# SECTION A: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA) AND CANADA

# THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)

The United States of America is a federation of 50 states covering a vast much of North America, with Alaska in Northwest and Hawaii extending into the Pacific Ocean. Most of the country is found in Central North America between Mexico and Canada.USA underwent a period of colonialism under Britain and she got her independence in 1776 after the American war of independence. USA formulated her constitution in 1788. America has got one of the oldest written Constitutions and government is based on the constitution. The Federal government is based at Washington DC while each of the American states has got its own legislature to run its internal affairs while the congress looks after the foreign affairs and matters of peace.

At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> World War, **Woodrow Wilson** was the president of USA up to 1920 and he was the brain behind the Versailles Peace Treaty and the formation of the League of Nations (LON) only that his ideas were later rejected by the Congress and was replaced by the **president Harding** who died in office and his regime is remembered for the policy of 'Isolationism'. Under the policy of isolationism, America was to get less concerned with the problems taking place in other parts of the world. After the death of Woodrow Wilson, President Harding replaced him but died in office. He was replaced by Kelvin who tried to stabilize the American society.

However, in 1929 president Herbert Hoover came to power and his regime is well known to have led America from economic boom to economic depression. He failed to address the problem of economic depression and by 1933; about 15 million Americans were Jobless. The worst sector to be hit by economic depression was that of farmers. America was characterized by high crime rate because the people were starving amidst the poor leadership of President Herbert Hoover and during his Handover Speech; he said that "we have come to the end of the road..." It's against such a background that president Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected in office in 1932.

#### THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

A constitution is a set of laws, rules and regulations, principles and guidelines that govern a country. The Constitution of the USA was written during the summer of 1787 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by 55 delegates to a Constitutional Convention that was called ostensibly to amend the **Articles of Confederation** (1781–89), the country's first written constitution.

The **Constitution of the United States** is the supreme law of the United States of America. The Constitution, originally comprising seven articles, delineates the national frame of government. Its first three articles embody the doctrine of the separation of powers, whereby the federal government is divided into three branches: the legislative, consisting of the bicameral Congress (Article One); the executive, consisting of the president (Article Two); and the judicial, consisting of the Supreme Court and other

federal courts (Article Three). Articles Four, Five and Six embody concepts of federalism, describing the rights and responsibilities of state governments, the states in relationship to the federal government, and the shared process of constitutional amendment. Article Seven establishes the procedure subsequently used by the thirteen States to ratify it. It is regarded as the oldest written and codified national constitution in force.

## FEATURES/CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

- 1. Written Constitution: American constitution is a written constitution framed in 1787 and enforced in 1789. It consists of seven articles; three of them related to structure and powers of Legislative (Article 1), Executive (Article 2) and Judiciary (Article 3) and the other four dedicated to position of states (Article 4), modes of amendments (Article 5), supremacy of national power (Article 6) and ratification (Article 7). It also holds that constitution is the supreme law of the land. Article one is the longest and cannot be amended. Like other constitutions, it also consists of preamble; a single sentence that introduces and defines purpose of the document.
- 2. Rigid Constitution: It is one of the most rigid constitutions in the world which means that for amending it, a special and difficult procedure has to be followed. It consists of 2 steps; Proposal for Amendment: Either two-third (67%) of both the houses (Senate and House of Representatives) shall propose for amendment to constitution or on the application of legislatures of two-third (67%) states shall call a convention for proposing amendment. And the second step is the Ratification of Proposal: The amendment shall be ratified by the legislatures of three fourth (75 %) of all states or by the convention of three fourth of states. It is because of this rigidity that American constitution has been amended only 27 times in over 200 years.
- **3. Popular Sovereignty:** In U.S, the people rule i.e. they have delegated their powers to the government and the government owes its authority to the will of the people. The principle of popular sovereignty is stated in the Preamble of constitution as "we the people.......do ordain and establish this constitution for United States of America."
- **4. Bicameral Legislature:** The constitution of USA provides for bicameral legislature i.e. two houses in the centre. According to Article 1, "All legislative powers are vested in Congress." Congress consists of two houses i.e. Lower House or House of Representatives and the Upper House or Senate. The lower one is the **House of Representatives** which has 435 members who are elected by the people through adult franchise method for a period of two years on population basis i.e. state with larger population gets more seats in this house e.g. California has 53 members. The upper house is **the Senate** whose members (senators) are elected by the state legislatures. Each state has two senators meaning that each state has two votes in senate. These senators are elected for a period of six years. The total number of senators is 100 since there are 50 states
- **5. Separation of Powers:** The doctrine of separation of powers divides power between

the three pillars/institutions of government to prevent interference of one institution in the affairs of another. The powers are divided among Congress, President and the Judiciary. *Congress* has the power to make laws which outline general policies and set certain standards. *President* can enforce, execute and administer law. He is assisted by his cabinet but is **solely** responsible for all actions of Executive branch. *Judicial Powers* are exercised by the Supreme Court which interprets laws and decided cases and controversies in conformity with the law and by the methods prescribed by law.

- **6. Checks & Balances:** The system of Checks and Balances laid down by the separation of powers prevents misuse of powers. The powers are provided in such a way that it provides a check upon other institutions. For example the President can veto a bill passed by the Congress. The congress can pass legislation over president's veto by two thirds majority. The President also has the power to appoint judges of the Supreme Court subject to approval of the Senate.
- 7. The constitution has vested the powers of "Judicial Review" in Supreme Court. Supreme Court can approve, reject or review any action taken by the President or laws made by the Congress as it did in *Marbury Vs Madison* Case. All this creates a system which makes compromises necessary which is a sign of healthy democracy. It prevents the rise of dictators as well.
- **8. Federal System:** The U.S constitution provides for a federal system of government which means that powers are divided among centre/federal government and the states. According to Article 1, the federal government has jurisdiction over 18 matters and residuary powers are vested in states. States are autonomous bodies and centre cannot meddle in their affairs. In case of conflict, Supreme Court decides or settles the dispute.
- **9. Presidential System:** The constitution provides for a presidential form of government. Article 2 provides the powers, election and their matters related to president. President is elected for a term of 4 years and is not answerable to Congress but cannot dissolve Congress. He has a cabinet to assist him in running his executive powers.
- **1o. Republicanism:** The constitution calls for a republican system with President as elected head of the state. The constitution derives its authority from the people and is supreme law of the land. Neither centre nor states can override it.
- **11. Bill of Rights:** The first ten amendments to the constitution are called "Bill of Rights". The BOR provides for the rights of a person's property, liberty, freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly.
- **12. Dual Citizenship:** The constitution provides for dual citizenship. First and foremost everyone is considered as a citizen of United States and of the state where he or she is domiciled.
- **13. System of Spoils:** When a president is elected, he does appointment of public offices. If in elections, President elected is of the opposition party, he dismisses the

public office bearers and makes fresh appointments. Under this system, a civil servant appointed by one president on political consideration cannot retain his office when an opposition President secures victory in polls.

## Sample Question

1. Describe the salient features of the Constitution of the United States of America (USA).

### AMERICAN PRESIDENTS AND THEIR POLICIES

# FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (1933 -1945)

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882 at his parents' estate in Hyde Park, New York. His father, **James**, was a country gentleman who made money in railroads and coal. His mother, **Sara**, was a strong-willed woman who adored her only child and remained a central figure in his life until her death in 1941. Roosevelt trained as a lawyer in Harvard University and in 1910, he joined active politics. He was elected to the New York senate on the Democratic Party ticket; he became the assistant secretary of the US Navy during the time of Woodrow Wilson. In 1920 he contested as a vice-president but failed and in 1928 he was elected Governor of New York. As governor he helped people who were unemployed during the Great Economic depression which began in 1929.

In 1932 he was elected the 32<sup>nd</sup> president of USA and in his inaugural speech on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1933; he restored hope among the people of America when he said that "First of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." He was a man who kept his promises. He introduced a policy known as 'New Deal Policy' that restored hope to the Americans and turned around the economy within a hundred (100) days which up to date are known as a 'hundred flower days'.

# THE NEW DEAL POLICY (Domestic Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt)

New Deal policy was the domestic program of the administration of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt between 1933 and 1939, which took action to bring about immediate economic relief as well as reforms in industry, agriculture, finance, waterpower, labour, and housing, vastly increasing the scope of the federal government's activities. The term was taken from Roosevelt's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the presidency on July 2, 1932. Reacting to the ineffectiveness of the administration of President Herbert Hoover in meeting the ravages of the Great Depression, American voters the following November overwhelmingly voted in favour of the Democratic promise of a "New Deal" for the "forgotten man." Opposed to the traditional American political philosophy of laissezfaire (capitalism), the New Deal generally embraced the concept of a government-

regulated economy aimed at achieving a balance between conflicting economic interests.

The New Deal policy involved the government controlling some aspects of the US economy including businesses. It was a traditional American policy to leave businesses to be privately owned and run but in the New Deal policy, government was to intervene in some sectors in order to make the economy function. The New Deal policy aimed at achieving some goals; to provide relief by directing help to millions of Americans who had no food at their homes; to reform policies in order to avoid repetition of the past mistakes and indeed this policy was successful that after three months, the new deal come to be known as a *Hundred Flower Days* because of the miracles people had witnessed.

#### **ELEMENTS OF ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL POLICY**

The New deal Policy was the domestic policy of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt which he announced in January 1933 while making his inaugural Speech as American president. It contained a series of reforms that were carefully designed to mitigate the Great Economic Depression that the American economy was engulfed in since 1929. The Great depression had made Americans lose hope in their economy and it was against this background that the new president came up with reforms that were to restore hope. The New deal policy which almost contradicted with capitalism had the following elements/components;

In May, he signed the **Tennessee Valley Authority Act** into law, creating the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and enabling the federal government to build dams along the Tennessee River that controlled flooding and generated inexpensive hydroelectric power for the people in the region.

That same month, Congress passed a bill that paid commodity farmers (farmers who produced things like wheat, dairy products, tobacco and corn) to leave their fields fallow in order to end agricultural surpluses and boost prices.

June's **National Industrial Recovery Act** guaranteed that workers would have the right to unionize and bargain collectively for higher wages and better working conditions; it also suspended some anti-trust laws and established a federally funded **Public Works Administration**.

In April 1935, he created the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to provide jobs for unemployed people. WPA projects weren't allowed to compete with private industry, so they focused on building things like post offices, bridges, schools, highways and parks. The WPA also gave work to artists, writers, theater directors and musicians.

In July 1935, the National Labor Relations Act, also known as the Wagner Act, created the National Labor Relations Board to supervise union elections and prevent

businesses from treating their workers unfairly.

In August, FDR signed **the Social Security Act of 1935**, which guaranteed pensions to millions of Americans, set up a system of unemployment insurance and stipulated that the federal government would help care for dependent children and the disabled.

Emergency Banking Act - March 9: FDR closed all banks as soon as he was inaugurated to stop bank runs. It was enacted at great speed. A special session of Congress passed the bill in seven-and-a-half hours. This Act allowed banks to reopen once examiners found them to be financially secure. Five thousand banks reopened in the next three days.

Government Economy Act - March 20: The Act cut the pay of government and military employees by 15 percent. It cut government spending by 25 percent. The \$1 billion saved went to finance New Deal programs.

Beer-Wine Revenue Act - March 22: It legalized the sale of beer and wine and taxed alcohol sales, raising federal revenue. The Beer-Wine Revenue Act was followed by the passage of the 21st Amendment, which effectively ended Prohibition.

Civilian Conservation Corps - April 5: The program hired 3 million workers over the next 10 years to conserve public land. They planted forests, built flood barriers, and maintained roads and trails.

Abandonment of Gold Standard - April 20: FDR stopped a run on the precious metal. He ordered everyone to exchange all gold for dollars.

Federal Emergency Relief Act - May 12: This program funded a wide variety of jobs in agriculture, the arts, construction, and education.

Agricultural Adjustment Act - May 12: This legislation subsidized farmers to reduce crops. It doubled crop prices by 1937. It was overturned by Supreme Court in 1936 because it taxed processors but gave funds to farmers. That was remedied in 1938.

Emergency Farm Mortgage Act - May 12: The Act provided loans to save farms from foreclosure.

Tennessee Valley Authority Act - May 18: The program established a federal corporation that built power stations in the Tennessee Valley, the poorest area in the nation.

Securities Act - May 27: It required corporations to provide information to investors before issuing stock.

Abrogation of Gold Payment Clause - June 5: The government no longer had to repay dollars with gold.

Home Owners Refinancing Act - June 13: The act established the Home Owners Loan Corporation that refinanced mortgages to prevent foreclosures. It also provided additional capital to mortgage lenders. When it closed in 1935, it had refinanced 1 million homes, which was the equivalent of 20 percent of all urban mortgages.

Glass-Steagall Banking Act - June 16: This law separated investment banking from retail banking. It prevented retail banks from using depositors' funds for risky investments. It gave the regulation of retail banks to the Federal Reserve, prohibited bank sales of securities, and created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The Act was repealed in 1999 by the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act.

National Industrial Recovery Act - June 16: This labor and consumer law set up the Public Works Administration to create public works jobs, like San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge and New York City's Triborough Bridge. This law also created the National Recovery Administration. It outlawed child labor, established a minimum wage of \$1.25, and limited the workday to eight hours. It gave trade unions the legal right to bargain with employers. It was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

Emergency Railroad Transportation Act - June 16: This piece of legislation attempted to coordinate the national railway systems.

Civil Works Administration - Nov. 9: Created thousands of construction jobs to put people to work. Congress ended it on March 31, 1934.

Gold Reserve Act - January 30: FDR prohibited private gold ownership. He increased the price of gold to \$35 per ounce, up from \$20.67 per ounce where it had been for 100 years. That almost doubled the value of the gold held in Fort Knox from \$4.033 billion to \$7.348 billion, making the United States the world's largest owner of gold.

National Housing Act - June 27: This law established the Federal Housing Administration, which provides federal insurance for mortgages.

Securities Exchange Act – The law created the Securities and Exchange Commission, which regulates stocks and the stock market.

Federal Communications Act – The Act consolidated all federal regulation of telephone, telegraph, and radio communications under the Federal Communications Commission.

The government came up with the **Brain Trust programme**. This was a body of scholars and academicians who were given the duty to analyze and discuss the problems affecting the country and to propose solutions to the government.

The government came up with **Relief packages** in order to restore confidence in both consumers and producers.

The government made sure that Banks and other financial institutions started

functioning again. This was intended to restore confidence in the banking sector.

Roosevelt's administration came up with the civilian conservation corps programme. This was to provide jobs to the unemployed youths and they were to work in conservation projects like Reforestation, fighting forest fire outbreaks, and prevention of floods among others. This went a long way to reduce on the problem of unemployment in the country.

The government came up with a programme to improve on the conditions of workers for instance allowing them to form National Labour Relations squads to settle affairs of workers.

A programme was put in place to rehabilitate the rural areas of America and under this programme the government introduced cheap electricity in addition to carrying up out conservation, irrigation, and afforestation among others.

The president requested the congress to allow him **devaluate the Dollar**. The devaluation process pleased most people because in the long run, 200 million dollars was given to the needy class.

Roosevelt assigned jobs to the right people in USA. In order to make this succeed, he got men from ordinary fields that were very hard working to manage the different sectors of the economy.

He came up with a Farmers' Relief programme and under this programme; the government helped farmers to improve on their income which had dropped by fixing prices of agricultural products. And by 1937, success had been achieved because the farmers' incomes doubled.

### **ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY**

In the period between 1933 and 1939, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was more concerned domestic policies in order to put the economy to order once again. This was necessary in order to promote the economic interests of the Americans like welfare. His second major task was to change the American Foreign policy from Isolationism to active involvement in world affairs. This was necessary in order to promote Americans interests in the world, getting external markets among others. However his major problem was the Congress and the Americans who were still conservative about Isolationism but Roosevelt used tactics to make them change along with him and between 1936 and 1939 he made America to play the role of neutral country. In 1939, he introduced the Lend-Lease programme to enable America give moral and material support to other countries that were on the side of the Allied Powers and by 1945 he had made America to actively participate in world affairs and this affected the whole world.

REASONS WHY AMERICA ABANDONED THE POLICY OF ISOLATIONISM SINCE 1941

Isolationism was a traditional American policy in foreign affairs which involved the American government strictly playing a dormant role in world affairs. This policy can be traced from 1920 when the American government deliberately opted to concentrate on internal matters affecting their economy for instance she kept out of the League of Nations and did not participate in international conflicts of the 1930s. However during the Roosevelt Administration, new demands emerged which necessitated revising the policy of Isolationism. Roosevelt started by making America play a neutral role in the mid 1930s but in 1939 he introduced the **Lend and Lease programme** to provide moral and material assistance to allied powers while in 1941, he made America to officially join the Second world war on the side of allied Powers. Since then, all the successive American presidents have maintained the same policy of active involvement in world politics. A number of factors have been advanced to explain the American abandonment of Isolationism;

- The change in leadership from conservative leaders was the beginning of shift from Isolationism. America changed from conservative leaders like Herbert Hoover to progressive and foresighted leaders like Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Ronald Reagan among others who realized the need for America to have direct control of international affairs in order to the solve economic problems of the time.
- 2. The desire to get rid of surplus agricultural products in USA made President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to abandon the policy of isolationism. From 1939, America had heavy surplus of agricultural output with no alternative markets. Therefore active involvement in world affairs was necessary for the American government get new external markets.
- 3. The Japanese attack on the **Pearl Harbour** in 1941 made USA to abandon the policy of isolationism. Pearl Harbour was an American possession (military Base) located on **Hawaii Island** and it was attacked by the Japanese on 7<sup>th</sup> December 1941. This was indeed a direct attack on the USA. Therefore the Roosevelt Administration, in an attempt to defend America, declared war against Japan and other Axis powers on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1941 thus abandoning the policy of isolationism.
- 4. The desire to protect the free world made USA to abandon the isolation policy. From the mid 1930s, some aggressive powers had taken it upon themselves to aggress small states for example in 1931 and 1937, Japan attacked China, in 135 Italy attacked Ethiopia while Germany attacked Czechoslovakia in 1938 and Poland in 1939. These very aggressive powers constituted themselves into the Axis Powers that jeopardized peace of the Free world from September 1939 in what came to be known as World War II. The American government under President Franklin Roosevelt became concerned about defending the innocent countries and restore order in the world. Roosevelt therefore declared war against axis powers hence abandoning the policy of Isolationism.

- 5. American acquired a new spirit of imperialism which made her abandon the policy of Isolationism. Whereas America never participated in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century scramble for colonies, she later became interested in acquiring spheres of influence in Asia, Africa and Europe to directly or indirectly control so that she could be able to exploit them by selling her surplus products. Besides after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, USA was a major contestant in the cold war politics and therefore she wanted satellite states.
- 6. The need to implement the spirit of the Atlantic Charter forced the US government to abandon Isolationism. The Atlantic Charter was issued in 1941 by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain. The charter recommended the granting self determination and freedom to all people in the world. USA therefore wanted to supervise and ensure that freedom continued to prevail as intended by the Atlantic Charter. Colonial Masters like Spain, Britain, and France had to respect the Charter. Therefore, to enforce the implementation of the Charter, USA abandoned the policy of Isolationism.
- 7. The US position as the new commander of the Second World War made her to abandon the isolation policy. When the USA joined the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War in 1941, the American **General Dwight Eisenhower** was assigned the responsibility of being the overall commander of the Allied forces. This meant that the USA had to produce a plan in order to win the war and this was to be done in full consultation with other Allied Powers hence she had to abandon the isolation policy.
- 8. The launching of the Marshall Aid Plan (MAP) in 1947 also made America to give up with the isolation policy. Under this, USA was to extend her generosity to European countries by giving them financial assistance to a tune of 12.5 billion dollars from 1948 to facilitate the recovery of their economies. Therefore there was need to ascertain and ensure that the aid given was used for the right cause and those who got it had to come up with democratic governments and while those with colonies had to grant independence. Therefore in order to meet the targets of MAP, proper supervision was necessary and hence the abandonment of Isolationism became inevitable.
- 9. The launching of Truman Doctrine or Containment Policy made the USA to abandon her policy of isolationism. This policy was announced by President Harry Truman in 1947 at the height of the Cold war tension. It called for the American government engaging in activities meant to prevent further spread of communism in the world. In order to implement this containment Policy, the US government found itself engaging in anti-communist activities around the world e.g. from 1948, the Truman Administration extended financial assistance to the governments of Turkey and Greece against communist rebels among other activities hence abandonment of the policy of Isolationism.

- 10. The US commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) also led her to abandon the isolation policy. In April 1949, USA committed herself to the North Atlantic Treaty alongside Canada and Western European countries. NATO was a collective defense mechanism for capitalist powers and thus USA had to defend her allies which forced her to abandon the policy of Isolationism.
- 11. The initiation of Mutual Assistance Act (MAA) of 1951 made America to abandon isolation policy. Under this Act, USA extended financial, security and expert aid to friendly countries and this put her directly into involvement of world affairs.
- 12. The US commitment to the United Nations Organization (UNO) made her abandon the policy of isolationism. The US government was involved in all processes that led to the emergence of the UNO in 1945. For instance she hosted the San Francisco Conference in California at which the UNO Charter was declared. USA went ahead to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council and also accommodated the Headquarters of the UNO in New York. Such a role USA played in the UNO which also extended to the maintenance of world peace and security for her to abandon the policy of Isolationism.

### SUMMARY OF ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICIES

Roosevelt also introduced the **Lend-Lease policy** under which USA extended aid in form of material, moral and financial to Allied Powers fighting against Axis powers. After Germany declared war on the Soviet Union in 1941, Roosevelt extended Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union as well.

Roosevelt was eager for large-scale trade with Russia, and hoped for some repayment on the old tsarist debts. After the Soviets promised they would not engage in espionage, Roosevelt used presidential authority to normalize relations in November 1933. There was however no progress on the debt issue. Many American businessmen had expected a bonus in terms of large-scale trade, but it never materialized.

The key foreign policy initiative of Roosevelt's first term was the Good Neighborhood Policy, in which the U.S. took a non-interventionist stance in Latin American affairs. Roosevelt introduces the **Good Neighborhood policy** under which close ties were established between USA and countries of Latin America. They were cooperated especially in cultural and economic matters and this made America to drop isolation policy.

After Japan invaded China and Germany invaded Poland, Roosevelt provided aid to China, Britain and to France, but public opinion opposed the use of the American military. After the Fall of France in June 1940, Roosevelt increased aid to the British and began a very rapid build-up of air power.

In response to the July 1941 Japanese occupation of southern French Indochina, Roosevelt expanded a trade embargo on Japan. After attempting to re-open oil exports,

Japan launched an attack on the U.S. fleet stationed at Pearl Harbour.

Roosevelt came up with war policy 1941. This led America into the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War following the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbour. America did not only provide command, military personnel but also provided several resources in fighting the Axis powers until the war ended in 1945.

Roosevelt also came up with a policy that led to the birth of the United Nations Organization (UNO). Right form 1941 a series of conferences were organized to see how best the League of Nations was to be replaced by a more viable organization which would bring about lasting peace and security. One of such conferences was the 1941 Atlantic conference that led to the issuance of the famous **Atlantic Charter** which recommended the formation of a new intergovernmental organization. Much as Roosevelt died in April 1945 before the UNO was officially established, it was his initiative.

# **Reference Questions**

- 1. "The only thing you need to fear is fear itself". Was this a fair promise to the American people by President Roosevelt?
- 2. Why is Franklin Delano Roosevelt remembered as one of the greatest president in USA?
- 3. How did Roosevelt solve the problem of economic depression between 1933 and 1943?
- 4. Examine the foreign policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt between 1933 and 1945.

## PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN (1945-1953)

Harry S. Truman was the first of three children born to **John Anderson Truman**, a farmer and mule (horse) trader, and his wife, **Martha Ellen Truman**. He was born on **May 8**, **1884 in Lamar Missouri**. Truman grew up on the Family farm in **Independence**, **Missouri**, and did not attend college. He worked in a variety of jobs after high school, first as a timekeeper for a railroad construction company, and then as a clerk and a bookkeeper at two separate banks in Kansas City. After five years, he returned to farming and joined the National Guard.

When World War I erupted in 1914, Truman volunteered for duty. He helped organize his National Guard regiment, which was ultimately called into service in the 129th Field Artillery.

He rose to the level of a senator and in 1944 he became the Running-mate to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. On the 12<sup>th</sup> April 1945 when Roosevelt died, Truman became the 33<sup>rd</sup>

president of USA.

He became president at the most trying times because as a vice president, he lacked experience. The 2<sup>nd</sup> World War had to be won and he had to prepare USA for peacetime after the war. The shadow of Roosevelt was still lowing high to the Americans. Thus in the period between 1945 and 1948, Truman continued with the New Deal. However he faced a number of problems which he had to address as seen below;

He had to make a hard decision on how to end the World War II and while in a meeting in February 1945 in Crimea (Yalta conference), it had been agreed that Russia was to attack and defeat Japan ending the war. However, this would mean that Russia would have many territories. Therefore Truman used an atomic bomb against Japan in order to bring an immediate end to World War II though creating enemity with Joseph Stalin

Truman was also facing the problem of peacetime economy. The war had solved the would be problems in USA like unemployment but when it ended in 1945, these problems cropped up again and there were scarcity of goods, unemployment and so in order to solve these, Truman came up with a **Council of Advisors** who helped him to stimulate economic growth which ended up creating Jobs for the unemployed people.

The other problem was about the soldiers returning from the war. Many of them did not get jobs because they were not educated and in order to solve this problem, the government spent 3.5 Billion dollars on educating and training these ex-service men.

There was increased demand for consumer goods and as a solution the president tried to remove some controls but the Congress insisted that all controls must be removed and when he did so the cost of living went up and this affected the majority of the poor people and the president was blamed.

There was a problem of labour strikes especially among coal and rail workers because of the high cost of living yet their wages remained constant. And as a way of solving this, the government took over the mines and workers were forced to accept government wages.

Truman was faced with the stubborn congress which was dominated by the Republicans. It was difficult for him to complement most of the New Deal policies.

There was also need to address the civil rights, liberties and racial segregation. In 1946 he came up with a Commission which suggested that job discrimination should end and yet this stand was opposed by most of the people in the South.

#### DOMESTIC POLICIES OF HARRY S. TRUMAN 1948 - 1952

After the 1948 elections, Truman launched a domestic policy known as "Fair Deal" and in his own words he said,

"Every segment of our people and every individual has a right to expect a fair deal from

# this government".

This involved fair treatment to all Americans so that resources cannot only be in the hands of the few. The main components of the Fair Deal which made his domestic policy included;

- He wanted to end racial segregation
- Wanted his government to invest money in education so that both children of the poor and rich could school up
- Wanted to set up low cost housing programme
- Wanted to end the system of centralizing trade unions
- Wanted to put a system where workers will have job security and this could protect workers from unfair employers.
- Wanted to establish national insurance health plan to be funded by the federal government

These good policies were however frustrated by the congress which was full of Republicans who preferred a free market system with no government interference.

## Generally, President Harry S. Truman carried out the following Domestic policies;

- Truman supported FDR's New Deal, a progressive and wide-ranging government initiatives to combat the Great Depression. As a Democrat, Truman believed the government had an important role in regulating the economy and providing wellbeing to citizens.
- 2. Truman asked FDR's cabinet to remain in place as he settled into the presidency though he had little confidence in them. However by the spring of 1946, he had replaced many of those officials with men of his own choice. Truman's appointees, however, were largely undistinguished and contributed little to his presidency. Most notably, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath became the center of a corruption scandal which cut into Truman's popularity.
- 3. Truman also inherited Roosevelt's staff of presidential advisers. By the mid-1940s, the President's staff included administrative assistants, appointments and press secretaries, and counsels to the President. Several well-known members of FDR's team—like Harry Hopkins and press secretary Steve Early—did not join the Truman administration. Other Roosevelt staffers, like special counsel Sam Rosenman and budget director Harold Smith, continued to serve in their positions for a short time.

- 4. Truman placed his own trusted confidents in key staff positions. His old friend Charles Ross came on as press secretary and Senate aide Matthew Connelly became the President's appointments secretary. The two most involved staffers in the Truman administration, however, were Clark Clifford and John Steelman.
- 5. He signed the **Employment Act of 1946**, which basically gave the federal government the responsibility of fighting unemployment. Under this act, the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) was created. This council provided the president with insights into economic trends and conditions.
- 6. He came up with a programme to streamline federal administration with an aim of improving on efficiency. In September 1947 he came up with **the National Defence Act** and under the Act the US navy, Air force and infantry were to be under the Department of Defence.
- 7. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was set up in order to collect secret information about the security of America as a country.
- 8. Truman came up with program called the "Fair Deal". The Fair Deal consisted of a national healthcare program, federal aid for education, a raised minimum wage, public housing projects, progressive taxation, and other initiatives in-line with liberal politics. Most of the Fair Deal was however rejected by Congress. The only part of it that became law was the Housing Act of 1949, which increased the construction of public housing and government involvement in the mortgage process.
- 9. Truman took a strong stance in favor of civil rights. In 1947, his administration produced a detailed report calling for civil rights reform. He set up committees to investigate racial discrimination and develop solutions to long-standing racial issues. There was one problem, however: many Southern Democrats did not support civil rights.

10.In the summer of 1947, Truman became the first President to address the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), to whom he declared his full support of African-American civil rights. Speaking to a crowd of 10,000 people, Truman declared that

"The only limit to an American's achievement should be his ability, his industry, and his character."

He also announced that he would issue executive orders to desegregate the armed forces and to prohibit discrimination in the civil service.

### THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN

President Harry Truman is remembered to have ended 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. He came to power in April 1945 and in May 1945 he led Allied Powers to victory with defeat of the Axis powers after the death of Benito Mussolini. The German leader Adolf Hitler also committed suicide and thereafter Germany surrendered. However, Japan had refused to surrender and on 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> August 1945, Truman used atomic bomb on the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively and over 160000 Japanese died and Japan unconditionally surrendered in fear of another bombing.

Truman completed the work of drafting the UNO charter. After the February 1945 Yalta conference, another meeting was held at San Francisco on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1945. This meeting was chaired by President Truman to finish the work started by Roosevelt. Therefore on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1945, 50 Nations signed the charter and on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1945, it was approved by the US Congress. The UNO officially started operating on 24th October 1945.

President Truman came up with the economic aid programme for Europe after World War II. This programme mainly benefited the western European countries though it was opposed by the Soviet Union and she refused her satellite states to benefit from this programme. This program was known as the **Marshall Aid Plan (MAP)** which was announced in 1947 and it was intended to help countries loyal to capitalism. The following year (1948), 12.5 billion dollars were disbursed to Western European countries.

Truman also came up with the **Containment Policy (Truman Doctrine)** in 1947. This was a response to the cold war that manifested itself when communism was being spread to Eastern Europe. He established this policy and he said

"We shall contain Russia, until she changes from being our enemy and become our partner". This was an extensive policy to deal with communism firmly.

Truman also dealt with the Germany Question. The defeated Germany was divided into four (4) zones to correspond the four Allied powers. This was a temporary arrangement. However, when the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin decided to set up the Berlin blockade in 1948-49, USA, France and Britain without consulting the Soviet Union merged their three (3) occupational zones and set up the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

Truman got involved in Japan by first bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki and there after the US made sure that Japan do not fall prey to communism. Therefore Truman sent General Douglas McArthur to govern Japan after the war. He introduced political and economic policies similar to those of America and much later in 1951; US and Japan signed the San Francisco Treaty that ended the US occupation of Japan.

Truman got involved in the Chinese civil war. The civil war in China had been going on since 1927 between the pro-capitalist KMT government led by Chiang Kai Shek and communist rebels led by Mao tse Tung. When Truman assumed the presidency, he continued sponsoring the Kuomintang (KMT) under Chiang Kai Shek against the communist Rebels. When the Kuomintang was defeated by Mao tse Tung's communist rebels, Truman refused to recognize the new government but instead he continued backing the Kuomintang who took refuge in Taiwan. This spoiled the relationship between China and USA.

## **Reference Questions**

- 1. Examine the contributions of President Harry Truman to the United States of America between 1945 and 1952
- 2. To what extent was Harry Truman responsible for the development of cold war?
- 3. Assess impact of US aid on Europe between 1939 and 1970

# PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER (January 1953 – January 1961)

Eisenhower was born on October 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas, to David Jacob Eisenhower and Ida Elizabeth Stover Eisenhower. In 1911, Eisenhower landed an appointment at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York, where attendance was free of charge. In 1915, Eisenhower proudly graduated from West Point and was commissioned as a second lieutenant. In 1942, he was promoted to Major General. Just months later, he became commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces and led "Operation Torch", the Allied invasion of North Africa. Dwight D. Eisenhower was appointed U.S. Army chief of staff in 1945. He became the first Supreme Allied Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1951. In 1952 he was elected U.S. 34<sup>th</sup> president defeating the Democratic Party candidate Stevenson Adlai. He served two terms before retiring to Gettysburg in 1961.

### THE DOMESTIC POLICIES OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower's domestic policy was known as "Modern Republicanism" which meant that the federal government would reduce participation in providing social services and management of the economy. Under Modern Republicanism the government was to do the following;

To reduce expenditure

- To encourage a free market economy
- To make the state take over the responsibilities of social services like health education and housing
- To come up with a balanced budget
- To cut taxes
- To solve the problem of the spread of communism
- To end Red tape Bureaucracy.

### THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MODERN REPUBLICANISM

The USA was to continue with its international obligations however the Allies were expected to make financial contributions in matters of containing communism, maintaining peace and security. This was to help USA reduce her government expenditure with a view to come up with a balanced budget.

The president ended wage and price control system. He re-introduced a free market economy. However, this led to unemployment in USA. His government was criticized for neglecting the medical care, the poor and the old.

He introduced the **Federal Griffin Act** and under this law, the government fought corruption and communism. This law authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) to investigate public officers and ministers suspected of corruption. Out of this effort, press advisor B. Adam was caught.

He set up a programme to cut down military expenditure which was done by withdrawing the 7<sup>th</sup> fleet which was guarding Taiwan against Red China. This helped the government to guard against deficit financing.

He tried to restore responsibility and morality in the public service. Civil servants found to be lacking in behavior and character like those who had taken to drunkardness, drug abuse, mental illness, and those involved in sexual scandals were dismissed.

Eisenhower attempted to solve the civil rights problem in order to stop the discrimination of the blacks, Red Indians and other races. It was during his reign that the Supreme Court ruled that discrimination should end immediately in public places like schools. However, he met resistance especially from the Southern states that were determined to continue segregating African Americans. For instance there was a case of refusing to allow Black students in Little Rock high school in Arkansas which led to the Little Rock crisis of 1957.

His other distinction included signing the 1957 Civil Rights Act and setting up a permanent Civil Rights Commission. This was the first civil rights bill since

Reconstruction. However, Congress amended the bill and critically weakened its effectiveness.

Eisenhower initiated the **federal Highway programme of 1956**. Eisenhower championed and signed a bill that authorized the Interstate Highway System in 1956. He justified the project through the **Federal Aid Highway Act** of 1956 as essential to American security during the Cold War. It was believed that large cities would be targets in a possible war, so the highways were designed to facilitate their evacuation and ease military maneuvers. Under this programme the government spent a lot of money to come up with a road network to link up major cities which boosted the sale of automobiles and it became the main means of transport for the 1<sup>st</sup> time in USA.

He established **Alaska and Hawaii** as states within the federation (USA). The most remarkable achievement of Eisenhower was to make USA larger when new states were added to the Union and they included Alaska and Hawaii and this expanded the Union to 50 states.

Eisenhower was additionally responsible for signing the bill to form the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)**. In response to USSR's Sputnik I, a spacecraft that was launched in October 1957 to orbit the earth, Eisenhower created NASA as a civilian space agency in October 1958, signed a landmark science education law, and improved relations with American scientists.

Eisenhower balanced the American budget, not just once but three times. Despite much pressure to do otherwise, he also refused to cut taxes and raise defence spending. His fiscal policy contributed to the prosperity of the 1950's.

He kept America at peace throughout his tenure. Eisenhower was confronted with major Cold War crises every year he was in office: Korea, Vietnam, Formosa, Suez crisis, Hungary, Berlin, and the U-2 incident. While more than once America seemed on the brink of war, Eisenhower always kept a level head. He dealt calmly and rationally with each situation, always finding a solution that avoided war without diminishing America's prestige.

However, the great General left office accused of poor economic policies during the 2<sup>nd</sup> term of office. He is remembered for unemployment and neglecting the poor.

#### **FOREIGN POLICIES**

His foreign policy was affected by the problem of continuous wars outside America which included the Korean War, the Indo-China wars and the 1956 Suez Canal war among others. Therefore, his foreign policy included the following;

He inherited the Korean war of 1950 -1953 which was caused by his predecessor. In July 1953 he initiated **an armistice** that ended the war though it cost USA around 140000 lives and over 250 Billion Dollars. Besides, USA failed to get total victory and

this was a disappointment to the capitalist world. In July 1953, an armistice took effect with Korea being divided along approximately the same boundary (38th parallel) as in 1950. The armistice and boundary remain in effect up to today. This armistice that ended the Korean War has been viewed as the greatest achievement of the Eisenhower administration in foreign affairs.

The Eisenhower administration continued with the Truman administration's policy of containment which called for the United States to prevent the spread of Communism to new states.

Eisenhower's **New Look defence policy** stressed the importance of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to military threats, and the United States built up a stockpile of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems during Eisenhower's presidency.

Eisenhower also inherited the Vietnam War of 1946-1954 (first phase). The Vietnamese wanted to get independence from France and they were supported by China and USSR. So there was fear that Vietnam would become a soviet satellite state and therefore when Eisenhower came to power, he continued to sponsor 8% of the total cost of the Vietnam War. However, at the battle of Dien Bien Phu, France was defeated while American troops were captured and many others died. The Eisenhower administration played a role in the partition of Vietnam at the 1954 Geneva Conference, and the U.S. subsequently directed aid to the newly-formed country of South Vietnam.

Eisenhower came up with the programme of **South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)** which was to contain the spread of communism in South East Asia. In September 1954 SEATO was established at Manila, Philippines by Britain, France, and New Zealand among other countries.

Eisenhower tried to reduce the nuclear war threats using the **Geneva spirit**. At this time, the two super powers (USA and USSR) had developed and accumulated a lot of deadly nuclear weapons which threatened world peace. He suggested that the most important move under the Geneva spirit was to convince Nikita Khrushchev to sign a peace treaty.

There was a major uprising that broke out in Hungary in 1956; but the Eisenhower administration did not become directly involved, but condemned the Soviet military response. As part of a move towards détente, Eisenhower sought to reach a nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union, but **the 1960 U-2 incident** derailed a Cold War summit in Paris.

He had a strong policy towards the Middle East where he withdrew financial support from **Aswan High dam project** to discipline Gammal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. This was because of President Nasser's leaning towards the East (USSR). Eisenhower however tried to maintain friendship with Arabs yet at the same time protecting Israel.

In 1956, Egyptian President Gammal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, sparking off the Suez Crisis, in which a coalition of France, Britain, and Israel took

control of the canal. Concerned about the economic and political impacts of the invasion, Eisenhower pressurized Britain and France to withdraw.

In addition, he came up with the *Eisenhower Doctrine* of 1956 and under it the president was allowed to **use force anywhere in the Middle East against any country controlled by communism**. The doctrine also advanced the view that any country in the Middle East could request American economic assistance or aid from U.S. military forces against communism.

The Cuban Revolution broke out during Eisenhower's second term, resulting in the replacement of a pro-U.S. President Fulgensio Batista with Fidel Castro, a known communist. In response to the revolution, the Eisenhower administration broke ties with Cuba and began preparations for an invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles, ultimately resulting in the failed **Bay of Pigs Invasion** after Eisenhower had left office.

The Cold War escalated during his presidency. When the Soviet Union successfully tested a hydrogen bomb in late November 1955, Eisenhower decided to initiate a disarmament proposal to the Soviets. In an attempt to make their refusal more difficult, he proposed that both sides agree to dedicate **fissionable** (nuclear) material away from weapons to peaceful uses such as power generation. This approach was labeled "Atoms for Peace".

On 1 May 1960, a United States U-2 spy plane was shot down by the Soviet Air Defence Forces while performing photographic aerial reconnaissance deep into Soviet territory. The U-2 plane, flown by pilot **Francis Gary Powers**, was hit by an **S-75 Surface-to-air missile** and crashed near Sverdlovsk. Francis Gary Powers parachuted safely but he was captured. The incident occurred during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower who was forced to admit the mission's true purpose after the Soviet government produced the captured pilot and parts of the U-2's surveillance equipment. This caused great embarrassment to the United States and prompted a marked deterioration in its relations with the Soviet Union. Francis Gary Powers was convicted of espionage and sentenced to three years of imprisonment plus seven years of hard labor but was released two years later on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1962 during a prisoner exchange for Soviet officer **Rudolf Abel**.

## THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE USA

The civil rights movement was a struggle for social justice that took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s for blacks and other disadvantaged groups to gain equal rights under the law in the United States. Whereas the American Civil War had officially abolished slavery, it didn't end discrimination against blacks—they continued to endure the devastating effects of racism, especially in the South. By the mid-20th century, African Americans had had more than enough of prejudice and violence against them. They, along with many whites, mobilized and began an unprecedented fight for equality

that spanned two decades.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was the first civil rights organization in the United States, formed in 1909 as a bi-racial endeavor to advance justice for African Americans by a group including; W. E. B. Du Bois, Mary White Ovington, Moorfield Storey and Ida B. Wells. Its mission was; "to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate race-based discrimination." Its activities included political lobbying, publicity efforts and litigation strategies developed by its legal team. The group enlarged its mission in the late 20th century by considering issues such as police misconduct, the status of black foreign refugees and questions of economic development.

Prior to World War II, most blacks were low-wage farmers, factory workers, and domestic servants. By the early 1940s, war-related work was booming, but most blacks were not given the better paying jobs. They were also discouraged from joining the military.

After thousands of blacks threatened to march on Washington DC to demand equal employment rights, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued **Executive Order 8802** on June 25, 1941. It opened national Defence jobs and other government jobs to all Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

Black men and women served heroically in World War II, despite suffering segregation and discrimination during their deployment. The **Tuskegee Airmen** broke the racial barrier to become the first black military aviators in the U.S. Army Air Corps and earned more than 150 Distinguished Flying Crosses. Yet many black veterans met with prejudice upon returning home.

As the Cold War began, President Harry Truman initiated a civil rights agenda, and in 1948 issued **Executive Order 9981** to end discrimination in the military. These events helped set the stage for grass-roots initiatives to enact racial equality legislation and incite the civil rights movement.

On December 1, 1955, a 42-year-old woman named Rosa Parks found a seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus after work. Segregation laws at the time stated blacks must sit in designated seats at the back of the bus, and Parks had complied. When a white man got on the bus and could not find a seat in the white section at the front of the bus, the bus driver instructed Parks and three other blacks to give up their seats. Parks refused and was arrested. As word of her arrest ignited outrage and support, Parks unwittingly became the "mother of the modern day civil rights movement." Black community leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) led by Baptist minister Martin Luther King Jr., a role which would place him at the center in the fight for civil rights.

Parks' courage incited the MIA to stage a boycott of the Montgomery bus system. The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted 381 days. On November 14, 1956 the Supreme Court

ruled that segregated seating was unconstitutional.

In 1954, the civil rights movement gained momentum when the United States Supreme Court made segregation illegal in public schools in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. This was a landmark in the struggle for civil rights because it was to mark the end of segregation in schools and other public places.

On September 3, 1957, nine black students, known as the **Little Rock Nine**, arrived at Central High School in Little Rock to begin classes but were instead met by the Arkansas National Guard on orders of Governor Orval Faubus and a screaming, threatening mob of racists. The Little Rock Nine tried again a couple of weeks later and made it inside, but had to be removed for their safety when violence ensued.

Finally, President Dwight D. Eisenhower intervened and ordered federal troops to escort the Little Rock Nine to and from classes at Central High school. Still, the students faced continued harassment and prejudice.

On September 9, 1957, President Eisenhower signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1957** into law, the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. It allowed federal prosecution of anyone who tried to prevent someone from voting. It also created a commission to investigate voter fraud.

On May 24, 1961, a group of Freedom Riders reached Jackson, Mississippi. Though met with hundreds of supporters, the group was arrested for trespassing in **a "whites-only" facility** and sentenced to 30 days in jail. Attorneys (lawyers) for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) brought the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, who reversed the convictions. Hundreds of new Freedom Riders were drawn to the cause, and the rides continued.

Arguably one of the most famous events of the civil rights movement took place on August 28, 1963: the March on Washington. It was organized and attended by civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr. More than 200,000 people, black and white, congregated in Washington D.C for a peaceful march with the main purpose of forcing civil rights legislation and establishing job equality for everyone. The highlight of the march was King's speech in which he continually stated, "I have a dream..." King's "I Have a Dream" speech quickly became a slogan for equality and freedom.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a legislation initiated by President John F. Kennedy before his assassination. It was signed into law on July 2 of that year. King and other civil rights activists witnessed the signing. The law guaranteed equal employment for all, limited the use of voter literacy tests and allowed federal authorities to ensure that all public facilities were integrated.

When President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965, he took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 several steps further. The new law banned all voter literacy tests and provided federal examiners in certain voting jurisdictions. It also allowed the attorney general to contest state and local poll taxes. As a result, poll taxes were later declared unconstitutional in *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections* in 1966.

The civil rights movement had tragic consequences for two of its leaders in the late 1960s. On February 21, 1965, **Organization of Afro-American Unity** founder **Malcolm X** was assassinated at a rally. On April 4, 1968, civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize recipient **Martin Luther King Jr**. was assassinated at his hotel room's balcony. Emotionally-charged looting and riots followed, putting even more pressure on the Johnson administration to push through additional civil rights laws.

The **Fair Housing Act** became law on April 11, 1968, just days after King's assassination. It prohibited housing discrimination based on race, sex, national origin and religion. It was also the last legislation enacted during the civil rights era.

The civil rights movement was an empowering yet precarious time for blacks in America. The efforts of civil rights activists and countless protestors of all races brought about legislation to end segregation, black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices.

## **Reference Question**

1. How successful was the civil rights movement in the United States of America (USA) by 1970?

### THE LITTLE ROCK CRISIS OF 1957 IN USA

Little Rock is the capital city of Arkansas, the 25<sup>th</sup> state that joined the American Union. The name Arkansas comes from an Indian word which means Land of the downstream. It is a beautiful land with mountains, valleys, thick forest and fertile plains. The state got its nick name, "the land of opportunity" because of its many factories, minerals and rich natural resources. It is also known as the Natural state.

Millions of tourists visit Arkansas every year because they are attracted by the beautiful lakes and fishing is comfortably done. Arkansas is also famous for her spring water with many people believing that it's a cure to some diseases. It also has the largest spring in USA known as the **Mammoth spring**.

In this rich environment, there was chaos around 1957 when President Eisenhower clashed with the governor of Arkansas **Orval Eugene Faubus**. The president was in support of ending racial discrimination in public places as it was ordered by the supreme court of USA but the governor was in a favour of racism. This brought in the integration of black students in the **Central High school** and the Governor went ahead to use the Arkansas National Guard to stop the nine black students (**Little Rock Nine**) from entering the school. This brought in rebellion that resulted into the crisis.

In order to solve the problem, the president asked the congress to allow him involve the US army so as to end the rebellion. After getting permission, President Eisenhower turned the Arkansas National Guard into US army and ordered them enforce the supreme court order. This ended the standing conflict between the president and Governor.

It all started when school officials interviewed approximately eighty (80) black students for Central High School, the largest school in Little Rock city Arkansas. Only nine were selected and these included; Melba Patillo Beals, Elizabeth Eckford, Ernest Green, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Carlotta Walls Lanier, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, Minnijean Brown Trickey, and Thelma Mothershed Wair. They later became known around the world as the "Little Rock Nine." Little Rock civil rights activist Daisy Lee Bates served as their spokesperson and organizer.

Although skeptical about integrating a formerly whites-only institution, the nine students arrived at Central High School on September 4, 1957, looking forward to a successful academic year. Instead, they were greeted by an angry mob of white students, parents, and citizens determined to stop integration.

In addition to facing racial rejection and physical threats from the crowd, Arkansas Governor **Orval Eugene Faubus** had intervened, ordering about 270 soldiers of the Arkansas National Guard to block the nine African American students from entering the school. Faced with no other choice, the "Little Rock Nine" abandoned their attempt to attend classes that morning. Central High School soon became the center of national debate about civil rights, racial discrimination and states' rights.

On September 20, 1957, Federal Judge Ronald Davies ordered Governor Faubus to remove the National Guard from the Central High School's entrance and to allow integration to take its course in Little Rock. Governor Faubus withdrew the National Guard, but an angry crowd of more than 1,000 protesters surrounded the school on September 23, the next time the nine students attempted to begin classes. Although they had gained access through a side entrance, the police feared for their safety, and evacuated the students.

President Dwight Eisenhower dispatched nearly 1,000 paratroopers and federalized the 10,000 Arkansas National Guard troops to ensure that the school would be open to the nine students. On September 25, 1957, the "Little Rock Nine" returned to Central High School and were enrolled. Units of the United States Army remained at the school for the rest of the academic year to guarantee their safety.

#### THE CAUSES OF THE LITTLE CRISIS OF 1957

The Little Rock crisis was a chaotic moment that erupted in Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas following the refusal to allow nine (9) African American students also known as "Little Rock Nine" from entering Central High School. The Little rock Nine had been

admitted in this prestigious white school as part of the process of ending racial segregation in schools but on the 1<sup>st</sup> school day on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1957, they were greeted by a mob of white racists and about 270 soldiers of the Arkansas National Guard who were deployed by Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus to block the students. This aroused protests from civil rights defenders across the USA and attracted international attention. At the climax of it, President Dwight Eisenhower intervened by turning the Arkansas National Guard into the US army and they were ordered to escort the **Little Rock Nine** into the school. This crisis was attributed to the following factors;

- 1. The crisis arose from the long time color discrimination between whites and the African Americans (Blacks) and it began by students fighting in schools demanding for equality especially in the mixed schools.
- 2. The influence of the Pan African Movement (PAM) since 1900 attracted the Little Rock crisis. This global movement of Black people which was started by Negroes like Sylvester Williams, WEB Dubois and Markus Garvey among others spread the gospel of emancipation of Blacks. By 1957, many African Americans who had listened to that gospel were determined to fight for their rights which influenced the Little Rock crisis.
- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) influenced the Little Rock crisis. Formed in 1909, the NAACP laid the foundation for the emancipation of African Americans. Its vigorous campaigns opened the eyes of the African Americans and this later influenced the events in Little Rock in 1957.
- 4. The desire by the African Americans to get fair job opportunities, education and better housing.
- 5. The influence of the Supreme Court that ruled in favor of integration of blacks and whites in schools.
- 6. The sending of troops by President Dwight Eisenhower to protect the non-whites worsened the crisis.
- 7. The arrest of blacks by police officials e.g. a lady by the names of **Rosa Parks** was arrested for having refused to give up a seat for a white man in a bus. This inspired the demand for equal rights between the whites and blacks.
- 8. The influence of Dr. Martin Luther King who emerged with a non-violent campaign to fight for civil rights since 1955. He made public addresses in which he made speeches that inspired African Americans to rise up for their rights. Such inspiration later influenced events in Little Rock.
- 9. The influence of Asian and African independence e.g. states like India and Ghana gained their independence in 1947 and 1957 respectively. This compelled the

African Americans to resent their unfair treatment than never before.

- 10. The role of Truman Committee which rose hopes of the blacks as they grew increasingly impatient. The committee recommended civil liberty of the African Americans among others.
- 11. The massive protests and demonstrations made around Central High school attracted nationwide crisis
- 12. The increase of the population of African Americans who lived in the Northern states. Big numbers of the blacks were source of courage hence leading to the crisis of 1957.
- 13. The need to further desegregate the south
- 14. The role of the *Brown v. Board of Education* case
- 15. The need for change in the south

### **EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS**

- It improved the political rating of President Dwight Eisenhower. He disarmed the Governor Oval E. Faubus of Arkansas and made sure that the supreme court order was respected by stopping segregation in the little Rock Central High School and the president became quite popular again especially among African Americans.
- The crisis also improved the popularity of Arkansas Governor Oval E. Faubus among his fellow racists in Arkansas. He was praised as man who offered to protect the interests of the racists and as a reward, he was returned to office for six consecutive terms up to 1966 long after Eisenhower had left office.
- 3. The crisis helped to internationalize the plight of the segregated people and it became internationally known that the African Americans and Red Indians were denied their civil liberties.
- 4. It proved the effectiveness of the government of the USA based on the principle of *checks and balances*. Much as the governor had state policies, his powers could be checked by the federal government.
- 5. The crisis led to decline in the tourist industry of Arkansas. Arkansas was put in the spotlight due to open segregation against African Americans and as a result, many people across the world boycotted visit the state despite its enormous tourist features.
- 6. It was the black spot on the image of the USA that had preached the gospel of

democracy, respect of human rights, justice and equality. All world cameras were turned to Arkansas and Little Rock in particular.

- 7. The US president Dwight Eisenhower emerged the winner.
- 8. It made the progressives to think that the Democratic Party that had dominated politics right from 1865 was made to lose Arkansas. In fact in 1967 after the racist governor Oval Faubus, a Republican governor Rock Feller was elected in Arkansas.
- **9.** The Little Rock Nine were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal by President Bill Clinton in 1999 and have met for reunions, particularly on anniversaries.

#### **CUBA-UNITED STATES RELATIONS**

### **CUBA-U.S CONFLICT SINCE 1959**

Cuba had long been a U.S satellite state that had even attracted considerable U.S investments and good will. However, in 1959 U.S control was terminated following the Cuban revolution. The U.S puppet **Gen Fulgensio Batista** was replaced by Marxist Fidel Castro. U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower officially recognized the new Cuban government after the 1959 Cuban Revolution which had overthrown the Batista government, but relations between the two governments deteriorated rapidly. Within six months of Castro's overthrow of Fulgensio Batista's dictatorship in Cuba (January 1959), relations between Castro's government and the United States began to deteriorate. All the subsequent U.S administrations maintained a hostile relationship with Cuba and this was attributed to the following;

The success of the January 1959 Cuban revolution was the spark of strained U.S-Cuba relations. This revolution that was championed by revolutionary forces headed by Marxist Fidel Castro led to the overthrow of Cuban dictator Gen Fulgensio Batista who had served as an American puppet since 1952. Batista's downfall and his subsequent replacement by Fidel Castro was something the Americans never appreciated and therefore it ignited the strained relations.

The harbouring of Cuban enemies by USA led to strained relations between the two American states. In the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution, the US government under President Dwight D. Eisenhower and subsequent administrations accommodated Cuban fugitives who continuously disturbed Cuba. For instance the famous **Brigade 2506** comprising of ex-soldiers of Gen Batista were among those who based in USA to carry out military attacks on Cuban thus causing strained relations between the two states.

The introduction of socialism in Cuba also caused the strained relations. Cuban leader

Fidel Castro introduced sweeping reforms that rapidly transformed the Island into a formidable socialist state. For instance, one party system was ushered in; nationalization of private enterprises was carried out among others. The US government condemned such moves and thus relations were strained.

Cuba's close ties with the Soviet Union angered USA leading to strained relations. The Castro administration turned USSR into its closest ally in all aspects. For instance the Soviet Union replaced USA as Cuba's main trade partner that supplied Petroleum among other imports, diplomatic relations also flourished between Cuba and USSR. The USA as the capitalist god-father was so much angered by the close Cuba-soviet relations.

The nationalization of assets owned by American citizens in the aftermath of the 1959 Revolution bred tension between USA and Cuba. The Cuban National Institute for Agrarian Reform took control of 383 private-run businesses on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1959, and on 25<sup>th</sup> October a further 166 US companies operating in Cuba had their premises seized and nationalized, including **Coca-Cola** and **Sears Roebuck**, banks and sugar mills. The nationalization drive automatically translated into heavy losses to American nationals to which the US government responded bitterly by imposing economic sanctions on Cuba thus causing strained relations.

The U.S support to internal dissidents against the Fidel Castro administration also led to the tension. Castro himself often accused the United States of trying to undermine his government. For instance, the **Escambray Rebellion** which lasted six years from 1959 to 1965 in the Escambray Mountains by a group of insurgents who opposed the Cuban government. The rebelling group comprising of former Batista soldiers, local farmers, and former allied guerrillas who had fought alongside Castro against Batista during the Cuban Revolution received strong American backing. Castro repeated condemned the US government for supporting these rebels and hence Cuba-US relations deteriorated.

Castro's new economic ties with the Soviet Union bred tension with the USA. Castro's government ordered the country's oil refineries – then controlled by US corporations such as **Esso** and **Standard Oil** and Anglo-Dutch **Shell** – to process crude oil purchased from the Soviet Union, but under pressure from the US government, these companies refused. Castro responded by expropriating the refineries and nationalizing them under state control. The US government was quite bitter with such measures hence causing the strained relations.

The explosion and sinking of a French vessel, the *le Coubre*, in 1960 also led to build up of the tension. In March 1960, tension increased when the freighter *La Coubre* exploded in Havana Harbor, killing over 75 people. Fidel Castro blamed the United States of sabotage.

The imposition of a trade embargo on Cuba by USA led to tension between the two states. On 13<sup>th</sup> October 1960, the US government prohibited the majority of exports to Cuba – the exceptions being medicines and certain foodstuffs – marking the start of an economic embargo. The U.S. also stopped buying Cuban sugar and refused to supply

Cuba with the much needed oil, leading to Cuba turning to the Soviet Union for petroleum. By 19<sup>th</sup> October 1960, the US Eisenhower administration had prohibited all exports to Cuba. Consequently, Cuba began to consolidate trade relations with the USSR, leading the U.S. to break off all remaining official diplomatic relations.

The breakdown of diplomatic relations between the two countries also led to hostility. Towards the end of 1960, U.S. diplomats **Edwin L. Sweet** and **William G. Friedman** were arrested and expelled from Cuba on accusations of encouraging terrorist acts, granting asylum, financing subversive publications and smuggling weapons. On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1961 the U.S. withdrew diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government and closed the embassy in Havana. In 1963, travel and financial transactions by U.S. citizens with Cuba was also prohibited. With the end of diplomatic relations, Cuba-US tension was heightened.

The Bay of Pigs incident of April 1961 was a major cause of strained relations between Cuba and USA. The incident happened on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1961 when about 1500 CIA commandos and Cuban exiles calling themselves **Brigade 2506** invaded Cuba from Guatemala with the intention of overthrowing Fidel Castro. The mission was a failure on the part of the invaders as most of them were killed by Castro's forces. In the aftermath of the incident, US-Cuba relations were further strained.

The Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 was another cause of strained relations between Cuba and USA. This arose when Soviet long range intercontinental ballistic missile were installed in Havana Cuba something that threatened US security. When USA discovered these deadly nuclear weapons in her neighborhood, tension mounted and Cuba was blamed for the crisis.

The isolation and eventual expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States (OAS) led to Cuba-US hostility. First in August 1960, at a meeting of the **OAS** held in Costa Rica, the US Secretary of State, **Christian Herter**, publicly proclaimed that Castro's administration was following the Bolshevik pattern by instituting a single-party political system, imposing governmental control of trade unions, suppressing civil liberties, and removing freedom of speech and freedom of the press. He called on other OAS members to condemn the Cuban government for its breach of human rights. Then later following the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the US again convinced OAS members to expel Cuba which they did and as a result, Cuba-US tension increased.

The Guantanamo dispute of 1964 or Cuba's embrace of American political dissidents such as **Black Panther** leaders who took refuge in Cuba during the 1960s also led to strained Cuba-US relations.

The attempt by the CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro caused Cuba-US tension. In August 1960, the CIA contacted the **Cosa Nostra** in Chicago with the intention to draft a simultaneous assassination of Fidel Castro, Raul Castro and Che Guevara. Efforts to murder Castro officially commenced in 1960. Some of the methods that the CIA attempted to use to murder Castro included **poison pills**, an exploding sea shell, and a

planned gift of a diving suit contaminated with toxins. More traditional ways of assassinating Castro were also planned, such as elimination via high-powered rifles with telescopic sights. Much as the assassination mission did not succeed, once it was uncovered, it strained relations between the two states.

The launch of US *Operation Mongoose* was another cause of the strained relations between Cuba and USA. This operation was designed during the J. F Kennedy administration to do what the Bay of Pigs invasion failed to do i.e. remove the Communist Castro regime from power in Cuba. Developed by the CIA and the Department of Defense under the direction of **Edward Lansdale**, Operation Mongoose constituted a multiplicity of coordinated plans of political, psychological, military, sabotage, and intelligence operations as well as proposed assassination attempts on key political leaders, including Castro. Monthly components of the operation were to be set in place to destabilize the communist regime, including the publication of Anti-Castro propaganda. Castro's intelligence network was able to learn of the operation and hence more tension developed.

The launching of **Operation Northwoods** escalated the Cuba-US hostility. This was a covert operation that proposed attacks on mainland U.S. targets, hijackings and assaults on Cuban refugee boats to generate U.S. public support for military action against the Cuban government. This was to be a coordinated program of political, psychological, and military sabotage, involving intelligence operations as well as assassination attempts on key political leaders all of which would be blamed on Cuba in order to convince the people to support military action against Castro. Such secret plans were eventually exposed causing strained relations between Cuba and USA.

### THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION OF 1961

The **Bay of Pigs invasion** was a failed landing operation on the southwestern coast of Cuba in 1961 by Cuban exiles who opposed Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution. Covertly financed and directed by the U.S. government, the operation took place at the height of the Cold War and its failure led to major shifts in international relations between Cuba, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The invasion that took place on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1961 was organized by some 1500 Cuban exiles who called themselves Brigade 2506 and U.S CIA commandos. **José Miró Cardona** led the anti-Castro Cuban exiles in the United States. A former member of Castro's government, he was the head of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, an exile committee. Cardona was poised to take over the provisional presidency of Cuba if the invasion succeeded. The incident was attributed to the following causes;

The January 1959 Cuban Revolution laid the foundation for the Bay of pigs invasion. Soon after the success of the Cuban Revolution, militant counter-revolutionary groups developed in an attempt to overthrow the new regime. Undertaking armed attacks against the new government, some set up guerrilla bases in Cuba's mountainous regions, leading to the six-year Escambray Rebellion. These dissidents were funded and armed by various foreign sources, including the exiled Cuban community, the US Central

Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The introduction of communism in Cuba led to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Following the success of the January 1959 revolution, the Fidel Castro administration started implementing socialist leaning policies that included a one-party political system, nationalization of plantations and other enterprises among others. The US government was not ready to accommodate communism within the western hemisphere and hence they hatched a plan to remove Castro.

The US abandonment of the policy of isolationism also influenced the Bay of Pigs invasion. Since 1941, the US government abandoned its traditional policy of isolationism where she was playing a largely dormant role in international politics. By 1961, the US government was playing an active role in international politics and it partly because of this new policy that the CIA conducted the Bay of Pigs invasion.

The close ties established between Cuba and other communist states especially the Soviet Union led to the invasion. Soon after the revolution, the new Cuban government established diplomatic links with the Soviet Union. For instance the Soviet Union became the leading trade partner that supplied petroleum products and others to Cuba. Therefore the relations between Cuba and these communist states angered the USA forcing her to organize the invasion.

The nationalization of American assets by the Fidel Castro administration led to the invasion. Castro nationalized American businesses—including banks, oil refineries, and sugar and coffee plantations. The Cuban National Institute for Agrarian Reform took control of 383 private-run businesses on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1959, and on 25<sup>th</sup> October a further 166 US companies operating in Cuba had their premises seized and nationalized, including **Coca-Cola** and **Sears Roebuck**, banks and sugar mills. In response, US President Dwight D. Eisenhower allocated \$13.1 million to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in March 1960, for use against Castro. With the aid of Cuban counter-revolutionaries, the CIA proceeded to organize an invasion operation.

The need to rescue American companies operating in Cuba led to the invasion. In addition to the nationalization drive, Castro's government ordered the country's oil refineries – then controlled by US companies such as **Esso** and **Standard Oil** and Anglo-Dutch **Shell** – to process crude oil purchased from the Soviet Union, but under pressure from the US government, these companies refused. Castro responded by taking over the refineries altogether. Such companies appealed to the US government for help and this attracted the 1961 invasion.

The role of Cuban exiles influenced the occurrence of the invasion. Many anti-Castro dissidents fled Cuba after 1959 and they were mostly accommodated in USA. These Cuban exiles formed a counter-revolutionary military unit known as **Brigade 2506**. The Brigade fronted the armed wing of the **Democratic Revolutionary Front (DRF)** and its purpose was to overthrow Castro's increasingly-communist government. The CIA funded the Brigade, which also included some US military personnel, and trained the

unit in Guatemala. These Cuban exiles provided a military force that was backed by the CIA to invade Cuba hence the Bay of Pigs incident.

The aggressive character of U.S leaders also led to the incident. For instance, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave the necessary support to all plans that were aimed at invading Cuba to overthrow Castro. In March 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower ordered the CIA to train and arm a force of Cuban exiles for an armed attack on Cuba. By the time Eisenhower left office in January 1961, all plans were underway and John F. Kennedy only inherited this program which made the invasion inevitable.

Fidel Castro's move to spread communism in other countries of Latin America influenced the occurrence of the Bay of Pigs invasion. By the end of 1960, Cuba under Fidel Castro was sending agents to initiate revolutions in several Latin American countries. The Americans were determined to foil Castro's schemes of spreading communism in Latin America and they attempted to do this by overthrowing him hence the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Castro's dictatorship influenced the Bay of Pigs invasion. Castro's government began a crackdown on opposition groups, arresting hundreds of dissidents. Though it rejected the physical torture, Castro's government sanctioned psychological torture, subjecting some prisoners to solitary confinement, rough treatment, hunger, and threatening behavior. Castro instituted a one-party political system and strict censorship of the press. The US government claimed that it wanted to restore democratic governance in Cuba by overthrowing Fidel Castro hence the invasion.

The cold war politics of the time influenced the invasion. It should be noted that with the success of the 1959 Cuban revolution, Cuba did not only establish close diplomatic and economic ties with the Soviet Union but also she also fully enrolled in the Communist bloc by 1961. The USA, as leader of the Capitalist bloc, felt an obligation to reverse the trend that was being taken by Cuba and hence the Bay of Pigs invasion became inevitable.

### WHY WAS THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION A FAILURE?

The Bay of Pigs invasion was a CIA planned mission together with Cuban exiles codenamed Brigade 2506. It was planned during the reign of President Dwight D. Eisenhower but was executed by the J. F. Kennedy administration. The mission started with minor engagements on 15<sup>th</sup> April but the main invasion was conducted on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1961. Within three days, the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces decisively defeated the invaders and most of them were either killed or captured. The invaders officially surrendered on 20<sup>th</sup> April. The defeat of these anti-Castro forces was attributed to the following factors;

The numerical advantage of the Cuban forces accounted for the defeat of the invaders. Fidel Castro had mobilized the Cuban army of over 25000 troops backed by a militia force of about 200000 men and about 9000 armed police. This huge number of the

Cuban forces overwhelmed the invaders' Brigade 2506 which had only close to 1500 troops.

The failure of the preliminary plan led to the ultimate defeat of the invaders. The first part of the plan was to destroy Castro's tiny air force, making it impossible for his military to resist the invaders. This preliminary plan was conducted on 15<sup>th</sup>April, 1961by a group of Cuban exiles who took off from Nicaragua in American **B-26 bombers**, painted to look like stolen Cuban planes. They conducted a strike against Cuban airfields but it turned out that Castro and his advisers knew about the raid and had moved his planes out of harm's way.

The efficient intelligence system of the Cuban government helped to defeat the anti-Castro forces. The Cuban security apparatus knew very well every detail of the mission before it was actually executed. Castro used his extensive secret intelligence network, as well as the loose talk by members of the brigade, some of which was heard in Miami, and was repeated in US and foreign newspaper reports. The Cuban government had also been warned by senior KGB agents like **Osvaldo Sanchez Cabrera**. Through Cuban intelligence, Castro learned of the guerilla training camps in Guatemala as early as October 1960, and the press reported widely on events as they unfolded. Therefore the Cuban forces were well prepared for the invaders hence leading to their defeat.

The role played by the Soviet Union led to the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion. The Soviet Union's KGB provided intelligence information about the CIA mission to Cuba. Besides, on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1961, Radio Moscow an English-language newscast predicting the Cuban invasion in a plot hatched by the CIA using paid "criminals" within a week. These pointers provided by the Soviet Union helped Cuba to adequately prepare. In addition, Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev secretly provided weapons to Cuba and it were those weapons that were used to defeat the invaders.

The exposure of the invaders' plans led to the defeat. It should be noted that the US government wanted to carry out the Bay of Pigs mission as a top secret. However, a radio station on the beach broadcast every detail of the operation to listeners across Cuba. As news broke of the attack, photos of the repainted U.S. planes became public and revealed American support for the invasion. As the invaders lost the strategic initiative, the international community found out about the invasion. This forced the US President John F. Kennedy to withhold further air support which greatly paralyzed the invaders leading to their defeat.

Failure to get the support of the local masses led to the defeat of invading force. CIA agents had tried to spread anti-Castro propaganda throughout Cuba, believing their propaganda would change the minds of the Cubans against Castro. So it was highly anticipated that upon the invasion, Cuban masses would also rise up in support of the invading force. However, in reality the Cubans simply ignored the propaganda and when the invasion occurred, all the Cuban masses rallied behind their leader hence leading to the defeat of the invaders.

The military preparedness of the Cuban Revolutionary army was a central factor in the defeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Other than being experienced in guerilla fighting, having fought and defeated Batista's forces, Castro's army was also well equipped. For instance in early 1961, Cuba's army possessed Soviet-designed **T-34 medium tanks**, **IS-2 heavy tanks**, **SU-100 tank destroyers**, other artillery and small arms. The Cuban air force armed inventory included **B-26 Invader light bombers**, **Hawker Sea Fury fighters** and **Lockheed T-33 jets**, all inherited from the Cuban air force of the Batista government. Therefore with such capacity, the Cuban army found it easy to decisively defeat the invaders.

The tactical errors committed by the invading force also cost them victory. The CIA used obsolete World War II B-26 bombers, and painted them to look like Cuban air force planes. Backup paratroopers landed in the wrong place. The bombers missed many of their targets and left most of Castro's air force intact.

The geographical location of the Bay of Pigs partly led to the failure of the mission. The site was a remote swampy area on the southern coast of Cuba. There were unexpected coral reefs that sank some of the exiles' ships as they pulled into shore. Besides, the landing site was also 80 miles from Escambray Mountains where the invaders would get reinforcement from other anti-Castro rebels. In addition, the invasion coincided with bad weather that hampered the ground force and made it easy for the Castro forces to emerge victorious.

### EFFECTS OF THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION

The invasion ended disastrously in the defeat of invaders. Brigade 2506 and its CIA backers were militarily defeated within three days of the invasion. They officially surrendered on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1961. Most of the invading counter-revolutionary troops were publicly interrogated and put into Cuban prisons.

The failed mission tarnished the image of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the USA. The mission was supposed to be a top secret but everything was messed up and exposed leading to its failure. This impacted negatively on CIA directors e.g. CIA Director Allen Dulles, CIA Deputy Charles Cabell, and Deputy Director for Plans Richard Bissell were all forced to resign by early 1962.

The failed invasion strengthened the position of Castro's administration, which proceeded to openly proclaim its intention to adopt socialism. The invasion's defeat solidified Castro's role as a national hero. Castro's popularity in Cuba remained unrivalled and continued to lead the Island country up to 2008 when he handed over the leadership to his brother Raul Castro.

It also pushed Cuba closer to the Soviet Union. Cuba under Fidel Castro pursued closer ties with the Soviet Union diplomatically and in terms of economic relations. For example USSR became the chief supplier of petroleum products to Cuba.

The invasion further strained relations between Cuba and the USA. The political divide between the two formerly-allied countries increase as they engaged in exchange of hostile propaganda.

The invasion eventually led to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. In the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs incident, Fidel Castro sought closer ties with the Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev. He sought for protection from the Soviet Union which was granted in form of long range nuclear Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) which were installed in Havana in 1962. When the USA learnt of the presence of these missiles, there was tension that came to be known as the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The disaster at the Bay of Pigs compelled the US government initiate a secret plan against Fidel Castro. For instance, the Kennedy administration initiated "Operation Mongoose"—a plan to sabotage and destabilize the Cuban government and economy, which also included the possibility of assassinating Castro. Nevertheless such plans did not register much success.

The failure of the invasion undermined the image of President Kennedy. Much as he just inherited the plan from the Eisenhower administration, its failure made Kennedy look weak and inexperienced in front of the entire world. Major leaks in US intelligence services showed more weakness.

The Bay of Pigs incident intensified the Cold War in the 1960s. The failed US invasion compelled Cuba to fully enroll in the communist camp. Fidel Castro became a leading advocate for international communism which widened the rift between Communists and Capitalists.

It led to the capture and arrest of many of the invaders by the Cuban forces. The brigade's over 1000 prisoners remained in captivity for 20 months. Later the United States negotiated a deal with Fidel Castro to release them. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy made personal pleas for contributions from pharmaceutical companies and baby food manufacturers, and Castro eventually settled on \$53 million worth of baby food and medicine in exchange for the prisoners. On 23th December, 1962, just two months after the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a plane containing the first group of freed prisoners landed in the United States.

NOTE: For the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, refer to Section B of this book

### THE CUBAN THAW

The Cuban Thaw describes the relaxation of tension between USA and Cuba. It has been a gradual process but it became more pronounced in the 2000s especially after the rise to power of President Barack Obama in 2009. This relaxation has been attributed to, among others, the following factors;

The end of the Cold war ignited the Cuban thaw. The Cold War ended with the

dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, leaving Cuba without its major international sponsor. The ensuing years were marked by economic difficulty in Cuba. Since then, U.S. started allowing private humanitarian aid to Cuba and this helped to ease Cuba-US tension.

The cultural exchanges between the two states attracted the thaw. This began way back during the Clinton era. In January 1999, U.S. President Bill Clinton eased travel restrictions to Cuba in an effort to increase cultural exchanges between the two nations. For instance the Clinton administration approved a two-game exhibition series between the **Baltimore Orioles** and the Cuban national baseball team, marking the first time a Major League Baseball team played in Cuba since 1959. Such cultural exchanges helped to ease the old tension that had existed since 1959.

The resignation of Fidel Castro led to improved Cuba-US relations. Fidel Castro stepped down from official leadership of Cuba in 2008. He was succeeded by his brother Raul Castro who showed willingness to open up to the Americans. On 27<sup>th</sup> July 2012, Raúl Castro said that the Government of Cuba was willing to hold talks with the United States government. On 10<sup>th</sup> December 2013, at a state memorial service for Nelson Mandela, Barack Obama and Raúl Castro shook hands, with Castro saying in English: "Mr. President, I am Castro." Therefore, the Raul Castro administration worked closely with president Obama to restore Cuba-US relations.

The rise to power of Barack Obama in the United States also led to the Cuban thaw. In April 2009, Obama, who had received nearly half of the Cuban Americans' vote in the 2008 presidential elections, began implementing a less strict policy towards Cuba. Obama stated that he was open to dialogue with Cuba. In March 2009, Obama signed into law a congressional spending bill which eased some economic sanctions on Cuba and eased travel restrictions on Cuban-Americans traveling to Cuba. He also eased restrictions on financial remittances and travel, allowing Cuban Americans to send unlimited money to Cuba and permitting U.S. citizens to visit Cuba for religious and educational purposes. The relaxation that came with the Obama era greatly culminated into the easing of Cuba-US tension.

The role played by Pope Francis contributed to the Cuban thaw. Pope Francis played a central role in convincing the leaders of both USA and Cuba to restore cooperation. For instance, beginning in 2013, Cuban and U.S. officials held secret talks brokered by Pope Francis and hosted in Canada and Vatican City to start the process of restoring diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States. Indeed due to the Pope's mediation, the tension between USA and Cuba subsided hence the thaw.

The exchange of prisoners by the two states led to the thaw. In order to cool the tension, American aid worker **Alan Gross** and **Rolando Sarraff Trujillo**, a Cuban national working as a U.S. intelligence officer, were released by the Cuban government. The Cuban government also promised to free an unspecified number of Cuban nationals from a list of political prisoners earlier submitted by the United States. For its part, the U.S. government released the last three remaining members of the famous "**Cuban Five**"

who had been convicted of espionage and imprisoned in the US in 2001. The release of prisoners proved to be a positive step towards improving Cuba-American relations.

The change in public opinion in both countries led to the thaw. Since the 1990s, American public opinion on Cuba has overall become more favorable, and people became more supportive of ending the trade embargo as well as re-establishing diplomatic ties to Cuba. During the Obama era, most opinion polls indicated that the Cuban thaw was broadly popular with the American public. The same positive public opinion existed in Cuba right from the time of the end of Cold War.

The removal of travel restrictions to Cuba by the US government led to the Cuban thaw. Under new rules implemented by the Obama administration, restrictions on travel by Americans to Cuba were significantly relaxed by January 2015. In August 2016, **JetBlue Flight 387** landed in Santa Clara, becoming the first direct commercial flight to travel between the two countries since the early 1960s. On 28<sup>th</sup> November 2016, the first normally scheduled commercial flight after more than 50 years landed in Havana from Miami on an American Airlines jet. The total removal of travel restrictions somehow restored cooperation between the two countries thus bringing about the Cuban thaw.

The easing of trade restrictions on Cuba led to the thaw. Under the Trade Sanctions Reform and Enhancement Act of 2000, exports from the United States to Cuba in the industries of food and medical products were permitted with the proper licensing and permissions from the U.S. Department of Commerce and the United States Department of the Treasury. In November 2001, U.S. companies began selling food to the Cuba for the first time since Washington imposed the trade embargo after the revolution. When Barack Obama came to power, his administration further allowed limited import of items like Cuban cigars and rum to the United States, as was the export of American computer and telecommunications technology to Cuba. As trade was slowly restored, cooperation was deepened between the two states thus leading to the thaw.

The change of attitude of the American government towards Cuba partly influenced the thaw. For instance, on 14<sup>th</sup> April 2015, the Obama administration announced that Cuba would be removed from the United States "**State Sponsors of Terrorism**" list. The Congress was given 45 days from 14 April 2015 to review and possibly block this action, but this did not occur, and on 29 May 2015, the 45 days lapsed, therefore officially removing Cuba from the United States' list of state sponsors of terrorism. This was a gesture of improved relations between Cuba and the USA.

The restoration of diplomatic relations between the two states led to the thaw. On 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015, President Barack Obama announced that formal diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States would resume. Indeed relations between Cuba and the USA were formally re-established on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2015, with the opening of the Cuban embassy in Washington DC and the U.S. embassy in Havana. Barack Obama also visited Cuba for three days in March 2016. With the resumption of diplomatic relations, the thaw in Cuba-US relations was inevitable.

The economic reforms initiated by Raul Castro in Cuba helped to attract the thaw. Facing an aging population, a heavy foreign debt load, and economic hardships, Raul Castro began liberalizing Cuba's state-controlled economy in 2009. Reforms included decentralizing the agricultural sector, relaxing restrictions on small businesses, opening up real estate markets, allowing Cubans to travel abroad more freely, and expanding access to consumer goods. Cuba's private sector swelled as a result, and the number of self-employed workers nearly tripled between 2009 and 2013. Such reforms convinced the US government to change its attitude towards Cuba thus leading to the thaw.

# **Reference Questions**

- 1. Discuss the factors which led to strained relations between the United States of America (USA) and Cuba since 1959.
- 2. Examine the factors which led to the Cuban thaw since 2000.
- 3. Examine the causes and effects of the Bay of Pigs incident of 1961.
- 4. Account for the defeat of the anti-Castro forces in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

#### CANADA

#### THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF CANADA

Canada is located in North America together with USA. It was originally occupied by the Aboriginals or the Canadian Indians, who are the modern-day descendants of the first human inhabitants of North America. The first European to arrive in the territory was a French explorer Jacques Cartier who made three voyages across the Atlantic between 1534 and 1542. At one time he heard his Guides mention "Kanata" meaning "village" and it was from this word that the name "Canada" developed. Jacques Cartier went ahead to claim the territory for king Francis I France and it became New France. In 1763, following the signing of the treaty Paris, Canada (New France) officially came under the British until 1867 when it was further enlarged and declared a British Dominion. As a British dominion, the united provinces were no longer a colony, and Canada was free to act like its own country with its own laws and parliament. It also gained financial independence and the responsibility to defend itself. A British governor-general represented British interests within Canada, essentially filling the shoes of the sovereign.

Over time, the Dominion added more provinces and expanded into a confederation that extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. However, it was still under British rule and did not have full legal autonomy.

In 1931, England put Canada on equal footing with other Commonwealth countries through the Statute of Westminster, which essentially gave its dominions full legal freedom and equal standing with England and one another. However, Britain still had the ability to amend the Canadian constitution, and Canada took time to cut its legal ties to England. Meanwhile, it adopted its known national symbols, like the Canadian flag, featuring the maple leaf, which debuted in 1965.

It took five decades after the Statute of Westminster for Canada to make its final step toward full sovereignty. In 1982, it adopted its own constitution and became a completely independent country although it's still part of the British Commonwealth and also a constitutional monarchy that accepts the British monarch as its own. Elizabeth II is Queen of Canada. However, her role is essentially ceremonial, and she does not interfere in Canadian self-governance.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CANADA

At the time of Confederation, Canada's Constitution consisted of several Acts of the British Parliament in London — most importantly, the <u>British North America (BNA) Act,</u> <u>1867</u>— and a series of British constitutional conventions (widely accepted, unwritten rules). Only London had the authority to amend the BNA Act.

With the *Statute of Westminster* in 1931, the British were willing to grant full autonomy to the self-governing parts of their empire, including Canada. But Canadians were left with a dilemma: If Canada accepted the transfer of constitutional power from Britain, and was free to amend its own Constitution.

Canada Act, also called Constitution Act of 1982, Canada's constitution approved by the British Parliament on March 25, 1982, and proclaimed by Queen Elizabeth II on April 17, 1982, making Canada wholly independent. The document contains the original statute that established the Canadian Confederation in 1867 (the British North America Act), the amendments made to it by the British Parliament over the years, and new material resulting from negotiations between the federal and provincial governments between 1980 and 1982.

The new constitution represented a compromise between Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's vision of "one Canada with two official languages" and the particular concerns of the provinces. An important part of the document was the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which set down 34 rights to be observed across Canada, ranging from freedom of religion to linguistic and educational rights. Designed to preserve parliamentary supremacy, a basic political principle in Canada, "notwithstanding clauses" would have to be renewed every five years to remain in force.

The Canada Act also contained a formula for its amendment in Canada, a subject that had defeated attempts to gain agreement on a new constitution as far back as 1927. Under the formula, resolutions of the Canadian Parliament, accompanied by the concurrence of two-thirds of the provinces (7) representing at least 50 percent of the country's population, would be sufficient to approve a constitutional amendment.

Other sections of the Act recognized the Aboriginal and treaty rights of native peoples, strengthened the provinces' jurisdiction over their natural resources, and committed the central government to provide public services of reasonable quality across Canada by

ensuring revenue (equalization) payments to the provinces.

The constitutional changes having been extensively discussed in Canada since their presentation in 1980, and their mode of procedure having secured judicial endorsement in 1981, there was little opposition when they came before the British Parliament early in 1982. All major British parties supported them, although some members of Parliament felt that native rights were inadequately protected. Queen Elizabeth II gave royal assent to the Canada Act on March 29, 115 years to the day after Queen Victoria, her great-grandmother, had approved the federation Act of 1867. Thus the last legal tie with Great Britain was severed, and Canada became a fully sovereign state.

# CANADA UNDER PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

Pierre Elliott Trudeau (PET) was born on October 18, 1919 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada to his father Charles Emile Trudeau and his mother Grace Elliott. He studied at the University of Montreal, from which he received a Law degree in 1943. He served on the Privy Council for three years as a desk officer, and in 1950 he helped found the *Cité Libre* ("Free City"), a monthly critical Magazine. He practiced law from 1951 to 1961, specializing in labour and civil liberties cases.

Trudeau was assistant professor of law at the University of Montreal from 1961 to 1965, when he was elected as a "new wave" Liberal to the House of Commons. In 1967 he toured the French-speaking African nations on behalf of the Prime Minister, **Lester B**. **Pearson**, who had appointed him parliamentary secretary (1966) and minister of justice and attorney general. As minister of justice, Trudeau won passage of three unpopular social welfare measures including the Gun-control legislation and reform of the laws regarding abortion and homosexuality.

On Pearson's announcement of his plan to retire, Trudeau campaigned for the leadership of the Liberal Party. His colorful personality, combined with his progressive ideas, made him the most popular of the 20 candidates. He became party leader on April 6, 1968, and prime minister two weeks later. He served as prime minister of Canada between 1968 and 1979; and from 1980 to 1984. Pierre Trudeau was the 15th prime minister of Canada for nearly 16 years.

His terms in office were marked by the establishment of diplomatic relations with China (1970) and improved relations with France, the defeat of the French separatist movement in Quebec, constitutional independence from the British Parliament, and the formation of a new Canadian constitution with the principal additions of a bill of rights and an amending formula.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU TO CANADA

Trudeau successfully defeated the Quebec separatists. Despite the fact that he
was from Quebec, he never supported Quebec secession and he called for a
united Canada. Trudeau was chiefly concerned with maintaining the unity of

Canada and the good relations of English and French Canadians, which became the specialty of the Liberal Party in Quebec. He decampaigned the proposal of French separatism in Quebec and defeated it in a provincial referendum on May 20, 1980.

- 2. Trudeau came up with the bilingual and bicultural policy for Canada. In 1968, with the support of all parties, Trudeau's government introduced the Official Languages Bill, which prepared way for a bilingual federal civil service and for the encouragement of the French language and culture in Canada. The Official Languages Act was Trudeau's first legislative push, which made French and English the co-equal official languages of the federal government. The official languages Act was officially adopted on 8<sup>th</sup> Oct 1971. Similar encouragement was given to other ethnic cultures. The Official Languages Act brought about a new and improved relationship between the English and French in Canada.
- 3. He decisively **defeated terrorists** that were destabilizing Canada. The 1970 October Crisis tested his stance against terrorists. The crisis began when Quebec separatist group, the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ), kidnapped a British trade commissioner James Cross at his residence on October 5. Five days later Québec Labour Minister **Pierre Laporte** was also kidnapped. Trudeau responded by invoking the *War Measures Act* which gave the government sweeping powers of arrest and detention without trial. Trudeau presented a determined public stance during the crisis. Five of the FLQ members were flown to Cuba in 1970 as part of a deal in exchange for James Cross' life, although they eventually returned to Canada years later, where they served time in prison and this restored order in the country.
- 4. Trudeau's greatest achievement was the new constitution of 1982. The Canada Act or the Constitution Act of 1982 as it was known, Canada's constitution approved by the British Parliament on March 25, 1982, and proclaimed by Queen Elizabeth II on April 17, 1982, making Canada wholly independent. The new constitution saw the British Parliament transfer the authority to amend Canada's constitution to Canada, a charter of human rights, broadened federal economic powers, and institutional changes in federal structures such as the Supreme Court.
- 5. Pierre Trudeau improved the performance of the Canada's Agricultural sector. He came up with robust policies to promote investment in the agricultural sector especially in the Canadian prairies. Canada continued to be a major supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials to the world during the boom decade of the 1970s. The high international demand for Canadian wheat, beef, and other farm products brought prosperity Canadian farmers.
- 6. He widely boosted the mining sector of Canada. For instance, Minerals, on which the economy of British Columbia depended, found ready markets at high prices in the United States and other countries. **Roberts Bank**, one of the world's largest

ocean coal depots, was built near Vancouver to expedite the shipment of British Columbian coal to Japan. In addition, Saskatchewan's potash and uranium commanded higher prices during those years. No province benefited more than Alberta, where escalating world petroleum prices brought a lot of wealth.

- 7. The Trudeau administration registered increased oil and natural gas exploration and exploitation. Due to lucrative international prices for oil and natural gas at the time, the government was compelled to carry out exploration in frontier areas such as the **Beaufort Sea** and the **Arctic Archipelago**. Some of this exploration was aided by a variety of Government grant incentive programs and carried out by Panarctic Oils Ltd., a consortium jointly funded by the federal government and private sources. Fearing that foreign capital would permanently dominate the Canadian oil industry, the Trudeau government created the integrated, crownowned **Petro-Canada** in 1975.
- 8. He contributed to Canada's booming industrial Prosperity. The Trudeau administration revoked the Canada–United States Automotive Products Agreement (Auto pact) of 1965, to invite U.S.-owned carmakers to build new assembly plants in **Ontario** and **Quebec**. Tens of thousands of new jobs were created in the automobile and auto parts industries, and Toronto quickly passed Montreal as Canada's financial capital. Atlantic Canada also experienced some industrial prosperity as foreign Auto and Tire manufacturers began to establish plants/ factories there.
- 9. Pierre Elliott Trudeau promoted women emancipation in Canada. He is credited for having brought women into the limelight of power. For instance, he appointed Muriel McQueen Fergusson, first woman Speaker of the Senate in 1972 and he also appointed Jeanne Sauvé, the first woman Speaker of the House of Commons in 1980. Later, he appointed Jeanne Sauvé as Canada's first woman governor general in 1984.

# Foreign affairs

In 1970 the Trudeau government unveiled a foreign policy that focused on three aims: preserving Canada as an independent political entity, maintaining its expanding prosperity, and constructively contributing to human needs.

- 10. Trudeau minimized Canada's commitment to the North Atlantic treaty organization. In 1970–72, Canada under Pierre Trudeau scaled down its contribution to NATO, reducing the number of its military and civilian personnel and military bases in Europe. This went a long way to reduce Canada's over all foreign expenditure.
- 11. Trudeau's government also established diplomatic relations with communist

states like the People's Republic of China in October 1970, and by 1973 the two countries had negotiated most-favoured-nation trading arrangements. He established Canadian diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, before the United States did, and went on an official visit to Beijing. He was known as a friend of Fidel Castro, the leader of Cuba. This led to excellent trade relations between Canada and China.

- 12. Trudeau initially improved relations with the Soviet Union, believing that closer ties would restore balance to Canada's international position and de-emphasize Canada's role as a partisan of the West, but Trudeau did not contest fundamental U.S. policy regarding the Soviet Union, the Middle East, and even American involvement in the Vietnam War in Southeast Asia. Despite Trudeau's cautious and skeptical view of the United States, he ultimately respected the realities of American power.
- 13. Canada also sought closer relations with the EEC. In 1976, Canada and the European Economic Community granted each other most-favoured-nation status.
- 14. The goal of protecting Canada's economy led to adjustments in relations with the United States. In 1970 Canada increased the price of petroleum and natural gas sold to the United States, and in 1974 a plan was announced that would gradually reduce those sales and end them by 1982. This action was taken to protect domestic supplies of fossil fuels in the face of increasing prices of imported oil used in the eastern provinces. In 1978 Canada initiated purchases of new airplanes and other military equipment to better defend its borders and fulfill its international commitments.
- 15. Trudeau's government expanded the country's foreign aid efforts and pursued a policy promoting the international control of nuclear weaponry. Canada undertook efforts to reduce pollution in its foreign policy, Trudeau's approach to the Americans and the Cold War changed little after the Clark interregnum, as he maintained his professed disdain for the U.S. preoccupation with the Cold War. Nonetheless, in 1983 Trudeau's government—over the strenuous objections of peace groups and environmentalists—granted the United States permission to test cruise missile guidance systems in the Canadian North.
- 16. He launched a campaign for nuclear arms control in the world. Trudeau mounted a well-publicized global peace mission to the capitals of countries possessing

nuclear weapons to press for greater international cooperation on nuclear arms control and reduction in later 1983. His trip however annoyed U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Late in 1983, Trudeau launched a "Peace Initiative." He travelled to Europe, Asia, and finally Washington, speaking to government leaders and advocating several measures relating to disarmament.

- 17. He opened Canada for more immigrants to settle. In 1968, the year Trudeau became prime minister, Canada welcomed 183,974 immigrants, equivalent to about one per cent of its population. By 1984, the immigration rate was 0.3 per cent of the population, a decline from 1968 of about two-thirds. These reductions did not reflect an anti-immigrant policy per se, but flowed out of a choice made by the Trudeau government in response to a weaker economic climate and higher unemployment. Yet holding the line on immigration is exactly the opposite of what Trudeau is known for. Trudeau updated the Immigration Act of 1952. He set up a task force, which resulted in the "Green Paper". The Immigration Act of 1976 placed more emphasis on practical training rather than education, allowed families of immigrants to enter the country and expanded refugee sponsorship.
- 18. He is credited for having supported the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa. As a protest against white-majority rule in South Africa, Canada under Trudeau declared an arms embargo against that country in 1970 and withdrew from a trade assistance program in 1979 that effectively ended the preferential tariff that South Africa had enjoyed since 1932. Trudeau's policy towards South Africa gradually weakened the Apartheid regime leading to the end of Apartheid.
- 19. He was quite active in the Commonwealth as well as the Francophone community. Trudeau made Canada a key player in these associations and this gave him the opportunity to meet with leaders from Third World countries. He also supported the Francophone community internationally in the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*.
- 20. Trudeau achieved Canada's admission into the club of affluent countries. In 1976, Canada was admitted to the G7 or Group of Seven countries originally founded to foster economic coordination. When Trudeau attended the Summit in Puerto Rico, he wanted to expand the focus of the G7 to promote democracy and human rights.

#### **FAILURES OF TRUDEAU**

Canada's economic growth was accompanied by high inflation, and by the mid-1970s Trudeau's government was preoccupied with the fight against rising prices and the wage increases that usually followed. In 1975 Trudeau's government created the Anti-Inflation Board and imposed wage and price controls for a three-year period. The move was supported by business but angered the labour movement, which called for a one-

day national general strike in October 1976.

The Trudeau government rejected the Indian demands and sought instead to abolish the Indian Act and eliminate Indian status. Between 1968 and 1969, Canada's Indians sought special rights and settlement of their outstanding treaty claims. When Trudeau rejected their demands, Indian groups strongly protested the new policy and forced the government to withdraw its proposals. The protest led to a sharp increase in Indian political activism during the 1970s. At a national level, Indians were represented by the **National Indian Brotherhood** which advocated for policies including aboriginal rights.

Canada's economic performance during Trudeau's last years in power was less successful. The country suffered greatly in the worldwide recession of 1981–82, but the impact was made worse by Ottawa's failure to control its spending and its miscalculation in anticipating that future increases in energy prices would help pay its bills. That expectation was the basis of the National Energy Program (NEP), introduced in the fall of 1980, which was designed to speed up the "Canadianization" of the energy industry and vastly increase Ottawa's share of energy revenues. The NEP created a fierce conflict between the central government and the energy-producing provinces particularly Alberta, chased private investment capital out of Canada, and drastically reduced exploration for oil and gas. When oil prices declined, NEP policies made the recession even deeper in Alberta.

He contradicted his anti-nuclear weapons campaign. In 1983 Trudeau's government granted the United States permission to test cruise missile guidance systems in the Canadian North. This was widely criticized by peace groups and environmentalists and impacted negatively on Trudeau's legacy.

Finally, in February 1984 Trudeau resigned and was succeeded as head of the Liberal Party and as prime minister by John Turner.

#### Reference Question

1. Examine the contributions of Pierre Elliott Trudeau to Canada between 1968 and 1984.

### THE ATTEMPTED SECESSION OF QUEBEC

Quebec is one of the provinces of Canada occupied mainly by French speaking Canadians who comprise about 78%. From the 1960s, these French speaking Canadians attempted to break away from the rest of Canada which is mainly dominated by English speaking Canadians. The attempt started as a Quiet Revolution in Quebec brought about by widespread changes in the 1960s. Among other changes, support for Quebec independence began to form and grow among Quebecers.

The attempted secession of Quebec had its genesis in the historical settlement patterns in Canada where some of the settlers migrated from France and mainly settled in Quebec province while others, who happened to be the majority, migrated from Britain. The relationship of the two communities with time became tense especially when the English Canadians began to extend into territories occupied by the French Canadians. The **Quebecers** or French Canadians subsequently formed political organizations to spearhead the secession cause. The first organization dedicated to the independence of Quebec was the *Alliance Laurentienne*, founded by *Raymond Barbeau* in January 1957. Others included the **Quebec Sovereignty Movement** (QSM), **Parti Québécois**, the **Bloc Québécois**, and revolutionary organizations like the **Front de Libération du Québec** (FLQ) among others.

# CAUSES OF QUEBEC'S ATTEMPTED SECESSION

- 1. The historical grievances of the Quebecers laid the foundation for the Quebec secessionist attempt. Quebec separatism was deeply rooted in Canadian history: some Quebecers maintained a perennial desire to have their own state, which in a sense they had possessed from 1791 to 1841. Many French Canadians had long felt a sense of minority grievance, stimulated by the execution of a French Canadian Louis David Riel in November 1885. The Quebecers also had memories of the *Manitoba Schools Question* where Roman Catholic schools and protestant schools were separately funded. It was against such historical grievances that Quebec Nationalism grew leading to the attempted secession.
- 2. The ethnic differences which were marked with variation in cultures between the French Canadians and English Canadians
- 3. The Quebec Act of 1774 also influenced the secession attempt. Also known as the British North America (Quebec) Act of 1774, it was an Act of the parliament of Great Britain which set procedures for governance in the province of Quebec. This historical Act had given the French speaking Canadians political and religious rights. In the 1960s, this very Act was revoked by the people of Quebec to justify their demand for independence.
- 4. Religious differences between French Canadians and English Canadians were one of the causes of the attempted secession of Quebec. 78% of the citizens of Quebec are Catholics while the majority of the Canadians who mostly live in other provinces are Protestants.
- The political domination of Canada by English Canadians influenced the Secession. By use of their numerical advantage, the English speaking Canadians

imposed their domination over Canada something that dissatisfied the Quebecers. Most of the Prime ministers who ruled Canada were English Canadians.

- 6. The growing number of English immigrants into the province of Quebec angered the Quebecers compelling them to demand for separate independence. As more English Canadians settled in Quebec, this was perceived as a deliberate move by the English Canadians to destroy French cultural heritage. Therefore, the Quebecers decided to demand for independence.
- 7. The marginalization of French Canadians in government jobs compelled them to demand for secession. They were left out in government, army and in some corporations on account that they spoke French instead of English. This was common before the introduction of the bilingual policy in the late 1960s. The French Canadians were disadvantaged by being denied government jobs which discontented them and they demanded for separate existance.
- 8. Charles de Gaulle's visit to Quebec in 1967 energized the Quebec attempted secession. In June 1967, President Charles de Gaulle was hosted in Montreal and he made a moving speech to the Quebecers on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1967 when he said, "Long live free Quebec" during a speech from the balcony of Montreal's city hall during. In doing so, he deeply offended the federal government and his visit was cut short when left the country without meeting the Prime Minister in Ottawa. This was a symbol of France's open support to the secession of Quebec.
- 9. The influence of other secessions also attracted the secession of Quebec. One of such successful secessions was that of Pakistan in 1947 when it broke away from India. The French Canadians in Quebec were inspired by such precedent to launch their own secession.
- 10. The economic resourcefulness of Quebec attracted the secessionist attempt. Quebec was one of the rich provinces of Canada. The growth of hydroelectric power and the wood pulp industry helped to create manufacturing plants in Quebec and Ontario and brought French Canadian workers into the cities, particularly Montreal. The province was endowed with natural resources and numerous industries in towns like Montreal. By 1921 Quebec was the most urbanized and industrialized of all Canadian provinces, including Ontario, which remained the most populous and the wealthiest. This made the Quebecers believe that their state would survive on its own and thus they stepped up the demand for independence.

- 11. The rise of ethnic nationalism in Quebec led to the attempted secession. French Canadian nationalists favoured some form of enhanced status for Quebec: special status within the confederation (Canada), a new form of association on the basis of equality with English Canada, or complete independence as a sovereign country. During the late 1960s the movement was motivated primarily by the belief by many Quebec intellectuals that the economic difficulties of Quebec were caused by English Canadian domination of the confederation and could only be ended by breaking away.
- 12. The rise of pro-secession political movements led to the attempted secession of Quebec. Right from the late 1950s, Quebecers formed political organizations to agitate for separate independence. These included organizations like the *Alliance Laurentienne* founded by Raymond Barbeau in January 1957, Quebec Sovereignty Movement (QSM), Parti Québécois, the Bloc Québécois, and revolutionary organizations like the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) among others. Such organizations appealed to and mobilized Quebecers to support secession.
- 13. The continuous allegiance of Canada to the British crown led to the attempted secession. Much as Canada was an independent state, it had retained close political ties with the United Kingdom. For instance, the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II was recognized as the head of state of Canada and the British parliament had retained powers to amend the Canadian kconstitution. This did not please the French Canadians and thus they demanded for independence.
- 14. The role of Quebec politicians many of whom supported the cause of secession was another reason. These included politicians like **Raymond Barbeau** who formed the *Alliance Laurentienne* in January 1957, *René Lévesque* who formed the **Mouvement souveraineté-association (MSA)** and set about uniting prosovereignty forces. Others included Pierre Bourgault, Raoul Roy, among others who supported the secession struggle.

# EFFECTS OF QUEBEC'S ATTEMPTED SECESSION

It led to the birth of Quebec Liberal Party (QLT) in 1960. This party broke away from the Liberal party and it was led Jean Lesage. The QLP was born to champion secession struggle.

It caused tension between the government of Canada and France. This mainly resulted from President Charles de Gaulle's visit and speech of 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1967 to the Quebecers which was a sign of France's support to the secession. Canada's government under

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and later Pierre Elliott Trudeau widely condemned the French government.

It forced the Canadian government to adopt the official bilingual and multicultural policy. This was worked out in order to compromise the Quebecers. French and English were recognized as joint official languages and at the same time it recognized the fact that Canada is a society with cultural pluralism.

The attempted secession caused political crises in Canada. For instance, there was an incident in October 1970 when a Quebec separatist group, the *Front de libéraktion du Québec* (FLQ), kidnapped a British trade commissioner James Cross at his residence on October 5. Five days later Québec Labour Minister **Pierre Laporte** was also kidnapped. Subsequently some 500 people were arrested, and troops were moved into Quebec. This caused widespread protests and demonstrations in different towns of Quebec like Montreal culminating into a lot of chaos.

It led to holding of referenda for Quebecers to decide their destiny. For more than once the Quebecers were given chance to decide their fate for example in 1980, there was a referendum but the secessionists were defeated. Another chance was granted in the 1995 referendum but still the secession was defeated by a margin of 50.58% to 49.42%.

It forced the Canadian government to amend the constitution of Canada. For instance, in 1982 it was amended under Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and again in 1991 under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Such amendments were aimed at recognizing Quebec as an integral part of Canada.

It re-awaked ethnic nationalism in Canada.

It threatened the unity of Canada as a country.

#### REASONS WHY OUEBEC HAS FAILED TO SECEDE

The adoption of terrorist approach undermined the mission. For instance, the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) became a terrorist organization in the 1960s and early 1970s that used violence to promote independence for Quebec. For instance, there was an incident in October 1970 when a Quebec separatist group, the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ), kidnapped a British trade commissioner James Cross at his residence on October 5. Five days later Québec Labour Minister **Pierre Laporte** was also kidnapped. This made the cause unpopular among the Canadians leading to its failure.

The other nine provinces of Canada have generally been opposed to Quebec sovereignty.

Opposition to secession from French Canadians outside Quebec also undermined Quebec's success. French Canadians outside Quebec have always opposed the sovereignty or any form of national recognition for Quebec.

Opposition from non-French Canadians within Quebec has led to the failure of Quebec's secession. These are particularly the English minority in Montreal, also have remained opposed to the notion of Quebec becoming an independent state.

Divergence in the views of Quebec politicians undermined the success of Quebec. For instance, the Union Nationale also remained fundamentally federalist, but it stressed the importance of remaining Québécois and of obtaining greater provincial power. To the left of the traditional parties, however, opinion ranged from a demand for a special status for Quebec to support for separation and independence.

The adoption of the bilingual and multicultural policy by the Canadian government defused the secessionist tendencies in Quebec. Under this new legal framework, French was recognized as a joint official language alongside English. This somehow compromised the Quebecers and they reduced their sentimental demands for secession.

The negative public opinion amongst Quebecers also undermined the chances of Quebec's secession. In different referenda that have been held in Quebec for the people to decide their destiny, e.g. in 1980 and 1994, majority of the Quebecers voted against secession.

The Canada Act, also called Constitution Act of 1982, became an obstacle to Quebec's attempted secession from Canada. This was Canada's new constitution approved by the British Parliament on March 25, 1982, and proclaimed by Queen Elizabeth II on April 17, 1982, making Canada wholly independent. Since this new constitution marked the end of Britain's control over Canada, which the Quebecers had always complained about, their secession was greatly defused.

The resourcefulness of Quebec minimized its chances of successfully breaking away from Canada. The province was endowed with natural resources and numerous industries in towns like Montreal. It boasted of hydroelectric power and wood pulp industries among others which helped to create other manufacturing plants in the province. Because of such resources, the Canadian government became determined not to give way to the secession of Quebec.

#### **CANADA: A GREAT ECONOMIC POWER SINCE 1945**

In the post World War II period Canada emerged as an economic giant in the world and this has been attributed to an interplay of factors which include the following;

The limited impact of the Second World War on Canada was at center stage in
postwar development. Whereas Canada actively participated in the Great War as
an allied power, the war did not leave great damage on Canada's economy save
for the battle of St. Lawrence and so the country registered little or no physical
destruction. The Canadian economy also grew and benefitted from the war and

war industries.

- 2. The presence of hydroelectric power is another factor that accelerated the road to Canada's prosperity. Major developments in the early 20th century, at Niagara Falls and along Quebec's numerous rivers, created new opportunities for cheap industrial power, and convenience for an increasing number of Canadian homes. Hydroelectric power also quickly became another export industry, which continues to the present day.
- 3. Canada remained a trading nation, dependent on international markets. In the interwar years, trade with the United States and Great Britain predominated. After 1945 the United States was by far Canada's largest trading partner. By the mid-1960s, Canada's exports to the United States were five times greater than the next largest partner, and represented more than 60% of all Canadian exports. The importance of the United States was recognized with the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement of 1988, which subsequently was expanded into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) when Mexico joined it in 1994. Most recently, the rise of the Asian economies has moderated this trend, and countries like Japan and especially China have become important markets for Canadian goods. However, the constants continue: commodities dominate, and trade remains vital to Canada's economic well-being.
- 4. The flourishing agricultural sector of Canada undoubtedly led to her economic growth. Canada is one of the largest agricultural producers and exporters in the world. As with other developed nations, the proportion of the population and GDP devoted to agriculture fell dramatically over the 20th century but it remains an important element of the Canadian economy. A wide range of agriculture is practiced in Canada, from sprawling wheat fields of the Canadian prairies to summer produce of the Okanagan valley. In the federal government, overview of Canadian agriculture is the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food.
- 5. The Canadian petroleum industry played a significant role towards economic development. The evolution of the petroleum sector has been a key factor in the history of Canada, and helps illustrate how the country became quite distinct from her neighbour to the south. Although the conventional oil and gas industry in western Canada is mature, the country's Arctic and offshore petroleum resources are mostly in early stages of exploration and development. Canada

became a natural gas-producing giant in the late 1950s and is second, after Russia, in exports; the country also is home to the world's largest natural gas liquids extraction facilities. The industry started constructing its vast pipeline networks in the 1950s, thus beginning to develop domestic and international markets in a big way.

- 6. The geographical location of Canada has been of great advantage. Canada is fortunate to be surrounded by the Atlantic, Pacific, and Arctic Oceans as well as the Great Lakes that contain abundant and valuable sources of fish and seafood. The variety of products that Canadian fishermen harvest from these sources are sold within Canada and exported around the world to international markets. In total, the Canadian fishing industry exports over 75% of the products harvested and processed in Canada. In 2015, Canada was the eighth largest fish and seafood exporter in the world, sending products valued at \$6 billion to over 130 countries.
- 7. Large market for Canadian goods paved way to Canada's rise as an economic giant. Canada's seafood trade has been enjoying a preference market for example the United States is one of the most important markets for Canadian seafood exports and represents 64% of Canada's seafood trade. China (11%), the European Union (10%), Japan (4%), and Hong Kong (2%) are also key export markets for Canadian seafood products. The seafood trade is a sector of the Canadian economy that has a trade surplus. For instance in 2016, the total value of Canadian fish and seafood exports was over \$6.8 billion compared to the value of imported fish and seafood products that was over \$3.8 billion. Because of such foreign markets, Canada's economy has been able to expand.
- 8. The automotive industry in Canada consists primarily of assembly plants of foreign automakers, most with headquarters in the United States or Japan, along with hundreds of manufacturers of automotive parts and systems. Canada is currently the ninth-largest auto producers in the world, and fourth largest auto exporter by value, producing 2.4 million vehicles and exporting \$48.8 billion worth of vehicles in 2016. Canada's highest rankings ever were the second largest producer in the world between 1918 and 1923 and third after World War II. Automotive manufacturing is one of Canada's largest industrial sectors, accounting for 10% of manufacturing GDP and 23% of manufacturing trade.

Canada produces passenger vehicles, trucks and buses, auto parts and systems, truck bodies and trailers, as well as tires and machines. The auto industry directly employs more than 125,000 people in vehicle assembly and auto parts manufacturing, and another 380,000 in distribution and aftermarket sales and services.

- 9. Social programs in Canada include all government programs designed to give assistance to citizens outside what the market provides. The Canadian social safety net covers a wide range of programs, many of which are run by the provinces. Canada has a wide range of government transfer payments to individuals. Most of these social programs that direct funds towards well being of citizens between the 1930s and 1960s saw the emergence of a welfare state, similar to many Western European countries. Most programs from that era are still in use for example all provinces in Canada provide universal, publicly funded healthcare to Canadian citizens, permanent residents and certain temporary residents, with their costs partially subsidized by the federal government.
- 10. The robust education policy made Canada an economic giant. In Canada, provinces and territories are responsible for their elementary and secondary schools. Education is compulsory up to the age of 16 in most provinces, 17 and 18 in others. Both elementary and secondary education is provided at a nominal cost. Post-secondary schooling is not free, but is subsidized by the federal and provincial governments. Financial assistance is available through student loans and bursaries. This has made the Canadian population to be highly skilled and therefore feed the labour market.
- 11. The Canadian government is supportive towards development. The government has set up several agencies dedicated to developing specific regions. These include; Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec, Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario, Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario Western Economic Diversification Canada.
- 12. The presence of large mineral deposits has influenced Canada's economic development. Canada has long ranked among the world leaders in the production

of minerals like uranium, zinc, potash, asbestos, sulfur, among others. It is also a major producer of iron ore, coal, petroleum, gold, copper, silver, lead, and a number of ferroalloys. Diamond mining, particularly in the Northwest Territories, is significant as well. These minerals have led to springing up of mining-related industries e.g., iron and steel and transportation.

- 13. The role of the tourism sector contributed to Canada's economic growth. Canada has a large domestic and foreign tourism industry. The second largest country in the world, Canada's incredible geographical variety is a significant tourist attractor. Much of the country's tourism is centered in the following (busiest) regions: Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver/Whistler, Niagara Falls, Vancouver Island, Calgary/Canadian Rockies, British Columbia's Okanagan Valley, and the national capital region Ottawa. The large cities are known for their culture, diversity, as well as the many national parks and historic sites. In 2012, over 16 million tourists arrived in Canada, bringing US\$17.4 billion in international tourism receipts to the economy. Domestic and international tourism combined directly contributes 1% of Canada's total GDP and supports 309,000 jobs in the country. Sites of interest in Vancouver include; Capilano Suspension Bridge, Stanley Park, visited by Eight million visitors each year, Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver Museum Science World at Telus World of Science among others.
- 14. The presence of rich provinces like Alberta, British Columbia, Vancouver and Saskatchewan among others.
- 15. The adoption of free market policies by the Canadian government
- 16. The political stability enjoyed by Canada in the postwar period
- 17. The role of good leaders like Prime Minister Pearson, Pierre Elliott Trudeau