of non violence can restore the broken community in America. SCLC is convinced that non violence is the most potent force available to an oppressed people in the struggle for freedom and dignity. He combined the lives and teaching of Christ, Hegel and Gandhi, the thinking of Thoreau the aborted hopes of James Farmer and Randolph. Love was the answer – resolute love that refuse bitterness and hatred but stood against injustice. Men were called to be true to themselves and to reject any weapon that had destroyed them. He sought to build the beloved community – blacks and whites would recognize their bond of human unity.

Martin Luther defined their goals as:

- i. Getting rid of Jim Cow's Laws
- ii. Secure voting rights and
- iii. Economic rights.

Despite, this there was no much government support. Things started to change during the Presidential Campaign of John. F. Kennedy in 1960. Kennedy won the election and through his brother, Robert Kennedy, an Attorney-General he worked for a legislation to end all discriminations. Blacks were appointed to high positions included Thurgood Marshal to Circuit Court in New York.

This did not end discrimination of the blacks. In 1963, Martin Luther was jailed, where he wrote this famours letter from Birmingham Jail in which he pleaded with the nation to end discrimination against the blacks. On May 1963, the police unleashed dogs, cattle pods and clubs on black demonstrators. About 500 blacks were arrested. Luther was released and together with other leaders Philip A. Randolph and Rev. Abernathy Ralph organized a March to Washington DC. Over 200, 000 gathered at Lincoln Memorial on August, 28th, 1963. Blacks and whites listened to Luther's address. "I have a Dream" climax of civil Rights Movement. President Kennedy moved towards signing a civil Rights Bill, when he was shot in November, 1963 at Dallas, Texas. After a series of struggles his successor President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965. These acts ended all forms of racial discrimination but in practice, it continued up to date. King was assassinated in 1968 at 39 years.

The legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. to the Civil Rights Movement has been debated. August Meier argued that his contribution was essential but Gayborn Carson was critical of mythical King who received all praises for Civil Rights Movements.

THE 1960S – 1970S AGE OF LIBERAL REFORMS AND COUNTER – CULTURAL MOVEMENT

1. PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY 1960 – 1963

He was the youngest American President age 43. He was articulate, witty and courageous. His inauguration speech was “Ask not America should do for you but what you can do for America”. His campaign slogan was “New Age and New Frontier”.

He sponsored many liberal reforms/legislations on women, Blacks, medicare, education, tax-cut but achieved only minimum wage. He supported the blacks and moved towards signing the Civil Rights Bill. His success was economic growth and waged war on poverty.

In foreign policies, he continued with cold war but promised victory. He faced challenges from third world countries and extended aid to them. He established Peace Corps to assist third World countries with development.

His major challenge was Cuba-which he invaded it in 1961 and landed at Pig of Bay using 1200 Cuban migrants but invasion collapsed. - In 1963 he clashed with Russia in Cuba over missile placement by Russia. He stood firm and forced Russia to withdraw the missiles.

He continued space war with Russia, which had landed man in space in 1957. Kennedy promised to land man on the moon which took place in 1969 by Major Armstrong. Kennedy was killed at Dallas in 1963 at the peak of his popularity. Americans mourned him because of the hope that he had raised.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

His background in Senate and later Vice-President to John F. Kennedy made him a skillful politician. He took Office to continue with Kennedy’s programmes. His immediate priority was to reduce poverty and to end racial discrimination. He passed Civil Rights Bill in 1964 – most comprehensive bill on Civil Right since Reconstruction. He enunciated the Great Society after victory over Goldwater in 1964.

On economic front, he pushed for reduction in taxes, his administration declared war on poverty, he created Office of Economic opportunity for training of the poor and established various community action programmes to give them voice in housing, health and education programmes for Medicare – he proposed centralized system, health insurance for elderly and Medicaid to provide health care assistance to the poor.

He provided aid for elementary. Gave money to state based on number of children from low – income both public and private schools.

Housing Act provided rent supplements for the poor and established a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In transport sector, he introduced new safety measures. Reduced poverty of black families from 54% to 60%. In foreign affairs, 1960s and 1970s were challenging periods for the U.S, which was locked in conflicts with the communist in Cuba, which became a battle ground.

Indochina was another battle ground. France controlled Vietnam since the 19th C only to be taken by Japan after World War II.

Vietnamese Ho Chi Ming – Communist fought for independence. U.S. supported France which was defeated in 1954. Vietnam was divided into two – South (Catholic) and North (communist). Johnson took over the war and spent \$15 billion on it. 57,000 Americans killed while 103, 000 lost their lives. About ½ million Americans were sent to Vietnam. He lost election to Nixon in 1968. Martin Luther King was killed also in 1968.

Young people experimented with drugs, Rock Music, hypie, Youth Culture and counter culture. Students on campus protested War in Vietnam while Women Liberation Movement emerged.

PRESIDENT NIXON 1968 – 1972 (conservative to the core); he took office after 8 years of Democratic rule. He was Vice President to President Eisenhower , but lost the 1960 election to President Kennedy. He took office at confused time and always calculating next move – which led to his dawn fall.

- He believed in Republican fiscal cut but recognized the need for welfare. He confronted series of economic problems – 1973 – inflation was 9%, the Dow Jones average industrial stocks fell 36% between 1968 and 1970.
- Unemployment reached 6.6% by 1970.

- He introduced wage price in 1970 but nil. The factors were beyond his control.

In 1973 there was war between Israel, Egypt and Syria, which led the Arabs to impose oil embargo on Israel. OPEC quadrupled oil prices. Americans faced both shortages and price increases, higher disruptions led to higher unemployment. Recession and inflation (Stagflation) ended economic boom in America since the 1940s.

Nixon tried to restore order due to rising street crimes, public protests, increase drug use and permissive views on sex. To strengthen his constituency Nixon tried to use government power to counter disruption. He lashed out on demonstrators, attackers and tried to silence opposition.

In foreign policy, he came to end War with Vietnam, to fight liberal movement and to fight economic crisis. His secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, was a former Professor of Political Science at the Harvard University tried to maintain global balance of power or balance restraint to curb revolution and radicalism in 3rd World countries. To check Soviet expansionism, Kissinger embarked on diplomatic shuttle. Visited China for talks on strategic Arms Limitation (SALT). Continued with war against Marxists in Latin America. In 1972 Nixon was accused of Watergate Scandal and was almost impeached when he resigned in 1974.

Gerald Ford 1974 – 1975

- He spent most time in congress. Was Vice President to Nixon. His priority was to restore trust to government after impeachment of Nixon. He pardoned Nixon and lost popularity. He faced mounting economic crisis – inflation.

JIMMY CARTER 1973 – 1979

He called himself populist. Energy problem continued. He was an outsider to Washington politics and promised to reduce size of government. Permitted deficit spending, inflation rose by 100%. Cut budget to lower inflation. Didn't evolve energy policy to stop dependence on foreign oil. Held Camp David Accord between Israel and Egypt in 1979. Americans were taken hostage in Iran and attempt to rescue them ended in flasco. He lost popularity and was defeated in 1980 by Ronald Reagan.

RONALD REAGAN & THE COUNTER REVOLUTION 1980 – 1988

- He was the oldest man (70), 1st actor, 1st divorcee, 1st labour leader (president of Screen Actors Guild) to become U.S. President.
- When he was young he voted for Roosevelt, but later moved right. He Preached old values – individualism, self – help and upward mobility.
- An accomplished speaker, radiated affability, optimism and despite his age had boyish charm.
- From Illinois. Had gift of gab. Became radio announcer after graduation in 1937. He was a movie career and acted in Hollywood. Film career & television report. Campaigned for Eisenhower and Nixon. Campaigned for Right wing Politician – Goldwater. He appealed to Middle Class – who resented tax and liberalism (esp. students). Entered politics and successful Governor of California 1966 – 1975.
- Compared to Carter, he worked less. Less religious. Great Communicator and strong vision. He was given to symbolism – anti – abortion campaign.
- Had support of elderly and was against “big government” and tax & liberal and reform.
- Had religious revival in the 1970s. New Religion political right e.g. Jerry Farwell televangelism.
- Moral majority and Pat Robertson. These evangelists were against Darwinism, abortion, pornography, traditional sex roles, etc. opposed Equal Rights.
- He benefitted from failing of Jimmy Carter – When 52 American were taken hostage in Iran, gulping inflation, and deepening energy crisis.
- Emerged as a major candidate for Republicans in 1980 Presidential election.
- He won massively (50.7% C.F. Carter 41%)

INAUGURAL SPEECH

- Based on Roosevelt – New Deal. Spoke of Vietnam as a noble cause but U.S lost because of lack of government willingness. Promised “New Beginning”. Attacked higher taxes on rich. Called Americans to believe in themselves and together we shall confront problems that confronted them. He asked “why shouldn’t we? We are Americans.

Policies

1. Reaganomics – Government is not solution but our problem Government is evil.

Turn economy into private hands.

Combined FDR and Coolidge conservative medication based on “supply side” of economics not demand side. Dubbed “Voodoo Economics” by Bush.

Main point was to cut tax, his popularity declined and was almost assassinated and in hospital he showed courage. “Honey want to duck” a joke to his wife.

- He signed Economic Recovery Tax Act 1981 – tax cut favoured the rich. Budget deficit and debts mounted.
- Increased military spending but cut social welfare security for less privileged.
- Economy soon grew because he kept inflation low.

FOREIGN POLICY

- Reagan expressed hatred for Communism as evil, cold war is between evil and good.
- We rejected “Détente” with Russia. Conducted foreign policy with belief that Moscow was the problem. Americans had learnt from Vietnam and speeded armed race.
- Built nuclear and conventional weapons to close gap between Russia and U.S.A. Increased defense budget to favour defence industrial complex.
- In central and Latin America, he believed Russia was sponsoring Communists.

He supported rebels against governments.

- a. In Nicaragua – revolutionaries (Sandistas) overthrew government of Somoza, U.S. supported “Contras” exiles against government.
- b. Iran – contra Affair 1986.

Iraq and Iran fought wars for four years. Iraq received aid from USSR and western powers but not for Iran because of American hostages. Armed dealers (Iraq and Israel) prepared sale of American weapons to Iran in exchange for release of American hostages. Secret deal was done by leading Reagan Officials.

- Profit of arm sales was sent to Contras in Nicaragua without approval of Congress. This was the biggest scandal in American history. A commission was set up many resigned.

- He was concerned about terrorists in the Middle East – PLO, Gadafi, Syria, etc. He supported Israel against Arabs. Bombed Libya and almost killed Gadaffi.
- Israel invaded Lebanon & drove out PLO. USA sent peace – keeping but 241 were killed by terrorists.
- Held summit with Gorbachev in Washington DC to sign intermediate Nuclear Forces agreement reducing Middle range Nuclear Missiles. Both used to build their powers. Russia was in deep crisis. Iran contra crisis affected Reagan.
- Russia withdrew forces from Afghanistan in 1988, Iraq ceased fire.
- His legacy remained mixed but he was popular.
- Scandals rocked his administration . Baby M, Iran – Contras affairs, etc

GEORGE BUSH SNR. 1989 – 1992

Contested election with Dukakis of Democrats. Bush easily won because of his records promised to continue with policies of Reagans but made few changes.

- FOREIGN POLICY

Major development was end of Cold War.

- 1980s – Eastern Europe revolted against Russia. In Russia reforms known as Glasnost and Perestroika – ended Communism.
- Bush held summit with Gorbachev in 1990. Bush announced cut down of U.S. troops and held meetings on arm control, unification of Germany (East and West).
- Germany joined NATO. Bush and 21 Heads of States signed Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe in November, 1990 covering tanks, missiles, aircrafts, Tanks, etc.
- July 1991 – U.S. reached arms agreement when they signed long negotiation strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in Moscow 30 – 4010 nuclear elimination of war – head missiles from 21, 000 to 9,000.
- Treaty of nuclear war was over with end of Cold War.
- The Gulf War of 1991 following Saddam's invasion of Kuwait on 2nd August, 1990 led to defeat of Iraq's forces within 100 hours.

BILL CLINTON 1992 – 1998

- 1992 Presidential election, Americans found themselves in Post-Cold War Era. At home economic issues worsened. Deep recession set in Federal

government deficit continued. Jobs were lost. Americans became disillusioned – country was moving in the wrong direction.

- Contestants were Bush/Quayle VS. Clinton/ Al Gore. Independent candidate was Ross Perot Wealthy Texan.
- Campaigns were hot – Bush counted on experience – 68 years and trust Clinton (Age 46 years) never served in the army.
- He protested against Vietnam. He met President Kennedy in the 1960s. Clinton campaigned on “change” proposed high tax on the rich and increased spending on education and health to boost economic growth and lower deficit.
- Bill Clinton won the election as 42nd President.

POST COLD WAR ERA

The collapse of USSR in 1992 ended the cold war era, leaving the U.S as the only super power. U.S regarded it as a defeat for communism and a victory for democracy and capitalism. U.S resolved to remain the world’s leading force for peace, freedom, security and prosperity. Post-cold war era was looked upon with hope. Cold war era was characterized by fear of holocaust, arm race, e.t.c.

End of cold war era has its own challenges

- ***Old and New problems***
 - i. International terrorism
 - ii. Crime
 - iii. Drug trafficking and child and human labor
 - iv. Aggression by rogue states
 - v. Vicious ethnic and religious conflicts
 - vi. Spread of dangerous weapons- nuclear, biological and chemicals
 - vii. Diseases, overpopulation and environmental degradation.
- Some are old problems. U.S regards them as struggle between forces of order and disorder; freedom and tyranny, tolerance and repression, hope and fear. They threaten people and values of freedom, open society.

U.S Approach

- That of international involvement rather than isolation. To be sure, America can’t be the world’s policeman. But can be the world’s peacemaker. It can’t unilaterally make the world safe for freedom (as Woodrow Wilson said, but we can help make the world’s democracies safe).

- Goal is to make sure the U.S remains the greatest force for peace and prosperity on earth.

Three strategies as U.S enter into 21st century

- i. Making the American people more secure by keeping their military and alliance strong.
 - ii. leading the powerful global movements for peace and democracy (promoting democracy)
 - iii. Creating much greater wealth at home by opening markets abroad (promoting free market)
- In Europe, U.S worked with NATO and Russia to create a truly united free Europe. U.S would support political reform and market economy in Russia/ Eastern Europe- Ukraine, Baltic, Caucasus, Central Asia and Europe.
 - In Asia- four priorities namely, maintaining military commitments, supporting security corporation, providing leadership and supporting emerging democracies.
 - China to embrace nuclear non-proliferation, free trade, human rights to diffuse tension in North Korea and South Korea.
 - Japan to sign trade agreements and military securities. In the middle East, U.S was to promote peace between Israel and Arabs. The greatest challenge was war against terrorism.

U.S WAR ON TERRORISM

The end of the cold war did not produce peace but a new kind of war known as terrorism, which was a great challenge to the U.S, the only super power. The war started vigorously after September 11th, 2001 after the bombing of the World Trade Center and Pentagon by Osama Bin Laden and AL Qaeda. The meaning of the war would be debated and the differences of the method and not the goal. Attack on U.S had the following significance:

1. It ends the unique Geo-strategic advantage of the U.S which had remained invulnerable to external aggression because of her geographical location except in 1812 when Britain attacked Washington D.C. U.S must protect herself because the attack was a shock to the military might and U.S leadership in the world.
2. It ended us isolationist policy, she must get involved in world affairs to defend U.S interest and not to maintain balance of power in Europe or fight communism. It had destroyed Vietnam syndrome (body bags). Can U.S still

maintain society at home despite the fight against internal security? It's a war that U.S must win and not lose.

3. The war transformed or re-oriented power relations between U.S and the other powers. Washington had to be close to Russia. There was a disagreement with Europe and the worst hit is China which was isolated over Taiwan. The war is an American war Bush had done alone despite support from few coalitions known as American unilateralism. Russia joined NATO and WTO to stabilize price.
4. The nature of the war. U.S had to fight an elusive enemy who didn't abide by convention rule of warfare and could wreak havoc on U.S. U.S adopted pre-emptive and preventive war which raise the issue of state sovereignty and non-interference (international law would erode support for the war).
5. September 11th 2001, intensified concern for proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by Al Qaeda and Rogue states or evil states.
6. Middle East and South Asia emerged as principle arena of the war which created problem of clash of civilization between Islam and Christianity and the West. U.S had no desire to confront Islam but the terrorist area. Removal of tough regimes in Iraq and Afghanistan encourage the call for democracy in the Middle East- political modernization.

CONCEPT AND DEFINATIONS OF TERRORISM

Terrorism has many definitions and is difficult to define. It refers to premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence audience.

It is the use of threat or violence to achieve objectives to induce fear. It is simply force, fear, threat, violence, e.t.c. it is carried out mainly by minorities in different parts of the world e.g. silks in Casmir region of India, Hamas and Jihadists in Palestine, IRA Ireland, Lebanese Hezbollah, Osama Bin Laden, Boko Haram in Nigeria, ISWAP in West Africa, e.t.c.

FACTORS THAT CAUSE TERRORISM

1. The want to redress political injustice.
2. Is fueled by hatred, e.g. Arabas hate U.S policy in the Middle East, U.S is regarded as the enemy of the Arabs and God- a great Satan.
3. Economic inequality- U.S is five percent of world's population but controls most of the world's wealth. There is real gap between the rich and the poor, U.S is controlling Arab's oil

CATEGORIES OF TERRORISM

1. State terrorism- sovereign states use police force to rule through fear. It involves training and assisting foreign terrorist. U.S has invaded several states.
2. By individuals and groups, people who are aggrieved.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Terrorism is of antiquity going back to the Romans, Jews, e.t.c. in the 20th and 21st centuries it had intensified in the name of religion, ethnic, political and minority governments.

The end of the cold war witnessed a new phenomenon of terrorism by extremists who have their funding and network through trafficking in drugs, private business, independent wealth, kidnapping for ransom, e.t.c.

The most focal point is the Middle East, Western Europe, Latin America, South East Asia and lately Africa. Between 1968 and 1988 it had caused the death of 7,324 people. Various groups and Islamic group, Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, ISWAP, e.t.c.

THE SUCCESSES OF THE WAR BY U.S

The war targeted Al Qaeda network and location in Iraq and Afghanistan. In Iraq, it topples and killed Saddam Hussein and his children. It established a democratic government headed by majority Shiites, and in Afghanistan, it overthrew the Taliban and established a democratic Government but the war continued up to date and the U.S is pulling out after 20 years and in an arrangement that Taliban would share power with the democratic government.

THE WAY FORWARD

1. America should rethink her foreign policy which should be based on shared value of freedom and justice.
2. America should collaborate with other nations.