

## **Week 2 and Week 3 Readings**

### **Chapter 2 Summary**

- arrival of Europeans which would alter the lives of the natives
- conversion to Christianity
- arrival of English
  - transferred society, politics, religion
  - large numbers and need for land led to inevitable territorial conflicts with natives
- different European settlements
  - different population demography
  - diverse economies
  - different religious impacts

### **Chapter 3 Summary**

Establishment of basic economic and political patterns in colonies.

Gradual dominance of the English over the NE coast in 1720, 1650 still had colonies under control of other colonial powers. Political structures more uniform.

Adoption of slavery

- mostly in Chesapeake & N. S. Carolina.
- beginnings of difference in attitudes towards slave?

French and Spanish colonials relied on natives' expertise north of Mexico, and also labour and goodwill.

- presence of French and Spanish near English settlements provided foundation for future conflict among European powers.
- Anglo-americans committed to local governance (autonomy) - conflict with parliament and the King.

### **Chapter 4 Summary**

- Transformation of N. America arising from influx of Europeans hailing from different regions. Varied cultures, customs, religions.
- affected existing residents and newcomers.

- Economic life
- manual arduous labor including farming which provided goods for consumption.
- International trade network inclusive of European colonies and native trading partners.
- prove to wars fought between Europeans created new opportunities/disruption
- Cultural blend in colonies
- European + Americans + Africans
- development of new methods of accommodating intercultural differences and creating ties in fragmented communities.
- Onset of anglo-americans who realized interests did not coincide with those of GB's -> challenged authority.

**Consider:**

- constant pressure and impact of religion in the colonies and on the Indians' territories.
- impact of demographics and population make up of colonies on interracial unions.
- Result of few European women.

## Chapter 5 Summary

- dramatic change in British mainland colonies following outbreak of 7-years war (context of land in NA)
- removed France from NA, created huge war debt
- rise in political actors after end of war in 1763 amongst colonists
  - development of a separate, American identity (most born in America)
  - different concept of political representation and consent to government (London's) actions.
- conflicting economic interests.
  - Stamp Act, Townshend Act, together with previous Navigation Act perceived as London attempting to suppress colonists, endangering freedom.
  - Destruction of the EIC's tea (Boston Tea Party), escalating tensions (arose from misinterpretation of Tea Act)

- 1774: development of resistance but not calls for independence yet.

\*\* Importance of Samuel Adams in the politicization of people.

## Chapter 6 Summary

- unification of mainland colonies to present a united revolutionary front against the British, whilst maintaining a successful alliance with France.
- winning of war due to greater endurance and resilience than the British.
  - abandoned British identity.
  - excluded loyalist neighbors
  - established governments, created new national loyalties.
  - claimed more land, threatening traditional Indian dominance of interior.
- move towards republicanism, rule by and for the people

**importance of continental congress in laying formulations for united plan of resistance** - developing into revolution / calls for independence.

## Chapter 7 Summary

- development of an independent economy not wholly reliant on the British.
- attempted to protect national interest, defend borders.
- formulation of American racist thought.
  - emphasis of race allowed men to term themselves as white to exclude many others (African Americans, women).
- shift of thinking from a weak government to one of a powerful central government
  - but debates still existed on extent of government's power (tyranny)
  - gave way to Bill of Rights
- Federalists (strong central government) vs anti-federalists (weak central government)

# **Week 3**

## **Tutorial 1**

*What factors account for the evolution of different social, economic and religious relationships in the 3 different sets of English colonies in North America?*

### **New England**

- Mayflower - Escape religious persecution (Church of New England)
- Mentality:
  - Never to return to Britain (different from colonial mentalities)
  - Colonial mentality: Establish outpost, exploit resource and manpower to gain wealth to redirect to the motherland
- Social
  - Permanent settlement: Familial values take priority
  - Close knit relationships (family units start)
- Economic
  - Barter economy (Subsistence farming)
- Religious
  - Church autonomy: deliver persecution - some fled south (Maryland)

### **Middle Colonies**

- Given new chance of life - mentality of permanent settlement.
- Established by royal grants - not owned by joint stock companies.
- Social
  - fled southwards due to religious persecution.
- Economic
  - Trade with the local natives. Subsistence farming.
- Religious
  - Religious tolerance;

## Virginia and Chesapeake

How they came about, why were they there:

- Outpost/Colonial mentality
    - There to get rich
  - Social composition
    - Mostly male, larger population of slaves
  - Economic
    - Industrial north vs Agricultural south (in proximity to the equator; warmer in the south)
    - Plantation crops (cash crops - commodities that can be sold as raw materials) Raw materials to supply the industrial north
    - Industrial Revolution in Britain.
  - Religious
    - Not strong to bring over.
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## Terms

- 1776 – Declaration of Independence, Jefferson
- War of American Independence; US/American Revolutionary War
- Settlers
- Patriots
  - Settlers who fought for the american revolution (or revolutionaries from British POV)
- Loyalists
  - People loyal to the british monarchy
- Redcoats
  - British subjects (soldiers) who were sent to fight the revolutionaries
- Republic
  - Not a monarchy
  - No hereditary head of state.
  - U.S. is a democratic republic.
- Articles of Confederation

- **Charterrs of Freedom:**
  - Declaration of Independence
  - Constitution
  - Bill of Rights
- Federal system:
  - Central government + state government.
  - Each of the states also have their own legislations and rights.
  - Deliberately created to decentralize power - not centralized into one authority.
- Separation of Power
  - Power is shared and distributed between the President, legislative body and the judicial system.

### **Checks and Balances**

- Legislature is the one that passes the budget.
- Judiciary
  - Law is passed with reference to the Constitution. (constitutional or not?)
  - Judicial system checks both the legislature and the executive.
- Underlying philosophy:
  - Distrust of the concentration of power;
  - Distrust of human nature.

### **Roots of Conflict: Seven Years War**

#### **First modern world war:**

Between british, french and spanish taking place in N America.

**Victory:** British.

#### **Balance of power has shifted:**

- Transfers of colonies from power to power.
  - British North + Spanish South.
  - Bering Straits - Russian occupation.

#### **Post Seven Years War:**

- France has lost majority of power in N America.

- South of British areas became Spanish.
- Britain need not face any hostile foreign power (French)
- Natives could no longer play the powers against each other.

### **Shift in Attitudes**

- British soldiers - distance from britain: Growing resentment amongst settlers.
- Expansion westwards of the Appalachian mountains was limited by the British.
- Settlers demands of benefits led to British imposing tax.

### **Beyond Navigation Act** (more measures to raise money to pay off the war):

- Sugar and Currency Acts 1764 (brit demanded payment in silver - real cost)
- Stamp Act 1765 (stamp duty: taxing the literate - printed tax. elites were impacted - idea of taxation with representation) largely resented and eventually repealed because settlers felt unrepresented.
- Townshend Acts 1767 - taxes on tea: boston tea party (tax was not repealed) Imposed hardship and a lot of resentment from british settlers.

### **Resentment of New Taxes:**

- Democracy/Autonomy and Representation or
  - Economic Reasons
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## **Undercurrents of the Intellectual and Political Landscape**

### **Enlightenment (Age of Reason)**

- Faith in rationality and reason in human affairs
- Cause and Effect:
  - humans can figure out how to work on solutions to the problems;
  - improving their own state of being, society.

**Progressivism** - things get better if you try to remedy it. (improved through efforts of man through reason)

**Religious** - Inalienable rights: ‘Life, liberty, pursuit of happiness (property)’

*Why property?*

- Elites idea of the right to own things - kings have no right to impose taxes on us.
- Implicit 'contract' between ruler and ruled over natural rights - can be replaced if disrespected.

*Rights and Freedom are linked.*

#### **Pessimistic basic view:**

- Belief in that things can be improved, yet distrust of centralized power.
  - Political power has been feared - rulers would try to oppress
  - Therefore, eternal vigilance needed to preserve liberty.
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### **Revolutionary War**

*Boston Committee of Correspondence*

- oppose/protest measures of Townshend Act; gave rise to collective action
- Urged in creating a consensus (philadelphia: cradle of freedom)

*Boston Tea Party 1773:*

- Closed the Boston Harbor by the Boston Governor due to Settlers protest of the Tea monopoly of EIC.
- Threw the tea shipment into the Boston Harbor.
- Boston urged meeting in 1774:
  - First Continental Congress - delegates from 13 states to meet in Philly.

*First battles: Lexington & Concord 1775*

*1st Committee of Correspondence:* Petition and economic boycott of brit goods - disintegration of brit admin in colonies

- 1776 Declaration of Independence (T Jefferson)
- 1781: British surrendered at Yorktown
- 1783: Treaty of Paris - 13 colonies granted independence (along east coast)
  - Actual treaty of independence - 1783.
  - American belief / point of reference - 1776

**Minority in Rev War: Loyalists (1/5) Half-half distribution of support:  
Patriots and Neutral parties**

### **Reasons for the Loss:**

- Military reasons:
  - Americans waged guerrilla warfare against British conventional warfare
  - Less than 5% population in cities (capture of major cities didn't make sense)
  - British belief that overpowering the american settlers will lead to political victory
- Settlers victory due to:
  - British mistakes and attitudes
    - \* Underestimated Patriots' commitment to independence
    - \* Former enemies of the british would come to their aid
    - \* Failure of natives to unite against the patriots
      - Natives were not unified
    - \* No slave uprising - took the opportunity to run away (55k left); harvest was affected in 1780-81
    - \* Undemocratic measures were taken against opponents

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### **Building the Charters of Freedom**

#### **2nd Committee of Correspondence:**

- Drafting of individual states' constitution - limited government is the best govt.
- Prevent tyranny rather than effective exercise of power.

#### **1777: Articles of Confederation**

- Want a weak central government that cannot impose much taxes
- Impacts:
  - No army. individual state militias - national guard (under the authority of the state governor) Problem of external security.
  - Unable to force the individual states to comply in matters of trade, foreign policy and currency.

#### **1787: Constitutional Convention - Philadelphia**

- Gave rise to delegates

- Ideas of separation of power & checks and balances

### **Problem of Slavery:**

- Contradiction, paradox - ideals of liberty (conflict on human rights and property rights)
- Slavery as it developed in the new world became identified with one race:
  - Black == slave and vice versa.
- (Most people enslave their own kind. only on the N and S American continents were of the African race)

### **Representation system in congress:**

- 13 states have senators (2 senators each)
  - regardless of the size of the state.
- House of congress has proportionate representation
  - number of representatives from the state is proportional to the size of the state.
- For purposes of representation (due to Virginia delegates' repeal)
- 3/5s of a white person - voting rights of a black person.
- Universal Suffrage did not come till after the Civil War.

1788: Very difficult to pass the constitution because 2/3s need to sign. (9 states have ratified)

### **American Constitution: 7 Articles;**

Nothing on any of the articles that talked about rights in the constitution (Bill of Rights as a separate document)

**1791 Bill of Rights** Bill of Rights was going to be part of the original constitution (agreed upon) but the Bill of Rights was not ready yet - led to the signing of the Constitution.

Only have had 17 amendments to the bill of rights since the end of 18th Century.

- 25 (27) amendments;
- First 10 passed in early years. Next 15 passed over 250 years.
- (idea is that it is extremely difficult to change the constitution)
- Article 1, section 2 - Legislature.

- Article 2 - Executive (president) - impeachment.
- **Article 5**
  - How to change the constitution:
    - \* To add (2/3 of both houses)
    - \* To amend (2/3 of all states' legislature: agreement by 3/4 of all states.)

**Argument if it's good:** Removal of power from the Executive - aligned with the interests of the anti-monarchy and the ideals of democracy upheld by the Founding Fathers.

#### **10 Amendments to Constitution:**

- 1 Am. free speech, assembly, press and practice of religion.
  - 2 Am. bear arms.
  - 4 Am. unreasonable searches
  - 5 Am. self-incrimination (legal oath - Miranda rights -you have the right to remain silent. 1960s)
  - 6 Am. fair trials (speedy and public) - guantanamo bay
  - 8 Am. cruel and unusual punishment cannot be imposed - extended to you cannot suffer.
  - **9 Am.** Any right that is not named (enumerated) on Constitution or Bill of Rights still belongs to the people.
  - **10 Am.** Any power that is not given to the federal govt belong to the 13 states and the people.
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#### **Idea of Republican Government**

(debates between 2 POV basis)

- Economic Basis
  - Minimal role for government. Pursuit of selfish economic interest will lead to common good. Autonomy, independence and freedom from authoritarian regime.
- Political Basis
  - Individuals have to sacrifice for the common good. (We the People)
  - Central government collects the contributions and distributes it. (Stronger power on national/federal government)

## Week 4

### Tutorial 2

*In 1776, Thomas Jefferson stated in the Declaration of Independence that man had rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In what ways did the experiences of women and non-whites, eg blacks and Native Americans, betray the ideals which Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers championed?*

**Ideals:** Unalienable Rights given to men.

**Men:** used consistently throughout the declaration of independence. Implicitly not inclusive of women(?)

**Men (male) vs Man (humanity):**

Declaration of Independence: Contending to who should be put in government (domain of politics).

**significance of capitalized Men: domain of politics belongs to (male) men.**

Not only looking at Gender but also Race (no blacks)

**Betray** (crux of the question): going against some prior agreement - agreed upon (x issue) - set the expectations on the two parties.

**BUT** need to note the larger context in which the DOI was written - 13 colonies were not being represented; still subsumed under the King, hardship through life in the colonies (needs not taken care of)

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### Women:

1) Yes, they were betrayed

- Some women could express themselves (especially during the War) - increasing participation of women in the war: provide war supplies (visibility of women in the war)
- Made use of newfound visibility to ask for concessions (Abigail Adams) - if men could pay more attention to the women's association (pursuit of life liberty and property is given)
- Despite above these: most of the women are still excluded from functions of society (not much progress in social status of women in political, economic or social realm)

2) No, they were not betrayed

### **Position of the Men:**

- Founding Fathers were not saints - everyday men who had a lot of glaring flaws (out of first 5 presidents, 4 owned slaves)
- Men was referred to in the literal sense of gender - contextualize to the mentality of the Founding Fathers
- FF ideals were about what they knew up to that part of their lives (first generation immigrants)

### **Position of the Women:**

- Women went to the war because they had no choice but to follow their husbands.
- Had no financial independence - livelihood was going to the warfront.
- Abigail Adams' voice: seek to reinforce the position of women (roles) in society (already traditionally doing).
- Increasing visibility in the sphere that was already created to be housed by women.
- No expectation = no betrayal.

### **Notes**

#### **Conflict between female gender roles vs Ideals of rights to liberty and pursuit of happiness**

Political partisanship and debate were not of womanly concern.

Voters: “all free inhabitants” meeting property and residence requirements. (vague definition)

No universal suffrage for women and minority races despite rights to liberty.

Discriminatory opposition of woman and black suffrage - in legislation and state constitution.

Male discrimination of women on watching female cast ballots. (New Jersey men never displayed strong commitment to principle of woman suffrage - felt as if it was a mistake/loophole)

Males still had ultimate say on the public political meanings given to specific vocabulary used in legislature - misunderstood by women because of male veto.

Female roles in society gradually shifted towards greater importance but with reservations in predominantly male-run society.

Absence of feminism in the behavior of women during the Revolution and in their attitudes afterward is related to the demographic changes that were taking place within the family unit between 1760 and 1800 - Middle and upper class women

were increasingly subjected to foreign and domestic literature stressing standards of femininity that had not inhibited the conduct of their colonial ancestors.

Loss of function and authentic status for all women due to “conscious neglect of female rights combined with subtle educational and economic exploitation”

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## **Non-whites**

### **Native Americans:**

1) Yes, betrayed

- Life, liberty and pursuit of happiness - ancestral land taken away, natives were killed, and the intimate relationship with the land they lived with robbed them of their livelihood. Massive upheaval; 1-for-1 betrayal.

2) Not betrayed

- No expectation = no betrayal
- FF did not know of such people when they first came in, declaration was not expected to include of such peoples.
- LCE showed us how little the american settlers knew of the new continent. (thought of the land as empty)
- Classical world model: Asia, Europe, Africa, America (New World)
- Superior civilization will prescribe inferiority.

### **Blacks:**

1) Yes, betrayed

- Drafted to fight the British in the Revolutionary War.
- Promise of freedom for being a patriot in the war.
- Yet encountered the prejudice and racism for a very long time.

2) No not betrayed

- Property - not considered humans.

**Notes:**

**Despite rights to life and liberty declared:**

- Blacks still seen as property (regardless of status of freedom) - “Blacks learned not to look to white society for their liberty, but to seize the moment, whenever and wherever it presented itself, to liberate themselves” - wartime disruption to obtain freedom;
  - Post Revolutionary War - slave traders kidnapping of Blacks (unconstitutional to ideals of rights)
  - Slavery had not ended with the war.
  - Black Americans - had neither liberty nor land - fought for liberty to hope to gain land.
  - Native Americans - had both liberty and land - struggled to preserve both.
  - Natives “concluded that their revolutionary goals could best be achieved through fighting against the side that proclaimed the equality of all men and with the side that the Americans accused of trampling on their natural, irreducible rights.
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*“Thomas Jefferson and the Founding Fathers of the American Revolution had no intention of including women, African-Americans or Native Americans in their declaration of inalienable rights of men. Discuss.”*

Conclude that they had no intentions of including women, African-Americans, or Native Americans (Tutorial 2)

BUT did not make any explicit effort to completely exclude them, at least in their formation of the Constitution.

When commenting on history, have to be mindful of the time in which the events were taking place. Given the context and setting of the time, most (if not all) African-Americans in US were slaves: Founding Fathers (4/5) were slaveholders - slaves were property to them (paradigm and mentality of the period).

Native Americans were fighting against the Americans (settlers) during the American Revolution, did not want to see the organization of settlers against them - fighting against patriots meant that Native Americans were enemies of the State and that it wouldn't be natural for the Founding Fathers to be granting their enemies rights.

Women in early America didn't want rights, but instead wanted protection and privileges. The focus was on setting up a system where those who wanted and sought for their rights were able to get them, even if it took a long hard battle.

- Bonus: Declaration of inalienable rights of men - old document that had to encompass the ideas of liberty, life, and pursuit of happiness (property) held up as a rather good job.
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## Westward Expansion and the Shaping of American Society

To understand slavery, it is necessary to go through the early part of the 19th century.

### Readings

#### I. 1801 - 1823

**Federalists:** Strong national government to promote economic development; exerted influence via judiciary.

**Democratic-Republicans:** limited government, stayed out of religious affairs, spent little on military -> early partisanship.

**Louisiana purchase:** Acquisition of Louisiana from the French under Jefferson.

**Corps of Discovery** to chart Mississippi region's commercial possibilities.

- fostering trade relations, political allies, acquire Indian's knowledge of the lands.

**Economy heavily dependent on international trade.**

- fought to guard its commerce and ships on high seas.
  - war with Barbary states: refusal to pay tribute for safe passage of ships.
  - war of 1812: violation of trading rights, impressment (forced recruitment), attacks on ships (based mainly on the issue of freedom on the seas).
    - \* inspired American nationalism and development.

### Treaty of Ghent

- restored pre war status quo, ending war of 1812.
- damaged Indian resistance, accelerating industrial growth.

## Fate of Federalists

- lost credibility due to opposition to war
- faded from political scene in 1820.
- leading to absence of partisanship -> “Era of Good Feelings”
  - split on America’s future route to prosperity.
  - John Marshall & support of Federalist agenda, issuing rulings stimulating commerce & industry
  - Democratic-Republicans looked towards territorial expansion
    - \* Proclamation of non-tolerance with European intervention
    - \* Strengthening international presence, threatened political unity domestically.

## Tensions of 1819

- “Panic of 1819”
- collapse of banking system, high levels of unemployment
- falling commodity prices, threat of runaway inflation
- “Missouri Compromise”
- political crisis about slavery’s westward expansion
- joining of new states arising from Louisiana purchase
- joining of Missouri would give slaveholding states a two-vote majority - fear that this would allow more western states to be admitted as slave-states.
- long term consequences, compromise did not resolve political conflict over slavery’s westward expansion
- merely masked the conflict -> long term consequences of dividing the nation

## II. Rise of the South - growth of the South (1815-1860)

- land, wealth and power along with the rest of the country.
- similar historical experiences and political economy but developed differently
  - ideological and economic differences due to slavery.
    - \* south: biracial with a cultural mix
  - cotton boom, “King Cotton” + Indian removal policies
  - growth into a slave society
    - \* development of a leadership determined to preserve a hierarchical social & racial order
    - \* split between the whites: democratic yeomen (universal suffrage) vs profit motivated planters

- \* development of black folk culture and religion of deliverance
- \* blacks often had different fates (bondage vs survival)
- profitable and expanding slave society arising from slave labour and whites' knowledge
- contrast in the North
- growth of a different society driven by industrialism, free labour
- longterm consequences of a divided society
- agricultural south vs industrial north -> arising from climate (asymmetrical development of infrastructure)

### **III. The restless north (1815 -1860)**

#### **Embrace of commercial culture**

- Norther states and capitalists investing in internal improvements
- shift towards commercial farming, industrial wage labour

#### **Introduction/shift to market economy**

- Progress
  - cheap Western lands
  - employment for surplus farm labourers
  - commercial availability of goods
  - development of transportation infrastructure
  - distant regions > accessible
- Costs
- increased specialization
- Depersonalised workplace
- sharp divide between work & leisure
- more affected to global economic shocks

#### **Social changes**

- smaller families arising from less need for children's labour
- influx of immigrants
- lowest paying work
- blamed for problems caused by economic growth, victims of anti-immigrant/anti-blacks riots (responded by forming own communities)

#### **Cities as the symbol of economic growth**

- extreme wealth & working class cultures together with poverty & crime
  - free-labour ideology to reconcile stark difference = upward mobility in competitive marketplace.
    - becomes increasingly central to northern regional identity.
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## Terms

- **Northwest Ordinance 1787 – slavery**

Constitution was being debated at this period, early republic deemed this issue important enough to pass some kind of law to deal with what happened when the US Settlers moving westwards - status of the western states.

As settlers moved westwards, territories will be admitted to the united states on the equal status as the original 13 states. Decision was made to create more states.

Newly settled colonies will be treated as states of equal status - eventually these people will have a say in the united states - help to decide on the issue of slavery.

In the newly settled territories so far, there should not be slavery (on the books) - people in the North were against slavery - originally agreed on. Number of settlers were very few, not enough people to form the instruments of government (to form a state).

5,000 - territorial status; 60,000 - statehood.

- **1803 Louisiana Purchase**

\$15m for one third of continental US: cheapest purchase in modern real estate history.

Took place under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson.

After 7 years war: Louisiana belonged to Spain; France managed to get spain to transfer the land back to France. US managed to get a third of the US continent (westward) from Napoleon.

Alaska purchase of the Russians. (another notable purchase)

- **1804-6 Lewis & Clark Expedition** (important)

Thought they would find a river system similar to the Great Mississippi River system (very important) on the western frontier; Woolly Mammoth, Salt Mountains. (white settlers knew very little of the new world)

Agricultural produce for export was transported down the Mississippi River to the port of New Orleans (no railroads or proper road systems back then)

- **Missouri Compromise, 1820** – 36° 30'
  - Northern state that belonged to the South
- Constitutional
  - what was deemed aligned or compliant to the Constitution
- States' Right
- **Monroe Doctrine 1823** – non-colonisation of Western Hemisphere
- **Manifest Destiny 1845** (important)

Settlers have all reached California - John Sullivan popularized the term;

God has given rights to settle the land westwards of the Mississippi River. Gave the US Settlers an excuse to colonize the land of the natives.

- **Frontier Theory – Turner 1893 - 1890 census** (important)

Also known as the Turner thesis. Westward movement created a series of frontiers. Frontier is the point of contact between the settlers and the natives. Moved slowly in a series of movements - the border of the US was a moving line.

Once the Americans have reached the pacific ocean - the process of the frontier has come to an end. Spirit of the frontier still lived on in Americans - which created the America that it is today.

America only takes a census every ten years (0th year). Spot census - anybody can be called. 1890 census decided that there is no more new territory to be explored.

“Quintessential american character” - different from anybody else in the world (Romanticization of a process)

Historical debate: What Jackson Turner said is accurate (positive traits) vs negative traits that also happened that became part of the American character.

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## Observations

- 19th century US before Civil War (1861-65) - intersection of western expansion & the issue of slavery (space & race)
- This lecture (week 4) – westward expansion & consequences
- Next lecture (week 5) – slavery & its consequence

### Asking on Turner's thesis:

Why & how did the expansion to the Pacific Ocean shape American society in the 19th C?

Why was expansion Westward seen as an antidote to urbanization & industrialisation?

## Period from 1800-1860

- 1st W of Appalachian settlement 1771
- 1800 – settlers in Mississippi & Ohio river valleys
- By 1860s, US was a continental power – from Atlantic to Pacific – size, power & wealth
  - Very few continental powers in the world in the 19th century.
  - Only Russia and US (2 ocean continental power)
- Size of the population + wealth that is inherent.
- Westward expansion was parallel - important factor on Slavery.

## The International Scene

- The French Revolution & Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815)

Important event because it affects how the Americans see themselves.

- The Louisiana Purchase (1803) - \$15 million
- Florida ceded by Spain (1819) - \$5m
- Monroe Doctrine (1823)

By 1823, US has already become quite an important power in N America. Most of the European powers are setting their eyes back on the New World.

American government decided they don't want anymore European colonization of the New World.

Got concerned and put out a Declaration (James Monroe) - unilateral declaration "We don't think that Europeans should colonize any more land in the New World"

**“New world should not be subject to new European colonies”**

US does not have a strong military might - *no ability to enforce the doctrine but what they said had a presence.*

Kennedy invoked the Monroe doctrine on the Russians (Cuban Missile Crisis) - US had a military power by then

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## Precedents in the New Republic

Precedents - *model that people refer to as a principle*

- Washington & his Farewell Address – 1796 – no *entangling* military alliance  
– unilateral foreign policy declaration

Washington established that nobody should serve in the White House for more than 2 terms. **important to consider with respect to the rest of the world where despots and dictators were around**

(Implications were had for the establishment of Democracy in America)

**Entangling** - refers to what Washington said (farewell message to the people when he left presidency in 1796):

**It is not advisable for US to take sides in foreign wars.  
Do not want entangling alliances with other countries.**

- **Presidential prerogative** – Louisiana Purchase

**It is not in the constitution for the executive to purchase land.** Jefferson claimed executive prerogative (“*I have to do it even though it is not in the constitution*”)

- The Supreme Court & Constitutionality – theory of judicial review of legislation & presidential acts
  - what is constitutional?

Purchase of Louisiana was not constitutional (according to constitutional scholars) but it was so popular back in the day it was deemed constitutional.

- **Debate over states' rights** – the issue of slavery

Linked to Northwest Ordinance.

Whether new states have the right to make slavery legal within new territory.

- **Debate over role of government in people's life**

- Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations: rational self-interest & common good
- Idea of minimum/small/limited govt
- Individualism

Centred on the issue of slavery back in the 19th C.

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## **Westward Expansion**

### **2 major evolutions**

1. The structure of society, politics, democracy & the economy
2. The issue of slavery

#### **I. Foreign influences**

1. **Free Security?** From 1823 – threat from Europe lessened

Important formative years of the US were unhindered by the European powers due to Napoleonic wars; Gave US the freedom to develop.

2. **Impact of 1789-1815 European conflicts** – beginning of manufactures

US were inhibited from the ability to import European manufactures (industrial goods) due to the Napoleonic wars. Industrialisation of the US began due to the need for manufactures.

3. **No more serious 'Indian' threat**

Native American tribes can't play the powers against each other anymore with the removal of European powers.

## **II. The removal of Indians from ancestral land in the East**

- Shawnees from Ohio to Indiana to Missouri to Kansas and Texas (1795-1830s)

Occupied land that settlers wanted - led to native occupation of less fertile land.

- Cherokees from Georgia to Oklahoma -1830s – Trail of Tears – federal troops - 1838-9 –  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 20,000 died

## **III. Removal to less fertile land**

- Competition with existing tribes
- Decline of culture
- Dependence on govt handouts

Repercussions: More native americans have higher unemployment rates, all kinds of negative effects than any racial group.

- 100m acres east of Mississippi river for 32m acres west of river

Many historians acknowledged that this was a colonization (displaced Indian tribes and culture) - internal empire.

- The great American colonial empire?

## **IV. Population increase**

- mass movements inland & westward – (the American character on the frontier)

**Turner Thesis:** Progressive Westward movement - don't have settled societies, no law enforcement / government. Look after themselves - survive. Self-reliant, enterprising, democratic.

The violence in American society today is attributed to the Frontier experience.

- large immigrant population (land of opportunity)

Land of 2nd and 3rd chances - optimistic society - ability to reinvent themselves (even today)

- creation of local churches in new territories
  - 2nd Great Awakening 1800-1840s – revival
- Spiritual Autonomy - no clergymen nor pastoral ministry - religion is democratized
  - emotional experience of God rather than bible knowledge
  - democratization of religion
  - greater female participation -fragmentation
- Minimal govt control & economic intervention
  - distance & difficulty in communicating
  - frontier justice (sheriffs) & violence?
  - (from Territory to State)

## V. Technology – industry & land

1. Transportation
  - development of waterways, roads & from 1830s, rail – goods & people
    - rail after 1850s developing regional & national links
  - railroad schedule established the time zone agreements between towns/cities, links the national economy.
  - railroad system created new cities - opposed to linking existing cities (as in Europe)
2. Development of machine-tool manufacture
  - non-agricultural & mass production
  - stimulated by embargo caused partly by European conflicts

## VI. Impact of manufacturing & specialisation

### Market Economy, Wage and Payments

1. Not just an agrarian economy
2. From cottage production to mass production – textiles – New England
3. Consumer as well as producer economies – ready made clothing after 1820s
4. Immigration of industrial & agricultural workers – cities become diverse & complex – development of multicultural societies; Gender roles & divisions– payment & rights – women workers
  - Women able to earn wages working outside the home in manufacturing industries -> gender relations - beginning of specialization.
5. Growth in numbers & size of large cities
6. Increasing use of machines meant decline of artisan skills – workers instead of craftsmen (specialization)
7. **Rhythm of life dominated by factory schedule**

## VII. Income differentials

- gap between very rich and poor
- growing middle class – different patterns of consumption, education, etc

## VIII. Specialisation and Regionalisation

- NE, industry and finance, - development of banks & credit system
- South – plantation economies,
- Mid-West and West, agriculture etc

## IX. Growing differences between slave and non-slave states

North (urban, non-slave) vs South (rural, slave)

- slave states, less diversified – **dependent on ‘King Cotton’**
- **1808 – slave import ended (slavery was gradually made illegal by the north)**
- Internal movement of slaves from old South into new slave states, - Missouri, Alabama & Texas
- Argument over States' Rights
- **1820 Missouri Compromise: 36° 30' (line) – no subsequent state can be admitted as a slave state north of that (not successful)**
- Issue merely postponed
- Racialism continued to define Southern society (Hierarchical & Paternalistic)
- Division of Southern society into 3 segments – slaveholder (elites), non-slaveholder (white but poor), slave
  - elevates the poor whites (not at the bottom due to slaves)
- Expansion West had adverse impact on blacks – **slave families separated (union was not legally recognized)**

## Week 5

### Tutorial 3

**What characteristics did the frontier society help to create in 19th Century Americans?**

#### Talking points

- Positive light of Manifest Destiny (Turner's Thesis)
- Negative light of (any) Contentious Characteristics (e.g. Slavery, violence, colonization of America)

**More likely than not, characteristics were developed/moulded rather than born with due to the need of the time.**

**Violence** - 'assertiveness' of the Manifest Destiny: strong-willed to expand westwards.

**'Crime not to share'** - Egalitarianism

**'Settlers' call to arms'** (291,292) - Ideals of Democracy (strong belief and optimism), bringing people together to go forth on westward expansion.

**Young Married Couple** (304) - Self-sustenance, Independence

- no other family (Independence) - optimistic, self-sufficient: "I can make it on my own" - community: "no man is an island" e.g. American Church congregation tightly knit. - community: opposed to individualism (does not mean selfish) - *takes priorities or treasures in personal rights* - communal attitudes / sense of community is very high

**Robert Pullingham** (325) - tale of outlaw (Re-invention of self)

- borrowed a lot of money, creditors are after him - pack bags and left the cities in the east - also: people reinvent themselves as leaders (foreman) because there were none in the western frontier

**Typical American behaviours are essentially inherited from the Frontier period.**

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#### Summaries and Points from the Text:

*American Public Discourse (R. Burke):*

- Surrender of Native-American (Chief Joseph) to American General Howard

- “I will fight no more forever.” – overwhelming sense of defeat, futility of trying to go against the American War Machine.
- Many North Americans dead from the fighting, both young and old.
- those who are alive are suffering from harsh conditions – cold weather and starvation
- *violence from the Americans?* - how does America show its military power: **Absolute Devastation**
- Environment is harmed, consumes all natural resource
- brings their trade along with them westwards (industry, lumberjacking)

### **Major Problems in the Early Republic**

*Black Hawk Surrenders, 1832*

- Americans driving them away from their lands, causing Natives to wage war
- cf. Westward expansion, Manifest Destiny (god-given rights)
- Criticised American motivations for fighting the Indians (extermination? colonization?)
- Natives out-strategized, outgunned – creativity/resourcefulness, violence?

*On Western Life*

1839: “Whoever comes into Michigan with nothing will be sure to better his community” – stereotypical of the myth of heading West - re-invention, independence.

Types of Settlers:

1. Young, Married couples: content with their “bare loggeries”
2. People who left farms in the East in hopes of acquiring property quickly.
  - gave up much of what they had, but not necessarily to better themselves in the West.
  - women who allegedly suffer the most due to drastic changes in environment/lifestyle.
  - (no choice but to follow their husbands west cf. war)
3. People who are poor, or were unsuccessful economically.

1845: Western Clearing

- subsistence farming, harvesting, winter is coming, etc.
- Established and thriving communities.
- (Self reliance and independence)

## The Speculator's Role on the Frontier

Rise of Capitalism, Democracy -> Developing the West's Economy

- Individualism - seeking riches
- Real estate the main form of investment (esp. Western)
- But as with investment, carries risk, such as during depression
- Provided social services to frontier community - egalitarianism, mutual care
- Moneylenders
- Split in attitudes towards non-resident speculators
- Promoted (inadvertently) for the increased expansion westwards for settlers in search for land.
- Speculators helped develop a **local economy**, creating jobs and funneled capital into lower when it most needed it.

## The Transformation of a Rural Community: Commonality & Clues in Sugar Creek (324)

- Importance of the community in accustoming new settlers.
  - exposed to common dangers and tolls
  - development of a reciprocal, barter-like “borrowing system”
  - landowners able to make use of growing economy to sell land, creating an increasingly concentration of wealth
  - Landlords also began to hire wage labour -> development of a local economy
- 

## The “Peculiar Institution” and the Civil War

### Terms

- ‘Peculiar Institution’
- Civil War
  - historian’s reference.
  - War between the States
    - \* War of the Rebellion
      - (pov from the north)
    - \* War of Secession
      - (pov from the south)
    - \* War of Southern Independence
      - Southern pov

- *Union*
  - What the north referred to itself during the civil war.
- *Confederate*
  - What the south referred to itself during the civil war.
- Carpetbagger
- 1851 – “Uncle Tom’s Cabin – Harriet Beecher Stowe\*
- Emancipation Proclamation 1862
- Reconstruction, 1865-77
- Democrats\*
  - Party of the south - party that led the south into the civil war
  - Older party than the republicans
  - Today: Party of the blacks and the minority
  - What happened between the time of the civil war and present day that led to the shift in attitudes?
- Republican Party – formed 1854
  - Lincoln’s party
- Radical Republicans

Slave nursemaids - privileged black slaves that get to rest quite well (don’t have to work in the fields). Black nursemaid has to nurse the white baby first before her own baby. Implications?

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## Observations

The civil war settled the issue of these 2 basic controversies – both constitutional - the principle of states’ rights

1. The issue of the right to slavery
2. The issue of the right of secession

Each state claims its rights to decide what’s best for the citizens:

The right to extend slavery to newly settled territories of the West – from 1803 (Louisiana purchase), problem not resolved: ‘handled’, postponed, accommodation & compromise. (took the Civil War to resolve this)

Territorial expansion:

- Manifest Destiny
- “just, inevitable & divinely ordained”,
- Created dilemma
  - Largesse from God
  - Dilemma: Newly settled territories and states - do we have Slavery?

‘Modern War’ - scope of the war (**total war**), conditions:

- Total mobilization of resources
- Involving large number of civilian deaths
- Vast destruction of properties
- One of the first widely photographed war (Gettysburg 1863 – union soldiers)
  - War was captured on painting prior to the invention of photography in the 19th century.
  - Changed the perspectives and views people had of the war - how bad it was.

Not about quarreling over the number of slaves, but rather over the principle of slavery. US couldn't resolve any other issues before resolving the issue of slavery.

Number of slaves in new Territories small – about 1% or less

Issue of slavery became single defining problem of 1840s & 1850s

Racism in both N & S - attitude that blacks were inferior to whites was quite prevalent even among the Northerners (Social Darwinism - whites were on top and others just fell into place)

Results of Civil War brought dramatic changes into American society & lives

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## Compromises

**Missouri Compromise 1820** (fairly early on, issue not going to go away for 40 years)

- controversy affected newly settled lands of Louisiana Purchase (1803)
- Banned slavery N of 36° 30';
- Missouri, an exception
  - Because the North and the South wanted to admit Missouri as a state.

## 1846-48 Controversy over Texas and Oregon

- Northwest (above California) - collectively called the Oregon territories.
- British presence in Canada.
- Oregon dispute with British peacefully settled (49th parallel - 1846)
- Oregon and Washington was not heavily populated.

## Texas

- Mexican territory, settled by slaveholders (to increase revenue)
- American settlers (anglo saxon descent, not spanish) declared independence in 1836.
- Lone Star Republic – applied for US statehood, rejected (US did not want trouble with Mexico)
- 1844 - Texas border dispute with Mexico
- 1846 - **War with Mexico** (dragged US into the fight)
- 1848, Treaty gave US new territories, California & Nevada, Arizona – question of slavery in the Southwest (extended the issue almost all the way to the Pacific)
  - California was a territory that spanned across North and South, **cannot have a slave compromise in a single state.**

Debates within Congress - none were passed except for the California compromise:

- 1846 Wilmot (N) Proviso (suggested, not passed)
  - Proposed no slavery in territories acquired from Mexico
  - Fear of ‘Slave Power’
  - Dominance of South in the US Congress
- 1846 Calhoun (S)
  - Slaveholders had constitutional right to take slaves into new territories since new acquisition belong to the US, to all citizens
  - Reversal of 1787 NW Ordinance & Missouri Compromise
- 1847 Cass’ idea of “popular sovereignty” (related to the Calhoun compromise)
  - Let settlers of new territories decide for themselves
- 1850 California became state – important to South – (see map – 36° 30' issue)
  - free state in 1850 Compromise
  - Compromise of 1850 – bought time - evasion
    - \* Left slavery to be decided by settlers, before statehood – ambiguous language – N & S interpreted differently – timing?
    - \* Tough new law against fugitive slaves – disliked by N. – harsh penalties against harboring fugitives

## **Underground Railroad, 1840s-60s**

System by which slaves escaped to north helped by northern whites & free blacks  
– ‘passengers’ & ‘conductors’

- Mythologized – few actually escaped (few thousand only)
- Not organized – spontaneous efforts
- Hardest part in the South (slave traders and kidnapping)
- Role of blacks under-estimated
- Propaganda purpose in both N & S

## **1854 – Kansas-Nebraska Act**

- establishment of Nebraska & Kansas territories – left slavery question to settlers
- open to slavery – see map
- negation of 1820 Missouri Compromise

## **1854 - Birth of Republican Party – Lincoln’s Party**

- Competition between anti-slave and slave-owning sections to occupy new territories (settled by the majority, send as much people as possible)
- ‘Bleeding Kansas’ (Violence)

**Republican North** – argument of “Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men” South, dependent on slave labor – no industry, traditional etc

**Democrat South** – argument that whites, rich & poor, enjoyed equality because blacks were enslaved

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## **Road to War**

- 1857 – Supreme Court
  - Dred Scott Decision – slave brought into free territory not free, because not citizen
  - Support of Scott - once brought North, free. South argued otherwise.
- 1860 - Emergence of 2 party system
  - Democrats in the South – Republicans in the North
    - \* idea of “free soil, free labor, free man”

- \* split in institutions, e.g. churches – Southern Baptist, Southern Methodist, etc

South considered secession – South Carolina, the first in Dec 1860 – 6 other states followed – Confederate States of America

Declaration of Independence - articles of confederation: implies that the federal government are weaker, states are stronger. South wants the states to have more rights and say.

North: Abe Lincoln South: Jefferson Davis

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## Civil War

War begins – attack on Fort Sumter in S. C. – April 1861

### **Strategic miscalculations on both sides:**

- Lincoln thought South bluffing but cautious
- South – not taken seriously by the north – show of strength necessary
- Both expected short war
- North had overwhelming advantage in resources, men, industry, diversified economy & stronger central government – had a navy: planned naval blockade

### **Implications:**

- Misunderstood each other despite living in the same country for 90 years.
- North had a larger population - only 25% of the population need to be fought by the whites in the North.

South – weak central govt – defensive strategy

**Lincoln & Emancipation Proclamation 1863** – emancipation of all slaves – Aug 1862, (p 385, 9th edition) **preservation of Union, paramount priority**

1. Effect on South
2. Not everyone in N strongly anti-slavery - Abe was very unpopular in the North.
3. Not all white Southerners were slaveholders – were poor whites prepared to die for wealthy whites?

### **Lincoln, 1862:**

"I would save the Union. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, & if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; & if I could save it by freeing some & leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, & the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union"

Lincoln favored gradual emancipation – compensation & perhaps colonization of blacks in central America? (colonization of those places)

1. 1863 blacks fight in increasing numbers in Union army – (paid less)
2. Pressure from Radical Republicans – stronger views about South
3. Towards the end, Davis also proposed liberating of black volunteers & their families

Increasing war weariness on both sides & criticism of both Lincoln (ape, baboon) & Davis – suppression of some civil rights (measures taken against civilians that were unconstitutional) & economic hardships

- April 1865 – Appomattox surrender – end of war
- Devastation - especially in the South, most battles were fought in the South.
- Neutrality of Europeans
  - North more successful in diplomacy – hope to prevent European recognition of Confederate
  - Europe, anti-slavery but divided

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## Impact of the War

Greater on South than North – most fighting on Southern soils

1. Greater centralisation
2. Beginning of industrialization & urbanisation
3. Role of women
4. Impoverishment of poor whites
5. Unequal sacrifice (substitute notices - pay somebody to fight the war on your behalf)

## **Impact on the North**

1. Increasing power of president
2. Increasing mechanisation of both industry and agriculture
3. Unification against common enemy
4. Role of women - family, enterprises

It took 3 amendments to give blacks free, equal legal status:

- 1865 - 13th Amendment – prohibition of slavery – ‘Great Emancipator’
- 1868 - 14th Amendment – citizenship rights for blacks
- 1870 - 15th Amendment – right to vote – not denied due to skin color or race (does not include gender)

Citizenship != Voting rights; white women were citizens but did not have the right to vote. (not until 1920)

- 1m casualties out of population of 31m
- Greatest loss of American lives – greater than Vietnam
  - War deaths + civilian deaths
  - Fought on American soil since Revolutionary War
- Lincoln assassinated – consequences?
- War resolved question of slavery: freedom, not *equality* for the blacks
- Role & power of Federal govt grew – budget
- Reconstruction – 1865-76/7

## **Impact on the South: Reconstruction (11-12 years)**

Reconstruction – 2 views on how to deal with South after war:

1. Reconciliation & re-admission on equal terms
2. Radical Republicans (Minority)
  - idea of treating South as conquered
  - creation of free white & black society
  - imposed political changes & punitive measures

Johnson, 1865 – Lincoln’s successor

- southern & conservative - policy & attitude of pardon towards former plantation class

- abolition of slavery - but drafting of 'Black Codes' limiting black political and economic rights (1865-1868; till 14th Amendment)

Black codes; written into the Southern constitution – low wages, limitation of right to own property, limited the right to travel the state freely (vagrancy laws).

- Radical Republicans unhappy – desired some punishment of Southern slave-owning whites
  - Push through 14th & 15th amendments as conditions for re-entry of Southern states
  - New constitutions for southern states

### **Reconstruction Act 1867**

In former slave states - legislature of Southern whites, freed blacks & Northern whites.

Carpetbaggers - pejorative term: *Northern whites who came down South to run for elections.*

- Short-lived (Unsuccessful)
- mistakes, corruption, hostility, fiscal problems, inexperience, fundamental imbalance of power
- Some property rights for women

Violence of Ku Klux Klan (KKK) – 1866

- Confederate veterans of the civil war
- Secret white supremacist organisation in South
- Terrorised blacks & their supporters

### **Blacks:**

1. Re-unification of families
2. Education
3. Churches
4. **Sharecropping**
  - 40 Acres + Mule (promise that was not kept)
  - Former slave, not literate, no means of livelihood.
  - Use the land you use to farm.
  - Sharecroppers prevailed 100 years after the civil war (Mississippi) - couldn't get out of debt.

1874 – Democrats regained House of Congress 1876 – Disputed presidential election

Republican Rutherford Hayes elected – deal with southerners?

Reconstruction ended with Rutherford Hayes' election:

- **Reconstruction was not about Blacks' status but more of integrating South into the North.**
- Beginning of black immigration north in bigger numbers
- Reconstruction ends (1877) – a disastrous mistake?
- Reconstruction more an effort to integrate southern states than to resolve status of blacks in the US – racial problem to present

Question of right to secede resolved once & for all – future of states' rights?

### **End of Civil War & Reconstruction**

- Watershed (turning point) – beginning of modern America?
- Industrialization & growth to world power status
- In only 35 years - larger than the 3 largest economies of that time.

# Week 6

## Tutorial 4

Interpreting the Civil War:

*Was the Civil War about ending slavery? - Barbara Fields' Article*

### Ideas/Argument:

Slaves benefitted during the war as it provided them with some voice in the political system, carrying their demand for freedom from frontlines to government, thereby turning their liberation into a prominent political issue.

Agenda of slaves matched with that of union government's, resulting in the latters' realisation that achieving union without adopting/fighting for universal emancipation is not possible.

## Glossary

**Antebellum:** period before (Civil) War

**Revolution:** necessary conditions - *irreversible, large scale* change

**Coup D'etat:** Violence is not necessary as opposed to Revolution (blood is spilled)

**Civil War:** largest loss of American lives in its entire history.

*Perspectives:* Blacks vs Whites

*Timeframe:* Antebellum vs Wartime

Slaves benefitted during the war as it provided them with a voice in the political system, carrying their demand for freedom from frontiers to government, thereby turning their liberation into a prominent political issue.

Agenda of slaves matched with that of union government's, resulting in the latter's realization that achieving union w/o adopting/fighting for universal emancipation is not possible.

## Yes

- In order to save union, slavery has to end.
- Wendell Phillips
- Results say so -> those who believed in the emancipation won the war.
- Black people treat the war as a war of emancipation to gain agency (pushed the tide). (Armed forces "Liberation machine")

- Confiscation Act (March 1862) - forbade military personnel from returning fugitive slaves (article of war)
  - abolished slavery in Colombia, and later in all territories
  - Second Confiscation Act passed over Lincoln's objections: declared free all slaves whose owners supported the Rebellion.

## No

- Start war to protect union - priority was union (ending slavery was a means to an end)
- Gives **agency** to all parties
- Abe Lincoln skirted his entire way through the war to avoid the Slavery issue.
- Abe facilitates the war, he doesn't run the war.
- President, Congress - makes the decisions based on consequences.
- Issue of slavery took on a life of its own - Abe Lincoln followed the waves of the North's victory.

## *Was the Civil War the Second American revolution?*

What were the criteria; Why the criteria says it is or is not a revolution?

### **Criteria for Revolution:**

- **Violence:** 620k people died (Civil War) vs 55k (Vietnam War)
- **Social:** Change in social order - No more slavery (but form over function?)
- **Political:** Shift in power dynamics - belong to North now (for the next 100 years)
- **Economical:** Increased Industrialisation (counter-argument: Industrialisation already existed in the Antebellum → Industrialisation transposed itself to the South as well) Entire US continent saw economical and industrial progress as a whole.

## Week 7

### World War I

First world war occurred in the first half of the 20th century, but the US has already emerged as a Pacific and Atlantic power.

After the Civil War, the US became an economic superpower - it is an accepted fact that Military and Political power comes as an extension of Economic power.

Internally (US) debate: *what kind of role does the US get to play in the world stage?* (what kind of influence should it exert)

**Expansionism** (does not just involve military) - Goods, investments, people and ideas.

Last 2 decades of the 19th Century - High Imperialism of European powers (established vast colonies overseas)

As US emerged as a power, there was an attitude of imperialism towards other countries.

**Foreign policy of US:** weighed down more heavily on Imperialism rather than Expansionism.

US is now a net exporter of industrial, agricultural and financial goods.

**Turner thesis - frontier has now closed.**

Latin-America was seen as the backyard of US.

**Ideology** - system of beliefs that govern the worldview of a society.

**Monroe doctrine** - US was not in a position to enforce the declaration, but it saw itself as a protector of Latin-America; Latin-America saw US involvement as a 'Yankee' interference.

Interference of US in Cuban and Filipino colonies led to a war between Spanish and Americans.

**Control of Philippines made US a Pacific superpower.**

Before: Agricultural nation; After (1913): Manufactured goods became a greater percentage of exports.

**Paternalism** in US thinking (lesser nations are depicted as women/children - context of that time: women and children are taken care of) - condescending towards Cuba.

**1898 Spanish-American war** – black troops. Segregated armed forces – white and black soldiers did not serve in same units. The only white person likely to be

the officer. Black troops paid less. Fight and die in same war. Usually fighting for ‘democracy’ but did not enjoy democratic rights and equality at home

If they threw off the British as a colonial superpower, why is the US imposing/exerting colonial dominance on others (Philippines)? (Anti-democratic)

*1912-1920 - Woodrow Wilson responsible crafting the ideas for US Foreign Policy*

Wilson’s ideas lived on despite his perceived failure in his second presidency term.

Wilson: inflexible, self-righteous; democrat.

**1914 Wilson’s Proclamation of Neutrality** - Americans not to take sides (not our war, let the Europeans handle their own issues) yet American sentiments were pro-Allied (prefer British victory) i.e. officially neutral, but British ideas better represented what America stood for - led to White House dilemma: lack of neutrality in the attitudes of Americans.

**Difficult for US to stay fully neutral** - US external links were with Allies (Britain and France) - volume of Economic exchanges were disparate.

**‘Freedom of the Seas’** - As a neutral nation, American citizens and ships should not be the target of attacks on either side. (Wilson)

In reality, British (large naval size) - established Naval Blockades; Germans practice submarine warfare to deter against Allied war efforts.

Most important ship that was sunk: Lusitania ('Lucy') British ship & goods that carried American passengers (1915); first of a series of ships that led to lost American lives (1915-1916)

Early 1917 - unrestricted submarine warfare (Germans) - challenged US neutrality rights (Wilson)

**Zimmerman telegram** - intercepted by British, sent to Mexico, Germans promised return of Texas to Mexico from US. Understood as an infringement on US sovereignty. Led to Wilson’s ‘armed neutrality’ (more ships lost) - April 1917 declared war ‘make the world safe for democracy’.

World War I - ‘The War to End All Wars’ - Initially supposed to be uninvolved (neutrality), but US was involved in it for last 2 years (1917 as an allied power)

Internal dissent on the involvement in the War:

1. Non-entanglement (Washington) ideas
2. ‘Burden of Power’ - involvement in European military and politics

Military Preparations: increased taxation, selective service (drafting of 20-30 year old males)

## International consequences

Place of negotiating table after the war - Wilson wanted this because of his ideas on World Politics and Peace.

**Wilsonian Idealism** - reformation of world politics: if you and your neighbor quarrels, other nations have to be collectively responsible for maintaining the world peace. Necessity for a world organization where nations can collectively communicate and resolve quarrels and conflicts to avoid regional repercussions.

Framework of World Peace after WWII: 14 Points - Point 14: League of Nations - collective security, multi-lateralism.

British, French - devastated by WWI; US emergence as most powerful nation.

US politics (internal) interfered with foreign policy (external) - treaty is something that the senate has to approve (faced opposition from Republican party). Treaty of Versailles in Paris - Republicans were not consulted. While all other countries in the European league signed the Treaty, Wilson could not do anything about US Senate not passing the treaty.

**League of Nations & Treaty of Versailles** - international law would supersede national law (would be dangerous for powerful nations). League of Nations & collective security (Pt 14, Article 10) charter would obligate US to be involved to the actions and reactions of others - unacceptable to the US Senate.

Doubts over multi-lateralism (US involvement in Europe's affairs)

Wilson was at end of Presidency, but began a campaign - led to Wilson's incapacitation (stroke) - Wilson's wife made decisions on his behalf (strong influence in government)

Post War: Americans turned inwards - tired of involvement in European conflict - led to period of 'isolationism'.

## Domestic Consequences:

Progressivism came to an end.

Beginnings of Big Government (mobilization, organization of resources) - government too big, takes away the power of individuals to make decisions for themselves.

Government-business collaboration - government is not in the business of industrial equipment, contract big companies to manufacture and produce material needs for war efforts. (two big institutions in US, worrisome for individuals)

Growth and enhancement of the power of the presidency - distortion of constitutional arrangements.

Fight for female suffrage: roles of women in war efforts - home, war bonds, nurse services, etc.

*Organizational role in progressive programs (tutorial 5)*

On Suffrage: 15th (1870) to 19th Amendment (1920) - Race, then sex.

**Outcomes of the war efforts:** role of women and blacks in war industry - movement of blacks to northern industrial jobs.

**Suppression of civil liberties** - groups of people who objected to the war were suppressed.

**Civil Liberties & Civil Rights** - used interchangeably elsewhere; however Civil Liberty in US - relationship between you and government; Civil Rights - rights in relation between you and your fellow citizens enjoy.

Dissatisfaction with treatment and conditions (segregation and discrimination in the armed forces) - race riots in the beginning of the war (1917 Houston, Illinois; 1919 Chicago)

German-Americans were targets of abuse (language, books, names)

Labor & other dissenters - dissatisfaction & organization - wartime inflation, ability to strike impinged, laborers who rioted were dismissed as not loyal, not patriotic.

2 Legislations - **Espionage Act 1917, Sedition Act 1918** - aimed at language (1st Am. Free Speech right infringed); upheld by Supreme court (criticized subsequently)

**Strikes of 1919 (>3300) fear of communist conspiracy** - May Day mail bombs to prominent Americans, conspirators were not caught.

**1917 Russian Revolution** - First communist (Socialist) government: Fear of Socialism (Reds) - led to Red Scare of 1920; Mitchell Palmer (Attorney General, used Red Scare to increase his own popularity, political ambitions) creation of Bureau of Investigation - deportation/jail for suspects, non-citizens, residents in US - infringement of civil liberties.

**In the second decade of the 20th century - American definition includes only those of European origin:**

Liberty loan poster (war bonds) – Title is “Americans All” – with list of ‘american’ names – please notice that the names on the list reflect people from all parts of Europe including Italy, Greece, Poland & Northern European countries. There is even Levy, a Jewish name. However there are no non-European names. The implication is that the definition of ‘American’ includes only those of European origin

## Observations

- Undisputed American dominance in world after 1919
- Growth of federal government
- Role of the presidency - at expense of legislature.
- The American war machine - rapid mobilization & US resources by govt - economic resources that US commands such that it could mobilize for war so quickly.
- After Wilson - turning inwards & unilateralism – next lecture

\*\* The necessary exercise of American power - perspective: if America does not exert its dominance, it would be some other country that will bear this responsibility, and that the world would be in a worse state if not for America. (Hegemony)

War as engine of change – constitutional rights, eg the 19th Amendment & domestic developments

## Week 9

*Week 8 was a hiatus week (Hari Raya Haji) - no class*

### Tutorial 6

#### Question 1

From the Foner reading (p144 - 161), critically evaluate the new definition of American freedom and modernity **concentrate on pg 147-151**

#### Discussion:

*pg 147*

- Conventional notion of freedom was centered on economic and political sovereignty.
- New notion of freedom: Consumer freedom - more goods on the market, more choice implies more freedom.
  - “As opposed to older ones centering on economic autonomy and political sovereignty, freedom was available to women as fully as men.””

*pg148* - enabled socially conscious to unite with wage-earners by taking cognizance of the exploitative conditions under which goods were produced.

*pg151* - standard of living a sacred acquisition which they will defend at any price; Gave rise to new society & ‘consumptionism’; “Elections were no longer “lively centers” of public attention as in the 19th C and voter turnout had fallen dramatically.”

- New modernity only benefitted the upper class; middle class had to protest and unionize for their own rights and privileges.
- New values of prosperity and progress as a result of the progressivism movement also eroded the ideas of the old thought on Freedom; society as a whole (regardless of sex) was brought on the bandwagon for consumption and ‘choice’ - modernity.

**Billy:**

*Freedom (brought about by what?) - Mass Consumerism*

- What we take for granted today started in America just before the first World War
- More than one commercial product; Having a choice in what to buy (Distraction?)
- Behind consumerism: Mass production - industrialisation, progress in technology (Modernity)
- the Great Equalizer: Access to commercial products to all (parallels to Black Slaves that equalized the poor and rich Whites in the South)

*pg 148*

“Later social critics would see mass consumption as a diminished, depoliticized utopia, which abandoned older foundations of freedom such as active participation in public affairs in favor of passive citizenship and privatized aspirations.”

- Consciously/Unconsciously gave away political participation (freedom) in order for economic participation (a disguise) - passive citizenship; loss of decision making power due to distraction of materialist desires
- Consumerism brings out power (newfound freedom) for housewives - consumer power; previously, form organisations and societies to rally for their political activity
- Mass consumption eliminated the desire for ‘Want’ - everything readily accessible

*pg 151 >In Muncie, the Lynds found that new leisure activities and a new emphasis on consumption had supplanted politics as the focus of public concern.*

- Oblivious to the political realm (loss of freedom?)

## **Question 2**

How do the Gregory and Coogan readings differ in their interpretation of Woodrow Wilson’s neutrality? **concentrate on pg 50-71**

*Zimmerman telegram and Wilson’s war message serve as the context for the discussion – Different in terms of how they interpreted Wilson’s neutrality.*

**Wilson thinks that neutrality is \_\_\_\_\_ for the Coogan reading:**

- Nationality - Anti-German
  - Every paragraph on page 64: "Washington did nothing."
    - \* British kept pushing the boundaries of how the Americans reacted to their submarine warfare
  - As opposed to page 66: "note signed by secretary of state"
    - \* Basically went against everything that it stood for in 64-65.
- Both nationalities are governed under a Monarchy - nothing to do with system of rule, but with regards to where they come from (Nationality)
- *Neutrality is not neutral*

**Wilson thinks that neutrality is \_\_\_\_\_ for the Gregory reading:**

What is the supposed 'Breaking Point'? - what was the main trigger?

- Submarine Warfare
  - Attacked American ships
  - Regardless of Nationality (prestige);

*pg 58*

For all the popular indignation over the invasion of Belgium and other allegedly atrocious German warfare, there still did not develop in the US a large movement for intervention.

*pg 60*

What had started as efforts to promote prosperity and neutral rights developed into questions of national honor and prestige. Wilson faced not merely the possibility of abandoning economic rights but the humiliating prospect of allowing the Germans to force him to it. The more hazardous it became to exercise American rights, the more difficult it was to yield them.

Unilateralism (Monroe Doctrine); America did not want to be seen as a "push over"

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## Readings

Two critical events, the end of the First World War and beginning of the Great Depression, marked the boundaries of the 1920s. In the war's aftermath, traditional customs and values weakened as women and men sought new forms of self-expression and gratification. A host of effects from modern science and technology—automobiles, electric appliances, and mass media, especially radio—touched the lives of rich and poor alike. Sports and movies made entertainment more accessible. Moreover, the decade's freewheeling consumerism enabled ordinary Americans to emulate wealthier people not only by purchasing more but also by trying to get rich through stock market speculation. The depression that followed the stock market crash stifled these habits, at least for a while. Beneath the “new era” lurked two important phenomena rooted in previous eras. One was the continued prejudices and ethnic tensions that had long tainted the American dream. As Klansmen and immigration restrictionists made their voices heard, they encouraged discrimination against racial minorities and slurs against supposedly inferior ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the distinguishing forces of twentieth-century life—technological change, bureaucratization, mass culture, and growth of the middle class—accelerated, making the decade truly “new.” Both phenomena would recur as major themes in the nation’s history for the rest of the twentieth century.

In the 1930s, a major economic crisis threatened the future of the nation. By 1933, almost one-quarter of America’s workers were unemployed. Millions of people did not have enough to eat or adequate places to live. Herbert Hoover, elected president in 1928, believed that government should play only a limited role in managing and regulating the nation’s economy. He tried to solve the nation’s economic problems through “associationalism,” a voluntary partnership of businesses and the federal government. In the 1932 presidential election, voters turned to the candidate who promised them a “New Deal.” President Franklin Delano Roosevelt acted decisively to stabilize America’s capitalist system and then worked to ameliorate its harshest impacts on the nation’s people. The New Deal was a liberal reform program that developed within the parameters of America’s capitalist and democratic system. Most fundamentally, it expanded the role and power of the federal government. Because of New Deal reforms, banks, utilities, stock markets, farms, and most businesses operated in accord with rules set by the federal government. The federal government guaranteed workers’ right to join unions without fear of employer reprisals, and federal law required employers to negotiate with workers’ unions to set wages, hours, and working conditions. Many unemployed workers, elderly and disabled Americans, and dependent children were protected by a national welfare system administered through the federal government. And the president, through the power of the mass media and his own charisma, became an important presence in the lives of ordinary Americans. The New Deal faced challenges from many directions. As the depression wore on, populist demagogues blamed scapegoats or offered overly simple explanations for the plight of the American people. Business

leaders attacked the New Deal for its new regulation of business and its support of organized labor. As the federal government expanded its role throughout the nation, tensions between national and local authority sometimes flared up, and differences in regional ways of life and in social and economic structures presented challenges to national policymakers. Both the West and the South were transformed by federal government action, but citizens of both regions were suspicious of federal intervention, and white southerners strongly resisted any attempt to challenge the racial system of Jim Crow. The political realities of a fragile New Deal coalition and strong opposition shaped—and limited—New Deal programs of the 1930s and the social welfare systems with which Americans still live today. It was the economic boom created by America's entry into World War II, not the New Deal, that ended the Great Depression. However, New Deal programs helped many of America's people live better, more secure lives. And the New Deal fundamentally changed the way that the U.S. government would deal with future economic downturns and with the needs of its citizens in good times and in bad.

## US Between the Wars

- Prohibition: 18th Amendment, 1919; 1933–21st amendment repealed
- Flapper – modernity, independence & sexual freedom
- Jazz – 1920s
- Sacco - Vanzetti Case 1921
- Scopes Monkey Trial
- Great Depression
- Herbert Hoover
- Franklin D Roosevelt (FDR) 1933-45 – longest serving president – elected 4 times – died in beginning of 4th term (each term= 4 years)
  - FDR was the only president who was elected 4 times; he was given 2 more terms because it was believed that in the dire circumstances of the beginning of WWII, it might have created great uncertainty to choose an inexperienced and new president.
  - Many of the new federal regulations were passed to ensure that the financial crisis that triggered the Great Depression would not be repeated; financial institutions, eg banks, were the target of many of the legislations.
- Eleanor Roosevelt - wife
- First Hundred Days (of new presidency)
- New Deal – Legislative Program to overcome Great Depression
- Federal Regulations
- Scottsboro, Alabama 1931'

## **Observations**

### **Legacy of WWI**

– impact of war on development; public opinion and thinking of its leaders –

- US turns inward to enjoy benefits of material prosperity
- isolationism
- distaste for the power politics of the Old World (attempted to distance themselves from developments in Europe)
- disillusioned with results of WWI
- reaction against idealism of Wilson's campaign & ideas for a better peace (Structuring a new world order based on stability and multi-lateralism)

## **4 elections of FDR**

- No legislation at the time prohibiting more than 2 consecutive terms.
- No president ran for more than 2 terms out of respect for the founding father G Washington.
- Reason why FDR was elected 4 terms - needed to recover from Great Depression
- Served 3 Terms + 1 year of 4th term
- After FDR, no other president can have more than 2 terms
- Ranked consistently among the top 5 presidents;

## **Expanded role of Federal Govt**

- FDR's decision for the government to step in to resolve the ilk of the Great Depression
- Bureaucrats & 'Brain Trust' (finance & other university experts)
- Federal Legislation & Regulation to solve Great Depression
- New & permanent expectations of Americans that future Federal govt must act in times of economic crisis
- Consequence of Great Depression: whenever there is a crisis, the government must step in to do something

## **Concept of 'Imperial Presidency'**

- Increasing importance and power of presidency, cf. legislature supposed to be most powerful
- New Deal
- WWII - precedents

## **Creation of Democratic Party coalition**

- urban, immigrants & blacks
- majority of black votes went to Democrats
- social legislations of in the 1930s led to the support of the blacks

## Two distinct periods

### 1920s - Jazz Age Key characteristics:

Prosperity; leading to stock speculation, causing *Great Depression*

#### Mass Culture

1919-1929 – GNP 40% growth; stock market boom

#### *Period of Materialism*

- crass?
- focus on getting rich
- enjoyment of material wealth
- US relatively unscathed by WWI
- period of middle class prosperity

*When thinking of a developed society, the largest percentage of the population should be the middle class (>50%)*

#### Business consolidation of big firms further strengthened

- Republican presidents, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge & Herbert Hoover favoured business over labour
- *Rationale that business creates jobs for middle class, trickle down economics*

**Consumerism** – age of radio, cars, stocks, home electrical devices, *accelerated consumption of leisure*: sports & films (talkies, 1927)

**Mass Advertising** & age of heroes, movie stars & sports heroes; Advertising & the urban consumer

Further growth of suburbs (middle class) – inner cities, immigrants; - more prosperity in suburbs

#### Undercurrents (1) - INTOLERANCE

*Prohibition & crime:*

- 18th Amendment, but eventually cancelled
- prohibit manufacture, sale & transportation of alcohol
- does not say anything about consumption
- openly flouted; illegally obtaining alcohol

- gave rise to a culture of crime: mafia mobs & ‘molls’
- ‘bath-tub gin’ & ‘moonshine’
- ‘criminalization’ of US
- Prohibition laws were openly disobeyed by ‘respectable’ members of society, doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc – this disobedience made them ‘criminals’
- *fear that if Prohibition continued, a climate of indifference to other laws would spread*
- The Mafia gangs, originally with Italian roots, benefitted greatly from Prohibition since they were main sellers of illicit alcohol
- Criminalization also meant that Officials and jurisdiction were breaking the law and taking bribes

## **Undercurrents (2) - RACISM & IMMIGRATION**

(Case) *Sacco-Vanzetti Trial of 1921:*

Oppression of govt – sometimes resistance & terror;  
(Ferdinando Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.)

- Robbery in Massachusetts (North) – murder conviction
- Italian immigrants & Anarchists
- Judge: prejudiced - in private called them ‘anarchist bastards’
- Executed within 6 years (1927), case against them was not strong
- Symbol of American injustice

1921 legislation

- limitation of immigration
- quotas favoring those from N & W Europe
- quota based on proportion of population in 1910

1924 legislation – quota on proportion of population in 1890

The further back the year selected for the baseline of the population, e.g. 1890, the greater proportion of Northern and Western Europe in the total population. The native-born Americans preferred that the immigrants came from Northern & Western Europe. The new legislations, 1921, 1924, 1927 (next slide) basically discriminated against immigrants from Southern & Eastern Europe and the rest of the world.

1927 ‘National Origins’ law - even more restrictive – In total for admission every year only 150,000 – birth or descent, fraction of population - favor north american descent or white european

## **Undercurrents (3) - WOMEN**

*Occupation & Pay Discrimination*

- very limited role in legislature?

*'Flapper'*

- (refers to the emergence of a new type of modern women of that period who believed in their own female empowerment)
- Radical attire: showing ankles, period of women wearing short skirts.
- Tended to be people of the upper middle class, entertainment people; more edgy, not the traditional middle class type; who *enjoyed sexual & social freedom*

Margaret Sanger

- nurse; noticed that women keep having children, no means of controlling their own reproduction;
- campaigned for birth control; birth control was not legal in US in the day (criminalized)
- Sanger put in jail; regarded as a heroine in the Feminist Movement.

#### **Undercurrents (4) - SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM**

1925 Tennessee, conservative Southern State

(Test case) John Scopes, teacher

- *Scopes Monkey Trial* – convicted
- taught Darwinism & evolution
- social & religious conservatism – period of transition
- Famous case – attracted great publicity within the US & internationally

Gave southern states a reputation – to this day, some southern states still contest the idea of evolution – belief in the bible that says that man was created as man, not evolved from an ape

#### **Undercurrents (5) - BLACKS & SEGREGATION**

Era of revival of Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 1915

– *against blacks, Jews & others* —

- KKK Kreed - radical Christians?

Scottsboro, Alabama 1931 (deep South state)

- injustice — 9 blacks accused of raping 2 white women

- innocent but 8 sentenced to death
- some in jail till 1950

Three-quarters of blacks still in South

- by all measures, relatively less well-off compared to whites
- less education, wealth, health care, life expectancy etc – still true today

Discrimination in the South was serious, but it was happening in the North as well (New York: parents were demonstrating against integration of school system)

### **Undercurrents (6) - Rapid change & status anxiety**

*Jazz age*

- improvisation, creative, spontaneous
- *Music of Blacks, Soundtrack of Modernity*
- Pop music, hip-hop etc today - musical antecedence springs from Jazz

*Sense of alienation & aloneness in mass culture*

- Some people stayed traditional
- Alienation is a modern phenomena; in a large urban community, a person doesn't fit in
- Split between those who fear change and those who are modern
- *Edward Hopper* - illustrations and art depicting Alienation, not belonging, not connecting

*Clash of values*

Tension between the modern culture of consumerism, materialism & enjoyment, AND the traditional values of Christianity & hard work

### **Great Depression 1929 Crash & Great Depression**

World-wide – Oct, NY stock market crash – after boom & speculation

Result of Over-production & mal-distribution of income (under-consumption); Inventory was very big, and not enough middle class to consume domestically

Prosperity of US in 1920s not matched by conditions in Europe – war indemnities & reparation – less investment in Europe, invest at home, – default – inability to borrow fr US & inability to sell to US (tariffs)

**Introduction of High tariffs** - import taxes on foreign goods; restricts; & the restriction of trade (volume of World Trade shrunk)

1929 - 1933 – GNP fell by 50%

1933 – Quarter of population, unemployed

### Banks failed

- mass bankruptcy
- farms hardship
- prices fell - farmers cannot make enough to cover their cost
- hunger in US - food distribution system to the urban folk collapsed
- great hardship
  - loss in consumption
  - homelessness & movement westward to California (seen as prosperous, opportunity)

*Dust Bowl of certain mid-western states, 1930s – ‘Grapes of Wrath’ (Film)*

Two things that couldn't be controlled - Weather & Farming practices

Great loss of faith & confidence

Dust Bowl of the 1930s - coincided with the period of the Great Depression:- Over-cultivation of the land- top soil blown off during seasons of strong winds. Inability to cultivate and harvest crops. Migration of farm workers & families westward to California in search of jobs and food. Real hunger existed.

### Hoover – elected 1928

Unable to solve problem – 2 beliefs:

*Belief in personal responsibility* - no direct welfare payments to individuals, that helping individuals would undermine people's individualism & character – create dependency – therefore help business to recover so that economy & employment will recover – seen as pro-biz

*Belief in balanced budget* - tried to restore business confidence - proven wrong today; balanced budget - spend less because revenue is falling: partly because of Great Depression and partly because of Keynesian Economics (idea of deficit spending did not come until 1936)

Govts at that time had no policy instruments & ideas on aiding the economy – John Maynard Keynes' idea on Govt activism formulated in response to Great Depression (1936)

*Keynes' book, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, was published in 1936 and provided govt with ideas and policy instruments on how to recover from the Great Depression. He is one of the most influential economists of the 20thC. People still refer to Keynesian economics.

After this, fundamental change in way govt role is conceived – activism – BUT question of freedom vs equality – more govt intervention (Big Govt)

means less autonomy & freedom of action & choice for individuals & companies Other down-turns always compared to this Great Depression  
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/162138> - Is this a replay of 1929?

### **1930s - Economic Depression & ‘New Deal’ FDR – The Presidency**

– wife, Eleanor – optimistic – restored confidence

- Inauguration Speech: ‘only thing we have to fear is fear itself’
- Unlike Hoover, flexible; willing to try anything
- “1st rate character vs 3rd rate intellect”
- fire-side chats
- Did not pull US out of recession – deficit spending of WWII did that

Set precedence for subsequent presidents – activist politics – e.g. First Hundred Days (of his 1st term) - extremely popular during the period, legislation is easier to pass; engaged the American people with Radio (fire-side chats: 19/30 on Great Depression) - was enabled to do that because 20th Century allowed direct media communication (very effective)

(Because he took so much action) Change balance between executive & legislature – hence, ‘Imperial Presidency’ – idea that the executive branch has too much power, behaving like a king

It has been said of FDR that he had a 3rd rate intellect and a 1st rate character or temperament; he was flexible and open to new ideas. He understood that the American people needed assurance and between 1933-44, he gave 30 radio talks, called them fire-side chats, to create impression of personal, intimate conversations with the people. Out of the 30, most of the 19 chats, given before Pearl Harbor, were about the Great Depression and the recovery.

### **The Bureaucracy**

- use of lawyers & university academics ('Brain Trust') to help economic recovery
- role of bureaucracy

### *Role of Federal Govt*

- to regulate big business
- govt spending to ameliorate effects of economic downturn – creation of agencies to deal with problems
  - alphabet soup, eg. TVA, WPA, CCC etc

### *Idea of Big Govt*

Argument that big govt means less freedom for businesses, individuals & states

### **The Politics**

- Coalition of Democratic Party – urban, immigrants, blacks
- Blacks benefited but not to same extent; no legislation targeted to benefit blacks, only programs to help the poor
- Employment of high profile blacks by Roosevelt (Tokenism)

FDR won office without all Americans knowing that he had Polio and was in a wheelchair. *Journalists knew but helped keep a secret* because America was in a bad state and wanted to project an image of strength; *being in a wheelchair cannot be seen as a position of strength*. FDR's disability would have cost him the elections

### **The ‘New Deal’**

- Not just to spend its way out of the recession
- Also as a legislative program - idea that govt should correct social injustice
  - e.g. recognition of workers' right to organize and strike, regulation of banks
    - Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC): \$100,000
    - Accountability & transparency
    - (Social security - think pension; was created for the first time) social security payments
    - Govt activism
  - FDR big on Healthcare - ‘social safety net’
  - Interest Group politics – farms & labor & women
  - Opposition from left and right
    - saw encroachment of rights – ‘socialism’ etc

Big business learned that it had to share political power & access with labor & other interest groups – increasing democratization

It is from this period that all bank deposits up to \$100,000 are FDIC insured: in other words, the US federal govt guarantees that if your bank went bankrupt, you will regain up to \$100,000 of your deposits. This new regulation reflected the experiences of Americans who lost all their savings in the Great Depression when their banks declared bankruptcy

From this period to the 1960s, American presidents from the Democratic party would give 2-word labels to describe their legislative programs of economic and social reforms. For instance, Truman had the ‘Fair Deal’, Kennedy the ‘New Frontier,’ and finally LBJ, the ‘Great Society’. Republican presidents did not have the same tradition

## Conclusion

1930s - US preoccupied with problems of 1/3 of nation, 'ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-fed'  
– less attention to rise of Hitler & Nazis in Europe

**Poverty of Great Depression** – great blow to idea of US as land of opportunity, equality & liberty, loss of confidence & faith in the 'American Dream'

*American Dream = the freedom and right to pursue opportunities for economic success, e.g. the ability to own their own homes and achieve social and economic mobility; the idea that poor immigrants can aspire to a better life for their children.*

## Week 10: Lecture

**'The Good War'** - ideological 'good' guys, morally superior; fighting against the tyranny of the Nazis; not found evidences of US troops committing atrocities on civilian population (as compared to Korea and Vietnam). Troops from this war are venerated as the 'Greatest Generation' (popularized only in the last 20 years).

- Isolationism
- Neutrality Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939
- 'Methods short of War'
- Arsenal of Democracy
- Cash-and-Carry 1937
- Lend-Lease 1941
- Rationing
- Homefront
- Appeasement
- Munich Conference 1938
- Western Front – second front
- Atlantic Charter
- 'Back Door to War'
- Nazism & fascism – authoritarian
- Tripartite Pact, Sept 1940: Japan, Italy & Germany

### Observations

1920s – US, disillusioned with outcome of WWI, turn inwards – decade of excess, self-involvement & materialism – trend of isolationism BUT Dominance & interference in the Western Hemisphere – 'banana republics'

Banana Republics (term used by media) - certain islands/colonies in the West Indies; produced bananas as a main economic activity for the domestic American market. Political stability in these regions led to American interference (closer neighbours)

*Isolationism* - word is too strong, implies that US closed doors; US paid less attention to external affairs (Asia and Europe)

International instrument of American foreign policy:

- conferences, moralistic statements, non-recognition of undesirable regimes,
  - *Non-recognition* - when Soviet Union took over the Russian empire, US did not recognise the regime, did not extend diplomatic relations to Soviets until FDR.

- expansion of overseas economic interests

Differences between Wilson's & Roosevelt's 'neutrality' - R pointed out neutrality was not a matter of attitude (proclamations), a matter of policies and actions taken. R chose to acknowledge that a proclamation is insufficient. US will be judged by what it did over what it said.

- Germany's dissatisfaction with Treaty of Versailles - punitive
  - Germany had territories taken away
  - Payment of war reparations
  - Burdened the German economy
  - Attempts at disarmament (Germany not allowed to have a military force)
- 1929 Crash – defaulted on War debt
  - Chain effect: Economic hardships compounded; listened to more radical parties who convinced the desperate to overthrow existing regimes
  - Gave rise to Authoritarian regimes in Europe and Asia
    - \* rise of Nazism & Japanese militarism (idea of economic sphere of influence)
  - 1933 Hitler:
    - \* Withdrawal of Germany from League of Nations, and began rearmament
- 1936 Germany reoccupation of Rhineland
  - Indication that Europe was going to plunge into war again
  - Political climate suggests that America is shirking its responsibilities

## Aggression in Asia

- 1931 – Manchurian Incident (Japan occupies Manchuria)
  - Withdrawal of Japan from League of Nations in 1933
  - Turned back on Treaty of Versailles (reject the settlements of WWI)
- 1937 – Sino-Japanese war
  - 1939 (beginning of the WWII only applies to Europe)
  - Most people acknowledged that the Second World War started in 1937
- Increasing US-Japanese friction over Japan's expansion
  - Europeans were too busy with Nazism to bother with SEA;
  - France and Britain has been major players in South East Asia (4 major colonies - Britain; 3 major colonies - France)
  - America paid the most attention on the Japanese activity in Asia

## American Isolationism

- American attention focused on own economic difficulties
  - '34 '35 - clear that War was going to break out in Europe again
  - Because of economic interests, US got into WWI
- Isolationism strong – majority wanted to stay out of Europe's problems
- Idea that American business interests had “dragged” US into WWI – **Nye Committee, Senate**, 1934-36 – ‘merchants of death’ – munitions makers (next tutorial)

## Appeasement

- Munich 1938 - to buy off (an aggressor) by concessions usually at the sacrifice of principles
  - Hitler had lied to Neville Chamberlain and was going to roll on Europe
  - Britain and France anxious to avoid war and allowed Hitler on his expansionism
  - ‘Appeasement’ - weak nations should not be overtaken by strong nations who wish to control their lands (Principle of Sovereignty of Nations)
- Britain & France acquiesce in the breaking up of Czechoslovakia - 1938
- 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact
- Invasion of Poland (Germany got bolder after Czechoslovakia) – Britain & France declares war
- 1940 – France falls; Britain fights alone: bombing raids on major British cities (Blitz of Britain)
- Sept 1940: Tripartite Pact, Germany, Italy & Japan; “3 bandit nations” (FDR) - didn’t want the Germans to win, but he has not taken much action on the situation
- 1941 – Germany attacks Soviet Union (despite the pact, Germany was not loyal)

## US Neutrality (and Non-neutrality)

- Series of Neutrality Acts
- 1935 Neutrality Act – prohibited arms shipment to all belligerents
  - some of the passengers travelled on European ships (Lusitania)
  - senators wanted to avoid repeating the same tragedies of WWI
  - took FDR for his words; actions > words
- 1935 – building of US warships – biggest peacetime defense budget up to that point

- 1936 – 2nd Neutrality Act: prohibited loans to belligerents (Britain, France)
- 1937 – 3rd Neutrality Act: no loans, ‘cash-and-carry’ principle of non-military goods; Americans cannot travel on ships of belligerents (don’t expect the US Govt to stand up for your behalf)
- 1937 – FDR’s famous ‘quarantine’ speech (next tutorial)
- 35-37: Acknowledged that war was going to happen, and set the precedents for US involvement in the War.
- 1938 funds for air force
- 1939 4th Neutrality Act – ‘cash-and-carry’ extended to military goods
- Late 1930s – secret deals to sell military equipment to France & China (‘methods short of war’)
  - Question FDR’s neutrality?
- 1940 – sale of old surplus military equipment to Britain & France
- Mid 1940 – fall of France
- 1940 – destroyer for bases deal with Britain – 50 destroyers for control of British bases in Canada & Caribbean (Americas)
  - America wasn’t at war, US didn’t need the British bases for protection
  - **‘arsenal of democracy’** - others doing the fighting, US supply weapons
  - Quid pro quo; Britain could not pay for it, FDR secretly supporting Britain. Actions were not neutral.
- 1940 – 1st peacetime draft
- FDR Fireside chat – 19 to 30. from Dec 1941 to mid 1944 all about the War
  - made sure that people had maps as he gave his speech
  - used the media to educate the people on what was going on
- **‘Atlantic Charter’** – Aug 1941 meeting with Winston Churchill
  - idea of collective security & other post-war arrangements
  - made it clear to Britain that decolonization is the penance for US’ help
- 1941 – “Lend-Lease” – Britain broke – ‘fire hose’ analogy: transfer of weapons to Britain and China; weapons are expendable, no possibility of return
  - transfer of a considerable amount of food (not returnable)
  - Eventually extended to Russia (Russians did not know that America was trying to feed them - angered US)
- 1941, July – Japan enters Indo-China (SE Asia)
  - Japan signed a deal with the puppet regime in France for right of passage through Vietnam (Indo-China)

- US oil exports embargo – freeze Japanese assets
- Relationship deteriorates (Japan: US is intent on stopping us)

## Pearl Harbour + Invasion of Philippines

- ‘Back door to War’
  - Front door: Atlantic
  - Back door: Pacific
  - With all the neutrality and Nye Committee expecting the war to come from Europe, they viewed it as the Front Door
- Asian War is known as the Pacific Front; Eastern Front: War with Germany and Russia; Western Front: Germany and Britain
- 1941 Dec - Declaration of War; Full mobilisation of US

## Homefront

- **Mobilization of resources**
  - Industrial production for the war effort pulls the US out of the Depression (Deficit Spending)
  - Military-Industrial Complex (Eisenhower) - strong govt-business ties
- **Movement of people** – blacks, others to both coasts
  - Industry of manufacturing of weapons at both coasts (atlantic/pacific)
- **The Domestic Economy**
  - Civilians are affected
    1. great numbers of women do jobs previously held by men (women taking over work in heavy industries)
      - \* ‘Rosie the Riveter’ - “We Can Do It!” (Cultural Icon)
    2. Rationing affects domestic consumption
      - \* The technological war – science & the bomb (Manhattan Project)
      - \* Agriculture as big business
        - Rationing
        - Victory Garden - planting veg and fruit in backyard (not a lot of impact); more of a psychological impact that suggests they can contribute to the warfront
      - \* Selling the war at home – Propaganda & Hollywood
  - Internment of Japanese (US Citizens) – over 100,000 from 1942 – ‘relocation centres’ – think ‘concentration camps’ (but ARE NOT)

- Miscarriage of Justice (infringement of Civil Liberties) - not ratified until Bill Clinton / Jimmy Carter
- Segregated military – Blacks fought but paid less; but opportunities for blacks – eg pilots - 1941
- GI Bill – 1944 – Concern for what will happen post-war
  - educational benefits (college education) after the war if survive
  - College education -> middle class (upgrade of social standing)

## The European War

- Argument over western front – Soviet suspicion
  - “When are you going to invade France and roll back the German rule”
  - Normandy Invasion had to be provisioned for
  - Soviets bore the brunt of the fighting; Stalin’s disdain for Allied side because of Allied discrimination towards their Communist ideology
- Yalta arrangement – Argument that Roosevelt gave too much away to Soviets (faulty?)
  - Embolden the Soviets, led the antagonism between the two countries
- Tendency to treat WWII as prelude to Cold War?

## Manhattan Project

- Truman’s decision (rationale)
  - “End war soon & bring the ‘boys’ home”
  - Prevent large number of deaths (should war continue to be fought)
  - Racist?
    - \* By the time Truman found out about the bomb, the war on the European front has already been abated
    - \* Not dropped on Germany but on Nagasaki/Hiroshima
  - Demonstrate American power to Soviets?
    - \* Argument that US wanted to dominate the post-war arena
    - \* Ideological interests (prelude to Cold War)

## Results of WWII

- **Radical change in role of US** – recognition that great power conferred responsibility – assumed leadership & global role
- Determined not to repeat mistakes of WWI – League of Nations & Versailles – US to be fully involved – 1943 – charter of UN discussed – idea of Big 4/5

- US biggest military & economic power – other developed countries devastated by war
  - accounted for half of the world's output at that point in time
- Permanent shift of balance of power to the US (from Europe)
  - Economies were hit in Europe and countries had to recover
- Presidency grew at expense of other branches of govt – beginning of Imperial Presidency? – technology? + has overtaken the constitution; i.e. declaration of war - power used to lie with the senate. With the nukes in arsenal, the power shifted to the Executive (President)
- **Big govt, big business, big military, big agriculture**

## Week 11

### Tutorial 7, The US between the Wars

Alan Brinkley, “Prosperity, Depression, and War, 1920-1945” in Eric Foner, ed The New American History (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), pp. 133-151

Alan Brinkley’s treatment of the years 1920-1945 is a survey of how historians have analyzed this important period.

- a. Summarize what different historians have said about the 25 years.
  - b. Why have the interpretations changed and evolved since the 1950s?
- 

*25 Years: Progressive Era / Jazz Age / Great Depression / New Deal*

### PATTERNS OF HISTORICAL EXPLANATION (HISTORIOGRAPHY)

**Schlesinger:** American history as a cyclical pattern (“a continuing shift in national involvement, between public purpose and private interest”)

- Predictability of a cyclical pattern is to cope with the unpredictability of the rise and fall.
- People find difficulty in coping with change (esp with sudden changes)
- Historians look at patterns to cope with the chaos.
- cyclical patterns provide a sense of order to make sense of all the ‘disorder’

**Organizational Synthesis:** (Challenged Schlesinger’s notion of ‘cycles’) Momentary fluctuations in the political and cultural climate (such as the contrast between the stagnant politics of the 1920s and the “progressive” nature of the New Deal) have seemed less important to them than the broad adaptations imposed on society by the economic and bureaucratic revolution.

60s: Focus on the strong relationship between Government and Big Business (Military-Industrial Complex)

- Big is the order of the day - Cold War relationship between the govt and big business.

**Consensus Scholarship:** Consensus scholars tended to discount the importance (and question the value) of conflict, even as they lamented what they considered the harsh and barren nature of the American political tradition; and they emphasized the limits more than the extent of reform.

- What went wrong was more important than what went right. (view of negativity)
- Individuals have less and less control/say over what goes on in the country.
- Historians looking back is free from the restraint of mass consumerism.
- Very critical of the American constitution and big govt because the small guys (citizens) had very little say.

“Liberal reform had been responsible for an increase in democracy and social justice in American life. On the contrary, claimed scholars such as Gabriel Kolko, Jones Weinstein, and (later) Jeffrey Lustig, the real story of modern America was the decline of genuine democracy”

### BARRY KARL

Karl suggests that progress toward national unity has not been the hallmark of modern American development. On the contrary, he claims, twentieth-century society is at least as notable for the degree to which it has failed to nationalize, for the extent to which it has resisted unity, for the ways in which localism and traditionalism have not only survived, but flourished.... Americans' fervent commitment to the preservation of individual liberties has consistently prevented them from defining themselves clearly as a nation.

- USA is not a nation at least for that period
- Individuals (SELF) comes above everyone else (community)
- Bill of Rights held on so strongly that it prevents people from seeing the greater good out there
- Protects self-interest over national good

### CULTURAL CONFLICT

All were examples of “symbolic” or “status” politics, which appealed not to the middle class in general but to troubled, usually marginal people who expressed their inchoate anxieties in largely symbolic terms — through a nostalgic **call for restoration of a “golden” past** or through an embittered **attack on symbolic “scapegoats.”**

- Historians not satisfied with the current status quo

- Thus seek answers or lessons to draw from the past.

The new, bureaucratic order, they argue, was threatening not just to isolated, provincial people but to everyone whose livelihood or values depended on the survival of **localistic, decentralized institutions**

- example given: KKK (example of extremism - violent organisation)
- “combatting the moral laxness of modern life”.
- KKK result of politics? No; Religion and culture.
- Viewing how American history changes not just due to political forces but also due to religious and cultural forces.
- Historians tend to look at history from a political perspective.

Stuart Ewen, and Roland Marchand— have produced a broad .(and highly diverse) literature emphasizing the ways in which material abundance, the pervasiveness of advertising, the homogenization of mass culture, and the increasing availability of consumer goods have defined the nation’s social and political val

- Bottom up perspective.
- Spending power (consumerism) - cause consumer changes

## NEW ERA

The political history of the interwar years has undergone substantial revision as well, often as a result of the same impulses that have reshaped interpretations of social and cultural phenomena.

## NEW DEAL

- every time historians examine the new deal they will always arrive back at the same rhetoric.
- New Deal represented a very good part of history. (did not want to ruin the narrative)
- How do people feel(mentality/ feelings) about the new deal era looking back: Feel good - a lot of change was done to combat a very bad situation.

### New Deal Revisionist

they (Historians) have begun to ask some different questions about the New Deal, questions that are less concerned with establishing

whether it was a good or bad thing than with explaining how it took the form it did, what effects it had, and how it helps illuminate larger patterns of political change in the twentieth century.

- FDR is not omnipotent: there were a lot of constraints in forming the New Deal

Similarly, as James Patterson and others have shown, the clumsy, jerry-built welfare state that emerged from the New Deal (of which the expensive and inefficient Social Security System remains the center-piece) was in large part a product of the strong ideological opposition, even among many of the most committed liberals, to an overt system of government welfare; and as Jill Quadagno has noted, it reflected too the racist assumptions of much of the political world through its careful initial exclusion from coverage of those occupations in which African Americans (and women) were most heavily represented.

Starting in the 1980s, a new body of scholarship began to identify some previously lightly exarzdned constraints imposed on the New Deal by the nature of American governmental and political institutions.

- Historians looking back in History with Happenstance.
- Element of luck - important because it deals with the element of uncertainty.
- Quite common with the Cold War historians.

**No matter how much information you have of the past since sources are vast, how you interpret them are very different. Mentality will usually change due to the circumstances of the present. What was left out in the past they will go back and study. What historians study depends on what they want to find based on existing circumstances.**

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## Lecture: The Greatest Generation comes home

Greatest Generation: WWII soldiers who came home from the war.

Post WWII events set the precedents for the civil rights movement.

Roosevelt - 'New Deal' taken over by Harry S Truman (continue Roosevelt's legacy) became 'Fair Deal'. Democratic Party presidents have names attached to their policies - refer to social, cultural, economic welfare reforms. Obama did not call his medical care any two word labels, but he was trying to continue the FDR legacy.

Dwight Eisenhower (Ike) 1952 - First Republican president to gain office after 5 terms of Democrats. When he ended the war he was in charge of D-day. Came back as a war hero. Both parties wanted to recruit Ike, was a recognised figure that was liked and respected - not difficult for him to get elected President. Up to 1952, Ike never voted in an election (neither Democrat nor Republican). Military officers are supposed to keep their opinions of the political system separate. Military career since young man, never had a civilian career. Military and civilian affairs should be kept separate - conservatively thought that his views should not be expressed even when casting votes. Republicans were successful in recruiting him because of Ike's Republican (conservative) attitude.

Affluent society - American society after the war; 1945-65 high water point of American economics. Middle class grew tremendously. Economy was responsible for half of the world's economic output. Greatest income *equality* was seen during this period. Most people could consume at the same level as their neighbours. However, at least 10% of the population was poorer (discriminated against - Blacks).

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## Observations

**Great material prosperity in the 1950s** - prosperity was shared unlike in the Gilded Age where wealth flowed to the top 5% of the population.

Also the **beginning of the Cold War** - feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Major turning point for America in its foreign policy. Europe has been defeated after the WWII, America got to set its own terms of engagement on the world.

1950s - **Period of Consensus and Conformity** (conservative period)

**Anxiety over Soviet intentions** - air raid shelter in homes (NY); would not have allowed someone to survive a nuclear war, people built blueprints anyway. Schoolchildren of that period had to undergo the practice of hiding under desks (fright).

**Activist role of president** - 'most powerful man in the world' attached to the office and presidency of the US. Device was carried around that would signal to start sending nuclear weapons to the Soviet Union.

**Size and role of the federal government became permanent due to FDR reforms** - FDR introduced Social Security Numbers - social welfare (pen-

sion scheme) for Americans during retirement. Requires a permanent bureaucracy that would take care of these things.

**Permanent standing armed forces** - permanent military force (no more massive demobilization) One reason was due to the threat of the Soviets, but secondly because it was now a world superpower. Heavily dependent on modern technology. “With this great dependence on technology for the military” -> “military industrial complex” (Eisenhower) : American military has become so dependent on the military contractors that it is an unhealthy relationship which would be undesirable for US to go into the future. Military will keep commissioning more and more expensive equipment, economy will suffer due to the military spending over the consumer spending. 60-70% of US spending is accounted for by the individual. If military spending takes up too much of the economy, then the consumer spending will fall - dangerous.

## Prosperity

**1945 - mid 60s: Great economic boom** - creation of a large middle class (GI Bill of Rights); Baby Boom (generation that was born after the war), demographic leap after the war - 1929 up to 1945: negative economic conditions meant that people could not afford that many kids; American males were fighting the war so fewer babies were born. Birth control pill was invented in the 1960s - this is where the Baby Boom generation ended. At every stage of the Baby Boom Generation’s life - they drive all the trends (baby stage - consumption of milk, toys; teenagers - clothes etc. old - medicine, retirement homes) Numbers are greater than any other generation. Economic boom was also fuelled by defense spending.

**3 great cornerstones of spending in America** (great indicator of how well US economy is doing - growth and consumption):

- Housing - durables
- Automobiles
- Military

### Part of the boom:

- Creation of suburbs & bedroom communities
- Highway construction & integration of South into national economy
- TV in the 1950s & other leisure activities

### Role of women:

Back to the home:

1. Single income sufficient,
2. Bedroom communities – father, little role in upbringing of kids

## Week 12

### Tutorial 8

Use the bill of rights to examine the sources

In order of descending neutrality: (tone has changed from 1935 - 1942)

#### Gerald P. Nye (Causes of War)

##### **Business pressures on Wilson administration for entry into war**

Even if the State did not want to get involved in war, private companies/organizations were not an exception to the rule of neutrality.

“Sales and shipments of munitions and contraband, and the lure of the profits in them, that will get us into another war” p.167

Since war is for economic purposes, therefore cannot be part of economic alliances, providing arms → not neutral. Government loans of any belligerents is “inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality”. Even if the state opposes loans, bankers will not (for profit)

- against war
- america’s involvement in wwi was economic in nature (for money)
- bad because it violates neutrality

Now, we must not forget that this enormous trade required financing also on an enormous scale. Our State Department at the outset of the war announced that “in the judgment of this Government loans by American bankers to any foreign nation which is at war are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality.”

- the big problem with neutrality during wwi was basically if the state didn’t want to get involved, did not extend its laws to the private sector and banks were free to lend money.

From the early days of the war the State Department did not object to bank credits being extended to belligerents as distinguished from loans... America’s bankers ceased distinguishing between credits and loans and the Government was helpless to prevent this.

- Neutrality only changed in 1939, more enforced but only managed to get it to be a cash and carry. 1939 was already WWII in Europe (Poland invasion)
- America didn't enter the war, will provide material aid but only on a cash and carry basis
- 1941 Lend-lease act right in the midst of WWII - completely different attitudes and tones

## FDR (Chautauqua)

- tone: no urgency on FDR's part to enter the war.
- President given authority by congress to maintain neutrality (neutrality acts)
- war profits a factor in pushing country to war, some could sway public opinion that it is beneficial for local economy, choosing peace is more important than profits.

They would tell you — and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity — that **if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations the unemployed of America would all find work**, They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

- already knew that by 1936 for america to get out of depression was to go into war spending but he did not get america into the war.
- i.e. Entering the war would eliminate or decrease unemployment, but FDR chose not to join the war - New Deal did not solve GD, entry into WW2 did.

If we face the choice of profits or peace, the Nation will answer- must answer — “we choose peace.”

- very determined to avoid the war.
- 1936 in Europe war situation was not very urgent; early stage of tripartite act.
- anything that does not involve britain or france directly, america would otherwise have not involved herself in matters of war.

## FDR (Quarantine Speech)

- general view: still inclined to avoid war
- but: realised that the danger is encroaching - 1937 marco polo bridge incident. Asia started WWII even earlier (as some historians may argue)
- may not be possible to maintain isolationist and neutral attitudes
- Foundations of civilisation threatened.; landmarks and traditions which had aimed to develop a condition of law, order, and justice being wiped away.
- nations invading without warning, interfering in affairs
- need to respect freedom and rights of neighbours to ensure peace, law, moral principles
- complex interdependence globally makes isolationism difficult (from economic and political upheavals elsewhere)
- peace allows funds to be channeled to infrastructure/development instead of arms
- peace being threatened by expansionist/aggressive nations with disregard for int'l treaties/norms

I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. Each the freedom and the security of nine tenths of the population of the world is being jeopardized by remaining in a state of threat. There is a breakdown of all international order and law.

- tripartite act has already been established by this time.
- touches on things that go beyond military affairs:

It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

- no danger for Americans but it was not possible at that time to traverse the Atlantic much less the Pacific. (America was relatively safe)

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

- analogy was very apt: testing the political waters early - persuade the Congress to approve the war-making efforts (only Congress can declare war)

## **FDR (Arsenal of Democracy)**

- WWII has already started, France would fall in 4 months.
- Formation of axis powers threatening to unite against US if US interferes/blocks expansion of the axis powers.
- unchecked axis powers will eventually come to threaten the US or the fall of the British would result in the same outcome.
- results in permanent militaristic power for US -> war economy (military industrial complex)
  - getting acquainted with war; but not yet directly involved.
- “New order” one of dictatorship and authoritarianism; goes against ideals/values of democracy
- supporting nations fighting against Axis powers such that no need for direct war, to prevent war from reaching US if Allies defeated.
- “Arsenal of Democracy” - refers to the taking up of arms to fight for democracy
- FDR tone: complete militarisation of america.

To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy

- need to know how to react in wartime. such drills call for the militarisation of the country.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy, For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

- america has not entered the war at this point yet. (Pearl Harbor)

## **Charles A Beard (Lend-lease 1941)**

- “Bill for waging an undeclared war”
- Bill argued to help keep US directly out of war
- “buying peace” while others fighting for US’ war for democracy and defence
- Shameful for foreign soldiers to fight and die for US.
- thinly veiled attempts at helping britain and france by now

- lend-lease is pointless because they are just “buying peace”
- if i want to help, i should help fully; if i don’t want then I shouldn’t even do lend-lease at all.
- If we lend them money, the natural next step is to lend them American Soldiers.
- What good will it do to help if it (bill) actually does not guarantee the success/victory of British - Britain has not completely crumbled because they are separated by the English channel from the European hinterlands.
- Rather than spend money on others, should spend money to consolidate all the resources to protect American soil.
- D-day victory secured for Europe by the Americans.

## FDR's War Message

- Bypass the congress to wage war.
- due to the undeclared act of war by Japanese
- previous message only stated the futility of existing diplomatic negotiations
- “All measures be taken for our defense”, and make sure such an attack against US will never happen again
- Article 1 of the Constitution talks about congress and house of representatives; only congress has the power to declare war, and allocate budget for military. All the military administration is handled by the congress.
- Article 2 talks about executive (presidency); President’s role after declaration of war is to command the army.
- This was a great leap in the constitution - groundbreaking speech that not only goes by the war rhetoric but also lets FDR declare war as a unilateral decision which he was not allowed/supposed to.

I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.

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## Lecture

1960s - Fracturing of society over foreign policy and civil rights movement

Great Society - 1. Legislature to give more civil rights. 2. Economic reform movement.

‘War on Poverty’ - helping disadvantaged to gain economic and social rights.

1961: No one could predict what would happen

- JFK: charismatic young president
- Described in common rhetoric: idealism, optimism, confidence

JFK didn't achieve a lot, historians don't rank him very high, yet American people would put him as part of the top 10 presidents. Youngest president to be elected. Replaced the oldest president to be elected (Ike) - represented youth and vigor to replace a tired old man.

End of 1960s: Too much has changed.

- distrust of the government (govt was not honest because it lied to the young people) can't trust anybody above 30.
- older generation referred to as the establishment (youths were distrustful of them)
- Liberals, vietnam conflict, conservatives, feminist and civil rights movement
- Interest group politics - not just labour, blacks, women anymore.
- Belief that government leaders and politicians are liars; there was still a basic trust/bond between the people and the state back in the 60s.
- Today, however, if politicians are caught in a lie, they do not get reelected.
- The media age - public relations has become very important. Media investigates deeply. e.g. Jimmy Carter claimed to believe in Public Education and sent his kids to Public schools; yet Clintons kids did not.
- Public and private lives of the politicians are intertwined (increased scrutiny)
- Fundamental questioning of American superior values, authority (don't trust anyone over 30)
- The American Dream came into question: represents the aspiration of Americans to have a better life for themselves and their children.

1960s: Decade of revolution, dissent and protest

1. Civil Rights (black) Movement
  2. Anti-Vietnam Protest
  3. Feminism (gender)
- Personnel from one movement also sometimes active in others
  - Techniques used in one movement borrowed by other movements, e.g. non-violence, passive resistance, sit-ins, etc
  - Mostly young - (Baby Boom kids in late teens or early 20s) - youth revolts in other parts of world, e.g. China, France, UK – anti-authoritarian rebellion
    - demographics driving history: generational.

1961: America does not want to see discrimination against blacks anymore.

## Civil Rights Movement

### *Background for Civil Rights movement*

- Role of Blacks in WWII (Squad leader – machine gun crew – november 1950 photo)
- Fight against communism abroad, inequality at home – matter of perception
- Beginning of the civil rights movement
- 1948 – integration of armed forces by Truman
- 1954 (important year)
  - Brown vs Board of Education – separate education ‘inherently unequal’ (since 1896 Plessy vs Ferguson)
  - difference in funding received for the separate schools because of the difference in property tax paid by the poorer neighborhoods.
  - Eisenhower less committed to integration
  - not federal role, state role
- August 1955 – Emmett Till
- 1955 Montgomery Bus boycott- Rosa Parks - December

### **Emmett Till**

“Your fathers will turn over in their graves if [Milam and Bryant are found guilty] & I’m sure that every last Anglo-Saxon one of you has the courage to free these men in the face of that [outside] pressure.”

Trial was over and it was found that they are innocent; however, Milam and Bryant confessed to the killing the following year (but have already got away with murder)

The judge made the trial about race. Widespread media coverage.

“2 months ago I had a nice apartment in Chicago.... I had a son. When something happened to the Negroes in the South I said, ‘That’s their business, not mine.’ Now I know how wrong. I was. The murder of my son has shown me that what happens to any of us, anywhere in the world, had better be the business of us all”

This incident made the Blacks very aware of the lynching that was still happening in the south.

## **Rosa Parks**

Four months later after the Emmett Till incident.

Blacks took a 381 day bus boycott in Montgomery Alabama. Blacks were the majority taking the bus (poor), the bus companies suffered financially. Blacks were civil servants that were going to be late, and the White economy would be affected.

Buses were segregated, refused to move to the back of the bus because she was reminded (or was thinking of Emmett Till).

“Mother of the Civil Rights Movement” - there were others in the South who refused to give up their seats. But Rosa Parks’ case was the figurehead that was picked - was a good case for publicity of the Civil Rights Movement (others did not have the same public image as her)

## **1957 Little Rock, Arkansas**

Challenge to integration of 9 black children – Eisenhower forced to federalise Arkansas National Guard, sent paratroopers to escort the teenagers to school – in retaliation, public schools closed down in 1958, 1959

White people refused to admit Black people into the school. Parents, authorities, and even the teenagers were against the idea of integration. (e.g. Elizabeth Eckford front – Hazel Bryan)

## **1957 Civil Rights Act 1957**

- Ineffective
- Negros, niggers, colored, Black Americans, African-Americans
- Civil rights dependent on President & prestige of his Office (how far he is willing to enforce civil rights)
- Not dependent on personal feelings, but political orientation – Democrats or Republicans (close relationship of black votes with Democrat Party)

## **Martin Luther King**

Middle class blacks for more than one generation.

Martin Luther King, Christian minister – Gandhi - peaceful, non-violent protest – lunch counter sit-ins etc, 1960, Greensboro, N Carolina, 4 students

- techniques effective:
- civil disobedience

- disobey law & accept consequences if one believes law is immoral (can protest by non-resistance, can only break rules that are immoral)

e.g. 1960 Greensboro NC – 4 students – sit-ins

- JFK's timidity – wafer-thin margin at winning presidential elections - promised to do something but he won by very few votes. - Kennedy was rather timid in pushing his own agenda - Blacks realized that and took things into their own hands
- Blacks initiated own civil rights movement - 3 organisations:
- SCLC, CORE, SNCC – de-segregate buses, lunch counters, libraries, & encouraging registration to vote
- TV aided the Civil Rights movement: images were broadcasted on national TV / news - Images of children being attacked by fire hose & police dogs in Birmingham, Alabama, May 1963 - MLK March on Washington, **Aug 1963, 'I have a dream' speech at Lincoln Memorial** tide turning (prominent whites were present at the speech)

### **Deconstructing the MLK Speech - We Shall Overcome**

MLK had a draft of the speech that he was going to give. And when he gave the speech there was overwhelming response.

Pressure was on Kennedy. MLK chose Washington DC because there would be the most publicity.

Kennedy's assassination & civil rights – LBJ campaigned for legislation by invoking JFK's memory – 'Great Society'

Kennedy failed to pass any civil rights legislation before the assassination.

LBJ unlikely liberal president – southern (texas) – perceived as more conservative than JFK – yet achieved more for civil rights

LBJ campaigned for civil rights, and passed the civil rights legislation in Kennedy's memory.

LBJ determined to finish FDR's liberal agenda – through legislation, federal role in assisting the under-privileged of society – government as 'compensatory state'

We shall overcome speech – 15 march 1965, one week after selma

### **2 pronged approach to helping blacks**

1. "War on Poverty" - Great Society legislation aimed at providing federal assistance in education, Medicare, housing etc – aimed at all poor & disadvantaged - Civil Rights Act (1964, 65, 68) - four pieces: - 1964 - Civil

Rights Act:- outlawed discrimination on basis of race, color, religion, sex etc - 1964 – 24th Amendment – outlawed poll tax in federal elections - 1965 – Voting Rights Act - federal supervision of voter registration – “we shall overcome” speech, March 1965 - 1968 – Civil Rights Act ban racial discrimination in housing

2. “Affirmative Action” - To correct past societal discrimination - Minorities, women & other disadvantaged groups given special consideration in employment, education & contracting decisions - Mandated especially where federal funding is received - Very few organizations that don't take public funding: as long as public funding is received, no discrimination is allowed. - Private clubs and organizations discriminated against races.

Judicial liberalism & protection – Miranda (1966) & other legal safeguards

Not a single word on constitution has changed with regards to the personal rights for arrests. Constitution was flexible enough to expand and safeguard the interests of ordinary citizens.

Miranda – fifth amendment – right to silence and against self-incrimination

1964-68, racial riots, hundreds - blacks impatient – reforms long overdue, voting rights benefited mainly Southern blacks -- northern blacks still suffered economic inequality -- LBJ (whites) frustrated & angry that blacks not more grateful – reversal of previous circumstances – black fear of whites (lynching) has now turned into whites avoiding black dominant neighborhoods

Blacks felt entitled to their own rights, and all the changes that should have been in effect.

#### **Increased Radicalization of Black Movement:**

Leaders who, unlike King, did not advocate nonviolence – e.g. Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Black Panthers (militant & revolutionary)

Convinced that whites would only yield to stronger, violent tactics, not non-violence.

Blacks started rejecting Christianity because Christianity is the religion of the white people that used Christianity to suppress Blacks. Majority of American Muslims are not from the middle east, but are black muslims (radical muslims). Nation of Islam (1930s)

King disagreed with Vietnam policy of LBJ – by 1967, one of the supporters of anti-Vietnam protests

Law enforcement was not necessarily on the side of the blacks. (Birmingham: dogs unleashed on black protestors; Selma-march65 –beatings)

1976 LBJ:

“I knew from the start that I was bound to be crucified either way I moved. If I left the woman I really loved—the Great Society—in

order to get involved with that bitch of a war on the other side of the world, then I would lose everything at home. All my programs. All my hopes to feed the hungry and shelter the homeless. All my dreams to provide education and medical care to the browns & the blacks and the lame and the poor. But if I left that war & let the Communists take over South Vietnam, then I would be seen as a coward & my nation would be seen as an appeaser & we would find it impossible to accomplish anything for anybody anywhere”

One of the reasons why American economy never quite recovered back to the state of the 1950s was because of the Vietnam war.

### **Anti-War Movement**

1964 - Berkeley & the anti-war movement – students' protest against racism & Vietnam policy ignited retaliation from University authorities

Campus demonstrations spread to rest of the US – mostly in better Universities – partly motivated by their own self interest – no desire to die in Vietnam

Protests were the most violent in the Ivy Leagues. Protests happen in the Spring and Summer - served the needs of the students.

In better colleges: Draft exemptions for college students, health problems & certain other categories – Selective Service

Draft dodging to Canada, Sweden etc (e.g. Sylvester Stallone)

Protests against universities for doing military research – part of ‘military-industrial-academic nexus’

Vietnam war veterans (John Kerry) returned and protested against the war.

### **Hippie Movement**

“Turn on, tune in, drop out”

- Not all protests violent – era of flower children & hippies
- Counter-culture values – question pursuit of materialism & financial success, the American Dream – drop out - indulgence in drugs & sex
- Rock music, protests & alternative life-style
- ‘make love, not war’

Revert to a simpler life, indulge in drugs and sex and to seek alternative lifestyles.

## 1968

Tet Offensive - urban uprising of northern vietnamese people against the American occupants in Vietnam

LBJ was hugely unpopular due to the Vietnam War, decided to withdraw from the presidential race.

MLK and Robert Kennedy were assassinated (both were young in their 30s,40s when they died)

Riots broke out as a result of the assassinations

Chicago riots – Aug, 1968 – Democratic convention to choose presidential candidate – disintegration into violence & chaos – police riot – beating anti-war protesters & demonstrators

Conflicts between the Greatest Generation and the Baby Boomer generation - angry with the overprivileged kids.

Yippies (youth independent party) ran ‘Pegasus’ as a presidential candidate to show their contempt for the system.

Derogatory term of ‘pigs’ used for Police and the System.

## Feminist Movement

- Define women by their relationships and not by what they do for a living
- 1960 – birth control pill introduced
- 1963 – influential book – Betty Friedan’s Feminine Mystique – women dissatisfied with unequal status – consciousness raising - even in peace & protest movement – secondary roles, not leaders, support – errands, typing etc
- Economic disparity in job opportunities & income

Glass ceilings for women careers; treated differently even though in leadership positions.

- Feminism – ‘bra burning’ & ‘Consciousness Raising’
- Formation of NOW (National Organization for Women) – 1966
- 1972 – Equal Rights Amendment – not passed – 3 states short of  $\frac{3}{4}$  majority of states – Congress passed it. –
- 1973 – **Roe vs Wade** – poor couldn’t get abortion because abortion was a crime and they couldn’t get out of the country to abort. After Roe-Wade, abortion no longer a crime
  - christian values against abortion (conservatives): abortion issue will tear the south apart.

### **Other sexual revolutions**

- Co-habitation before marriage
- Gay Liberation
- Bisexuality etc.

### **Conclusion**

‘Great Society’ was the last period of liberal reforms.

- the involvement of the Federal govt in programs to address problem of poverty & past inequality in treatment & opportunities
- subsequent reforms have been incremental & piecemeal
- Economic justice as aspect of political rights: - Equality of access to opportunity (correction of past injustices) NOT - Equality of outcome
- Presidents elected since have not been liberal

*Emphasis shifted FROM reforms of laws & institutions relating to access to opportunity & of treatment TO liberal ideas of equality & tolerance in private lifestyle choices, eg premarital sex, gender choice, etc*

## Week 13

### Tutorial 9 – the 1960s

#### 1. For the set of readings on American women, please trace the different aspirations and tone used by the various authors.

- Years of extraordinary political and cultural unrest, especially from young adults of the baby boom generation.
- Women of various backgrounds devoting tremendous energy to political movements.
- Development of feminist movements.
- Betty Fredan on “The Problem that has no name” 1963
  - The women don’t know what they don’t know.
  - Their problem/wants is just too large for them to identify/work towards.
  - Aspiration of the author:
    - \* To do more than doing the house work, being the house wife; confined to domestic role
    - \* *“We can no longer ignore that voice within women that says: ‘I want something more than my husband and my children and my home.’”*
    - \* Ability to find fulfillment in pursuing hobbies and interests without giving up their roles as housewives (ability to juggle both)
    - \* women taught to be housewives/faithful/role in the home, not to have dreams of becoming poets/physicists/etc (higher careers, ideals - positions held by men) p.439
    - \* Want more than just being confined to their domestic roles
  - Tone used:
    - \* Dissatisfaction, and yearning to do more a salient issue that can’t be ignored.
  - Ability to make choices (Consumerism) empowered the housewife (purchasing power)
    - \* have a say in every purchase they make in the household
  - Mass consumerism in the 20th Century: 60 years from the beginning of Consumerism. People have taken it for granted over time.
  - Men also a cause of the problem because of efforts to preserve their own spheres of influence/power.

- Casey Haden and Mary King, “A Kind of Memo” to women in the peace and freedom movements, p.443; 1965
  - Existence of hierarchical, caste-like systems that dictates roles assigned to women.
  - Women experimenting within existing institutions (e.g. marriage)
  - Inability of men to understand the problem, to see it as an important/serious issue - place blame on men
  - lack of community for discussion; no easy way to talk about issues
  - Aspiration:
    - \* Advance their rights by joining interest groups / movements
    - \* Irony is that the person running the movement is unable to vocalise their desires (very little knowledge or awareness or are still wrapped in these ideas)
    - \* Get rid of the mentality ^
    - \* To create a “community of support” for each other; to talk about issues openly; building a society which would see private troubles as public problems; shaping institutions to meet human needs (p.444)
- NOW’s statement of purpose, 1966
  - Tone: Assertive, peaceful (vs radical - Redstockings)
    - \* Identify culprit: the ‘system’ (social conventions)
  - Aspiration:
    - \* true equality for all women, equal partnership of all sexes, bringing women into all participation in mainstream American society.
    - belief that constitution should be applied to ensure enforcement of civil rights for all and equality of opportunity
    - belief that women should not be forced to choose between motherhood and serious profession/occupation.
    - equality of education via affirmative action, especially higher education
    - Similar to Jim Crow laws, women find themselves in a similar situation.
- Redstockings Manifesto, 1969
  - Tone: Confrontational, radical
    - \* Culprit - men.
  - Aspiration:
    - \* Fight for equal privileges
  - building unity of women to achieve “final liberation” from male supremacy
  - women oppressed, and personal suffering not seen as political condition due to isolation

- men the agents of oppression; most basic form of domination which extends to other forms of exploitation (eg. racism/capitalism)
  - developing female class consciousness by sharing experiences
  - disregards race/economic status of all women (collective)
- Fraces Beale, “Double Jeopardy: TO be Black and Female”, p.449, 1970
  - Doubly jeopardised.
  - Black family structure is fractured:
    - \* Men supposed to work, bring home the bacon.
    - \* Black men cannot find a job because they are thought to be lazy.
    - \* Black women can find jobs but in kitchens (domestic helpers)
    - \* Social conventions dictate that women take care of the domestic household; while they deal with earning income.
    - \* Emasculation of men because women have replaced their role.
    - \* DOMESTIC VIOLENCE occur because of the emasculation of Black men.
    - \* High divorce rates stem from these situations.
  - Identifies the culprit: “Must fight capitalism, must fight racism” (p.453)
  - domestic women is a parasite and a “legalised prostitute”
  - black women are not like white women who can afford to stay home and care for their young
  - different family dynamics - blame capitalism - “slave of slaves”, “minority within the minority”

## **2. For the set of readings on Martin Luther King and the blacks, we will concentrate on Reverend King’s speech.**

- Analogy of “cashing a check” p.361
  - pointing towards upper/middle class who have savings / bank accounts
- “Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred” p.362
  - addressing nonviolence on his part, speaking out to Malcolm X
  - addressing the black people as well - “Must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline” p. 362
  - very aware that sentiments spread very easily, and that sentiments lead to generalizations; exactly what he wants to avoid
- “Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification”
  - speaking out on Govnr Wallace, segregated education

- references to deep southern states
- Mentions blacks still not granted inalienable rights laid down in constitution; still not free even after emancipation
- Have the support of several whites, cannot distrust all of them as they provide support; demonstration has to be biracial.

### **3. For the Bruce Schulman reading, please concentrate on the section, subtitled, Cracks in the Consensus, pp 8-13**

- Growing disaffected with national liberalism
  - Liberals view war in Vietnam as fight for freedom against tyranny (ideological conflict); radicals saw war as imperialist domination and repression.
  - Younger generation's disrespect of authority; generational gap
  - “Our young people, in disturbing numbers, appear to reject all forms of authority, from whatever source derived, and they have taken refuge in a turbulent and inchoate nihilism whose sole objectives are destructive” p.9
  - Change in societal norms: legal restrictions on personal behaviour softened; restoration of obscenity laws/ abortion restrictions/ regulations on sale of contraceptives.
    - reflected broader shifts in sexual behaviour, living arrangements, etc.
  - Some sought reconstruction of institutions along non-patriarchal lines (radical feminism)
  - “They do not agree with the way their universities deal with these questions. As a practical matter, they cannot leave the universities, so they are fighting for a part in the decision making process.” p.10
    - Either get good grades and start working which goes against anti-establishment mentality.
    - Get out of uni, but forced to conscript to fight in the Vietnam War. No way to escape out of this dilemma.
  - “the Yippies nominated their own presidential candidate - a huge sow they named Pigasus”
    - Televised Pigasus got the police very angry.
    - Television made Vietnam the most televised war in history.
    - Television changed the political landscape in America.
    - (Power of media changing perceptions in American history)
-

## Lecture: After WWII

Superpower: vast stockpiles of atomic weapons; ability to project power beyond own territories, waters, region. Hard and soft power. Strong naval fleet supplemented by aircraft carriers and bases in friendly countries.

- Cold war
- Bipolar world / bipolarity
  - different social and cultural norms
  - different methods of organising economy
  - potential not only for military conflict; but also an ideological conflict
- Ideological conflict / contest
- Balance of terror
  - arising from military capabilities
- Arguments for when the Cold War started:
  - ‘Iron Curtain’ 1946, Churchill
  - ‘Truman Doctrine’ 1947
  - Marshall Plan 1948
  - Formation of NATO 1949
- Domino Theory
  - Perception that any country falling to communism will cause others around it to fall to communism
    - \* Empirically incorrect (didn’t happen throughout history)
    - \* Disregards variety of domestic systems and cultures of different Asian states
    - \* heavily influenced American politicians and policy makers
- War by proxy or client states (Proxy warfare)
- 1954 Geneva Accords
- JFK
- Limited war
- By 1960s, not possible to fight conventional warfare to fight communist forces in every country. US should learn to fight unconventional wars (wars against communist insurgents/rebels)
  - Special forces / Green Beret
  - Counter-insurgencies against wars of national liberation and/or guerilla wars
  - Training American soldiers in guerilla warfare to wage unconventional warfare against communists in foreign countries
- LBJ

- Vietnam War, quagmire (20 years)

More terms...

## Observations

- Why does the world greatest power feel insecure?
  - The need for enemy?
  - No respite from WWII? *always involved in wars, military spending was never cut down on*
- Radical change after 1945
  - Perception of ideological conflict with communism/Soviet Union
  - Active foreign policy engagement on global scale
    - \* Not conservative or reactive, acts beyond its natural territorial waters
    - \* Compared to post WWI, cf. League of Nations, UN, neutrality
  - Series of military alliances & bases in world e.g. NATO etc
  - Involvement in regional/local wars
  - Others' perception (overemphasis) that the 'enemy of my enemy is my friend' - on US foreign policy
  - Either 'with us or against us'
  - Alliances or identification with unsavory or undemocratic dictators
    - \* Conundrum: If US is on the side of Democracy, why are so many of your allies non-democratic (yet professes to be fighting for democracy and capitalism)
  - Strong anti-American sentiments spread outside of Western Hemisphere
    - \* most of the anti-American sentiment is caused by US military action/involvement in X region.

## After 1945

- Uneasy wartime alliance with Soviet Union falls apart – **mutual suspicion**
  - **US:** Perception of Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe – eastern front & help to pro-communist regimes
  - **Soviet:** perception of American hostility to fall of Eastern Europe to communism
  - After 1917 Russian revolution, US disliked the Communist Regime so much they withheld the full diplomatic recognition of USSR (no official relations with the country) up until FDR.

- 1941 wartime alliance based on convenience and necessity unable to resolve the years of tension.
  - When the war ended, they went back to how they felt about each others' economic, political, and military systems.
  - One of the things that hardened the US suspicions of Russia, Eastern European countries turned Communist with the aid of Soviet regime.
- Truman Doctrine, 1947:
  - Little foreign policy experience, more of a domestic leader
  - Kept most of FDR's foreign policy advisors
  - Most decisions that were made were not just Truman's decisions, but made with the advice of Roosevelt's officials
  - Marked the beginning of the anti-Soviet sentiment (Cold War)
  - that US should support people everywhere against Communist threat
    - global commitment
      - \* ‘Everywhere’ does not apply outside of Eastern and Western Europe at the time (containment) - until Fall of China to communism and the beginning of the Korean war (1950s)
    - ‘Help support’ was phrased as “containment of Communism” initially in Europe – against perceived threat of Soviet global expansion
      - \* Keep the situation as it is, but will not let it get worse
    - Series of US measures taken against communism:
      - \* military alliances, economic aid, nuclear arms race, & CIA undercover subversion (assassination)
- Containment
  - Containment is not about sending troops in to interfere and restore prior regimes.
  - Historians: Organizing principle of US Foreign Policy against the further spread of Communism
    - \* Consensus in foreign policy during Cold War – organising principle, 1946 – ideological foreign policy
    - \* foreign policy of the United States after World War II that aimed to prevent the spread of Communism & oppose Communist nations by diplomatic or military means.
  - Fear of Terror (use of Nuclear Weapons), except for the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Berlin Wall Crisis (where relations got hot enough to break into full US-Soviet war)
  - No direct military confrontation between US & USSR, except Cuba, 1962
  - Use of proxy/client states, e.g. Cuba, Korea, Vietnam – limited war
  - Legacy of WWII & the fight against Nazism – fear of appeasement
  - No military ‘roll-back’ or liberation of communism seriously anticipated even in Eastern Europe

- 2 foundational documents (on how to help US operationalize Containment):
  - \* Long Telegram, 1946, “Sources of Soviet Conduct” - George Kennan
  - \* NSC-68 – militarized Containment and Cold War – peacetime military buildup & spending (**globalized containment**)
    - Truman: If we are containing Communism in Europe, what are we going to do with Communism in Asia?
    - China, North Korea, North Vietnam
    - Provided for the tripling of the US military budget which allowed US to set up bases globally

## Cold War in Asia

- Late 1940s & early 1950s extension of containment to Asia (NSC-68)
- Decolonization: **Fight against communism entangled with fight of former colonies for independence against former West European colonial masters**, (UK, France, Holland) allies of the US
- WWII set in place the sentiment that in a post-war world, did not want to see colonialism (by Roosevelt - Atlantic Charter); internally, nationalist movements in Asia: China, Vietnam, India, Indonesia.
- Twin Process: Decolonization + Containment
  - None of us have ever lived in a world where the US was not the dominant voice - our countries were born in the period that were a consequence of the twin processes
  - What would it be like once US is not the dominant power (no countries stay dominant forever)
  - Small countries would have to adjust and transit to a regional struggle for the seat of the dominant power
- American misconception that communists cannot be nationalists; irony that US 1st revolutionary state (Late 40s, Early 50s: Communists and Nationalists are mutually exclusive)
  - e.g. Ho Chi Minh, Mao.

## Fall of China to Communism

- 1949: Mao wins control of China; Chiang Kaishek flees to Formosa (Taiwan)
- US has always felt that they have a very special relationship with China
  - A lot of aid was sent to the KMT but was not used against CCP.
  - US political system tried to assign blame on what US policy was responsible for the Fall of China to Communism (**Witch hunt**)

- Observation: Fall of China was more a result of the forces internally in China rather than what happened politically in US (presumptuous)
- US Sentiments: Domestic repercussions in US – Senator Joe McCarthy (Republican) & accusations of ‘Who lost China?’ – against Democrats (5 terms in office, Republicans wanted to get back into Office)
- Democrats began trying to justify their stand against the Republicans; fear of appearing weak & appeasing communism
- Violation of civil rights of ‘communist sympathisers’

## Korean War

- To make things even worse: 1950 - Beginning of Korean War
  - civil war in which the US & Soviet Union took sides
    - \* Geopolitical war (politics because of geography, int'l scale - between nations that are neighbors)
  - Chinese forces (close to a million sent to N Korea) - 1953
  - Armistice/truce – 38th Parallel: permanent Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (trip-wire - if N Korea wants to restart the war, N Koreans just have to cross the 38th) - US troops still stationed now – ‘trip-wire’
  - No peace treaty, war never ended
- Not the Fall of China to Communism that led to US involvement in Asia but the Korean War, led to a series of treaties signed with Asian countries:
  - 1951 – Mutual Security Treaty with Japan – bases
  - 1954, Sept – Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, SEATO – US-led, only 2 SEAsian states
  - 1955 – Formosa Resolution – American forces in Taiwan

## Vietnam War

- Vietnam – Ho Chi Minh – communist leader –
- Nationalist credentials during WWII - against Japanese – Vietminh guerrillas
- Terms of Japanese surrender in 1945
- French return resisted until 1954 – Fall of Dienbienphu
  - Last pitch battle, if French lost Dienbienphu, they would lose Vietnam
  - De Gaul turned to British and Americans for help (Churchill: British problems, no. Ike: Generals consulted - no. “Bomb them back to the Stone Age”)
  - HCM won the battle of Dienbienphu
- Geneva Accords –

- 17th Parallel – temporary division between Communist N Vietnam & non-communist S Vietnam
  - HCM had control over North of the 17th
  - French returned to re-assume power in the South
- American & South Vietnamese violation of election promise – Ike's view
  - refused to hold the election because HCM would have won Vietnam, South wanted reunification with the North
- America did not want to accept a Vietnam that is unified under HCM (Communist)
  - S Vietnam - Installation of Ngo Dinh Diem (nationalist who was a political refugee in the US) in mid 1950s
  - Corrupt & ineffective, without American help, Ngo Dinh Diem would lose S Vietnam
  - Surreptitious American aid: American officers training the S Vietnamese army - ‘advisers’ – counter-insurgency
  - Nov 1963 (less than 10 years) – assassination of Diem – beginning of more direct involvement – series of military regimes installed by US - instability in Vietnam

### **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**

- LBJ took over JFK after his assassination, engineered confrontations with NV.
- 2 reported episodes of naval confrontation between US & NV – 1 actual, one fabricated? (2 Aug 1964)
- **7 Aug, 1964 - authorized LBJ to “take all necessary measures to repel armed attack against the forces of the US & prevent further aggression”**
- LBJ – Resolution – “like grandma’s nightshirt – it covered everything” – no declaration of war necessary? Gave permission to LBJ to do anything with regards to sending troops to Vietnam
- Did not want to go to War because 1964 was the elections, re-elected in Nov 1964.
- Misled – open-ended concession – repealed in 1970
- 1965 – initiation of bombing ‘Rolling Thunder’ – *use of land forces followed; gradual escalation from a limited war*
  - planned with the use of airpower
  - NV guerillas would sabotage airbases
  - marines were sent in to protect the airbases (beginning the slippery slope), and more troops were sent in to Vietnam

- 1968 – ineffective South Vietnamese military leaders – when Kennedy died (few thousand troops; LBJ 1968: over half a million American troops – ‘mission creep’)
- no declaration of war – ‘credibility gap’ & assurances of victory & ‘light at the end of the tunnel’

## **LBJ**

- inability to tolerate dissent
- Misleading optimism
- Domestic opposition
- International criticism – tactic of bombing (shouldn’t be using bombs on innocent farmers in NV)

## **Tet Offensive (Lunar New Year 1968)**

- Weeks of planning to bring all the equipment to the cities, nature of the war had changed completely, organized a simultaneous uprising in the SV cities.
- military uprising by North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam cities – previously only guerrilla warfare in the countryside
- attack on important military & psychological targets, e.g. occupation of US embassy in Saigon (US territory)

## **End of Vietnam War**

- Domestic opposition grew – recognition by LBJ administration that war not winnable at price acceptable to:
  - majority of American people AND
  - international public opinion
  - Therefore beginning of the end – not open-ended commitment
- 1968 – Nixon elected; Nixon Doctrine: help others to help themselves
  - ‘Vietnamisation’ of war – S Vietnamese troops to do the fighting & dying
  - Half million American troops gradually withdrawn
- From 1969 – US negotiates to withdraw
- 1973 – Paris Cease-fire Agreement
- 1973 – War Powers Act
  - get congress/legislative permission to go to war
- 1975 fall of Saigon – renamed Ho Chi Minh city

## The Divisive War

- Divisive war – undermined foreign policy consensus of containment in Asia – ‘pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend. . .’ idea of Kennedy questioned?
  - Should the US do that with Allies that are not capable of fighting their own battles?
  - Cold War started in Europe, but yet the 2 hottest battles were fought in Asia
  - NATO was never used against the Soviet Union
- 2 major ‘proxy’ wars of Cold War, Korea & Vietnam in Asia – irony?
- 8 presidents & Vietnam (from Roosevelt)

## Justification for war

- Containment and Domino Theory
- If we don’t keep our word to Vietnam, allies elsewhere will question the value of commitment (faith issue)
- Domestic Politics - fear of ‘Who lost Vietnam?’ (similar to Fall of China)

## Lessons of Vietnam

Vietnam - America’s longest war – resources & manpower – 10,000 days? - questioning of nature of American involvement – ‘Vietnam syndrome’ – loss of confidence

1. Whether the US had the right to intervene
2. whether the US pursued the right policy when it intervene – military & otherwise – overwhelming application of superior technology against weak nation – ‘bombed back to the stone age’
3. Whether techniques used, e.g. backing of repressive regimes, bombing, etc was consistent with American democracy
4. whether the US had ‘exit strategy’
5. Validity of Domino Theory in Asian context – from mid-1950s

**Where to intervene** \* US should differentiate between crucial & peripheral regions in deciding when to intervene \* US should only intervene in nations where the domestic govt is willing & able to fight

## Military implications

American military should only fight when there are defined political goals & willingness to use overwhelming force to achieve desired outcome – clear ‘exit strategy’, **Powell doctrine**

## **Imperial Presidency & domestic support**

- Refers to Tonkin Gulf Resolution
- the US cannot fight sustained war unless the President has Congress & people behind him

## **Consequences**

- Loss of American confidence & inclination to commit troops & incur casualties overseas
- Self-examination by American people
- Loss of American prestige & moral authority overseas – question of judgment
- Domestic implications for American politics & politicians – still dealing with ‘Vietnam syndrome’
  - Every President had to deal with questions of Vietnam up till Obama
- ‘Bought time’ theory?
  - Kissinger, LKY
  - Because US fought that war, gave SE Asia time and confidence to develop their economy etc.
- First television war – access & coverage – censorship & cover-up

## **End of Cold War**

The fracturing of the cold war consensus of containment – gives way to strategic uncertainty - What takes its place? New forms of conflict – e.g. terrorism – non-ideological Should the US turn inwards or continue to engage? If the US continues to engage, should it act as a unilateral power or embrace multi-lateralism? The UN or others?

Does the US adopt a less expansive foreign policy – no more ‘world policeman’ or ‘world bully’ – indications in recent events?? – intervene only when vital interests at stake but Who defines ‘vital interests’? Fear of Asia-Pacific nations that US no longer actively engaged in this region – China factor Will unification of Korea be a signal? - De-stabilization of N Asia?

Has optimism of 1989-1991 & the hope of the ‘peace dividend’ given way to different anxieties & fears? War on Terror since 2001 (the way they responded to the Cold War) Still world’s only superpower ‘Lessons’ of the past Difference between WWI, WWII AND Cold War – no serious attempt to dismantle ‘big military’

## **Soft Power & Clout**

Powers of attraction, not coercion Values and influence Others have exercised it in the past but, Modern technology, films, advertising, & TV make this even more intrusive & pervasive?? Linked with fears of ‘globalization’ & Disappearance of local culture Are the words ‘modernization’ & ‘Westernization/Americanization’ now synonymous?

The ‘Coca-colonization’ or ‘McDonaldisation’ of the world? The protection of own cultural traditions in Europe & Asia Young, primary consumers – a lost generation? Self-enrolled BUT - Military & economic & cultural power interlinked – therefore SMART Power??

## **Economic Clout**

During Cold War years, access to market, investment, technology & organizational expertise, - what about after 1991? – access to US market & investment still crucial – economic downtowns of 1997 & 2001 etc – WTO, IMF & World Bank 2008 financial melt-down – role of US as global engine of growth??