

USA: 1895-2000

A summary by [Yvan Keckeis](#) (may his soul rest in peace)

Years	Peoples	Doctrines	Events
1895-1900 Imperialist leap	Presidents: Cleveland (D:93-97); Mc Kinley (R:97-01); SoS: John Hay (98-05) Senator Beveridge	<i>Expansionism</i> <i>Imperialism</i> <i>New Manifest Destiny</i> (Navalism, Eco expansion, Social Darwinism) Application of <i>Monroe Doctrine</i> (MD): no power might claim new colonies or transfer colonies of the Americas in the future.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US establishes supremacy in LA. Application of Monroe doctrine. Keep Europe out of American continent. US eco interest, commercial expansion, overseas markets. For this they need a strong Navy→Navy Act 1896: New battleships are built. • Venezuela 1895: Boundary disputes btw British Guiana (GB) and Venez. They threaten to intervene militarily. US: GB's claims on Venezuela is a symbol of European intrusion into Western Hemisphere→violation of MD, international competition, eco interests are at stake. US threatens to intervene. Finally GB accepts arbitration. Lessons: Start of US imperialist competition, ignoring rights of small nations, MD=warning to EU nations • Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino Wars: Cuba: Marti organizes revolutionary party 1892. Drive for independence 1895. Spain fights against insurrection, reconcentration program (herd Cubans in camps, to "protect" them, all outside are rebels and shot!). US pressure on Spain to grant Cuba autonomy, but also hostility against Cuban revolution (US properties are threatened). 1898, US Ship <i>Maine</i> to Havana for protection of US citizen, is sunk by a mine. US assumes Spain had committed the deed (reality: probably it was a ship-internal accident!) April: Declaration of war. Why? US properties, commerce, "cause of humanity", MD, remove Spain and control Cuba. <i>Teller amendment</i>: US has no intention to annex Cuba. Short war until august (Hay: splendid little war, with "rough riders", commanded by T.Roosevelt). April 1898: US Commodore Dewey smashes Spanish fleet in the Philippines (stepping-stone to China!). Victory in August. Problem comes with Aguinaldo who wants indep. for Philippines, declares it in 1899.→bloody war against US (under Arthur Mc Arthur)→endless guerilla warfare. 1916 promise of indep without date. 1946 independence. • Hawaii annexed 1898 • Peace talks with Spain in Paris 1898: US gets Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam. • In USA: Anti-imperialists: Gompers, Carnegie, Twain→not subjugating other people and continue isolation. Versus Imperialists: Henry C. Lodge, Roosevelt, Mc Kinley, business leaders and Beveridge: US=conquering race, have stepping-stones to markets, 4d's: destiny, duty, defense, dollars! • China: EU powers and Japan are dividing China into spheres of influence. US looks anxiously, wants Open Door → Hay OpenDoor Note 1899 to EU powers: equal trade opportunity for all. EU→OK. Boxers 1900: 2500 US troops. 2nd Hay notes: Open Door and integrity of Chinese territory (powers seek to take profit after boxer rebellion, as troops are already in China.) • Lessons: Cuba, Venez, Hawaii, Philippines, Open Door notes→Unprecedented commitment and responsibilities for USA. GB-USA rapprochement: Brits welcome US because they can face D (in naval expansion!) and GB involved in Boer War. Cleveland and Mc Kinley have own foreign policy, manipulating Congress→new process of decision-making. 1901: Imperialists imperialist Theodore Roosevelt.

<p>1900-1914</p> <p>managing, policing and extending the empire</p>	<p>Theodore Roosevelt (R, 01-09) Howard Taft (R:09-13) Woodrow Wilson (D:13-21)</p> <p>SoS: Hay (98-05), Root (05-09)</p>	<p><i>Speak softly and carry a big stick</i> (stick=navy + military) <i>Roosevelt corollary</i> (US= right to intervene in CA if threat of instability from within or outside, real or perceived→extension of MD!!) <i>Dollar diplomacy</i> (Taft: Use US eco power to US advantage by investing heavily into areas under engagement against EU powers during colonization)</p>	<p>Policy of isolation is dead, consciousness of strength.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Panama: In 1901 Hay-Pauncefote (British ambassador) treaty that permitted the US to build a canal and to fortify it. Then discussions whether to build the canal in Nic or in Pan. 1902 decision for Panama. The US proposals of payments to Colombia for the canal are rejected by the Colombian gov. TR had two options: seizure of Panama by force or instant recognition and support of any revolutionary regime in Panama. Cooperation with Bunau-Varilla, panamian revolutionary. November 1903 US troops support the Junta. Soon, Panamian revolutionaries declare independence, US recognizes the sovereign Republic the next day. Two weeks later: Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, by which the US would build, fortify and operate the canal. Start of construction-works in 1904, end in 1914. Enforces US hegemony in Latin America. • In USA: Conservatives: Roosevelt: superiority of Anglo-Saxons, natural selection, Chauvinism. Mahan: navalist, commerce as energizer of material civilization. The conservative managers of foreign policy believed that a major component of national power was a prosperous, expanding economy invigorated by a healthy foreign trade. Principle of Open Door becomes a governing tenet, voiced globally. • Cuba: Given the war-ravaged Cuban economy, only the US had the resources to generate reconstruction. 1901-1934: Platt Amendment included in the new Cuban Constitution→gives the right to the US to intervene in internal Cuban affairs if there's a threat. Also Guantanamo leased to US in perpetuity. Cuba→becomes US protectorate, US controls entire economy. US supports existing gov, by force if necessary. Taft and Wilson use Dollar diplomacy to control Cuba. Interventions in 1906, 12, 17 after perceived threat to US interests. • Venezuela: Has deferred payments to GB and D. These want to force Venez to pay; ultimatum, blockade of all ports. US sends navy for maneuvers to Venez. → MD! GB/D lift blockade and US promises to control payments by controlling Venez. Economy. • Dominican Rep: revolution-torn since 1899 and seemingly vulnerable to German interests. From 1906 on: Financial supervision. Revolution threat in 1913, Wilson orders naval intervention. New Treaty gives the US full control over Dominican Finances. • Haiti: US troops intervene when the regime of Guillaume Sam fell in an orgy of political murders in 1915. An American military regime ruled Haiti until 1934. • Nicaragua: Incessant warfare among Central American states. Zelaya (Nic president) seeks funds to build a second canal, especially in Germany. US reacts, breaks diplomatic relations and forces Zelaya into exile. Diaz new presi. Treaty providing for US control of customs service and an US loan. Although nominally independent, Nic remained a US protectorate until 1933. • Mexico: 1911: Madero replaces dictator Porfirio Diaz. Madero movement takes anti-yankee sting (US citizens own 40% of Mexico's property!). US supports Huerta who overthrows and shoots Madero. New Wilson administration refuses to recognize Huerta gov. Wilson turns to Carranza (constitutionalist) and isolates Huerta. (D had recognized Huerta regime!). Several clashes btw factions in mex and US. After mediation effort of ABC powers→Carranza wins. Soon Pancho Villa marches on Mexico City. Problems in Texas: refugees and revolutionaries start raids. Wilson waits and watches...(preoccupied by Lusitania affair.) 1916: Villa initiates bloody battle in New Mexico, USA → punitive US expedition under Gen. Pershing for a vain search of Villa. 1917 troops leave Mex. February 1917: Zimmermann telegram: D-Mex alliance
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			<p>against US. This accelerates Wilson's movement to full diplomatic relations with the Carranza regime, who wants to stay neutral</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China, Japan: Clashes in Manchuria btw, J and Ru. War J-Ru 1904. Roosevelt mediates the peace treaty in Portsmouth and watches for US interests. Taft-Katsura memo: J recognizes US rights on Phil, US recognizes J privileges on Korea; (which it annexes in 1910). Some tension because of US immigration laws against Japanese. Root-Takahira agreement 1908: Pacific Ocean is open avenue of trade, integrity of Jap and US insular possessions and equal opportunities in China. US continues Dollar diplomacy in China. Also tensions when J seized the German possession in China during WW I and 21-demands to China. Wilson fails to protect China's fragile sovereignty without conciliating or blocking Japan. • GB: US claims of Anglo-Saxon superiority and Britain's search for Allies (Anglo-J Alliance 1902, Entente cordiale with F 1904) against D leads to great rapprochement, despite problems about Alaska boundary 1903. After the Morocco crisis D-F 1904, TR supports a pro-French compromise and isolates D, despite criticism in US, not to violate non-entanglement policy. • Lessons: US controls Caribbean, enforced by the possession of the Canal. US insensitivity to the nationalism of other peoples (Filipino resistance, Cuban anger about Platt Amendment, Colombian outrage over Panama, Mexico). US was developing its empire by subjugating peoples and compromising their sovereignty in LA and the Pacific. It was an informal empire, administered by troops, financial advisers and reformers. Also cultural flourishing during these years (US citizens travel abroad, technological development→airplanes...)
1914-1920 War, Peace, and Revolution in the time of Wilson	W. Wilson (D; 1913-21) Warren G. Harding (R; 1921-23) SoS Bryan(13-15) Lansing (15-20) Senator H.C. Lodge	<i>Wilsonianism</i> (Idealism, peace-making, national self-determination, moral vision. Pushes USA into international scene. Protect and improve US trade interests throughout the world.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On 7th May 1915, British passenger ship <i>Lusitania</i> with American citizen on board is torpedoed by German submarine. US warns D to stop submarine warfare. D apologizes, but hardening of Wilson's opinion of Germany. • Neutrality: Wilson for open world, unencumbered by imperialism, war or revolution. Barriers to trade had to come down, end secret diplomacy, self-determination would force the collapse of empires. By 1914, few Americans desired War. Proclamation of Neutrality by Wilson on August 4th 1914. Allies start to buy US copper, steel, munitions etc → economic link Allies and USA. Also US loans to Allies (and in lesser degree to D). Neutral or not, the US had become the arsenal of the Allied war effort. Berlin tried to stop this trade by unleashing U-Boats. • GB warfare: GB violated international law by stopping US ships to D neighbors like DK, NL. They armed merchant ships and used neutral flags (mostly US), but Britain managed brilliantly to sever American economic lines to the Central Powers without rupturing Anglo-American relations. D protests vehemently and started unlimited submarine war by February 1915.→Lusitania. • US enters War: Wilson warns D to stop submarine warfare and later gives ultimatum. D didn't want to enter into conflict with USA after the unsuccessful battle of Verdun and promised that subs would not attack passenger ships without prior warning. January 1917: Berlin announces unlimited sub-war in British waters. Allied ships suffered increasing losses. In February→Zimmermann telegram. Wilson decides to arm US merchant vessels. Other US ships sunken→He decides for war 2.04.1917 because the submarines constituted "warfare against mankind", Freedom of the seas, commerce, American lives, human rights, morality,

			<p>and national honor. Wilson's idealism of "war for peace" and the creation of a new world order</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Battle: Most US soldiers die from flu virus (62000) not in battle (51000) Total: 15 mio. 1918 Brest-Litowsk. From may to September 1 mio US soldiers went to F. On October 1918 the German chancellor asks for an armistice. Capitulation on 11.11.1918. • 14 points: Fourteen points speech on jan. 8th 1918.(...self-determination...LoN). US could now play a major role in deciding future international relations. Wilson goes to Paris to negotiate Peace Treaty and neglects domestic policy. But different views→tough negotiations (F wants weak D, GB wants trade with D, I, enlarging its territory, US low reparations, self-determination. Mandate System created. F gets demilitarization of Rhineland, gets control of Saar, It gets Tyrol, Trieste; newly indep. countries: A, CZ, H, Rom, Yug, Fin, Lit, Est, Lat, Pol. Also problem about reparations. • League fight: Problem with Art. 10 LoN (intervention ag, an aggressor) US fear that they have to put soldiers to the disposition of other nations. Republican Henry Cabot Lodge is hardest adversary of Wilson. Wilson during the League debate faced a massive stroke that paralyzed his left side. The Treaty fails in March 1920. Traditional American Nationalism and non-entanglement had won. But also Wilson's stubbornness and inflexibility killed the League. Harding becomes President. (1921) • Russia: Revolution in 1917, US angry about bolshevism. Wilson sends troops to Archangel in Northern Ru to support the "Whites" against the Bolsheviks. They left only in 1919. Also expedition in Siberia to rescue the Czechs stranded in Ru. Allies impose strict eco blockade on Ru. • Lessons: US domestic problems: racial tensions, suppression of civil liberties (people who dissented the war were silenced), Wilson often by-passed the Congress, growing presidential power over foreign policy. Empires broke up (Turk, A-H, D, Ru). USA becomes the worlds leading eco power, companies expanded, trade grows, US as creditor. But the economic and political instability became the twin legacy of global war.
<p>1920-1939 Descending into Europe's Maelstrom</p>	<p>Wilson D: 13-21; Harding R: 21-23; C. Coolidge R: 23-29 H.Hoover R: 29-33 Franklin D. Roosevelt D: 33-45</p> <p>SoS: Kellogg (25-29); Stimson (29-33) Hull (33-44)</p>	<p><i>Independent internationalism</i> (US active on an international scale, but independent in action) <i>Economic nationalism</i> <i>New Deal</i> (Domestic program to reduce unemployment and restore prosperity: reforms in industry, agriculture, finance, waterpower, labour, and housing, vastly increasing the scope of the federal government's activities)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harding and Coolidge: weak Presidents, minimum attention to foreign affairs. Hoover more active role: essentially expanding US economic interests abroad. Had troubles with the Great Depression. • FDR: admires both, the big-sticking of his cousin Theodore and the liberal internationalism of Wilson. Wilsonianism because he believed that collective security through an international organization directed by the large powers would help stabilize world politics; isolationism because he shared the basic components of isolationist thought: abhorrence of war, limited military intervention abroad, freedom of action in international relations. Hull: dominant in formulating Asian and LA policy, despite FDR often undercut him. • Eco and cultural expansion: US had become most powerful nation in the world (produces 46% of total world industrial goods. US Multinationals expand. Americanization. But expansion faces obstacles: nationalism; confiscation of properties in Soviet Russia; EU resentment; wrecked EU economies→growing tariff walls. US continues to proclaim Open Door policy but applies it selectively and imperfectly. EU complained about US tariff policy, which made it difficult to sell to the US. The tariff acts of 1922 and 1930 (Hawley-Smoot Act) raised duties to protect domestic producers and invited retaliation against American products.→leads to economic nationalism (Protect the nation with high tariffs and import quotas.)

			<p>(Protect the nation with high tariffs and import quotas.) World trade declined 40 % from 1929 to 1933. →US unemployment→NEW DEAL. Hull creates the Import-Export Bank in 1934, a governmental agency designed to expand foreign trade. Wild inflation, crippled economy, inadequate exports and Versailles hostility prompted the Germans to default on reparations payments in 1922/23. F and GB seize the Ruhr valley. In 1924: Dawes Plan: US investors loaned millions to Germany and Berlin accepted a systematic reparations payment schedule. In 1929: Young Plan: another salvaging effort reduced the German reparations to 9 billion \$. 1930: Germany stops paying reparations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace seekers for a world without war: Arms race grows, despite some peace sentiments: Washington Conference 1922, Kellogg-Briand Pact 1928. Locarno treaty 1925 (guarantee of F eastern boundaries). Disarmament conferences 1922, 27, 32, 35. But Hitler's German rearmament 1933, Jap. Naval expansion...→world stumbled toward global war. • USSR/USA relations: US does not recognize Bolshevik Russia and until Moscow did not pay for the confiscated US properties, recognition would be denied. US-USSR economic ties began to loosen in the early 1930's. The purges of Stalin stunned many Americans, but the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 outraged them. The non-aggression pact which secretly divided Poland, reinforced charges, that Stalin had become Hitler's friend. • Hitler's Germany, Appeasement and War: 1933 Hitler to power, leaves LoN. F/GB appeasement (they thought Hitler had limited goals). In 1935 LoN censured Germany for building of huge army and air force. 1936: Rhineland invaded. 1938: German troops in Austria, Munich Conference, September, where Italy, D, F, GB agreed never to make war against one another and to sever the Sudetenland from CZ. 1939: persecution of Jews and CZ is invaded. Poland came next, but F/GB stand behind independent Pol. August 1939, D-USSR non-aggression pact, Sept. 1 D invades Pol→3.09. F/GB declare war on Germany. • US isolationism and the Neutrality Acts: US disapproves Hitler and tries to isolate itself from a continent they thought prone to self-destruction. Neutrality Act 1935: requiring an American arms embargo against all belligerents after the president had officially proclaimed the existence of war. In short, FDR could neither designate nor punish the aggressor. Subsequent legislation banned loans to belligerents (1936), and required belligerents wishing to trade with the US to carry away US goods in their own ships (cash-and-carry) after payment on delivery (1937). • FDR and War: In July 1937, when J plunged into undeclared war against China, FDR favored China by not invoking the Neutrality Act, thereby permitting the Chinese to buy and import American war goods. During the Czech crisis, US kept a safe distance. In Nov. 1938 FDR recalled Ambassador from Berlin in protest against Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Not until November 1939- after Germany invaded Poland- did Congress finally revise the Neutrality Act so that F/GB, as belligerents, could purchase US arms on a cash-and-carry basis. As in WW I, because of their international interests, because US power became intertwined in the war, and because they gradually abandoned neutrality to aid the Allies, Americans once again found themselves risking major war. The interwar quest for world order had failed; the several Neutrality Acts had failed; independent internationalism had failed.
1920-1939	Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover,	<i>Good neighbor policy</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manchuria Crisis: Mukden Incident, 1931 fabricated by the Japanese. US had recognized Japan's primacy in Manchuria through the Root-Takahira agreement. But Japanese aggression

Asia, LA and the vagaries of power	Roosevelt		<p>violated the treaties signed in Washington 1922 which endorsed the Open Door and the Kellogg-Briand Pact 1928, which outlawed war. SoS Stimson urged the Chinese and Japanese to cease hostilities. → Stimson doctrine: US would not recognize any arrangements in China that might impair American treaty rights, violate the Open Door policy or subvert the Kellogg Pact. In Feb. 1932 Japan creates puppet state of Manchukuo. LoN condemns J and they quit the LoN in 1933.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lessons: The Stimson doctrine had little effects. The US could not manage affairs in Asia, Japan had hegemony there. US could lecture but not enforce (≠ US in LA where they have eco, naval political and military power). The crisis also revealed the ineffectiveness of the treaties of the 1920's and the reluctance of EU powers to check aggression in the 1930's when appeasement became the policy of the day. • Japan: J. feared the future, as their population grew, land became scarce. In 1936 Tokyo adopted the Fundamental Principles of National Strategy which called for southern expansion (favored by trade) and northern advance (favored by army). They ranked the US first on its list of potential enemies (US Immigration Act of 1924, discriminatory against J rankled Tokyo). But J and US had two common interests: trade with one another and both against Communist Russia. In 1937 J decides to outbuild the US and construct warships above the limits of the naval treaties. July: Japanese attack China. Massacres, rapes...enforced by the war btw Chiang's Guomindang forces against Mao's communists. (long march 35-37). Sino-Soviet non-aggression pact in 1937, wherein Moscow increased arms sales and technological assistance to Chiang. US takes some measures: allow China to buy US military equipment, moral embargo on the sale of aircraft to J, technical assistance to China, new naval bill authorizing two new carriers and the doubling of naval airplanes, US occupies several Pacific Islands as potential naval bases. 1939 US abrogates the J-US commercial treaty of 1911→economic pressure on J. • LA: Hegemony of US in LA, justified by the Roosevelt Corollary to the MD. The use of marines as instrument of policy became unpopular and nationalist sentiment in Mex and Arg placed limits on US power. → US seeks non-military methods to maintain its hegemony in LA.→Good Neighbor policy (economic penetration, political subversion, non-recognition, support for dictators who kept order, arbitration treaties, Pan-Americanism, financial supervision). → US investments boom in LA. • Building dictators and guards: Dominican Republic: 1916 American marines went ashore when a contest btw the Dominican congress and president threatened to postpone US demands for expanded authority. Bloody guerilla from 1917 to 1922. US runs the country's fiscal affairs until 1941. In 1930 Trujillo wins fraudulent election→corruption, torture, murder...enable Trujillo to quiet opponents. Nicaragua: From 1912 to 1925 US ruled Nic and kept in power the pliant conservative party. → Sandino protests against the corrupting vice of the Dollar in Nic.→guerilla against US troops. Peace of Tipitapa, Provide for elections. Somoza seized power and executes Sandino. Somozas dictatorship lasted until 1979. Haiti: Wilson ordered marines into Haiti on July 1915 because he feared German intrigue and he sought to protect US financial interests and insisted on order in the Caribbean. In 1934: US troops withdraw. Revolution 56/57→François Duvalier "papa doc" rules with his secret police force until his death when his son "baby doc" assumes power. Driven out in 1986 he left behind a abject poverty. In 1994 US armed forces
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			<p>once again invaded Haiti to stabilize politics.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cuba: Through the 20's and into the 30's the US helped (under Platt amendment) conduct elections, enlarged the national army, managed the national budget and maintained economic control over the island. Machado ruled from 24-33, suppressed free speech, murdered journalists...Cuba sank into eco crisis, when US instituted the restrictive Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1931→unemployment rates shot up. December 1933 Batista to power. At the start US abrogated the unpopular Platt amend (1934), lowered Cuban sugar import-tariffs, and issued Export-Import Bank loans. • Mexico, Oil and Nationalism: 1917: Mex starts to tax American oil producers heavily. The US through compromises, protected its citizen's oil investments and tacitly conceded that Mex legally controlled its own raw materials. In 1938, Cardenas expropriated the property of all foreign oil companies. FDR ruled out intervention and sought compensation. Agreement 1941: the US conceded the principle that Mex owned its own raw materials and Mex promised to pay for expropriated properties. →not military intervention but Good Neighbor policy. • Pan Americanism: Pan Americanism first focused on improvement of trade in the Western Hemisphere and symbolized a mythical inter-American "cooperative ideal". Through the 20's: several Conferences (Santiago 1923, Havana 1928, Montevideo 1933) Mostly discussions on non-intervention and prevention of conflicts btw American states. In late 30's Pan Americanism more toward hemispheric security (D, J, It attempted to improve their eco interests in LA). Lima conference 1938 →quasi-alliance of LA countries. The Great Depression prostrated international relations→world trade collapsed, tariffs↑, revolutions erupted, feeding on incipient nationalism→all threatening US interests and hegemony in LA. Only after WW II US image becomes better under the Good Neighbor policy.
<p>1939-1945</p> <p>Survival and spheres: the Allies and the second world war</p>	<p>Roosevelt (D: 33-45) Truman (D: 45-53)</p> <p>SoS: Hull (33-44) Stettinius (44-45) Byrnes (45-47)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atlantic Charter: 1941, First of many conferences btw Roosevelt and Churchill. GB asked for men, ships, planes and tanks, and that US navy convoyed British vessels farther into the German submarine-infected North Atlantic. FDR ok as far as Iceland. September, US destroyer torpedoed near Iceland→FDR announces, that US vessels would henceforth shoot at German subs. Charter: reaffirmed the principles of collective security, national self-determination, freedom of seas, liberal trading practices. Becomes propaganda tool for the war against the Axis. • Btw war and peace: FDR from neutrality to non-belligerency to undeclared war in the Atlantic and finally, after Pearl Harbor, to full-scale war against the Axis. September 1939: Neutrality Acts are revised→F/GB can buy arms in USA. 1940, F falls, FDR transfers 50 destroyers to GB in exchange for leases to eight British bases. But FDR continued to promise that his policies would keep America out of war, despite he recognized that selling arms to Britain risked war. March 1941: Lend-lease Act: Under its terms the president could sell transfer title to, lease, lend or dispose of defense articles to any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the US. After Hitler invaded Balkans and USSR in June 1941, FDR began military lend-lease aid to USSR. But by 1941, still 80% of Americans opposed entering into war. • Asian Collision Course: Japanese movement into SE Asia placed Washington and Tokyo on a collision course. September 1941, J signs tripartite Pact with D and It (aid one another if attacked by a nation not currently involved in the war→Washington is targeted). But FDR

continues to let oil flow into J and supports China, to keep J's army busy. J to southern Indochina→FDR freezes all Japanese funds in the US.→collision course. J decides to fight the US if they do not lift the embargo on strategic materials. They hoped to achieve a stalemate in the Pacific. December 7th 1941: Pearl Harbor. For J. PH was a tactical victory but a strategic disaster. Definitely ends isolationism. J's bombs had finally brought national unity to the US. D declares war on US on 11th of Dec. →US in two-theater war.

- **The Big Three:** Main US contribution to victory in Europe was the "arsenal of democracy", giving material aid to EU. During war revived Wilsonianism but with pragmatic determination. FDR talks about the 4 policemen: US, GB, USSR, China, to maintain peace in a sphere of influence. FDR wants to break up colonial empires after the war and set long-abused people free. The US/GB/USSR diplomacy centered on two issues: the Eastern EU boundaries and the timing of the US/GB second front in Western EU. But the second front did not take place until June 6th 1944. GB proposed front in North Africa, but Stalin needed a second front in EU. Casablanca Conference 1943: FDR announces that the elimination of D, J, It war power means the unconditional surrender by D, J, It. This signaled to a suspicious Stalin that Britain and the US would not make a separate German peace with one of Hitler's subordinates. Moscow 1943: Foreign ministers: Advisory Commission for It (surrendered in Sept. 43), postwar international org. to be formed, USSR promises to enter war ag. J after D defeat. Teheran: Agreement on cross-channel landing and international organization, Poland, USSR to enter war ag. J and as response US\$R should receive Dalian (free port).
- **China:** US support to Chiang (fin and mil). Cairo Conf: nov, 43: China should receive back Manchuria and Taiwan and other stolen areas. But although US and USSR supported Chiang, Mao had waged successfully guerilla war against the J.
- **US and Holocaust:** Throughout the 30's Nazis eliminated Jews from the professions and denied them ownership of businesses. 1938: Kristallnacht→50'000 Jews to concentration camps. US immigration law prescribed a quota for each country. Only in July 1944 FDR created the War Refugee Board. The board operatives established refugee camps in It, Morocco, H, Swe, Palest and CH.
- **Planning the postwar peace:** June: D-Day coincided with a massive Soviet offensive. Taking advantage of a second chance to overcome isolationism, eco depression, and war, US officials helped launch several international organizations to secure peace and prosperity. During 43-45 the UNRRA (UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), The World Bank, IMF, UNO took form.
- **Yalta:** February 4 to 11, 1945: Important decisions for the war ag. the Axis and for the postwar configuration of international affairs. But differences: GB: sought a zone for F in D, a curb on Soviet expansion into Pol, and protection of the British empire. USSR wanted reparations, possessions in Asia, influence over Pol and D. US wanted a US-managed UNO, a Soviet declaration of war ag. J a reduction of Communist political power in Pol. Pol was most discussed problem: Stalin insisted on boundaries that gave Pol part of D (Oder-Neisse-line in the West) and Russia part of Pol (Curzon line). →US has little bargaining power, because Soviet troops occupied most of the country. Curzon line is accepted, free elections are decided. Also D's dismemberment is decided. Japan question: FDR still seeks Stalin's support. The USSR should receive what it had lost in 1905 (South sakhaline, Dalian , Port Arthur, railroad in Manchuria).

			<p>Also decision for spheres-of-influence agreement as transition to peace.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spheres of influence: Throughout war the powers seek to protect and if possible extend their spheres of influence. (GB its empire). At October conference in Moscow (1944) Churchill scribbled some percentages on a piece of paper (eastern EU 90% influence for USSR, 10% for GB, Yug: 50% etc.) Stalin:ok! US builds spheres of influence in LA (defense community at the Lima conference 1938, Declaration of Panama, 1939→drive D investments from the Western hemisphere. And US envisages closer postwar ties with India, Aus, NZ, China (Chiang). In Middle East: eco expansion. • Potsdam Conference: July 16-Aug. 2, 1945: D in four zones in a single eco unit. Reparations only within the given zone. Stalin again promises to enter war ag. J. Potsdam left the world much as it found it: divided and devastated. • Lessons: With the imperial powers in disarray, their Asian colonies, encouraged by J during the waning days of war, became rebellious. The EU empires began to crumble. (NL in Indonesia, Fin Indochina, GB in India, Burma and Ceylon). Rise of USSR as a major international player. USA alone in a position to provide capital and goods for recovery→ power! CIA is created as large espionage establishment, Atomic bomb is developed.
1945-1950 The Cold War begins	<p>Harry S. Truman (D: 45-53)</p> <p>SoS: Stettinius 44/45 Byrnes 45/47 Marshall 47/49 Acheson 49/53</p>	<p><i>Truman doctrine</i> <i>Containment</i> <i>Marshall plan</i> <i>Domino theory</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atomic Bomb: Truman found no compelling reasons against dropping a atom bomb and a few advantages: emotion (vengeful Americans for PH, Americans hated Japs); military momentum→Manhattan project was ready it had to be tested; diplomatic advantage from the possession of the bomb. Quick use of the bomb might forestall Soviet military entry into Manchuria and deny the USSR any part of the postwar control of J and finally save American lives. → these reasons explain the tragedy. • The Big Two: Towards Bipolar international structure emerging from Soviet-American rivalry→Cold War. Both trapped in security dilemma: Every step taken by one side to ensure its security appeared to the other to be provocative. US wants to seize the opportunity to fulfill its ideological premises. But US also had to export goods and had to import strategic raw materials. Foreign trade is however threatened by sickness of its best customer, EU, which lacked the resources to purchase American products. • Eastern Europe: USSR establishes Communist regimes in Eastern EU. Free elections proved difficult in Eastern Eu. US sought influence there to counter the Soviets. They tried non-recognition of the pro-Soviet governments but abandoned that tactic after slight Soviet concessions, such as adding a few non-communists to the Polish gov. US starts to use Foreign aid for friendly gov→but not for Eastern EU →this left those countries dependent on Soviet aid and drove them deeper into the Soviet orbit. • Early CW crisis: Churchill on March 5th, 1946: "iron curtain has descended across the continent." Iranian crisis 1944: GB/US oil companies ask for concessions → soon USSR too. Soviets back indigenous rebellion in northern Iran. All three have troops in Iran. By 1945 all troops had to be withdrawn (by treaty). US/GB→ok, USSR keeps troops→tensions, because the Soviets wanted what the US and GB had already: oil and influence. US gets tough, Soviets withdraw finally. The issue of Germany –tones, reparations, central administration, demilitarization, and the dismantling of war-oriented factories- deepened the schism. Each occupying power did what it liked. F vengeful, against any centralized German agencies and for

			<p>dismemberment, USSR wants to grab reparations, GB wanted strong Germany to sell their goods, USA treat D as one eco unit to speed reconstruction. In Dec 1946 GB/US combined their zones, in 1949 also the French zone→May 1949, Federal Republic of Germany created. Soviets→GDR in oct. 1949. Berlin blockade (june 1948-May 1949) to impede unification of the Western zones→USSR sealed off land, rail and water access to Berlin→airlift. Moscow finally lifts the blockade and has to accept the creation of West Germany.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truman Doctrine, Containment: March 1947: Truman said Greece (communist and leftist resistance fighters but not USSR supported seek political power) and Turkey faced grave threats→TD: "it must be the policy of the US to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures."→he asks for large loans for Greece and Turkey. Senator Vandenberg: predicted an "communist chain reaction from the Dardanelles to the China Sea and westward to the rim of the Atlantic". Most leaders accepted what would later be called the "Domino theory". US interests in the Mediterranean region also entangled the US in the Palestine question. GB decided to abandon the question to the UN, whose special Commission recommended partition into Jewish and Arab states. In 1947, Truman chose partition→fighting escalated btw Jews and Arabs. 1948 Israel is created, US instant recognition (for reasons of politics and CW strategy). The policy then became the Containment: (by Kennan): the US must adopt a policy of firm containment designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counterforce, at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world. • Marshall Plan, NATO: US goals for Western Europe: eco reconstruction, linkage of D's Western zones with a Western EU eco system, prevention of leftist political gains, ouster of communism from gov (in It and F), building military allies, settling of colonial disputes. Marshall: help EU to face eco, social and political deterioration of a very grave character. Congress approved \$4 billion for the program's first year. Plan proved mixed success→it created inflation in EU, failed to solve a serious balance-of-payments problem, and took only tentative steps toward eco integration, but it sparked impressive Western EU industrial production and investment and started the region toward self-sustaining economic growth. It also accelerated the anti-communist shift of the European trade union movement... and EU became dependent on American aid, less able to make its own choices. Brussels Treaty (1948): BENELUX, F, GB, for collective defense. 1949: NATO signed in Washington: Brussels treaty plus DK, IS, It, N, P, CDN, US, (GRE, Tur in 1952, West D in 1955). NATO gives the US power in EU, an extension of the MD. Containment had taken a distinct turn to military means. USSR creates Warsaw Pact in 1955, Atomic bomb in 1949. • Asia: US runs J. New reforms: new constitution, war crimes trial, dismantling feudal landownership. J seemed to bury its militarism as a more pacific culture emerged. US needs J, as it was clear, that Mao would win in China (Despite US and USSR support to Chiang). 1951, peace treaty with Japan. • China: PRC established on 1.10.1949. → US refuses to recognize the PRC. Behind the non-recognition lay mounting Sino-American animosities. 1950→treaty of friendship USSR/PRC! →alliance obligating both parties to come to each others assistance if attacked by a third party. • CW mentality: After WW II Soviets turned Eastern EU into client states and probed Berlin, but
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			acted cautiously because they lacked a long-range air force, air defense, the atomic bomb and a surface fleet. Americans nonetheless came to believe, that Moscow ignited, fueled and exploited unrest around the world, including revolutions. →US posited a mechanistic domino theory, erecting a global wall against communism. (Vietnam, LA, SA). Also assistance to combat communist-influenced subversive elements (e.g. Panama did receive Point Four assistance in 1950). CW mentality of American's national identity against the un-American. Containment became the commanding dogma. CW also reshaped the American political process: Bipartisanship helped the president dominate the making of foreign policy. As the CW grew more perilous, so too did the ominous presence of the Atomic bomb →increasing arsenals, horrific strategies→danger of nuclear apocalypse.
1950-1961 Global watch: Korean war and Eisenhower Foreign relations	Truman (D:45-53) Dwight D. Eisenhower (R: 1953-1961) SoS: Acheson (49/53) John Foster Dulles (53/59) Christian Herter (59/61) Kim Il Sung (NK) Syngman Rhee (SK)	<i>McCarthyism</i> (effort to extract communist elements from the American administration, and from public life in general. initiated by stern anti-communist senator Joseph McCarthy, who headed a Senate committee that investigated communist subversive activities in the united states.) <i>New Look</i> <i>Domino Theory</i> <i>Eisenhower doctrine</i> (Stipulated that the US would intervene in the Middle East if any government threatened by a communist takeover requested aid)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean War: 25.06. 1950: North Korean troops invade SK. →Acheson decided to convene an emergency session of the UN Security Council.→UN resolution condemning NK (USSR remained absent, boycotting the UN over its refusal to seat the new communist gov. in China). Reputation of US stood at risk→they have to defend the principle of containment→supreme CW test. Truman orders US aircraft and warships into full-action below the 38th parallel. 29.06.50. Attack also above the 38th. At first war went bad for US and the small number of allies (nominally under UN auspices). Sept. 1950: US marines landed at Inchon and pushed NK back. In October Chinese troops cross the Yalu river and attack UN troops. In nov. Chinese troops push back US. D.Mc Arthur considers using the atomic bomb. Truman rejects this idea. March 1951, fighting stabilizes at roughly the prewar boundary. Mc Arthur is fired by Truman (insubordination). Peace talks began in July 1951. Little headway and fighting continues. Ike, new president, wants a solution. 1953. US unleashed Chiang to attack the mainland: nationalist bombing raids soon followed. Combined with the death of Stalin, this helped bring the peace talks to conclusion. July 1953: Armistice. They agreed to turn over the prisoners of war and demilitarized zone btw the two Koreas. What was the influence of USSR in the war? US accused Stalin, but initiative came from Pyongyang not from Moscow or Beijing. Kim's regime probably decided to strike before Rhee could utilize US aid and stabilize his precarious political position. Consequences: Republicans to power in USA, poisoning of Sino-American relations (the war also consolidated the PRC), The Korean war further divided the world into two competing camps and drew Third World nations in its destructive wake as the domino theory took on new vigor, US enlargement of army, in 1951: ANZUS Pact and in 54 mil alliance with Pakistan. → in general: quickening of the militarization of the CW. • Eisenhower: Vice-presi: Nixon. First Republican Presi since Hoover. Ike: capitalist development as a deterrent to communism; foreign aid as the cheapest insurance in the world→he uses a mix of trade and mil aid to balance the budget and help developing nations; propaganda through Radio→anti Soviet messages beyond the Iron Curtain; CIA becomes major instrument of foreign policy. The Eisenhower-Dulles <i>New Look</i> sought conventional military forces adequate to deter or initially counter aggression but emphasized massive atomic capability in order to keep defense costs down→massive retaliation. <i>Domino Theory</i> for Asia in a continuing containment strategy. • Khrushchev, Ike and the CW: Stalin dies on march 1953. Moscow opens diplomatic relations with Yug, Gre, abandons territorial claims against Tur. Although Soviets crush of an East Berlin

			<p>riot in 1953, there is some détente. Military alliances: NATO (with Germany in 1955), SEATO into effect the same year (F, GB, Aus, NZ, Thai, Pak, Phil, US), US defense treaty with nationalist China, Baghdad Pact (US, GB, Tur, Irn, Irq, Pak). USSR→Warsaw Pact 1955. But some cooperation btw the superpowers: Austria 1955, Geneva summit 1955, no concrete agreements, but cultural exchanges start. 1956: Nikita's speech to the 20th Party Congress, denouncing Stalin for domestic crimes→de-Stalinisation, peaceful coexistence. Then came Hungary: H. announced that it was pulling out of Warsaw pact and becoming neutral in the CW. →Red Army crush the revolt.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missile race, Berlin and the U2 Mess: 1957: USSR first ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) and Sputnik (Satellite)→shocks US→large expensive military buildup to improve US deterrent power. 1958 NASA is created. Berlin 1958: Many East Germans leave Berlin for West→brain drain. USSR issued an ultimatum to solve the German problem, otherwise, USSR would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. Khrushchev drops his ultimatum (Spirit of Camp David), trip to US in 1959, and to Paris Summit in May 1960. But two weeks earlier, a U2 plane was shot over USSR→Nikita denounced American aggression, demanded apologies for U2 flights and stalked out of the Summit. • China, Japan: Sino-Soviet schism. Tensions also US/PRC→US deploys tactical nuclear weapons on Taiwan. Fastens PRC decision to build atomic bomb. US signs Mutual Security Treaty with Tokyo, which provided for US defense of J and the stationing of American forces on Japanese soil. J eco growth, using large US foreign aid sums→J becomes America's military ally but also eventually its economic competitor. • Third World: 1946-1960: 37 new nations emerged from colonial status. Revolutions, Guerillas, mostly undemocratic leftist regimes→USA assumed that Moscow inspired much of the trouble in the Third World. USSR professed anti-colonialism and Nikita tours in India, Burma, Afgh, funds the Aswan Dam in Egypt→at the Bandung conference 1955, 29 nonaligned states representing one quarter of the world's population met to applaud neutralism and the soviet call for peaceful coexistence, it became evident that the free world held less popularity than the Communist world in the 3rd world. Foreign aid thus becomes a primary US tool with mixed results. • Nationalism in the ME and LA: Nasser in Egypt. In 1955 US offered to fund the Aswan Dam. But then Nasser buys Czech arms and enters alliance with Saudi Arabia, Syr, Yemen against Isr. US refuses to fund the Dam→Nasser seizes it→GB,F, Isr plan military operation (without consulting USA). Late Oct. 1956, F, GB, Isr invasion of Egypt. US asks for UN resolution demanding withdrawal of troops. F/GB pull out in late Dec. Only in March 57, Isr disengages→then, UN peacekeeping force. USSR funds the Dam in Egypt→Eisenhower decides to assume the role of ME policeman→interventions in Lebanon, Irq. In LA nationalism also challenged the US→US investments and support of military dictators such as Batista in Cuba to perpetuate the US hegemony over neighbors in the South. But Good Neighbor policy notwithstanding, US interventions became frequent, when a communist threat was perceived. (Guatemala: Arbenz wanted land reforms→expropriates United Fruit Company (US) → with help of CIA, Castillo Armas attacks Gua City→he comes to power and returns the land to UFCO. In Cuba, Fidel Castro overthrows Batista 1959. • Lessons: US influence abroad came in the proliferation of American mass consumer culture
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			and the foreign adoption of American ways. The Eisenhower administration prompted the expansion of American culture abroad as one of several means to contest and undermine the appeal of Arab nationalism, LA revolution, TW neutralism, communism, the USSR and China. The ultimate goal of containment is the roll-back. The Eisenhower doctrine extended the Truman doctrine. Dulles and Ike overestimated communism and underestimated the power of nationalism. Atomic proliferation: GB(1952), F(1960), PRC(1964). In 1960 election, Democrats claim, that the CW could be won. JFK embraced the anticommunist absolutes and critics the US missile gap!
1961-1969 Passing the torch: the Vietnam years	John F. Kennedy (D: 1961-1963) Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969) SoS: Dean Rusk 61/69	Containment, Domino theory Pacification (of SV)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnam Wars before 1961: Ho Chin Minh denounces colonialism and joins, as other nationalists, the communist party. He and his Vietminh fight the Japanese in WW II and in 1945 he organizes the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Proclamation of independence on September 2, 1945. After WW II F. returns to Vietnam and accepts compromise with Vietminh: DRV status as free state in the French Union and French military occupation of northern Vietnam. Soon clashes and guerilla warfare. In 1948 F installed Emperor Bao Dai who had served the Japanese in WW II as their Vietnamese leader. US recognizes this government. US starts to support F heavily with financial support, to keep Vietnam within the French empire. In 1954: Dienbienphu, Vietnamese victory. F surrenders on May 7th. US talks about the Domino Theory and US interests in SE Asia. July 20: Geneva agreements signed: temporary partition of Vietnam at the 17th parallel; French withdrawal to below that latitude; neither North nor South Vietnam to sign military alliances or permit foreign bases; national elections to be held in 1956; after this: unification→US talks about a disaster and that it represented a major forward stride of Communism which could lead to the loss of SE Asia. →SEATO to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam (1954). US now backs the new gov of Ngo Dinh Diem in the South and sends mil. Advisers to train the S-Vietnamese army (ARVN). Ho's North gets aid from PRC and USSR. Vietminh organizes the National Liberation Front (NLF) in 1960 as an umbrella organization. Vietnam evolved from a colonial rebellion to expel the French, to post-Geneva social revolution in the North; civil war in the South, civil war btw N and S; and an anti-imperialist war to force the Americans out. 1961: JFK new president. • JFK: Wins against Nixon. Both belong to the containment generation. JFK used his charm and as he was photogenic, he became a TV star. He introduced new concepts: the Grand Design for EU, the New Africa policy, Flexible Response for the military and the Alliance for Progress for LA. • Arms buildup, Berlin crisis and nation building: Military expansion to fill the missile gap (which was only perceived, not real→the US had immense superiority). Changing from MAD to flexible response; Special Force "Green Berets" to conduct counterinsurgency against wars of national liberation. 1961: Vienna conference with Nikita and JFK. Nikita wants a free city of Berlin or he would sign a separate peace treaty with GDR. On Aug. 61 the wall is built to stop the brain drain. JFK and the TW: he thought the TW was the most vulnerable to revolution and communism and at the same time most susceptible to US influence→Nation building: use the "action intellectuals" to channel nationalism and let the eco grow to noncommunist political stability. JFK also created the Peace corps: volunteers went into developing nations as teachers, agricultural advisers, and technicians. Alliance for Progress: envisioned spending \$20 billion in funds from the US. In return, LA promised land and tax reforms, housing and health

	<p>Kissinger (National Security Adviser)</p> <p>Ho Chi Minh (NV) Ngo Dinh Diem (SV)</p>		<p>improvements. But the alliance soon moved away from its original objective of reforming military dictatorships and became another tool to maintain US hegemony.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cuban revolution and LA: 1959: Castro to power. →social, eco and land reforms to reduce extensive US interests. 1960 the revolutionary gov nationalized foreign properties, the US suspended imports of Cuban sugar and then forbade US exports to the island. In mid April 1961, 1500 CIA trained commandos departed from Nic for Cuba (bay of Pigs). But no sympathetic insurrection occurred and the invasion had become a fiasco. • Cuban Missile Crisis: Had there been no Bay of Pigs invasion, no destructive covert activities, no assassination plots, no military maneuvers and plans, and no eco and diplomatic steps to harass, isolate and destroy the Castro gov. there might have been no Cuban missile crisis. But other motives play a role, such as the wanting of the USSR to force negotiations on Berlin, to compel a trade for US missiles stationed in Turkey, or undermine Chinese criticism that Moscow had become too tolerant of the West. On Oct. 22, 1962, JFK announces, a blockade against Cuba, after U2 plane photographed medium-range missile sites in Cuba. Finally Nikita withdraws missiles, US pledges not to invade Cuba, and 6 month later US withdraws missiles from Turkey.(private promise of JFK). US feels it as a victory and that it showed the superiority of American nerve and resolve; or so they thought until Vietnam changed their minds! • Laos, Vietnam, and the Kennedy legacy: Laos: Under Souvanna Phouma, non-alignment in the CW. But US supports rightist movements against the Pathet Lao (USSR and North Vietnam backed). In Geneva 1961: decision: Laos would become neutral, it could not enter military alliances or permit military bases on its territory. But peace did not come. US started shipping arms to Souvanna and secret bombing of Pathet Lao. After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the Berlin Wall and the neutralization of Laos, Vietnam seemed to assume greater urgency. Kennedy expanded the US presence, because he accepted the domino theory, thought that China fomented Vietnamese turmoil and believed that nation building promised success. In 1961, he orders more advisers and more funds into Vietnam (to Ngo, Dinh Diem). Then JFK allows combat troops to land in Vietnam. (in clear violation of the Geneva agreement). In 1963, 16'700 "advisers" were in Vietnam. JFK is assassinated in Dallas on nov 22nd. • LBJ and the World: Johnson left the relations with the USSR and China much as he had found them- calmer after the Cuban missile crisis but still strained and based on intense military competition. 1967: LBJ asks Congress for an ABM (anti-ballistic missile system). 1968: treaty of nuclear non-proliferation (including USA, USSR, but without F, PRC, India). 1965: LBJ sends 24'000 American soldiers to Dominican Republic, to support the military regime against Juan Bosch, a reformer, who came to power after Trujillo's assassination. The President announced that the US would henceforth prevent a communist government from taking office in the hemisphere. This frank statement of hegemony attempted to maintain the US sphere in LA. • Johnson's Vietnam War: Vietcong controlled about 40% of the South Vietnamese countryside by 1964 and the war turned bad for US. They couldn't win the war and they couldn't get out of it. Then US dispatched additional military advisers and air strikes hit Laos, through which supplies flowed south. On August LBJ announced air strikes against the North. On Aug. 7th, the "Tonkin Gulf Resolution" passed which authorized the president to take all necessary measures to repel armed attack against the forces of the US and to prevent further aggression. In Feb. 1965: operation rolling thunder →sustained bombing program. US continued the McNamara strategy of
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	Thieu (later SV)		<p>graduated pressure. The Vietcong grew stronger and the heavy bombing had apparently little impact on the enemy's ability to resist. The US tried to "bomb them back into stone age" by dropping 400 tons of ordnance per day. By war's end more than 7 million tons of US bombs had battered Vietnam, the equivalent of 400 Hiroshima atomic blasts. The president nonetheless kept sending troops, peaking at 543'400 in early 1969.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Peace efforts fail: In US: Hundreds refused military draft calls and went to jail or fled to Canada. The critics offered multifaceted arguments: the war costs too much and weakened needed reform at home; America's youth was dying; inflation and a worsening balance of power undermined the economy; war was immoral; US could not win the war; principles of self-determination are hurt. → Also in LBJ administration doubts come up→seek Peace with honor. Some peace talks are initiated but without solutions. In 1968: Tet offensive wrought its havoc; military escalation and LBJ's political career derailed; the bombing scaled down; and the peace talks finally began in Paris. In nov. Nixon new presi.
1969-1977 Détente and disequilibrium	<p>Richard M. Nixon (1969-1974) Gerald Ford (1974-1977)</p> <p>SoS: Rogers 69/73 Kissinger 73/77</p> <p>Le Duc Tho</p>	<p>Détente Nixon doctrine (Vietnamization) Failure of containment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nixon goes to China: In 1969, Nixon asked his assistant for national security affairs, Kissinger, to review relations with China (border fighting btw USSR and PRC broke out that year). In July 1971, Nixon announced that he would go to China to seek the normalization of relations. The US economy was sagging and the legendary China market once again loomed large in American imaginations. The US also wanted to profit of the sino-russian clash to lure China out of the soviet orbit. China needed a partner against the USSR and ag. J. and they had to recover from the destructive cultural revolution. In Feb. 1972 Nixon arrived in Beijing. Mao, Zhou, Kissinger and Nixon talked warmly for about an hour. Not much agreements, besides the increased cultural and commercial contacts. • Nixon, Kissinger: The Nixon administration guarded itself against its critics through secrecy and executive crimes and corrupt political practices later known collectively as the Watergate. Nixon secretly recorded conversations in the White House. When made public by court order, the tapes inspired an impeachment process that Nixon himself, caught in lies, terminated by resigning from the presidency in 1974. Kissinger managed an impressive number of roles: theorist, policymaker, presidential adviser, public spokesperson. He was a popular figure and defended Nixon in the Watergate affair. The term that most generally described the thrust of the Nixon-Kissinger diplomacy was détente: limited cooperation with the USSR and the PRC within a general environment of rivalry. Détente became a means, a process, a climate in which to reduce international tensions and sustain US leadership in world politics. • Détente, SALT, Nuclear arms race: The CW was very costly; détente supposedly offered a cheaper way of pursuing containment by reducing the necessity for interventions, spiraling military expenditures and new nuclear weapons systems. The Nixon and Ford administrations contracted themselves by appealing for arms control while they broke records for arms sales abroad. But the main success was the opening of China; it thwart reconciliation btw the two communist giants, it spawned new ties btw J and PRC that contributed to Asian stability and it nurtured a promising trading partnership. But formal diplomatic relations had to wait until 1979 (new president in US and the deaths of Mao and Zhou and a new political alignment within China. 1971: West Pakistan declares itself independent→Bangladesh. India (in friendship with USSR) supports the Bangladeshi against the Pakistani who do not want to accept it. Pakistan is an ally

			<p>of the US and soon weapons flowed to Pak., foreign aid to India stopped. It doesn't come to war and the independence of Bang is accepted.</p> <p>In May 1972 summit in Moscow concentrates on SALT agreements: treaty that limited the deployment of ABM's for each nation to two sites; and interim agreement on strategic offensive arms, froze the existing number of ICBM's already deployed or in construction. It did not limit the MIRV's and long range bombers and it did not prohibit the development of new weapons. SALT II talks started in 1972, but neither US nor USSR yielded before 1977, the year the SALT I agreements expired.</p> <p>In EU Brandt's Ostpolitik worked for détente. In 1972, the two Germanies initiated a treaty that provided for the exchange of diplomatic representatives and membership in the UN for both. In Helsinki 1975→delegates accepted the permanence of existing EU boundaries including adjustments made in Germany and Eastern EU. They pledged themselves for détente and endorsed human rights for all Europeans.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mideast: 1967: Isr attacks Egypt and Syria. In the Six-Day war, the Israelis using US weapons scored devastating victories and captured the West Bank, Golan Heights and the Sinai. USSR shipped surface-to-air missiles to Egypt to defend against the Isr. Jets. PLO formed in 1964 and started guerilla warfare under Arafat. Nixon administration from 70 to 73 followed a standstill diplomacy. In 1973, Yom Kippur, Egypt forces struck across the canal into Sinai while Syrian troops attacked Israel's northern border. This crisis took place in the midst of the Watergate affair. Nixon ordered a massive airlift of military material to Isr. Most OPEC countries install oil embargo against the US. →Oil Shock. On Oct. 22 Kissinger and the Soviets arranged a cease-fire, but the Israelis ignored the truce and surrounded the Egyptian army. In September 1975 Egypt and Israel initiated an agreement that provided for an eventual Israeli pullback from parts of the Sinai, created a UN buffer zone. But problems remain→Palestinians in refugee camps, Isr entrenched themselves into occupied territories, building industries and houses. • LA and Africa: LA countries search for ways to reduce their eco reliance on the US and stop the attempts of the US to direct the internal affairs of other countries. (Peru, Venezuela, Chile: Allende in 1970→Nixon sends CIA to undermine the Allende gov. and stops eco aid and denies loans; Allende is overthrown in 1973 by a military junta). Nixon and Ford also tried to isolate Cuba. In mid-1971 swine-fever swept Cuba→half a million pigs have to be slaughtered...the virus was introduced in Cuba by the CIA! In 74/75 signs of détente, but the Cuban involvement in Angola stopped hopes for a détente. Africa stood low on Nixon-Ford-Kissinger list of diplomatic priorities. US continues to trade with SA, despite a UN-declared eco boycott. • Economic competition: Kissinger: international political stability requires international economic stability. The eco system ceated after WWII (BW) faltered, the \$ skidded →recession in early 1970's→protectionist barriers rose→oil shock. US industry relied heavily on import of raw materials→US trade deficit (first time since the 1930's!). New competitors (J, D)→Nixon in 1971 after the \$ had fallen to its lowest point against the DM since WWII devalues the \$ and suspended its convertibility into gold. <p>TW: famines, poverty. The G-77, a coalition of developing nations organized in 1964, articulated the TW's eco demands. This consortium dominated the UN General Assembly and in 1974 endorsed a New International Economic Order encompassing their goals. This notwithstanding, the North-South problems stayed (on trade, environment, foreign aid).</p>
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnamization, Cambodia: The fighting continued after 1968. Nixon had no clear plans for Vietnam. He decided to strengthen South Vietnam through huge infusions of foreign aid and the training of a larger South Vietnamese army. Underscoring the Nixon doctrine's emphasis on self-help, Vietnamization. Nixon also tried to persuade the USSR and PRC to force Hanoi to compromise. It did not work. Peace talks in Paris 1969 stalled. The communists continued to advance on the ground. Nixon decided to bomb communist sanctuaries in Cambodia (March 1969). Meanwhile US soldiers were coming home, so that by 1971 the troop level had dropped to 139'000. In Cambodia Lon Nol (pro-US) overthrew Norodom Sihanouk. Nixon sent aid to Lon Nol to fight against the communists (Khmers) and later ordered US troops to invade Cambodia. They seized arms and equipment, but it widened the war. In May 1972 the president announced the mining of Haiphong harbor, a naval blockade of the North and more massive bombing raids. • Peace agreement, withdrawal and defeat: In Oct. 1972, Kissinger and the North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho reached an agreement that provided for US withdrawal sixty days after a cease-fire, the return of American prisoners of war and a political arrangement in the South. Both sides made concessions. But South Vietnamese general Nguyen Van Thieu refused to sign, because the North Vietnamese were allowed to stay in S-VN. The final agreement came on Jan. 1973: US withdraws its troops within six days and there would be elections in the South. It looked like the agreement reached on Oct. With the rising opposition in the US against war, Nixon pressed Van Thieu to accept the terms, what he finally did. But the cease-fire broke once more and the bombing of Cambodia continued. On April 1975 the Vietcong and North Vietnamese streamed into Saigon. Human tragedy also struck Cambodia and Laos, where in 1975, the communist insurgents also triumphed. In Camb. The Khmer Rouge imposed a genocidal regime that killed millions. At least 58'000 Americans and 3 million Vietnamese died. • Lessons: Vietnam had weakened US credibility. It was a primary example of US global expansionism and arrogance, encouraged by a zealous belief that the US, through superior power ideals could and should manage events almost everywhere. The Vietnam war revealed the shortcomings of the containment doctrine, which had failed to make distinctions btw peripheral and vital areas which applied military force to political problems. To win the war, the US would have had to invade N-VN. This strategy would have entailed heavy casualties and a long occupation of a hostile population. And it would have risked war with the USSR and PRC. The climate, terrain, and an elusive adversary, deeply committed into its cause made victory impossible.
<p>1977-1989</p> <p>To begin the world over again: Carter, Reagan and revivalism</p>	<p>Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)</p> <p>Ronald Reagan (1981-1989)</p> <p>SoS: Vance 77/80 Muskie 80/81 Haig 81/82 Shultz 82/89</p> <p>Z. Brzezinski: national</p>	<p><i>Carter doctrine:</i> containment in the ME: "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the US and such an assault will be repelled by use of any means</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iran, 1979: The US embassy is stormed on Nov. 4th 1979 by Islamic radicals under Khomeini. The admission of the exiled Shah to a New York hospital two weeks earlier had provided the immediate catalyst for seizing the embassy. The Shah was in power since 1941, and increasingly relying on the USA on advice and assistance. In 1953 nationalists under Mossadegh gained control of the gov. and nationalized the Anglo-American Oil Company. The CIA plotted with royalist Iranians and British officials and drove Mossadegh out of the country to restore the Shah. Inflation, unemployment, poor housing, preferential jobs for skilled foreigners also created unrest. The hostage-takers wanted the Shah, but holding hostages also prevented the Shah to launch a revolution from the US (Iranians remembered 1953) and it helped Iran break diplomatic relations with the Satan USA. The US froze Iranian assets in the US (\$8 bio!) and planned a rescue mission. Only SoS Cyrus Vance was against a military intervention. The

	<p>security adviser (anti-sovietist)</p>	<p>necessary, including military force."</p> <p><i>Reagan doctrine:</i> "commitment to low-intensity conflict: military action through allies, proxies, and paramilitary assets so that fewer American soldiers would fight and die in foreign lands as elite forces organized others to do the dirty work of shadow wars"</p>	<p>rescue mission failed. Finally four events facilitated a resolution: The Shah died in Egypt in July 1980; Khomeini's Islamic clerics won control of the parliament and thus no longer needed the hostages for their political purposes; The Iran-Iraq war broke out and Iran found that it had few friends; Reagan, who promised a tougher posture, was elected president. On the day before Reagan took office, an agreement was struck: release of the hostages in exchange for unfreezing Iranian assets in the US. On Jan. 20, the 52 American hostages turned home after 444 days. The US had lost an ally with a large army, huge quantities of oil, intelligence posts that yielded critical data on Soviet missile tests and billions of dollars to spend on US-made weapons. Reagan drew a simple lesson: America had to build up its military to deter enemies. American aid and weaponry, such as had flowed to the Shah, cannot guarantee the survival of an unpopular regime.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carter and his administration: Vance doubted the efficacy of military intervention and he did not believe that the Soviets fomented most local conflicts→for US-Soviet cooperation. Brzezinski sought military superiority and worked to play China off against the Soviet Union. Carter believed that the two would balance one another but infighting soon made the administration's foreign policy appear inconsistent. Carter sought to restore US power and influence in the TW. He preferred N-S rather than W-E issues. He invigorated the containment doctrine by initiating new weapons and streamlining conventional forces, encouraging nationalism in Eastern EU and improving Sino-US relations. He continued SALT and denounced soviet HR violations. In 1980 Carter issued his doctrine: containment in the ME. • Panama Canal and LA: Panama and its General Torrijos resented the 1903 treaty granting the US the Canal zone. After bloody anti-US riots in 1964, Carter brought negotiations to fruition. In 1977 two treaties were signed: one abrogating the 1903 document, provided for the integration of the Canal zone into Panama and increased Panama's percentage of the Canal's revenue. The other treaty stated that the US had the right to defend the neutrality of the canal forever. Nicaragua: Since 1936 Somoza, dictatorial regime, but US support because he was a reliable anti-communist. 1979: The Sandinistas rebellion. US at first accepts the new gov, but soon tensions ran high, especially when Carter suspended eco aid in early 1981 after the Sandinistas aided rebels who were challenging the US-backed gov of El Salvador. Mexico: tensions because of immigrants→1986 Immigration reform. Cuba: in 1980 Castro announced, that Cubans wishing to leave the country could do so. Carter announces that Cubans who wanted to join their family already in the US would be accepted. About 100'000 Cubans entered US processing centers. Castro emptied his jails of "undesirables" and cynically put them on boats to the US ☺☺☺. • Middle East and Africa: Middle East in the headlines: Iranian revolution, Arab-Israeli conflict, Iran-Iraq war, Afgh. US has significant eco, mil and diplomatic interests there. Carter brought Egypt and Israel to the peace table. →Two Camp David Accords: the first stated goals→negotiations leading to self-gov for the West Bank and Gaza and subsequent participation of Jordanians and Palestinians in the peace process. The second provided for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai in exchange for Egyptian diplomatic recognition. South Africa: Apartheid→Carter rejected eco sanctions but supported the Sullivan principles: voluntary pledge to follow nondiscriminatory employment practices for US corporations in SA. The US needed strategic materials in SA too much.
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The World since 1989 Sheriff of the Posse	George Bush (1989-1993) William Clinton (1993-2001) SoS: Baker 89/92 Eagleburger 92/93 Christopher 93/97 Albright 97/01		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin Wall: 9.11.89: The wall comes down after Egon Krenz tried to stop the hemorrhaging by opening the Wall and promising free elections for 1990, a signal that GDR would soon join H and Pol in abandoning orthodox communism for some combination of democratic and market capitalism. The foundations of the Wall had begun to crumble the previous May, when Hungary opened its border with Austria. Thousands of East Germans use this opportunity to go to the FRG. By the end of Nov, mass demonstrations were peacefully terminating communist rule in CZ. • Gorbi and the revolutions: This events would not have occurred without major impetus from Soviet president Gorbachev. His reforms of Soviet society could not take place simultaneously with carrying on the CW. He quietly passed the word to East EU officials that Soviet troops would not intervene to put down uprisings – the Brezhnev doctrine was dead. In 1990 Baltic

			<p>states declare independence, by the end of 1991 the USSR disintegrated into 16 independent nations. On Christmas 1991, the USSR stopped to exist.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bush, Clinton and Post CW priorities: For Bush prudence became the watchword, he always seemed a step behind. Clinton seemed to bring a different generational perspective to the White House. He dealt with domestic priorities such as taxes, deficits, eco growth, health care, and welfare reform. He improved US economy, strengthened the world's community of market-based economies, skillfully lobbied through Congress the NAFTA, 1994, signed the GATT's Uruguay round and helped create the WTO. US trough the IMF try to save countries from collapse (Mexico, Russia, Brazil, Asia). • Europe: The Bush-Gorbi relationship paid off in the START accord signed in Moscow in July 1991. The treaty limited each nuclear superpower to 1600 delivery vehicles and 6000 strategic nuclear devices. In effect, the US and USSR undertook an arms race downhill in revers by pledging to reduce their nuclear arsenals by half. In 1991: Boris Yeltsin on top of Russia. In July 1993, Bush and Yeltsin signed the START II agreement that provided for the cutting of nuclear warheads and bombs and for eliminating all MIRV's by 2003. But Yeltsin's failing health and inability to cope with Russia's economic crisis made him an unreliable partner. In 1997, an agreement on a START III treaty was reached, but the Russian Duma, angry over the expansion of NATO eastward dragged its feet, not ratifying either START II or III. Germany: Kohl initiated currency union and economic merger in July 1990. Gorbi dropped objections to a reunited D in NATO in exchange for a promise of Western economic aid and a smaller German army. EC into EU through Maastricht treaty, 1993. Pol, H, CZ in NATO in 1999. Balkan: independence of Croatia and Slovenia in summer 1991. Bosnia in 1992. Serbs began to shell Sarajevo. 1994 NATO air strikes against Serbian planes and artillery. Dayton Accords of 1995: retained a Croat-Muslim Federation and a Serb Republic within a single Bosnian state, with Sarajevo to remain as a multiethnic capital. 1999 Kosovo. • Africa: SA: The Bush administration pressed Pretoria to negotiate by maintaining eco sanctions against SA. When De Klerk became president in 1989, reforms quickly followed. 1990: Mandela is freed, 1993: agreement on a constitutional democracy and the first all-race elections were held in April 1994. Mandela became SA's first black president. Somalia: US troops on a humanitarian mission to feed the people of civil-war-torn Somalia in 1992. But the civil war intensified. By 1993 300'000 Somalis had died. In Oct. warlord's forces killed 19 US Rangers. Clinton withdrew all US forces by April 1994, leaving the mission to the UN. Rwanda: massacres of the Tutsi minority by Hutu. Clinton resisted proposals for vigorous intervention. Sudan: US fires cruise missiles on a Sudanese plant in 1998 in retaliation for deadly terrorist attacks on US embassy in Kenya and Tanzania attributed to Osama bin Laden, a Saudi extremist with close ties to Sudan. • LA: the 1980's interventionist US policy had failed: Narcotics continued to flow into the US; the LA debt, rampant inflation, sluggish growth rates, imperiled economies; Castro still bedeviled USA; crisis in Panama threatened further instability in the Caribbean. Panama: Noriega to power in 1983. Corrupt practices with drug-mafia. Anti-Noriega protests in 1987. US stops foreign aid to Panama. Violent and harassing incidents against US military personnel in Panama soon grabbed headlines. In Dec.1989, US invasion of Panama, proved a violent success. US troops finally located Noriega in the Vatican embassy in Panama City, 1990. He
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