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Beyond the American Revolution: Objectives
and Aftermaths (1775-1950's)

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DEDICATION

To my respected teachers of Setif (Al Aourissia), Jijel, Khenchela (Babar), Bejaia and Constantine.

Abstract

Throughout my research paper, I will try to discuss the principles and bases of the American Revolution (1775-1783) which are the constituent pillars of the U.S Constitution. Those principles of Human Rights' respect, Republicanism and Individualism characterized life after independence and in today's America. Those bases helped minorities , the Black-Americans and Women, to stir up to grasp their civil and political rights. On the other side, the American foreign policy knew and still knowing flexibility. The ultimate purpose is to preserve the U.S national security and economic prosperity.

Résumé

Le but de cette étude est d'étudier les principes de bases de la révolution américaine(1775-1783) qui sont les éléments fondamentaux de la révolution américaine. En effet, la révolution américaine a défendu les principes des droits de l'homme, le républicanisme et l'individualisme qui caractérisent la vie économique, politique et sociale des Américains. Ces principes révolutionnaires avaient influencé les minorités Américaines, les noirs et les femmes, pour défendre leurs droits civils et politiques. Par ailleurs, la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis est caractérisée par la flexibilité selon les circonstances primordiales. Le but des principes révolutionnaires est de préserver la sécurité nationale des états Américains et de garantir leurs perspectives économiques.

ملخص

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة المبادئ و الأسس التي قامت عليها الثورة الأمريكية أثناء القرن 18. تتجلى هذه المبادئ في الدفاع عن حقوق الفرد بغض النظر عن طبقته الاجتماعية و إرساء جمهورية ذات أسس ديمقراطية و كذلك حرية الشخص في اختيار وسائل و طرق نجاحه(الذاتية). و هذه الأخيرة أخذت كأسس لأقامت الدستور الأمريكي الذي الهه الأقليات الأمريكية-الأمريكان السود و المنادين لتحرر المرأة- للقيام بالدفاع عن حقوقها و الذي تجلى في حركة الحقوق المدنية(1950). فيما يخص السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية فإنها تأخذ مجار مختلفة و ذلك حسب الظروف الدولية(الحروب) . إن الهدف الرئيسي للسياسة الأمريكية هو ضمان الأمن القومي و الرخاء الاقتصادي للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

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Introduction

This research aims to study the political, economic and social objectives of the American Revolution. It interprets the way the American Revolutionary principles had shaped United States' domestic and foreign policy from 1775 to the 1950's. It aims also to study the interrelation between the American Revolution's values of popular ascendancy, equality and constitutionalism and the U.S national security and economic prosperity. This study appraises the American Revolution politically and economically to discover whether it deserves to be 'idealized 'historically.

Relying on historical approach, this study aims to look at the aftermaths of the American Revolution on the independent North America. Relatively speaking, it tends to answer the question of whether the Americans followed their political heritage of the famous Jeffersonian three principles of Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness in post-revolutionary era or not. In this context, the blacks' rights were grasped gradually, from Emancipation Proclamation (1863) to the Civil Right Movement of the 1950's. On the other side, because of the necessities of each era George Washington's legacy of Isolationism was broken and respected occasionally as what happened during the WWI and WWII.

Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense*, (1776) is an important source of the bases and the intended objectives of the American revolutionary movement of the 18th century North America. For instance, Paine sets disadvantages of the British rule on economy as well as on the political life of the colonials. He showed also to England, The Mother Country, that her children ,the Colonials, had grown and needed to build

their future by their will. It is undeniable that North America flourished economically due to England's support, which according to Paine was a necessity of life. Thoroughly, England helped the colonists and defended them during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) only to exploit them economically.

In addition, Thomas Paine claimed that England's protection of the colonies from its enemies ,France and Spain, would hinder the Colonials'- European relations. More to the point, England's enemies would be the colonials' enemies as if they were inherited like English hereditary regime from father to son!. On the other side, Europe wanted good relations with North America for the sake of free trade.

Thomas Jefferson's famous "Declaration of Independence", (1776) is another important document containing important historical facts that pleaded angry colonials for separation from English Throne. It lists twenty grievances against British kingship regime that did no longer fit the colonials' democratic views and a numerous set of economic limitations such as the Sugar Act (1764), Currency Act (1764) and the Stamp Act (1765) which provoked the fury of the colonists. Thomas Jefferson made a violent attack on Kingship regime which hindered the creation of independent judiciary power defending people's rights. He also criticized the military supreme power over the civilians. He asserted in his famous "Declaration of Independence" (1776) that a prince having a character of a Tyrant ought to be unfit to rule a free people.

George Washington's "Farewell Address",(1794) is another important historical document adjusting post-revolutionary era's foreign policy. George Washington foreshadowed negative consequences of any involvement in foreign affairs. This would make the U.S sinking in endless problems. Moreover, the result would be the

creation of more enemies abroad threatening U.S national security. He claimed that there should be no permanent political and economic alliances with Europe. There would no sacrifices by the U.S' peace to save Europe's interests. Therefore, America should be the big leader of the world and of its foreign policy.

In addition, David, Henry, Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, (1849) is another document which criticizes the political system of the U.S Administration. Thoreau claimed that a government is best which governs least and which governs not at all. Thoreau is a big defender of Individualism, which is a great concept in American Ideology. He saw Democracy, which is 'imposed' by the Government, as a total hypocrisy. For example, he considered those who were sent to wars by their Government like machines to perform politicians' and businessmen's plans. He asserted that a wise man is the one who is useful as a man not to be used as clay to stop hole to keep a blowing wind away.

In fact, Thoreau saw the ruling power in the U.S composing of merchants and businessmen interested in commerce rather than in humanity and justice. He also criticized those who disapproved the standing Government but yielded it allegiance as being the most serious obstacles to reform.

In addition, Alexis Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, (1839) provides us with an analytic study of the U.S political regime after independence through studying the American Revolution socially, politically and economically. Tocqueville aimed to appraise the American federal and democratic regime and its resistance for the coming American generations.

In fact, this work will be divided into three chapters. The first chapter is entitled Principles and Objectives of the American Revolution. It discusses the American Revolution's principles and bases (popular ascendancy, equality and constitutional supremacy) that the colonials defended to be included in the U.S Constitution. Thus, many questions will be involved in this concern as the Jeffersonian Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness as well as George Washington's advices in his "Farewell Address" in the late 1790's defending nonalignment and avoiding permanent alliances and entanglements.

In addition, the second chapter, that is entitled Aftermaths of the American Revolution (On the National Scale), discusses the aftermaths of that revolution on governmental institutions, Federalism and Bicameral Congress, and on women's and blacks' rights as a reflection of Revolutionaries' glorified values. To be consistent, the question which would be answered is to what extent did the Bases of the American Revolution shape post-American political economic and social lives?

Finally, the third chapter, which is entitled the Legacy of the American Revolution on the United States' Foreign Policy examines the flexibility of the U.S foreign policy since independence to the 1950's. It studies the fact that whether the American policymakers followed what their revolutionist 'hero', George Washington, advised them of non-alignment policy. Then, it evokes the real causes which pushed them to tear up isolationism and enter into a global domination as well as it aims also to discuss the question of to what extent was the American Revolution revolutionary?

Chapter One Principles and Objectives of the American Revolution

This chapter discusses the American revolutionary movement of the late 18th century through depicting its political, economic and social forefronts. It starts by setting what pushed the colonials to stir up against the British Royal Administration then to study its objectives.

1.1- Why did the American Revolution Take Place?

Before 1775, the British Royal Administration oriented the Colonies' political and economic matters through a policy of transgression and opportunism which was embodied in repetitive dissolutions of legislative bodies in case of a clash between England's and the colonies' interests. Many revolutionaries believed that the British political system, which was established upon kingship, did not fit the New Englanders' democratic intentions on which they built the colonies since 1620. They violently attacked kingship regime saying that monarchy is described in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews which is denounced against them (Paine 07).

In the course of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) England defended its interests not the colonists' from the French, the Spanish, the Germans and others. Many colonists believed that the Royal Crown's wars would make from British enemies the enemies of New Englanders; and this would immediately narrow the colonials' foreign relations which would have negative impacts on their economy and commercial dealings. It was asserted in this concern :

We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was interest not attachment; that she did not protect us

from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account.(Paine14)

Indeed, Paine asserted in his essay ‘Thoughts of the Present State of American Affairs’ in his pamphlet that the ruin of the American continent was of a tough relation with several reasons. The first one was that the king was the absolute controller of governing powers (Parliament). Immediately, England became the law maker of New Landers who were a secondary subject in British politics. In addition, a government which uses violence as guardianship to stop revolting people became by nature a tyrant and opportunist as what was known as the Boston Massacre 1770 when the British soldiers shot 5 colonists.

In addition, Thomas Jefferson in his famous ‘Declaration of Independence’ (1776) listed many grievances against the British usurpation over New Englanders. According to him, king GeorgeIII represented a concrete illustration of a tyrant because of his possession of the absolute power which was embodied in the absence of a consensus between him and the colonists’ representatives when passing laws. In 1765, the British Parliament passed unanimously the Declaratory Act to assert its absolute right to pass acts to govern the colonists’. GeorgeIII also dominated the Administration of Justice through making judges dependent on his will, meaning that he appointed judges in colonial courts who worked for England’s interests.

In fact, prior to 1763, the colonists seemed to accept largely the Parliament’s right to regulate their trade. However, they sometimes complained about its acts for

being unjust and clashed with their interests but not being inexpedient or burdensome.

After 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), France released two thirds of eastern North America to British rule, Canada and a great part of the Ohio River and the Mississippi Valley. As a matter of fact, the colonists considered that as God's mercy for their territory acquisition. Unfortunately, the Proclamation of 1763 claimed lands west of the Appalachian Mountains for Indians and any settlement there was prevented. More to the point, England set new restrictions on Indian trade granting opportunities to traders licensed only by the British Royal Administration. Thus, the colonial population was prevented from moving westward. As a precautionary measure, the British Government spent £ 250.000 annually to set up 10.000 troops along the frontier in order to avoid prominent Indian wars with the colonists.

Thus, the colonials feared a prominent overpopulation in case when they were walled in along the eastern coast. In this concern, Thomas Jefferson in his 'Declaration of Independence' violently criticized the Proclamation of 1763 saying that Britain obstructed the laws of naturalization of foreigners and prevented others to migrate westward through raising land- appropriation.

The British used military power in the colonies as a mean of oppression and raised it over the civilians. The reason resides on their plan and 'conspiracy' to cut off the colonists' trade with all parts of the world and to force them to pay their taxes. This was embodied in series of acts passed by the British Parliament such as the Sugar Act , the Stamp Act (1765) and the Declaratory Act of 1765 which granted the

British Parliament the right to tax without the consent of the colonists' Legislative Assemblies.

In the same year, a growing opposition in Virginia was blowing from colonists' local committees calling for a cut of all economic dealings with Britain. In September, Philadelphia witnessed the first Continental Congress to denounce the British aggressive acts. As a preliminary procedure to detach from England, the colonists established a form of individual self-governing or states provincial congress.

Religious restrictions also threatened the colonials through the Quebec Act (1774) which enlarged the French Quebec area as far west as the Mississippi Valley and to Ohio River in the south. Therefore, this large area would submit to the French law and to the Catholic Church.

In May, of the same year, George Washington was declared Commander -In-Chief signifying the birth of an armed militia which led the American War of Independence(1775–83). King GeorgeIII claimed that the colonial militia , armed rebels, had disobeyed their mother country who protected them during the Seven Years' War(1756-1763) and helped their economy to prosper. In this concern, many colonists criticized GeorgeIII's asserting:

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain, that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert, that because a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have

meat; or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty.(Paine 14)

1.2 - Principles and Bases of the American Revolution

To start with, the treaty of Versailles (1783) claimed independence of the British colonies which took the name of the United States of America. Later, in September 17th, 1787, under George Washington's presidency, the world witnessed the birth of a federal republic with constitutionalist supremacy which declared the creation of an American Nation. This republican government did not come from a rebellion led by discontented tradesmen or politicians, but from an inspiration from European philosophy of Enlightenment. In this concern, Jean Jacques Rousseau's(1712-1778) famous *Social Contract* (1762) and Montesquieu 's *L' Esprit des Lois*(1750) were the primary source from which the American Constitution and checks and balance, the separation of three powers: Legislative, Executive and Judiciary, were inspired. European scholars and defenders of Enlightenment thinking of the XVIII century denied the fact that people of that time were not ready and intellectual enough to ask for their Liberty, common conscience and predilection for humanitarian causes. This was known as cosmopolitanism.

In fact, the Enlightenment Era seems to be a radical revision and reforms in people's views and conception of three important concepts: liberty, emancipation and equality. What marked the 18th century was the humanitarian view towards people's liberties which were grasped through revolutions (1) . In addition, It was an era of agricultural and social welfare as well as of liberties and the American War of Independence (1776-1783). As an exception, slavery was a sin that flavoured the

American glorification of equality. What differed the French Revolution from the American one was that the former was a social revolution of angry poor people against their corrupted ruling gentry while the latter was a revolt of intellectuals, politicians, tradesmen and commoners to get freedom from the British Crown.

Additionally, women were granted full rights to participate in the revolution and even in the war. For instance, Deborah Samson illustrates a woman patriot who fought disguised at men's uniform. Furthermore, women participated in boycotting British products especially tea and cloth. They helped in delivering supplies for the Continental soldiers. In turn, they were granted a right for legal divorce in case of disagreement with their Loyalist husbands.

Another category that the Enlightenment's norms saved was war-captives. In August, 1775, George III declared the colonies in state of rebellion and betrayal against their royal authority. Massive military operations were led by the British Generals to put down the rebellion. Thousands of patriots were captives and faced execution. However, because of the huge numbers of Loyalist captives at the hands of the American Patriots, the British authorities refused to apply death sentence. Therefore, a new policy of war-captives was respected between the two fighting sides, the Red Coats and the American Patriots, due to the respect of people's right to 'Life' which is among alienable divine rights in Thomas Jefferson's 'Declaration of Independence'.

'Liberty' is the first glorified principle by Thomas Jefferson and many other Republicanists, among them George Washington and Alexander Hamilton. According to the American Patriots, English liberties relied on the constant balance between the following three principles: the King, Aristocracy and Commoners. This balance

ought to preserve the gentry's interests. Explicitly, the Founding fathers, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton advocated the Republican values. In this concern, many scholars asserted that any revolution ought to change the world. It invents its own Calendar (Republican Calendar) which is divided into 4 seasons : the snow, Wine season, the Fog and the Heat) (Barreau 211).

The Plutocracy, the wealthy ruling class regime, was the central disease that Republicanists aimed to 'cure'. Paine criticized the complexity of England's Constitution which made its people unable to discover where its flaws resided. The English Constitution was established on two ancient tyrannies and with some new republican materials. Many revolutionists commented on this point:

First.- The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king. Secondly.- The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers. Thirdly.- The n republican materials, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.(Paine 04)

Thus, England's political system suffered from weakness and corruption which was enriched by the Court's and gentry's domination of luxuries and people's wealth. unquestionably, the colonists found that type of government unfit to their democratic intentions and morals. According to the Puritan teachings, luxury is the seed of corruption that good believers had to avoid.

Indeed, John Locke 's *Social Contract* 's(1762) influence on Thomas Paine is noticeable as far as both called for the duty of overthrowing a tyrant government. The

idea preached for : 'Independence'. To be consistent, Republicanists viewed corruption -that is a result of luring Luxury- as a real threat to their liberty. To avoid such flaws in the future American Administration, luxury ought to be restricted through laws. Hence forwards, obstacles would be made for a possible rise of an aristocratic class and social disorder.

Alexander Hamilton conditioned that citizens should give priority to serve their society and country not their personal interests. If those virtues were respected in a given society, there would be more equality of distribution of the national wealth for all social classes unlike what happened in the British Royal Courts. These negative political aspects of the British were seen as lessons by the Americans through this assertion : "It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently surprised into reason by their mistakes"(Paine31).

The creation of a Continental Government, a bicameral Congress, the draft of a U.S Constitution as well as reliance on morals and religion in policymaking orchestrated the Revolutionaries' preaching. Thomas Jefferson used many times God's name in his 'Declaration of Independence' to confess that Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness are undebatable rights. George Washington also in his 'Farewell Address', September 1796, shed light on morals in politics. Paine also described morals as blood of any healthy system. Colonial orators extracted from the Bible that Man's true value resides on his ethics and discipline not his wealth or social class. Preachers motivated people to fight tyranny which was exemplified in Pharaoh's person.

Besides, unity was of a great essence in the American Revolution's principles. In fact, right after the Stamp Act was passed in 1765, a group of agitators, so called "Sons of Liberty" was created. It relied on the use of violence against anyone dealing with the British acts such as the Declaratory Act of 1765. Then, they called for a corporative work between the colonies during the Stamp Act Congress in New York, in October 1775. Therefore, a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" was drawn up.

For more corporative efforts between the colonies, Samuel Adams in 1772 created new Committees of Correspondence to facilitate linking Patriots across the thirteen colonies. Social unity virtually reached its height for the sake of the American cause. Defenders of Enlightenment, revolutionaries or Whigs were from farmers, craftsmen, small merchants as well as from intellectuals viewing independence as a solution to tear up the British economic and political oppression.

Concerning Loyalists or the so-called Tories or King's Men, they pledged allegiance to Anglican-Church and George III. They were approximately 20% of the population. Concerning African-Americans, they supported the king and were recruited into the British Army. In turn, their families enjoyed protection and got land grants in Virginia.

On the other hand, for the sake of union perpetuation between the States, "The Articles of Confederation" was drafted by a committee supervised by John Dickenson. Then, Samuel Huntington was appointed president of the new Government of the U.S. However, lately, because the States refused to cope together with the Government, a need for a strong federal Administration became a necessity.

Later, in 1787, the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to draft a constitution of the United States.

Finally, we end with an implement principle which was a central motivation for the Patriots to move from what was called a war of words to armed wars. Many historians asserted that any revolution provokes a terrible violence which could be called “terror”. This was formed in poetic language entitled: “What does a true republican need?”. The answer is: “He wants Iron, Plumb and bread. Iron to work, Plumb to revenge and bread for his brothers”(Barreau 211).

The use of ‘violence’ was embodied in the American War of Independence as a necessity to save the revolution. Paine claimed: “Arms, as the last resource, decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge”(13). In the course of the American war, a great majority of Indians trusted the British. In 1778, 300 Indian warriors attacked small plantations in New York and Pennsylvania. In turn, George Washington sent brigades of the Continental Army to defeat the aggressors in New York. Thus, 40 empty Indian villages were burnt and vast corn fields were destroyed. This provoked a threatening starvation wave. Thus, Iroquois got food supply from the British in Canada. Migration, economic destruction, disruption, hunger, diseases, loses in battles all what the Indians faced from their allegiance to the British Crown.

1.3 – The Complexity of the American Revolution

The American Revolution came as a defensive attack against Great Britain which failed to understand that the colonial revolutionaries were mature enough to run

their own matters. A common sense rose in the colonies carrying a conviction that their counterparts were embarking on a conspiracy to trip them of their wealth and drive them to slavery. The American Revolution did not, in fact, come as a sudden reaction of angry prominent lawyers and planters. It was more than that but of a complex nature.

According to Alexis Tocqueville's book *Ancien Régime et La Révolution*, (1856), revolutions generally aim to bring ancient societies of Feudalism and Aristocracy into destruction. They designate a riot and sudden rash. Any revolution cannot be reached only if these four conditions exist all together: "Transition, the Absence of Precaution, Incalculability and then Pain (violence)".

Moreover, any political and social revolution comes to vanish disorder and make it stable. It tends also to methodize anarchy and restore the power and the rights of public authority. Its central role is to abolish the corrupted and tyrannical political Institutions. Its historical importance resides on the establishment of a well-structured social and political order which would be in turn more stable and fair. Thus the people's rights for an equal system of basic conditions cannot be achieved unless with a painful triumph and violence. This what characterized the French Revolution of 1789. In June, an Urgent National Assembly was held to abolish feudal privileges and gave light to a significant document: 'Declaration of Human and Citizens' Rights' and to the seizure of the clergy's corrupt wealth. Two years later, the Assembly established a Constitutional Monarchy in corporation with a unique Assembly.

Now, the question that imposes itself is what differed the American Revolution from the French Revolution of 1789. To answer this question, it is preferable to rely on

the principles that the American Whigs defended. Thus, a list of bases can be drawn out: Republicanism, Universal Human Rights (Life, Liberty, Pursuit of Happiness and Equality), Independence, Union, Constitutionalism, Military confrontations (Violence), Free Trade, Good Foreign Relations, and then in the centre Morals and Religion.

All of the recited principles created virtually revolutions within the American Revolution as petals relied to one 'tulip', metaphorically speaking. In other words, the American Revolution is constituted of several revolutions, which can be classified into: a Conservative Revolution and a Radical Revolution. And by the way, these two revolutions substitute other revolutions. Firstly, the Conservative Revolution sought to protect the Americans' traditional liberties, of Anti-mercantilism and Representation, that were violated through a plenty of acts by the British.

Secondly, the Radical Revolution aimed thoroughly to create an American model society of Human Rights' respect. The American Revolution was accompanied by intellectual and social transformations that oriented common people to participate in politics. This came due to an Ideological Revolution which shaped new considerations and revisions for an American sense of a distinctive identity. Talking about the Ideological Revolution, the European Enlightenment philosophy enriched the American sense of identity with its focus on human liberty and equality. According to Baron de Montesquieu⁽²⁾ Liberty is the right to do what the Law allows. We understand that Constitutionalism secures people's equality, to have access for governmental levels, more than of Liberty. This statement may raise one's eyebrows since people had to respect what lawyers draft of laws shaping their Liberties' dimensions!. However, this drives us into endless questions which may deprive us from our topic.

Thomas Paine ,a well-known advocator of liberty as a political concept, defended the priority of drafting a Constitutional Charter giving full rights for every separate part of his society ,despite religious differentiations, for representation. He considered the less centralized ruling power a real opportunity of the rise of a tyrannical regime that would disrespect morals which are inseparable principle of the American Revolution. These principles strengthened the outbreak of a Republican Revolution as an ideology and project. The establishment of a Republican regime requires guaranteeing people's direct practice of their sovereignty which can be reached through an intermediate of elected delegates.

On the other hand, due to a long series of the British Acts, colonial tradesmen and farmers triumphed through an economic 'rebellion', right after the British Parliament had passed the Declaratory Act in 1765. From the explanation above, we understand the complex nature of the American Revolution. It is truly of a multifaceted structure.

1.4 – The Objectives of the American Revolution

It is absolutely recognized that the American Revolutionary movement came to accomplish certain conventional purposes. Those objectives were glorified with a long set of principles that the revolutionaries preached in their political discourses. To be consistent, the objectives of the American Revolution can be classified into two types. The first one is political objectives of independence, union, constitutionalism, republican government, congress and representation regulations, morals in politics and armament. The second type is economic objectives advocating Free-trade.

To start with, the first aim of the American Revolution was to achieve independence that would open political and economic prosperity to the colonies. To achieve their freedom, the colonials felt a need for foreign assistance. But, the question to be asked is: what would make France and Spain trust the agitated colonials? rather what would the colonials do to gain foreign support?

Thomas Paine answered wisely these questions evoking issues of sound importance to gain foreign support. The first issue is “mediation”. He considered that in international customs, in case of wars, foreign nations offer their mediation to end up flaring quarrels. However, since the colonies were ‘Subjects’ of Great Britain, the possibility for a foreign mediation between them seemed unfeasible. In addition, France and Spain were not naïve to drive evil home when giving assistance to the colonists. To be clear, in case of granting support to the colonial Whigs, France and Spain stayed sceptic towards the colonists’ use of money. According to them, it might be that the colonists would use the financial supplies to strengthen themselves or they could probably come to good relations with their ‘Parent Country’.

Thus, the status of ‘Subjects of Britain’ presented the colonies as rebels. And so, any rebellion could bring damn to the whole European Continent threatening its monarchical regimes. So, what would be the appropriate solution to tear up the status of Britain’s Subject? The solution according to Paine would be the draft of a manifesto to be destined to foreign courts which would enlist the British intolerable usurpation against the colonies. In turn, the colonials had to show sympathy for peaceful intentions to solve their problem with England; however, the British royal administration chose the use of force. Besides, the manifesto would confess and

assure to France and Spain the colonials' desire of entering into a free commerce with them. Therefore, as a necessary procedure, a declaration of independence would be the key to denounce any ties and dependence on England. Subsequently, the colonies would be no more Britain's subject and their voice could be heard abroad. This was ultimately the reason why the colonists declared independence before military victory over their counterparts. It was for international gain of trust as a means to receive foreign assistance.

The second objective of the American Revolution was "union" between the States. Paine affirmed that the colonies manifested their will for a good order and obedience to the Continental government. The Articles of Confederation, proposed in the 2nd Continental Congress 1776 by a Commission supervised by John Dickinson, came to unify the 13 colonies under a Central government. According to the Articles, the 13 colonies were declared united and were considered no more colonies but 'States'. Hence forth, the revolutionaries called themselves Americans and the United States of America became no more Britain's disobedient child. They agreed on this statement:

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young; nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase parent or mother country hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds.(Paine14)

Yet, "The Articles of Confederation" carried weakness as far as the weak central government failed to control the States which refused to pay taxes. As far as the colonies union was weak, this pushed the American statesmen to meet later and draft a Constitution in Philadelphia (1787).

Another objective was the creation of an intermediate body between the governed and the governors, Congress and the People. Thomas Paine proposed to hold a conference where principles of business, knowledge and power would unify the Assemblies. The gathering members of Congress or Assemblies should have certain political experience in addition to those empowered by people. From that conference, a series of regulations had to be drawn up. For instance, they had to assent on a Continental Charter, answering England's Magna Charta. Then, they should fix the number and the manner of appointing members of Congress as well as the delegates' date of sitting and to underline business and jurisdiction matters between them. Thus, Thomas Paine destined three advices for the ruling power. The first one was the establishment of a large and equal representation and warning of the dangers of reducing the number of electors as well as of representatives. Finally, he asserted that if the number of representatives was not only small but unequal, the danger without doubt would increase.

To be clear, there was a disagreement between the States on the way political matters would be run. In fact, a fraction between the rich and poor States was noticeable during the revolution. In May, 1776, the local authority of Virginia, South Carolina, New Jersey, Delaware, New York and Massachusetts adopted a constitution. These States conditioned property qualifications for voting, even though New York

and Maryland lowered property qualification. They agreed also on the establishment of a Bicameral Legislature with an Upper house as a checker on the Lower one (Hage 09). They assented to grant the governors veto power over the Legislative bodies and to establish a more central power. In addition, they did not impose restrictions on holding multiple Governmental posts. Finally, they associated religion with State governing matters.

On the other part, less affluent states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Hampshire claimed the right for holding office to be required by a minimal property qualification. They advocated strong unicameral legislatures unlike rich States. Concerning veto powers, they discouraged it. They advocated also the establishment of a weak central government and prohibited holding multiple governmental posts.

Besides, the American Revolutionaries aimed at preserving the U.S Government's health through respect of morals and religious Codes. The reason was that luxury hinders individuals' rightfulness and encourages corruption. This led many revolutionists to assert on this saying: "When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary"(Paine 31). Meaning that, if the governing gentry endeavoured its efforts to acquire luxury, a prominent tyrannical government would run permanently.

In addition to political instructions and projects, the revolutionary intellectual class drew military plans for the future security of the U.S. In this context, Paine emphasized the obligation of the building of a U.S Navy which would be the U.S source of pride and power in the world. Therefore, if the U.S possessed a strong Navy,

it would avoid any foreign attack. From this, we understand that the primary role of the Navy was destined to protect the U.S not to declare wars abroad. George Washington in his “Farewell Address” (1793) warned against an over powerful Military establishment for being a threat to Republican Liberty.

Paine proposed wisely to occupy the navy in time of peace with commercial dealings. He also relied between the navy and the economic prosperity. This relation will be discussed in the course of explaining the economic objectives of the American Revolution.

Economically speaking, many revolutionists associated commercial prosperity with armament. Many revolutionaries claimed that the diminution of commerce created a need for a navy building. Hence forth, the building of the Navy would create straight away a new trade. In turn, to pay debts of its building, the Government would use the earned money from the prosperous commerce as an outcome. On the other side, some revolutionist voices warned of the dangers of devoting oneself to commercial earnings asserting: “Commerce diminishes the spirit of Patriotism and Military Defence” (Paine 29).

Many revolutionists claimed that the Americans needed ‘Fear’ not external enemy. Explicitly, the central aim of the strong navy ought to be a barrier against any probable foreign assault not to create enemies through threatening and provocation. Concerning foreign policy, the U.S would associate it with only commercial and economic dealings. Thus, the Americans’ power resides on the unity of the sinews of commerce and defence.

Notes

1- The French Revolution (18th June, 1788-1789 gave birth for a famous Declaration of Human and Citizens' Rights. In addition, June, 18th 1799 witnessed an Anti-Royalist coup d'Etat.

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Chapter II The Aftermaths of the American Revolution

This chapter discusses the aftermaths and the impact of the American Revolutionary movement of the 18th century on the U.S domestic policy-making. In fact, I will study the political procedures which were taken by the American politicians in post-colonial era (1783-1950) .

2.1 - The Draft of the United States' Constitution

In the course of the American Revolution, the colonies felt a need for a political unity for a cooperative work to overthrow the British outland. In 1777,the “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union” were adopted. As mentioned previously, that document set up a federal government with limited powers which was at the mercy of the Legislatures. Unfortunately, its weaknesses emerged within a short time. In this concern, George Washington commented on this saying: “The 13 colonies were united only by a rope of sand” (Schroeder06).

Later, in February 1787, the Continental Congress called for a conference in Philadelphia to revise the Articles. In Independence Hall ,where Thomas Jefferson’s “Declaration of Independence”(1778) was delivered to the delegates, the Articles were pushed aside and replaced by a charter that focused on a more centralized form of government. Then, on March 1789, the Constitution was officially adopted asserting:

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the

blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and
 establish this constitution for the United States of America.(
 Schroeder 06)

Indeed, the States' 55 Delegates agreed in the Constitutional Convention to create a strong Federal Government by people's consent. Even though the idea of self-governing was already adopted by the British, this opportunity was applied by the Americans with a revolutionary process. In addition, the federal government possessed power to regulate foreign policy and defence. Some States, however, viewed threat in a more centralized government and refused to send delegates by the plea that the strong national government would restrict citizens' right to govern their own issues. For instance, Rhode Island was a good example. Going back to the first statement of the U.S Constitution " We the People of the United States", it assured to guarantee people's political right to enthrone a Republican Government and to dethrone a tyrant one.

2.2 - Unity between the States

It is said by many that diversity creates strength and homogeneity. However, to what extent did this adage meet with the American unity? To answer this question, many issues should be taken in consideration.

To start with, from the early European immigration to the new land, different races (from Norway, France, Spain, Holland, Prussia, Poland and especially England) created a heterogeneous society. What worsened the situation were their religious and

dogmatic beliefs as far as the colonial society was a constituent of Anglicans, Calvinists, Catholics, Huguenots, Lutherans, Quakers and Jews.

In the course of the American Revolution in the late 18th century , the problem of unity within the colonial society appeared . Two factions debated, those of the Tories(called King's Men) and the Whigs(the Revolutionaries). The former group opposed separation from the British Crown and pledged allegiance to GeorgeIII. Some of them fled the country to eastern Canada whereas others cooperated with the Red Coats(British soldiers) to put down the revolution. Indeed, that diversity created the necessity for a social and political union to achieve independence. "The Articles of Confederation" (1777) were the intermediate and then the notion of unity continued till Post-Revolutionary Era and Westward Expansion was the means.

2.3 -Westward Expansion

After the signing of Paris Treaty (1783), the U.S Government turned its direction towards the frontier (the western area). This process was of a sound importance to establish a unified territory , by overthrowing the British and the French presence from there, and to prosper economically and politically. In fact, territory acquisition was accomplished via two courses: purchasing and military confrontations (Wars).

Indeed, territory purchase was vigorous during Thomas Jefferson's presidency in 1800. At that time, Western boundary was limited by the Mississippi River and the lands beyond it were inhabited by few white men. More than 600 miles was the vast area that stretched west to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains which was recognized as "Louisiana". In 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte was the ruler of France and controller of

the land. In turn, the Americans felt the threat from the French presence especially viewing Bonaparte as an arrogant emperor who would send his soldiers and settlers to Louisiana. As a result, Westward expansion would be hindered. Fortunately, for the Americans, a beat of luck shone to save their project. In the process of stretching his empire, Napoleon Bonaparte needed money to finance a war against Britain. Therefore, he sold Louisiana for 15 million dollars to the United States. Thus, its purchase doubled the area of the U.S as far as it stretched from Canada border to the Gulf of Mexico and West from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. So, new States would be created there.

It is known that the Louisiana purchase was completed under Thomas Jefferson's authority who aimed to discover a passage to across North America to the Pacific Ocean. For instance, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's expedition⁽³⁾ came to complete the mission. In September 1856, they failed to find a way to the North. However, they showed the possibility to accomplish that mission as they came with implement data about the lands beyond Louisiana (Oregon). In 1850, France, Russia, Spain, England and the U.S. claimed to own Oregon, knowing that California was ruled by Spain and Alaska by Russia. However, Britain and the U.S were in a strong position to claim the land as far as they owned trade posts there buying fur from Amerindians and European trappers.

Later, about more than twenty-five years, the British presence in America was more noticeable in Oregon than of the Americans. Therefore, the American political leaders felt the threat and started expressing the notion of "Manifest Destiny" which means the clear intention of fate defending the necessity to unify the U.S territory from

the Atlantic to the Pacific. Those who advocated the notion of Manifest Destiny called for a complete annexation of Oregon north to the boundary with Alaska at latitude 54 degree.

In 1844, James K. Polk was elected president of the U.S. He was a strong advocator of the notion of Manifest Destiny. In his Inaugural Address, he asserted clearly and daringly: "To the whole of Oregon is clear and unquestionable". In June, 1846, the Americans found it workable to divide Oregon into two equal sections with Britain.

On the other side, military operations seemed to bring effective results to lands acquisition and the annexation of Texas and Mexican lands were good examples. Historically speaking, there were great numbers of the Americans living in Texas under Mexican rule in the 1830's. In October 1835, the Texans rebelled against the Mexican rule and achieved victory at the battle of Saint Jacinto under the leadership of General Sam Houston. Later, in 1845, the independent Texas claimed its allegiance to the U.S flag. In April 1846, the U.S flared war against Mexico on the Mexican and Texas' territories. The war ended with the U.S army's invasion of Mexico City in September 1847. Then, both fighting sides signed a Peace Treaty on February 1849 forcing Mexico to release territories to the U.S. Those territories are known today as California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, North Mexico and Colorado. In short, Manifest Destiny transformed the U.S from a small nation to one of the largest nations of the world in less than half a century.

The explanation above is about the territorial unification of the U.S map which was successfully performed. However, the question that rises now is: was the political

unity achieved between the States?. To answer this question, we should first deal with the political projects and governmental institutions of the United States of America.

2.4 - Governmental Institutions

During the Revolution, it was agreed that under the “Articles of Confederation” , Congress was on the centre of governance. However, it did not possess any power to lead the States to do anything against their wills. Theoretically speaking, it had the right to declare wars and raise an army; however, it was unable to convince each State to its quota for troops. Also, it could claim States’ income to finance its activities. Yet, it exerted no authority on those states which refused to pay their contributions of the federal budget. In addition, each State had the right to control its taxation and tariffs as well as to issue its currency. Congress played the role of judge between the States in case of discontents without forcing them to impel to its decisions.

Therefore, chaos resulted from the disagreements between the sister States leading the federal government to fall into debts. Due to the imposed commercial restrictions among the States, debts became unpaid. This tragedy awakened the American Statesmen to agree for a more central government with three separate branches, Legislative, Judicial and Executive.

Beyond those points, other discontents appeared among the States that seemed to threaten the Convention. The problem resided on the larger States’ advocacy of proportional representation in the Legislative and voting power according to population rate. Thus, that issue called for “the Great Compromise” which granted an equal representation in one house and proportional in the other. For instance, each

State would send two Senators to the House of Senates whereas in the House of Representatives the number depended on population rate. This solution seemed to be fair and convenient for the two debating sides.

When the dawn of unity started to bright, several factions started to appear. For example, there were fears from delegates to give people more power to rule and proposed an indirect electoral process of federal official. There were also voices asking to exclude western territories from Statehood. Some others tried to shed more light on prospering lands beyond the Appalachians. Generally speaking, those disagreements can be classified as sectional interest conflicts and on the way to elect a president.

In order to put an end to the discontent between the sister States, a professional commission was chosen for the convention. It was presided by George Washington ,the revolutionary hero, and oriented by Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Morris of Pennsylvania and Alexander Hamilton. Concerning Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, they were working as ambassadors to France and England. However, those who refused to participate, they were convinced about the existing government as Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams.

Moreover, the convention fixed its framework to the principles of the“Declaration of Independence” as people’s reference as first power to rule and of fundamental Human Rights and Liberties. After a long series of meetings, a second committee headed by Governor Morris, drafted the final version of the Constitution in September 17th, 1777. In fact, many delegates refused to sign and others left before the signing ceremony. Thomas Jefferson commented on that issue saying: “ There are

several parts of this constitution which do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them... however, because I except no better and because I am not sure that it is not the best”(Schroeder 14).

Furthermore, the states came to ratification gradually. Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia were the first to sign. Concerning Massachusetts, it conditioned the addition of ten amendments to guarantee certain rights as freedom of speech, press and religion. It insisted also on the establishment of a militia than a standing army. It asked for the right to trial by jury and prohibiting unfair arrests. Later, the Bill of Rights secured those rights and was added to the Constitution in 1791.

Because of the four pivotal States’ refusal of the Constitution, New York ,Virginian, North Carolina and Rhode Island , the Constitution seemed to be standing on shaky ground. George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay came to save the situation through their “Federalist Papers” which did not gain much magnitude among the states. Then, in January 1789, the electors held a meeting to agree on a president. In November 1788, North Carolina signed on the Constitution. In the end, Rhode Island, because of its weak position, agreed to grant its approval in 1790.

Ultimately, the purposes of the U.S Constitution were: “To form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, to ensure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the common defence, to promote for the general welfare and then to secure the blessings of Liberty to the Americans and to their posterity”. However, the question, which raises now is whether those principles were taken in consideration by the states or not.

As far as the U.S Constitution balanced States' rights to regulate their citizens' matters, with the federal Government, the fractions seemed to be narrowed. Thus, the States felt liberty to run their local affairs as employment issues, local taxation, police powers, marriage and divorce. In addition, the Bill of Rights opened access for the individuals' rights and equality before the court. This was what the "Declaration of Independence" asserted once : "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." .So, discrimination vanished before the Law despite of the individuals' social classes or wealth.

2.5 – The Relationship Between the American Civil War and the Three Principles of the States' Unity, Human Rights and Economic Prosperity

"You have no Oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I have a most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it". This warning was delivered by President Abraham Lincoln in 1861 to the southern States threatening them against any step towards secession from the Union. However, in April, 1861, 12 Confederate soldiers fired Fort Sumter, Charleston harbour Fortress, which was under U.S army protection. Hence, the Civil War broke out.

In fact, both sides, the Northerners and the Southerners, possessed advantages. For instance, the Union States were well equipped, more populated (22 million people), and well manufactured (with food and weapons). On the other side, the Confederate States were less equipped and less developed than the North. After heavy defeats of the Union soldiers in Virginia, many soldiers were disappointed and

suffered from poor rations. In 1863, Union Army surrendered Confederate soldiers in Gettysburg town where more than 50.000 men were killed. Henceforth, Confederate Army retreated to the South after having a heavy and unforgettable defeat. In April, the 9th, 1865, Confederate General Lee met with Grant, Unionist General, in Appomattox village and claimed defeat.

In the summer of 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which warned that from January 1st, 1883, all slaves ought to be free. Henceforth, that document added another purpose to the Civil War, from preserving the Union to abolish slavery. The American Civil War (1861-1865) unified the States permanently and broke down the horizontal division of the U.S, Industrial North and Agrarian South. It abolished slavery in all parts of the nation adding the 13th Amendment to the Constitution. As far as Slavery abolition signified the end of Agrarian system, this opened a great space for the industrial prosperity and inventions.

2.6 - Economic Prosperity and the Welfare State

The American economy, right after independence, fell into chaos. Its paper money was invalid and worthless and debts surrendered the Government of Confederation. Indeed, the Constitution provided that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes to pay the debts and provide for the general welfare of the U.S. Thus, the government got a chance to possess tax power which helped to pay war debts and to stabilize the U.S currency. As a result, the Secretary of Treasury was created to regulate fiscal affairs. In addition, the Secretary of State held management

of foreign nations. Therefore, there was a tight link between good foreign relations and free trade policy.

If truth were told, the growth of American industry was tied with businessmen who got out from poverty after a long hard work. Many such as Andrew Carnegie started from poor workers into rich investigators. Due to businessmen, bridges, rails and railroads were built in the 1860's. Carnegie became the owner of more than 23 million dollars due to his giant Carnegie Steel Corporation. Besides, for more profits, Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, The King of Oil Industry, reduced their labourers' salaries and raised prices of their products freely. In short, what increased their wealth was hard work and denying their employees' rights. This type of affluent businessmen was called by its admirers "captains of industry", whereas their opponents named them "robber barons" (O'Callaghan 74).

Due to the private sector, inventions (machinery) and industries grew rapidly pushing back the agrarian system. Later, in the early 1900's, the Americans knew a fever of earning easy money. They bought shares on the margin after having borrowed money from the bank. Their earnings depended on the rising of share prices. However, by the end of 1929, shares value dropped \$40.000 million. Therefore, many people faced debts and some committed suicide. This panic was known as Wall Street Crash.

This tragedy created the necessity of governmental intervention to save the economy and barons' capitals. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in March, 1933. He proposed laws to save the U.S economy. For instance, he recommended the National Recovery Administration (N.R.A) to make sure that workers got their real

wages. In addition, the Agricultural Adjustment Agency,(A.A.A), aimed at granting monetary assistance for farmers to reduce production of meat, cotton and corn in order to rise their prices for more profits. Besides, there were opposing voices from businessmen against Roosevelt's programmes. Some complained: "you cannot make the world all planned and soft. The strongest and best survive, that's the law of nature after all" (O'Callaghan 103).This statement reflected, as many barons of industry claimed, Thomas Jefferson's revolutionary principle of Pursuit of Happiness.

2.7 - Human Rights and Minorities

a- Women

Right after the civil war (1816-1865), the 15th Amendment was added to the U.S Constitution in 1870. This law guaranteed blacks right to vote but not women. Thus, Susan Anthony (1820-1906) rebelled with a group of women and went to the polls in Rochester, New York. Many women were arrested because they tried violently many times to vote. Susan Anthony with the help of other women organized the International Women Suffrage Alliance (Betka 44). Thanks to that revolutionist woman, the 19th Amendment was ratified giving American women the right to vote in 1920. So, political sexual equality was achieved assuring Thomas Jefferson's principle of equality.

b) The Black -Americans' Cause

To have a clear idea of the blacks' situation in the1940's, let state what a reporter had asked to an innocent voice. The reporter said to the black girl: "how should we

punish Hitler?” the girl answered: “paint him black and bring him over here” (O’ Callaghan 112). This answer carries a heavy message of the real hell where the black Americans lived. They were considered as second class human beings. They were prevented from attending schools, working and sitting in buses with whites and even on park benches. To be consistent, they suffered from segregation. Henceforth, the Civil Rights Movement came to achieve the blacks’ right for an equal treatment. In 1940, there were less than 4000 blacks in the American army including two officers whereas others were used as servants in support units. Many of them complained about their situation and wanted to be soldiers not servants.

Later, in December 1st, 1941 the American army opened recruitments of qualified blacks. In fact, the Air Force Unity 332nd Fighter Group became a model of excellent heroes in WWII. It destroyed 261 enemy aircraft in Germany and France. In 1945, this group won the Distinguished Unit Citation and became a symbol of the Black Americans’ cause of ‘equality’. Harry Truman in July 1948 asserted: “the obligation of equality and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, colour, religion or national origin”. Therefore, segregation in the U.S Armed Forces ended up.

On the other side, the Montgomery Bus Boycott influenced the African – Americans in all over the nation to revolt. That boycott came as a violent reaction after the detention of a black woman named Mrs Parks after she had refused to give her seat in the bus, for a white man (Falk 68). Moreover, the Advancement of Coloured People (A.C.P) supported the angry protestors and started a campaign to abolish segregation in buses. Then Martin Luther King (1929-1968) led a boycott of the city’s bus services.

Henceforth, in November 1950, the Supreme Court denounced segregation on public buses as unconstitutional. Hence, the Black Americans' cause started in the 1950's to be reconsidered as legal and fair even though the U.S Constitution , the Americans' Political Bible, had glorified equality in the name of human dignity and God's will since 1789.

Notes

2-Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat de (1689-1755) is a French politician and philosopher. Through his *Lettres Persanes* and *De L' Esprit de Sois*, he opened a new perception of Human Liberties in a triumphing Enlightenment philosophy

3- Jefferson chose his personal secretary, Meriwether Lewis, an intelligent man who also possessed skills as a frontiersman as well as William Clark, whose abilities as draftsman and frontiersman to explore the Western frontier of northern America.

4- Lands which stretched from Alaska in the North to California in the South and inland through the Rocky Mountains to the undefined borders of Louisiana.

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Chapter III The Legacy of the American Revolution on the United States'

Foreign Policy

This chapter discusses the impact of the American Revolutionary legacy in shaping the U.S foreign policy since independence until the 1950's. It studies also to what extent was the American Revolution revolutionary.

3.1 - Isolationism

a - Pre- and Post- Revolutionary Foreign Policy

Isolationism can be defined as a political doctrine which was developed and adopted by the U.S from its independence until WWII. It centralizes on the principle of the non-intervention in foreign political affairs. It aimed to keep the U.S aside from making alliances with foreign nations and it originated from the War of Independence era. The colonist revolutionaries signed alliances with France in 1778 to be granted military supplies to defeat British army. Before that treaty, both sides signed an alliance on December, 17th 1777 to reinforce commercial dealings between them. Yet, there were voices among the revolutionaries that called for the dissolution of any political or military alliances with Europe, after independence.

In 1796, George Washington delivered his final draft of the "Farewell Address" to destine his political wisdom for his posterity. He evoked several political and economic issues. For instance, he advocated the establishment of a unified government as a main pillar of the real independent American that would be maintained only with

tranquillity at home and peaceful foreign relations. Then, he warned of the permanent alliances with foreign nations.

In the early 19th century, President Thomas Jefferson insisted on the prevention of the enchainment of alliances. In the course of the Continental Expansion Era, Westward Expansion, the U.S declared wars against the European presence inland. Moreover, Monroe Doctrine, which was presented by President James Monroe on December, 2nd 1842, came to define the basic orientations of the U.S foreign policy. Monroe asserted that because of the U.S abstention towards foreign affairs, the Americans became exposed to foreign occupation of their territories. Thus, the Americans realized the danger of the European presence on their land and its impact on their national tranquillity and independence. For instance, the Spanish Crown aimed ultimately to regain its ex-colonies in America. As far as the Americans denied the European presence inland, their enemies' intervention was growing in the continent. In turn, Monroe insisted on the fact that only the U.S possessed the right to conquer the continent. With the election of President James Polk, the Monroe's Doctrine was justified through the Anti- British and Franco presence in America. Later, the Americans succeeded to gain Oregon from England in 1848 and Texas from Mexico in 1849 through military confrontations.

b - Pan- Americanism

Indeed, during the 1930's, the Americans adopted the notion of Pan-Americanism which aimed to reinforce the political and economic cooperation between the American nations, the U.S and Latin America. It tended to grant military

support to those republics in case of foreign assaults. That notion was defended and assured by Chapultepee Law (1947)⁽⁵⁾. Thus, the U.S .Organization (1947) came also to reinforce Monroe's Doctrine through the Pan-Americanism notion. However, in the end of WWII, the U.S turned its foreign policy into unilateralism to preserve its national security through declaring wars against Guatemala (1954) and other American Latin countries. To be consistent, Monroe's Doctrine won large support in the American continent since it helped Latin countries to gain independence from the European grip.

c – The U.S Intervention in WWI and WWII

In the early years of the WWI, the U.S preferred to keep away of the European battlefield relying on mediation only. Most of the Americans saw the war as being purely Europeans' affair not of their concern. However, Lucitania Tragedy⁽⁶⁾ broke the U.S neutrality. The story was that Germany felt threat from the Americans' wholesale of arms for the Allies. Henceforth, they decided to attack the trading ships. In January 1917, President Wilson ordered the American military supplies to be delivered abundantly for the Allies. Two months later, American newspapers wrote about Arthur Zimmermann's, Germany's Secretary in Mexico, conspiracy. The news claimed that Zimmermann tried to persuade Mexico to attack the U.S from the south by making an anti-American Alliance. This event oriented American public opinion to support their intervention in the war against Germany(O' Callaghan). As a precautionary measure, the U.S Congress voted in favour of intervention in 1917.

However, in 1919, the American foreign policy seemed to turn back to Isolationism. The American Congress refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty of June, 28th 1919, and to be involved in the League of Nation in 1920. In the mid 1930's, Congress adopted strict foreign neutrality to support any country from foreign attacks.

In the course of the WWII, two opposing factions debated in the U.S. There were those who advocated the U.S. isolationism and others called for intervention to keep any contamination of foreign quarrels far from their country. Thus, in 1940, the isolationists founded an organization called the "American First Committee" which aimed to defend the U.S neutrality against Roosevelt's interventionist policy. Besides, as usual, foreign stimuli obliged the U.S Administration to break its isolation, that was Pearl Harbour Attacks on 1942.

d - Post- WWII Foreign Policy

The U.S Administration changed ultimately its foreign policy towards international cooperation for collective security. The Americans adhered to the United Nations Charter (1945). The Communist threat provoked the U.S to tear up its isolationism evoking containment policy that was a necessary process to restrict the spread of the hostile Communist ideology throughout Europe. For instance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (N.A.T.O), 1949 organized military alliances between the U.S and Western Europe. In addition, the Marshall Plan ,of June 5th, 1947, granted economic aids to help the European economy to recover. Ultimately, the Americans found themselves involved directly or indirectly in international conflicts such as the Viet-Nam War, Cuban Crisis 1962, Israeli-Arab conflict and other ones. Virtually,

the Viet-Nam War (1954-1976) pushed American policy-makers to reconsider their containment policy. That war cost them thousands of deaths and a humiliating defeat. However, the U.S found itself obliged to intervene in Europe's quarrels to push away wars from its territory.

3.2 - How revolutionary was the American Revolution?

According to Richard Price -a British Unitarian minister- the American Revolution marked the turning point of the history of the humanity since the birth of Jesus Christ. It was ultimately a social revolution which transformed the foundations of the old order of kingship regime into conventional democratic governments. It thoroughly created the United States of America. It dethroned tyranny and enthroned democracy in the new lands which were subjects of the British Crown. In the course of the American revolutionary movement both commoners and elite classes cooperated and participated in the political as well as in the military process-the American War of Independence- against the British usurpation. In the revolutionary era, the rate of popular participation in politics increased involving planters, wealthy merchants and lawyers and pamphleteers. All was for the sake of the American *cause*. In the post-revolutionary era, the commoners' political involvement decreased.

Social expectations were altered by the revolution which called for people's right and duty to vote for a government. In fact, small farmers, labourers and artisans held offices in legislative elections representing their economic interests. In addition, statesmen of the new State governments were less wealthy but more active and motivated than pre-revolutionary militants. It was for the first time in the American

history that citizens had the right to witness legislative debates held by State assemblies.

The drafting of the famous 'Declaration of Independence' carried intentions to rid the colonies of Britain's domination and above all to influence the Americans to govern themselves democratically. Thus, the U.S Constitution of 1787 was ratified to create order and organize politically, socially and economically the newly emerged nation. As far as the original charter, or the so called 'the Articles of Confederation', hindered the unity of the country through its weakness of the establishment of a weak central government, the revolutionaries drafted a conventional constitution as a sound achievement of the revolution. It came to limit the governor's power and to safeguard people's rights.

Many revolutionists asserted that the U.S Constitution ought to be drafted by the citizens not the legislatures. It should be produced conventionally and ratified through people's voting. For instance, Massachusetts Constitution, which was ratified by John Adams in 1780, was made as reference by the judges to declare some acts and even slavery as unconstitutional as far as they came to violate the State's constitution. The new State constitutions were also destined to increase State's legislatures through making them more representative. Basing on the Americans' experience with the British royal governors, their constitution raised the legislatures' powers and weakened the governor's authority. This was exemplified through Pennsylvania's elimination of the governor and the establishment of an executive committee. In order to eliminate other vestiges of the monarchical society, the U.S Constitution aimed to prohibit official monopolies and to increase taxation progressively. Concerning

inheritance laws, they were reformed and restricted through the outlawing of primogeniture, when the father left his property to his eldest son. Those restrictions aimed mainly to ban the entailment of property to a specific line of descendents. Besides, religious freedom was granted by every State constitution, from 1776 to 1800, and was considered as an undeniable element of the establishment of a republican society.

The American Revolution brought changes to the Americans' lives through influencing them to build a society based upon republican principles. It inspired many Americans to question many forms of dependence such as slavery and indentured servitude. By the outbreak of the 18th century, slavery was either abolished or gradually eliminated in northern States whereas white indentured servitude thoroughly disappeared. Many scholars and historians refuse to limit the objectives of the American Revolution only to grasp independence from the British but to stir the African-Americans to revolt. During the American War of Independence, the whites fight for independence, inspired the blacks to cast their bid for liberty. They fought for the Red Coats, the British army, to have in turn their freedom from the British Crown.

On the other side, there were many blacks who joined the Continental Army and fought with the Americans. The fact that the blacks joined the British and the American armies attests that they were not in favour of both sides but they fought for their freedom. The American Revolution virtually influenced the blacks to fight for their liberty as far as the famous 'Declaration of Independence' claimed that "all men are created equal". The black soldiers' participation in the war led many Americans to reconsider the contradictions in the American conception of people's liberty and

equality for being whether applicable on the blacks or not. However, despite the fact that the American Revolution did not emancipate the blacks, it united them in the belief of freedom and to fight to abolish slavery.

On the other side, women's rights were not included in the founding fathers' agenda. Explicitly, due to an error of wording in the State constitution of New Jersey when the word 'persons' was later replaced by 'men', women were granted the right to vote until 1807. As far as women gained economic rights and educational levels, their legal status changed and they were allowed to vote. Thus, once the privileged white women gained their political rights, the other social classes, ethnic groups and races would be included in that process of political sexual equality. Relatively, in 1848, the Declaration of Sentiments, which was signed in women's conference in Seneca Falls, claimed that: "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men and women are created equal". This statement echoed the original 'Declaration of Independence' and outlined three broad categories of grievances: education, economic and political rights. They prevailed the model of "Separate spheres", which was based upon sexual differences between men and women, denying the enslaved women who were considered as domestic beings.

It is widely agreed by scholars of humanities and historians that a revolution is usually ignited when citizens notice that their human rights were violated by their governor. What agitated the colonials against the British royal administration was its imposed aggressive acts and mercantilism. However, as far as any revolution aims to bring changes, the American Revolution, inspired from the Enlightenment ideology, came to reshape the political and social structures of the Americans.

Clarence Crane Brinton, an American historian of France as well as a historian of ideas, made a comparison between the dynamics of the revolutionary movements and the progress of fever in his book *The Anatomy of Revolution*, (1965). He compares the revolution to a fever referring to it as negative phenomena that ought to be avoided and cured if it occurs. However, both concepts have positive effects for the organism which survives them, meaning the society. The revolution tends to destroy wicked persons, corrupted ones, and to eliminate harmful as well as useless tyrant governmental institutions.

According to Brinton, the revolution is constituted of three entities: the symptoms, the fever itself and the break of the fever. Firstly, the symptoms are embodied in the inefficiency of the tyrant ruling government or in economic problems or in people's will to overthrow the old monarchical regime to establish a republic. Brinton claimed that the moderates were the first to seize the political power which latterly would be taken away from them by extremists. As a consequence, the fever would break announcing the end of the revolution. In this concern, the American Revolution was taken to be evaluated according to this process. Indeed, according to this theory, the symptoms of the American Revolution were divided into three types, economic, political and military. The first type was embodied in economic grievances that resulted from the British acts such as the Declaratory Act of 1765 which granted the British Parliament the absolute right to tax the colonies.

The second symptom was the inefficiency of the British royal authority over the colonies as well as kingship regime. The third one was the armed confrontations, the American War of Independence. However, the revolutionary coalition, between the

founding fathers, was not broken up in post-revolutionary America adding that George Washington was appointed the first president of the independent United States. As far as the seizure of power did not shift from the American moderates to extremists, this breaks Brinton's statement of power seizure by the radicalists.

The third stage of Brinton's theory is the breakup of fever and the occurrence of Thermidor and then the end of the revolution. The end of the American War of Independence marked the end of the war tension giving rise to economic prosperity with good foreign relations leading to the occurrence of the Thermidor. Negative effects of the use of violence, the war, were noticeable on the American society such as the restless of the young, people's disobedience of the authorities, the increase in crime and the extravagance of society.

Only some stages of Brinton's theory fit the American Revolution. What could be said in this concern is that the American Revolution was a true revolution which brought changes on the political and social structures of the Americans. Despite the fact that the American War of Independence ended, the revolutionary movement continues to characterize the Americans' ideology of liberty and equality. All in all, it can be considered as an unfinished revolution.

Notes

5- It claimed that the U.S would intervene to help American nations in case of wars.

6- Lucitania is a British trading ship transported the U.S weapons to England. It was sunk by German Army leading to the death of more than 200 person.

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Conclusion

Throughout my work, I have tried to discuss the principles of the American Revolution (1775-1783) which were glorified and defended by the colonial Revolutionaries. In addition, this study deals with the objectives that the revolutionists underlined to be performed right after independence such as republicanism and economic prosperity. Then, I tried to appraise to what extent the American policymakers stocked to their revolution's legacy until 1950's. Relatively, the principles of "Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness" stirred up Black-Americans to grasp their civil and political rights, The Civil Rights Movement 1950's. Indeed, "Pursuit of Happiness" and "Individualism" became bases of American businessmen to prosper and increase their lot of wealth, even on the expense of employees' rights. It was that easy-earning which led to the collapse of the American economy in 1929. In this concern, it was asserted: "Thus his moral ground is taken from under his feet ... but the rich man is always sold to the Institution(Government) which makes him rich. Absolutely speaking, the more money, the less virtue"(Thoreau10).

Politically speaking, with the ratification of the Bill of Rights (1789) and the establishment of the three governmental institutions: Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, the U.S enjoyed a more stable political structure. Yet, Henry .D. Thoreau confessed sincerely the political hypocrisy of his government and Constitution when saying that the American lawyers worked hard to establish a total respect of the Constitutional truth which was not the Truth but expediency. Truth could never fall in contradictions only that of the lawyers who deserved to be called

defenders of the Constitution not of the Truth and justice⁽¹⁰⁾. Many historians asserted that as far as the Blacks' status contradicted with the Constitution's first principle of equality, hypocrisy was thriving in the American political Bible.

The American Revolution's Jeffersonian principles as well as the policy of nonalignment of George Washington and the conception of individualism are the forefronts of the American Creed Ideology that is considered by the Americans as their political and economic reference. The latter had provided Americans with the notion of "Messianism" as their holy mission to declare wars in the world to grasp people's freedom as what happens in Iraq in our century.

However, far from this humanist image of the American Creed to save the world, economic interests come to dissolve idealism on the U.S humanitarian ideology. For instance, paving a save way to capitalism by securing raw-material sources, and other ways to get money (debts), this pushed the American Administration to find abroad new ways to intervene in the political matters of States. This was performed in the name of Life (by saving innocents from wars as WWII), Liberty (by the use of the C.I.A in Coup d' Etats as in Cuba in 1933)⁽⁷⁾ and the Pursuit of Happiness (Individualism and free trade).

Besides, nonalignment policy became broken due to the unlimited wills of the U.S to ride the world and to be the BIG BROTHER of the whole nations. Thus, what can be said in this context is that with or without the U.S Creed, people are born naturally and logically free with certain rights of life and freedom of thinking which are granted to them before Constitutions and Laws had been drafted by Man. It is needed to be virtually confessed that there is no perfect political system and no idealist revolution as

far as only what fits the interests of a given nation lies behind its humanist ideologies. In this concern, we illustrate with the opinion that absolute perfection is seldom to be found in any political or judiciary system (Tocqueville 06).

Notes

7- General Batista evoked electoral manipulations in 1933 to 1940 against president Carlos Prío Socarras, the leader of “Auténticos Revolucionario Movement”. Under U.S pressures, General Batista was persecuted in 1959 and Fidel Castro declared president.

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