

AMERICAN UMPIRE

DISCUSSION GUIDE AND LESSON PLAN

Teaching and Discussing the Film

This guide serves two audiences.

Part One provides lesson plans and historical background for instructors at the high school and college levels.

Part Two contains information to help community groups begin conversation.

The overall purpose is to encourage viewers of all ages to think more deeply about the history of America's overseas commitments and the nation's choices going forward. Civic groups, high school teachers, college instructors, and curious citizens will find both parts useful.

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ABOUT THE FILM

Since World War II the United States has engaged in more foreign interventions than any other nation. Presidents of both political parties have asserted that the U.S. must umpire the world's conflicts and that if it doesn't, the world will not be safe. This policy helped create a more peaceful, prosperous, and cooperative world in most respects, but also came at a cost in blood, treasure, and moral uncertainty. *American Umpire* raises the question, should we continue this policy or is it time to revise it?

The first half of the film highlights America's origins as a neutral republic and its transition to an interventionist superpower after World War II. The second half of the film engages experts in a dialogue regarding the possibility of changing course. *American Umpire* is designed to launch a thoughtful, civil conversation with the general public about the future of U.S. foreign policy.

American Umpire offers a balanced alternative to the partisan hyperbole of the 24-hour news cycle and Internet free-for-all that starkly paints foreign policy choices as either war mongering or isolationism. It features informed voices across the spectrum, from former Secretary of State George Shultz who thinks "if the US steps back from the role it's played since WWII, the world will come apart at the seams," to academics like Barry Posen of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who believes America must devise a new framework of "restraint" and expect allies to take greater responsibility.

KEY CONCEPTS

- U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
- AMERICAN UMPIRE
- DEEP ENGAGEMENT
- RESTRAINT
- MILITARY SPENDING
- DEFENSE
- U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS
- WASHINGTON'S GREAT RULE
- TRUMAN DOCTRINE
- COLD WAR
- NATO
- UNITED NATIONS
- INDISPENSABLE NATION
- SECRETARY OF STATE
- CORE CURRICULUM
- DIGITAL HUMANITIES
- PRIMARY SOURCE

LESSON PLANNING FOR TEACHERS

CORE CURRICULUM STANDARDS (CCS)

Forty-two states, the District of Columbia, four territories, and the Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) have adopted the Common Core State Standards. The map at the link below provides information about the process each state and territory followed. It will also take you to state websites that provide information about how standards are implemented, including plans for assessment, support for teachers, and strategies to help all students succeed. Following this is a list of the standards applicable to the film *American Umpire*. <http://www.corestandards.org/standards-in-your-state/>

KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1

Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2

Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.3

Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CRAFT AND STRUCTURE:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.4

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines *faction* in *Federalist* No. 10).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.5

Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.6

Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

INTEGRATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND IDEAS:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7

Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g.,

visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.8

Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9

Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

RANGE OF READING AND LEVEL OF TEXT COMPLEXITY:

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.10

By the end of grade 12, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 11-CCR text complexity band independently and proficiently.

<http://www.corestandards.org/ELA-Literacy/RH/11-12/>

CORE CONCEPTS OF MEDIA ANALYSIS:

Grades 11 & 12: Standard 1.1 Recognize strategies used by the media to inform, persuade, entertain, and transmit culture (e.g., advertisements; perpetuation of stereotypes; use of visual representations, special effects, language); Standard 1.3 Interpret and evaluate the various ways in which events are presented and information is communicated by visual image makers (e.g., graphic artists, documentary filmmakers, illustrators, news photographers). For more information about media literacy standards in your state, visit:

MediaLiteracy.com: resources for advancing media education, United States Standards for media literacy education. <http://www.medialiteracy.com/standards.htm>
Frank W Baker's guide to State Standards Which Include Elements of Media Literacy. http://frankwbaker.com/state_lit.htm

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

WHY THE THIRTEEN STATES NEEDED A FEDERAL UMPIRE:

Today, the United States is one nation, but that's not how it began. The thirteen North American colonies operated separately, each with its own charter, local laws, and assembly accountable to the British King. When the colonies came together to fight for independence, they wrote individual constitutions to establish self-government. Over a period of five years, while the Revolutionary War proceeded, the states also hammered out a collective agreement. The so-called **Articles of Confederation**¹ created a federation, "a firm league of friendship," that could make recommendations but had no power over the sovereign states. The states were thirteen individual countries united against a common enemy. The Articles of Confederation that joined the "United States" created no executive or judiciary branch. Its legislative branch had no power to collect taxes or regulate commerce. When the Revolutionary War ended, the confederation sold its navy and reduced the Continental Army to 700 men. Any and all future changes to the agreement required unanimous consent.

Following independence, the coalition weakened. Some states struggled to repay their war debts. Others coped with internal unrest and foreign threats. They wrestled with balancing state autonomy against the advantages of a stronger confederacy. Some of the former revolutionaries, particularly George Washington, realized that the central government was too weak to curb violence within states or protect the nation against foreign rivals. States raised tariffs (import taxes) against one another and disintegration threatened. After Shay's Rebellion in 1787, it became clear that a new structure was needed to maintain peace.

The Federalists and the Antifederalists debated a controversial new constitution written in Philadelphia in 1787. The Antifederalists opposed the strong central government it might create. They felt the nation was already too large to be centrally administered. They feared that a distant government would grow corrupt and tyrannical. The Federalists disagreed. They believed that a federal system would create stable government. It would also act as an "umpire" between the states to "compel acquiescence" if one tried to break the rules of the alliance. It would promote unity and prosperity. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, all strong supporters of the Constitution, wrote a series of essays on their political philosophy. In the **Federalist Papers**,² they argued against the Articles of Confederation and in favor of the new Constitution. Ultimately, this fierce debate concluded

with the ratification of a new **U.S. Constitution**³ giving much greater authority to the federal government. To it, a **Bill of Rights**⁴ was added to protect individuals from abuses of federal power.

The new republican (non-monarchical) government created by the Constitution was the first of its kind. It was a grand experiment that not only allowed individual states to pass their own laws, but also created a federal government to coordinate the interests and policies of the states, negotiate with foreign nations on behalf of all, provide a national defense, regulate interstate trade, mint a common currency, and collect taxes. Perhaps most importantly, it acted as an informal "umpire" among the states and provided a forum (the U.S. Congress) where representatives from each state could meet with others and approve common rules. Unlike the nations of Europe, which lacked a federal umpire, the states mostly avoided violent conflict with one another. Despite a terrible Civil War in the mid-nineteenth century, America has remained united for more than two centuries and achieved prosperity through a large common market that combines the economic productivity of fifty separate states.

WASHINGTON'S GREAT RULE:

The most urgent task of the new federal government was to create internal stability and establish peaceful relations with foreign countries. The election of the widely popular George Washington fostered a sense of common identity. In addition, Congress quickly ratified the Bill of Rights, which appeased the Antifederalists. The first presidents had the unenviable task of devising a national foreign policy during a time of great instability. The French Revolution unleashed violence and chaos across Europe. Britain and France went to war, disagreements within the U.S. government led to intense partisanship, and conflict over slavery threatened to split the new country apart. President Washington set the direction for U.S. foreign policy that guided other presidents for the next 150 years. In his **Farewell Address**⁵, he set forth what he called his Great Rule, a policy of political neutrality toward other countries' disputes.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING WASHINGTON'S GREAT RULE:

Neutrality did not mean that the new nation was passive or never went to war to advance its own interests. It even joined with other nations in times of danger, such as when the country allied with France to defeat Britain in the War

of Independence. President Washington defined neutrality as a policy of avoiding permanent alliances, especially ones that required an open-ended military commitment.

Washington advised the nation to “Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all.” He believed that America needed time to “settle and mature . . . and to progress without interruption.” He felt that political alliances tended to reinforce biases that prevented an honest assessment of the nation’s own needs. As he wrote, “The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.” President Washington thus established a policy of neutrality in foreign disputes, rejection of foreign alliances, and friendly commercial relationships with all nations. Corresponding with this policy of neutrality, the United States maintained only a small navy and army for most of its history.

AMERICAN WARS DURING WASHINGTON’S GREAT RULE:

The United States was nonetheless involved in several military conflicts during its first 150 years. When forced to defend its sovereignty, property, or citizens, the nation called up men and armed for battle, such as against the Barbary pirates between 1801 and 1816 or during the War of 1812 against Britain. Territorial expansion also brought military conflict, including the Indian wars and Mexican-American War. Nonetheless, even during these conflicts, the principle of avoiding foreign alliances, remaining neutral in European wars, and avoiding a large, permanent military force was maintained.

ADVANTAGES OF INTERNATIONAL NEUTRALITY (1789-1947):

Freedom from the responsibility of permanent alliances and foreign intervention allowed the United States to focus on its own growth. George Washington’s successors stressed a policy based on strong economic relationships with other countries, but no military commitments.

President Thomas Jefferson argued that economic incentives were the best way to achieve international peace. Jefferson believed that a standing army would threaten liberty by placing too much power in the hands of a few powerful men. In his **Letter to David Humphries in 1789**⁶, (549) he wrote. “There are instruments so dangerous to the rights of the nation, and which place them so totally at the mercy of their governors, that those governors, whether legislative or executive, should be restrained

from keeping such instruments on foot, but in well-defined cases. Such an instrument is a standing army.” Jefferson felt it was far better to call up state militias whenever need arose rather than risk the possible misuse of a large “standing” (permanent) army. Jefferson was just as opposed to a naval fleet. After the 1798 Quasi-War with France, Jefferson asked Congress for the authority to shrink the Naval fleet from forty-two warships to six. Jefferson’s policy of neutrality encountered challenges between 1800 and 1815, with wars against Britain and the Barbary states of the North Africa, but his dream of a new, more peaceable form of international relations persisted.

Forty years after the Declaration of Independence, John Quincy Adams reinforced Washington’s “Great Rule” in a **July 4th, 1821, speech**⁷. After reciting the full text of the Declaration of Independence, Adams warned against foreign entanglements, stating: “Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.” Adams was also the primary author of the Monroe Doctrine (below). Although nineteenth century America was not able to avoid foreign conflicts entirely, for the most part it maintained political neutrality and avoided the constant warfare that wracked Europe.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE:

The **Monroe Doctrine of 1823**⁸ established the Western Hemisphere as a U.S. sphere of influence, warned the great powers to cease colonizing the Americas, and pledged non-interference in European conflicts. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt extended this doctrine with **The Roosevelt Corollary**⁹, in which he declared that the United States had the responsibility to act as “an international police power” in the Western Hemisphere. Between 1823 and 1917, the US was involved in limited military conflicts that included the Indian Wars, the Mexican-American War, and the Spanish-American War, as well as occasional “police actions” in the Caribbean and Central America. Up until World War I, the United States maintained a foreign policy defined strictly by its own interests, not by promises to other nations outside the Western Hemisphere.

WORLD WARS ONE AND TWO:

Two world wars during the twentieth century convinced the United States that threats outside the Western Hemisphere could threaten its safety. America reluctantly entered into these wars to protect its interests, and afterwards sought to

disarm, return to a policy of neutrality, and create an international system to sustain peace.

President Woodrow Wilson initially declared neutrality in the first of these wars, though this position gradually became hard to maintain. In the first months of 1917, Germany drew America into the war by sinking U.S. merchant ships in the Atlantic and sending the infamous **Zimmerman Telegram**¹⁰ that plotted an alliance with Mexico against the United States. In April of 1917, Wilson asked Congress to declare war against Germany. In his **speech to Congress on April 1, 1917**,¹¹ President Wilson expanded the scope of American interests and responsibility by stating, “the world must be made safe for democracy.” Following this speech, Congress authorized the United States to help repel the German invasion of France and Belgium. Nonetheless, the US entered the war to protect itself and its values, not because of a preexisting commitment to any other nation.

U.S. involvement in World War I was comparatively brief. However, the U.S. mobilized over four million troops, whose determination and sheer numbers helped bring the long war to an abrupt end. Approximately 116,000 died from wounds or disease. European nations suffered much greater losses: 1.7 million Russians, 1.7 million Germans, 1.4 million French, 1.2 million Austrians, and 900,000 British soldiers perished.

Before the fighting ended, Wilson announced a plan for international peace and security on January 8, 1918, in the **Fourteen Points**¹² he presented to Congress. This plan promoted free trade, self-determination, transparency, and democracy through a new structure for international organization. Wilson called for American participation in a “general association of nations” to provide “mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” The League of Nations was founded on January 10, 1920, to settle disputes through negotiation and enforce laws collectively. Sixty-three nations joined. Congress refused to ratify Wilson’s treaty, however, and the United States never belonged to the League.

Nonetheless, in an effort to slow an arms race, President Warren Harding convened the Washington Naval Conference in 1921. The great navies of the world had been expanding their fleets and fortifying their coasts, and many feared that this would inevitably lead to renewed war. The resulting **Five-Power Naval Treaty of 1922**¹³ was unprecedented. It committed the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to reducing forces. It introduced limits on the size of navies, and led to the scrapping of numerous warships. The Washington Treaty ended a long period of competitive increases in battleship construction. The limits were extended in the London Naval Treaty of 1930 and the Second London Naval Treaty of 1936.

But threats soon arose on land, following the outbreak of the Great Depression. Even so, the American people remained determined to avoid foreign conflicts during the early years of World War II. From Japan’s conquests in China in September 1931 to Germany’s conquest of Poland in September 1939, the American public strongly supported neutrality. Congress passed a series of laws between 1935 and 1939 that prevented the United States from entering conflicts then breaking out around the world, and even supplying nations trying to defend themselves. Isolationists were determined to close every loophole that had seemingly dragged the United States into World War I, even if it meant watching Europe and Asia self-destruct. Nonetheless, the explosion of global violence gradually changed public perspectives.

Opinion began shifting with the collapse of Poland. Over 84 percent of Americans polled had decided Germany must be stopped. President Franklin Roosevelt also believed that allowing the allied “Axis Powers” (Germany, Japan, and Italy) to proceed unchallenged would put America itself at risk. Congress finally removed the embargo on sales of war materiel. The United States began selling and lending goods to nations under attack, while still embargoing materiel to aggressors. Japan finally forced Roosevelt’s hand, triggering America’s active participation in World War II, by bombing U.S. and British territories throughout Asia and the Pacific on December 7 and 8, 1941. These attacks destroyed most of the U.S. Army Air Corps in the Philippines, leveled the U.S. garrison on Guam, and severely damaged the Pacific Naval fleet anchored at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Germany declared war on the United States a few days later.

NEW INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND GLOBAL NORMS AFTER WORLD WAR II:

Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, and Guam, talks had been underway to fundamentally change the rules of international engagement. Roosevelt and Churchill met aboard a British Warship, the *HMS Prince of Wales*, off the coast of Newfoundland in August of 1941. This meeting, known as the Atlantic Conference, resulted in the **Atlantic Charter**¹⁴. It declared that the world must abandon the use of force to settle disputes and that all nations, regardless of size or strength, possessed the right “to choose the form of government under which they will live.” Roosevelt and Churchill agreed not to seek new territory for their own nations, and instead restore to other nations the lands they had lost. This agreement was among the first of several measures to establish new rules for international relations.

During the war, Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union (the so-called “Grand Alliance”) held a series of

conferences to work out a plan for post-war peace. They agreed on the need for an international organization to replace the failed League of Nations. The United Nations was born. Its purpose, stated in the **Charter of the United Nations**¹⁵, was to prevent aggression, cultivate respect for self-determination, foster economic cooperation, and protect human rights. The principle difference between the League of Nations and the United Nations was the Security Council: a council with five permanent members (America, Britain, China, France, and Russia) and ten elected members with the power to authorize military action in case of threats to the peace from aggressors.

From their experience in the Great Depression, the Allies knew painfully well the extent to which economic conditions sometimes drove political violence. To stabilize the global economy, the Allies also held the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. There they laid plans for the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. The International Monetary Fund worked to avoid the “competitive devaluations” that fueled the Great Depression.¹⁶ The World Bank facilitated reconstruction after the war, and soon expanded its mission to alleviate poverty worldwide.¹⁷ The World Trade Organization was envisioned as a way to open markets, but the Cold War delayed implementation for many decades. Instead, international trade operated temporarily under the 1947 **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade**¹⁸. When the Cold War ended, the current World Trade Organization finally came into being in 1994.¹⁹ While the international system forged at Bretton Woods was not perfect, it fostered peace and prosperity around the world. Wars between nations declined steadily. The global economy boomed for many decades.

STALEMATE AT THE UNITED NATIONS:

Unfortunately, the Cold War undermined the maturation of the new UN Security Council. The permanent members often vetoed one another’s votes in international disputes. Without its own army and navy, and without agreement among its most powerful members, the fledgling United Nations struggled to reach its full potential. Encouraged by governments in Western Europe that feared Soviet expansion, the United States backed into the role of security guarantor, triggered partly by the Greek Civil War.

THE GREEK CIVIL WAR:

While Europe and Asia began the long task of reconstruction after World War II, the Soviet Union began reinforcing its borders and consolidating power. Russia absorbed the nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and compelled Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other

nations of Eastern Europe to accept communist rule after 1945. The western powers mostly accepted these tragedies as unavoidable, but hoped to save countries not yet under Soviet control. When civil war broke out in war-devastated Greece, the government there lodged a complaint with the UN against the communist nations of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia for supplying illegal arms. Britain initially rendered military and economic aid, but it was still reeling from World War II as well. So in February of 1947, the British sent the United States an ultimatum: step in or let Greece go under.

The physical and economic destruction of Europe had been catastrophic. World War II cost England alone over \$30 billion. German bombs leveled thousands of factories and crushed over four million homes. They decimated roads, trains, ports, and communications. Food was in short supply and still being rationed. In 1947, the British public was more concerned about domestic housing, food, and fuel than foreign security. Under great public pressure, the British government notified the United States that it could no longer maintain the role of protector of Europe or sustain the balance of power. They needed to feed their own people first. The United States would have to adopt the role of umpire because no one else could.

Truman had not anticipated any permanent military presence in Europe. At the end of WWII, the American public demanded that soldiers come home, as in previous conflicts. Truman discharged millions. The armed forces dropped from 12 million to 1.5 million by June of 1947. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, advised President Truman and congressional leaders that the Soviet threat to Western Europe was real. He warned that communist parties had dramatically expanded in Italy, France, Austria, and Hungary. Countries like Iran and Turkey were under duress. If these countries fell, the Soviets would dominate not only Southern Europe, but also the approaches to the Middle East and India.²⁰ Truman warned congressional leaders that it was in the nation’s interest to keep communism from taking over “three-fourths of the world’s territory.”²¹

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE:

President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947, to ask for assistance to Greece. The **Truman Doctrine**²² was born—and the foreign policy of the United States, which had maintained neutrality and resisted foreign alliances for over 150 years, was fundamentally altered. The president proclaimed: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures.”²³ Truman then asked for

\$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey the first year, followed by civilian and military personnel if requested.

The bill passed, but not without prolonged debate. The concerns of both opponents and supporters resonate to today. Congressman George Bender argued, "If we go into this Greek thing we shall be pouring in money and the blood of our sons for generations."²⁴ Senator Hugh Butler noted that the Truman Doctrine was asking Americans to accept "the entire burden of remaking the world . . . [and] adopt a permanent policy of spending hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of dollars in this crusade."²⁵ Others warned that some countries might see the Doctrine as evidence of American imperialism, sparking fresh wars.²⁶ Those who supported the bill argued that devastated Western Europe was physically unable to resist Soviet pressure and the infant United Nations still too weak to manage world conflict.²⁷ Britain was on wartime rations and most West European cities were in rubble. Senator Herbert O'Connor warned that only the United States retained the wherewithal to "head off a third world war before it reaches the shooting stage." Senator William Fulbright asserted that if all Europe fell to communism, "our future would indeed be dark." In the end, a large, bipartisan majority passed the legislation. Truman won over the American public.²⁸

THE COLD WAR:

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union between 1947 and 1991, known as the Cold War, pitted two military superpowers against each other for more than forty years. Most nations chose sides, becoming members of the so-called Eastern bloc or Western bloc. (Some joined what was called the Non-Aligned Movement.) The two superpowers that fought as allies in World War II had very different philosophies. The United States was a democratic, capitalist society committed to access, arbitration, and transparency, while the Soviet Union was a highly secretive, single-party, authoritarian government with a state-owned economy. Further complicating the situation, decolonization spread worldwide during the same period as the great British, French, and Dutch Empires disintegrated. These events were all interrelated. Both America and Russia publicly endorsed decolonization. They competed for the allegiance of new nations formed out of the former colonial empires. Both superpowers gave military and economic assistance to many of these wobbly new governments. The Truman Doctrine committed the United States to defend the sovereignty and stability of all "free nations" right at the moment that the number of nations was rapidly increasing.

The term "Cold War" was used because the two powers never fought directly, though both armed themselves heavily with conventional and nuclear weapons. This arms race was based on "mutually assured destruction," which meant

that if either side fired at the other, nuclear warfare would destroy both nations, if not the world. While this deterred open violence between the United States and the Soviet Union, it did not stop military action in countries like Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. In addition, both sides used economic aid, propaganda, psychological warfare, espionage, and even sports and the performing arts to compete for dominance.

The first major crisis of the Cold War was the Soviet blockade of Berlin. At the end of WWII, a multinational force occupied the former Nazi capital of Berlin and divided it into four sectors, each controlled by a different Allied force. In June of 1948, the Soviets tried to force the Western Allies to yield their sectors of Berlin by blockading roads, railways, and canals. This endangered German citizens in the Western-controlled areas. In a coordinated effort, the Western Allies airlifted supplies, food, and fuel to meet their needs. This coordinated effort was so successful that flights landed every few minutes for over a year.²⁹ The Soviets eventually lifted the blockade in May of 1949, but in order to stop Germans from fleeing the communist-controlled sector, the Soviet Union constructed the Berlin Wall in 1961. The wall separated West Berlin from the Soviet sector and the surrounding countryside under communist control. It divided the ancient capital for 28 years, until German citizens spontaneously tore it down in November 1989.

US INTERVENTIONS DURING THE COLD WAR, 1947-1991:

The Truman Doctrine played out in a number of ways. Not only did the U.S. provide financial and military aid to a range of countries seeking to rebuild or avoid communist takeover, it also joined North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a defense alliance. Doing so meant abandoning Washington's Great Rule altogether. Ratified on April 4, 1949, NATO was a permanent military alliance. It provided (under [Article 5](#)³⁰) for the collective defense of any member attacked by an external party. An alliance of Soviet-bloc nations, the Warsaw Pact, formed in 1955 to counter NATO. The U.S. subsequently signed numerous permanent alliances, took sides in many internal conflicts around the world, and built a standing army.

The Truman Doctrine guided many of the actions of the United States over the following decades, including intervention in the Korean War, covert actions in Iran and Guatemala, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and an immensely unpopular war in Vietnam. Throughout, the United States provided a military guarantee that helped many European and Asian nations feel secure enough to focus on economic development and political cooperation, knowing that the United States protected them from outside aggression. In

America itself, the Cold War sometimes contributed to domestic upheaval. Hysterical fears of communist infiltration were stoked by congressional investigations led by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s. Civil rights movements were strengthened by the glare of international scrutiny. How could America criticize Soviet human rights violations when its own citizens were not equal under the law? Anti-war protests over U.S. military action in Vietnam divided the nation along political and generational lines. Foreign intervention caused some Americans to question the morality and meaning of their country.

The Berlin Wall came down in 1989 and the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, effectively ending the Cold War. Some events happened almost overnight, but the end had been coming for decades. Beginning in 1969, the rivalry began to soften. Willy Brandt, the Chancellor of West Germany, took the first steps by signing treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland that accepted the loss of German territories during WWII. This lessened Poland's dependence on the Warsaw Pact for defense against Germany. Additional attempts to negotiate peace over the next two decades included Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the Vladivostok Summit on Arms Control, and the Helsinki Accords. In addition, trade embargoes were gradually dropped. This period of *détente* beginning in the 1970s nudged the peace process along.

However, the emergence of new leadership in the Soviet Union was probably the greatest single factor in ending the long stalemate. Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev introduced reforms beginning in the mid-1980s to revitalize the economy and make government more transparent. He also announced that the USSR would no longer intervene in the internal affairs of other countries to force them to remain communist. Surrounding nations could choose their own systems of government. These reforms, combined with Eastern European nationalism and political turbulence within Russia, led to the fall of Soviet communism. By 1991, the Soviet Union no longer existed. It split into fifteen separate nations across Eastern Europe and Asia, the largest of which is Russia. The Cold War was over. Many thought this would bring a "peace dividend" and that collective security would finally emerge.

US MILITARY INTERVENTION AFTER THE COLD WAR, 1991-PRESENT:

The Truman Doctrine did not expire with the Cold War. The policy promised "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside

pressures"—a mandate much broader than simply curtailing communist aggression.³¹ The expectation evolved that some outside power would always be there to defend the territory and rights of weaker nations. The atrocities of World War II also fundamentally changed world attitudes and expectations towards matters like genocide and "ethnic cleansing." The **1948 Declaration of Human Rights**³² gave individual rights priority over national sovereignty. National leaders were no longer allowed to do as they pleased within their national borders. The international community accepted a responsibility to stop genocide, mitigate civil war, and prevent aggression, even though few countries other than the United States possessed the physical power to do so. As long as there were "subjugated peoples," and no clear alternative to the American security umbrella, the Truman Doctrine would not be obsolete.

The European Union, which established a common European citizenship in 1993, appeared for a time to offer such an alternative. Its resolve was tested with the civil wars that emerged in the Balkans after the fall of the Soviet Union, when communist Yugoslavia also broke apart into several new states. The largest of these countries was Serbia, whose leader, Slobodan Milosevic, balked at the break-up. His strategy was to divide people along ethnic and religious lines to build his power. When other European nations recognized the independence of Croatia, Serbia responded with violence in both Croatia and Bosnia. Mass murders to carry out "ethnic cleansing," the use of rape as a weapon of psychological warfare, and vicious attacks on civilians in the cities of Sarajevo and Srebrenica put the international community under severe pressure.

European leaders insisted on diplomacy alone. They rejected military force and refused to arm the Bosnian or Croatian people to defend themselves. American President Bill Clinton urged instead that the local people should be armed and NATO should provide air support. European officials rejected this advice. For nearly four years, Serbian paramilitaries besieged the Bosnian city of Sarajevo, killing more than 10,000 civilians, and in July 1995 they overran the town of Srebrenica, where they swiftly executed an estimated 8000 Muslim males. Clinton decided that the United States had an obligation to protect the population and pushed for NATO to delegate responsibility to American officers. The genocide in Yugoslavia was brought to a quick end and five successor states were recognized under a treaty negotiated in Dayton, Ohio. The U.S. once again played the role of umpire, enforcing international norms against genocide and the subjugation of small nations.

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- Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire* (Harvard 2013).
- George Herring, *From Colony to Superpower* (Oxford, 2008).
- Geir Lundestad, “Empire by Invitation in the American Century,” *Diplomatic History* (1999), v. 23, n. 2, pp. 189-217.
- Frank Ninkovich, *The Global Republic: America’s Inadvertent Rise to World Power* (Chicago, 2014).
- Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, The Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford 1992).
- Barry Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Cornell 2014).
- John Thompson, *A Sense of Power: Roots of America’s Global Role* (Cornell 2015).

LINKS TO ONLINE PRIMARY SOURCES:

- Federalist papers: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/federalist.html> (ONLY use those Numbers that contain the word “Umpire”)
- Washington’s Great Rule and Farewell Address: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/farewell.html>
- John Quincy Adams July 4, 1821: http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches/adams_jq/foreignpolicy.html
- Disarmament Agreement 1922: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0351.pdf>
- Charter of the United Nations: <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-1153.pdf>
- Truman Doctrine Speech: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
- North Atlantic Treaty (Article 5): <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0828.pdf>
- President Clinton – Speech “Indispensable Nation”: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=54183>

U.S. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS:

- <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/04/01/americans-disengaged-feeling-less-respected-but-still-see-u-s-as-worlds-military-superpower/>

DEFENSE SPENDING:

- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/07/everything-chuck-hagel-needs-to-know-about-the-defense-budget-in-charts/>

COSTS FOR VETERANS:

- <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/figures/2014/Costs%20of%20War%20Summary%20Crawford%20June%202014.pdf>

PRE-VIEWING ACTIVITIES FOR THE CLASSROOM

FOREIGN POLICY TIMELINE

Before watching the film, students need an understanding of U.S. history from 1945 to the present. They may have already explored the topic in the classroom through a variety of learning activities, but the film provides the opportunity to examine key turning points again through the lens of foreign policy. This is also an opportunity to examine the historical thinking skill of change and continuity. The following are a few suggestions for facilitating a survey of major international events following World War II.

- **Teacher Led Classroom Discussion/Lecture** – The instructor will draw or project a timeline or graphic organizer/chart. In order to lay the groundwork, the teacher will lead students through a class discussion of major international events and policy decisions following World War II, allowing as much or as little participation from students as they are able. Time: 45-90 minutes depending on depth of conversation.
- **Student Led Jigsaw Presentation** – The instructor will group students and assign each group a presidential administration. Student groups will research the major international events and policy decisions of their administration and then present the information to their classmates. The instructor will clarify, correct, or add to student presentations as needed. Time: 90-135 minutes depending on depth of conversation.
- Instructor will distribute the viewing guide provided (**student worksheet**). It is good practice for the instructor to allow the students a few minutes to look over the sheet, allow for questions, and introduce any vocabulary that may be unfamiliar. The instructor may also distribute and review this guide with students after viewing the film.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS BEFORE VIEWING THE FILM

The instructor will preface the film by asking for discussion on the following issues and questions. This can be done as preparation before class or as a warm-up activity.

- What is the normal job of an “umpire”? How and why did the U.S. federal government come into existence as an umpire between the states? CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1
- Read **Washington’s Great Rule**³³ and explain why George Washington thought it was important to avoid foreign “political” alliances. What did he mean by “neutral conduct”? CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1
- How stable is the world today compared with the end of World War II, when Truman issued his **Doctrine**³⁴? How big a threat is **terrorism**³⁵ to the majority of Americans during their lifetimes? Is it a military or police problem—and what is the difference?

POST-VIEWING ACTIVITIES FOR THE CLASSROOM

QUESTIONS AFTER VIEWING THE FILM

This film provides ample material for classroom discussion. Teachers can raise the following questions (and others, as desired) with the whole class or assign small groups the task of answering each question and presenting their answers to the class.

1. Dr. Elizabeth Cobbs and other experts mentioned **Washington's Great Rule**³⁶ and the **Truman Doctrine**.³⁷ After reading both speeches, explain the two policies and the differences between them. CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2
2. How did post-WWII instability in Europe and the Greek Civil War push the U.S. towards a position of international leadership?
3. What are the hazards of acting alone as an international “umpire”?
4. Compare these hazards with the concerns expressed in the film about giving up this position. CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.6
5. Does the United States have a responsibility to protect people in other countries who are resisting internal oppression? What about oppression from external forces? Is there a difference? List and compare the differences between intervention in foreign vs. domestic conflicts. CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7

WORKSHEETS AND PROJECT-BASED LEARNING ACTIVITIES FOR HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOMS

6. Growth of U.S. military responsibilities: Using the two lists of U.S. military action (**prior to 1945**³⁸ and **after 1945**³⁹) and two **world maps**⁴⁰, mark the places where the U.S. has intervened militarily. Compare the two maps. What does this tell you about U.S. security concerns after WWII?
7. Chart America's global military presence: Ask students to read the attached article, then use the **list of U.S. military bases**⁴¹ abroad to mark the locations of U.S. installations on a **world map**⁴². Discuss how this may make some nations feel more secure while making some feel threatened.<http://www.thenation.com/article/the-united-states-probably-has-more-foreign-military-bases-than-any-other-people-nation-or-empire-in-history/>
8. Be the critic: Choose and analyze one argument presented in the film, such as, for example, “Americans are more likely to be killed by their furniture than by terrorists.” Using the links to the sources in this guide, as well as other online sources, evaluate the argument. Is the person making the argument credible? That is, what are her or his credentials? What may be her or his bias? Do other sources agree with the argument being made? If not, how might you evaluate which is the more accurate, persuasive argument? CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7, CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.8, CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9<http://www.nsc.org/learn/safety-knowledge/Pages/injury-facts-chart.aspx>, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/04/16/eight-facts-about-terrorism-in-the-united-states/>
9. Video debate: In this film, one side argues against changing American policy while another argues in favor. Map the debate on the attached **debate worksheet**.⁴³ Then, using a cell phone, tablet, or laptop camera, make a 3-5 minute documentary arguing each position. Remember to have an argument (thesis) and to provide evidence supporting your position. Show the videos via YouTube or through a classroom video link.
10. Comprehension Worksheet: Using the attached worksheet (**student worksheet**), test how well students understand the concepts and events discussed.

POST-VIEWING CLASSROOM DEBATE ABOUT AMERICAN'S FUTURE POLICY:

Towards the conclusion of the film, Dr. Cobbs and the various presenters present arguments for two courses of action regarding American future foreign policy: staying the staying course or changing course. A debate on the merits of each is a high-yield learning experience.

The instructor begins by dividing students into two main groups. He or she might allow students to pick a side and then even out the teams by selecting a few students to join the opposing side, thereby playing “Devil’s Advocate.” However, instructors may alternatively choose to divide students randomly. This can be more challenging for students but effective nonetheless. These groups will be responsible for building the arguments for their side as well as preparing rebuttals against the opposition. In order to encourage full engagement, it may be helpful to divide the main groups into smaller groups that would be responsible for the four arguments listed below. Once sufficient time had been given for preparation, as determined by the instructor, each team should choose three speakers. The instructor should determine the debate procedure and convey those procedures to students before beginning the formal debate. Students who are not speaking in the debate can play roles as researchers, note-takers, moderators, and timekeepers. A vote can be taken at the end of the debate amongst all participants to determine the “winning” argument.

PROPOSITION #1

***Stay the Course:** “The United States should continue to assume primary responsibility for world security.”*

Arguments in favor:

- “If the United States steps back from the historic role we’ve played since WWII, the world will come apart at the seams.” Along with former Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright and Condoleezza Rice, George Shultz argues that the U.S. must continue to play the role of Umpire. They argue that only America’s overwhelming military force and continuing readiness to intervene deters nuclear proliferation, foreign wars, and terrorist violence.
- “If we don’t do this, no one else will.” Other experts warn there is no other nation that can (or will) step into the role of global defender. Moreover, it is unacceptably risky to allow other countries to take on the role because they might not perform it adequately or will do so in ways that conflict with U.S. interests.
- “We are all targets.” Some experts warn that terrorism makes every country too vulnerable for the United States to cease playing world protector. There will always be security threats for which we need to be prepared. We cannot let down our guard.
- “This is what great nations do.” The United States is an exceptional country that has a responsibility for world security because of its wealth and humanitarian values. Great powers always bear a disproportionate responsibility for “public goods” like security that benefit others as well. Today, the United States is the sole “great” power, and must strive to retain that role indefinitely for its own well being and the safety of others.
- PDF: Don’t Come Home America <http://isnblog.ethz.ch/international-relations/realism-and-retrenchment>, <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-good-country/>

PROPOSITION #2:

Change Course: “United States should reduce its military footprint, cultivate new allies, and expect other prosperous democracies to do their share.”

Arguments in favor:

- “*We’ve made it very difficult for other countries to play a role. They know that we’ll do it.*” If the United States pulls back, other nations will learn to provide for their own defense and assume greater responsibility for collective security. The U.S. can continue to be a partner in international security without carrying the burden unilaterally. The most stable system is one that many countries defend.
- “*Politically self-aware groups really rankle at governance by outsiders, and even the impression of governance by outsiders.*” Retrenchment will reduce animosity and overall security threats. One of the primary resentments articulated by militant extremists groups in the Middle East, for example, is U.S. meddling in internal conflicts. Reducing the number of interventions will curb this type of animosity. Countries will be more likely to blame internal actors for political problems rather than foreigners.
- “*We need to fundamentally rethink the international security architecture over which we’ve presided now for about three generations.*” Traditional military threats have nearly vanished since the end of the Cold War. The conditions that pertained during and after World War II do not exist. Large, well-organized empires no longer compete for territory. European countries have rebuilt and largely stopped fighting. Russia is less aggressive, less populous, and less wealthy than the former Soviet Union. China is concerned primarily with economic development and has not threatened its neighbors militarily. The world is safer than 30, 50, or 70 years ago.
- “*There’s nothing in the word ‘indispensable’ that says alone.*” Restraint does not mean isolationism. It responds creatively to changed conditions and new possibilities. Advocates of this policy suggest retaining a strong military reserve for unforeseen threats, reinforcing America’s “soft power” and diplomatic capabilities, and providing active leadership that builds on international progress since World War II.
- PDF: The Wisdom of Retrenchment http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/05/opinion/come-home-america.html?_r=0https://www.dartmouth.edu/~dpress/docs/Press_Come_Home_America_IS.pdf

DIGITAL HUMANITIES PROJECTS FOR THE UNIVERSITY CLASSROOM

TIMELINE OF U.S. FOREIGN CONFLICTS SINCE 1947

Ask students to create a digital timeline that shows **U.S. foreign conflicts since 1947**⁴⁴. Using Chronozoom.com, students can create an “artifact” for each event on the timeline, including photos, videos, PDFs, and URL links that represent the reach, costs, and international impact of each event. This will take research. Students may use many of the sources provided here while doing outside research as well. The timeline can then be used to spark conversation about the scope of U.S. international involvement and the relative costs and benefits of that policy.

Students can create a class account on Chronozoom.com by logging in with a Microsoft login. In order to use **Chronozoom.com**⁴⁵ they will need a class login for **Microsoft**⁴⁶ and a Microsoft **One Drive**⁴⁷ account. The **One Drive** account will allow them to move items such as photos, videos, and PDFs from their own devices to a shared drop-box for upload to Chronozoom.com

The attached link provides a video with **step by step instructions**⁴⁸.



To create Microsoft login account

<https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/account>

To create a One Drive account

<https://onedrive.live.com/about/en-us/>

To login to Chronozoom

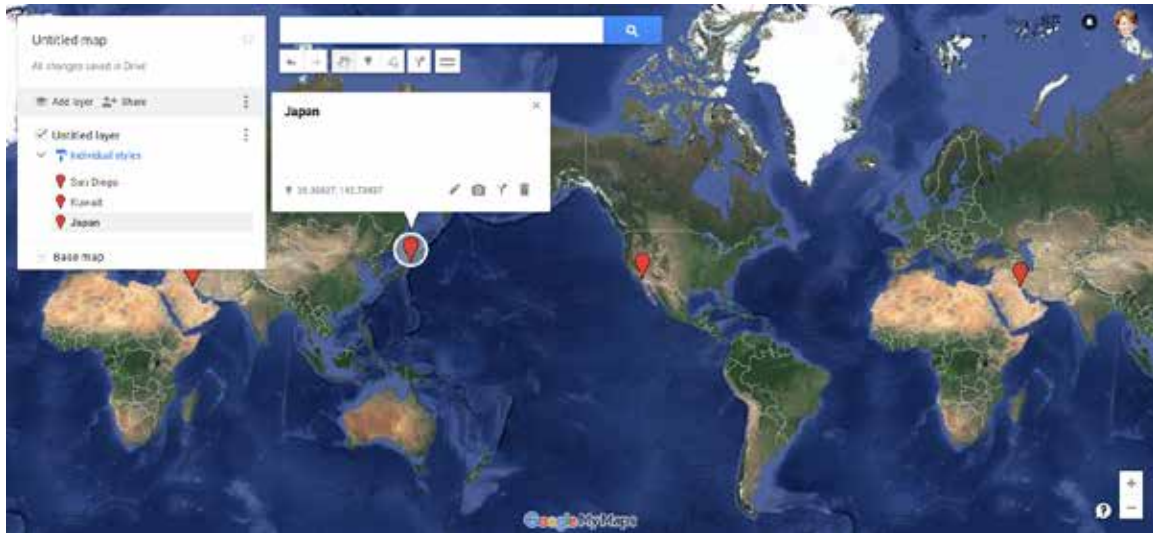
<http://www.chronozoom.com/#/t00000000-0000-0000-0000-000000000000>

Step-by-step instructions for Chronozoom

<https://mix.office.com/watch/1ieocnkm5tg7t>

MAP LOCATIONS OF U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD:

Using google.maps, students can mark the location of U.S. military installations around the world. They can mark by country using the provided [list of military bases](#)⁴⁹, or they can do some research on their own to locate the multiple locations within each country and mark as many as possible. (There are hundreds, from tiny to large, so this is a significant task.) After students have determined the list, they should log in to <https://www.google.co.uk/maps>. They will need to click on the login button and login with their google login. They can create a group or class login at the “[create a google account](#)”⁵⁰ page. Follow the [step-by-step instructions for creating a personal google map](#)⁵¹ with multiple points. This map can be used to discuss the global impact of the current policy that some experts call “deep engagement.”



To create a Google account

<https://accounts.google.com/SignUp?hl=en>

Step-by-step instructions for creating a Google map with multiple points

<https://www.create.net/support/218-how-to-pin-point-multiple-locations-on-google-maps.html>

AHA GUIDELINES FOR DIGITAL HUMANITIES EVALUATION

The American Historical Association has established [guidelines](#)⁵² for the teaching and evaluation of digital humanities in the College/University. <http://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/digital-history-resources/evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history/guidelines-for-the-evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history>

DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY GROUPS

Community groups may wish to follow one of two formats after showing the film. One option is to invite 2-4 journalists, university professors, legislators, military officers, or other leading citizens to comment for 5-10 minutes after the screening, and then encourage the audience to ask questions.

Another approach is to choose two or three questions, project them on PowerPoint, and ask audience members to offer their opinions, responses, and concerns. Following are some possible questions for community discussion: Does the United States still have a special responsibility “to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures,” as President Harry Truman asserted in 1947?

Community groups may wish to follow one of two formats after showing the film. One option is to invite 2-4 journalists, university professors, legislators, military officers, or other leading citizens to comment for 5-10 minutes after the screening, and then encourage the audience to ask questions.

Another approach is to choose two or three questions and ask audience members to offer their opinions, responses, and concerns. Following are some possible questions for community discussion:

1. How much responsibility do other countries have for self-defense and international peacekeeping? Does this responsibility depend upon their size or resources?
2. If NATO partners spend only 1% of their GDP on defense, should the U.S. do so as well—or continue to outspend them?
3. Does it matter that domestic support for military interventions abroad has declined?
4. How safe is the world today compared with the eras of World War I, World War II, and the Cold War?
5. What are reasonable ways to measure the decline or increase of violence?
6. What steps might the U.S. take to share responsibility?
7. What are the hazards of acting as “umpire” or “world policeman” without international authority?
8. What are the benefits of continuing the Truman Doctrine? How does this policy benefit the United States economically or politically?
9. How is our town (city, or state) affected by America’s foreign policy choices?

ADDITIONAL READING FOR INTERESTED CITIZENS

MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

- <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2014-09-24/retrenchment-war>
- <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2010-11-01/manufacturing-insecurity>
- <http://isnblog.ethz.ch/international-relations/realism-and-retrenchment>
- <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-good-country/>
- <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2011-11-02/how-cutting-pentagon-spending-will-fix-us-defense-strategy>
- <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2011-10-14/wisdom-retrenchment>
- <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2014-03-09/banal-retrenchment>
- http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/ISEC_a_00107
- <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0059.pdf>
- http://www.dartmouth.edu/~dpress/docs/Press_Come_Home_America_IS.pdf
- [Costs of war](#)
- <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/about>
- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/07/everything-chuck-hagel-needs-to-know-about-the-defense-budget-in-charts/>
- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/ezra-kle>

PUBLIC OPINION

- <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/04/01/americans-disengaged-feeling-less-respected-but-still-see-u-s-as-worlds-military-superpower/>
- <http://www.people-press.org/2013/12/19/in-deficit-debate-public-resists-cuts-in-entitlements-and-aid-to-poor/12-19-2013-4/>

To express opinion on the question, encourage audience members to contact their congressperson or senators. Addresses can be found here: <http://www.contactingthecongress.org>

FOOTNOTES

1. Articles of Confederation: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/articles.html>
2. Federalist Papers: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/federalist.html>
3. The US Constitution: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Constitution.html>
4. The Bill of Rights: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/billofrights.html>
5. Washington's Farewell Address: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/farewell.html>
6. Jefferson's Letter to David Humphries: <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-14-02-0422>
7. John Quincy Adams' speech: http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches/adams_jq/foreignpolicy.html
8. Monroe Doctrine of 1823: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=23>
9. The Roosevelt Corollary: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=56>
10. Zimmerman Telegram: <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/zimmermann/#documents>
11. Wilson April 1, 1917 speech: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=61>
12. Fourteen Points: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson's_Fourteen_Points
13. 1922 Naval Treaty: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0351.pdf>
14. Atlantic Charter: <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-0686.pdf>
15. United Nations Charter: <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-1153.pdf>
16. International Monetary Fund: <http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm>
17. World Bank: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/history>
18. GATT 1947: https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/gatt47_e.pdf
19. World Trade Organization: https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/06-gatt_e.htm
20. Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013) 283-287.
21. Ibid.
22. Truman Speech, March 12, 1947: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
23. Truman Speech March 12, 1947: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
24. Republican George Bender of Ohio, in *American Umpire*, 288.
25. Republican Hugh Butler of Nebraska, in *American Umpire*, 289.
26. Democrat Claude Pepper of Florida and Republican William Knowland of California, in *American Umpire*, 289.
27. Democrat William Fulbright of Arkansas in *American Umpire*, 290.
28. Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire*, 292.
29. Cobbs Hoffman, *American Umpire*, 297-298.
30. Article 5, North Atlantic Treaty: <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0828.pdf>
31. Truman Speech, March 12, 1947: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
32. 1948 Declaration of Human Rights: <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0828.pdf>
33. Washington's Farewell Address: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/farewell.html>
34. Truman Speech, March 12, 1947: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
35. Terrorist Threat <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/04/16/eight-facts-about-terrorism-in-the-united-states/>
36. Washington's Farewell Address: <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/farewell.html>
37. Truman Speech, March 12, 1947: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf
38. PDF list of U.S. military action prior to 1945
39. PDF list of U.S. military action after 1945
40. PDF world map
41. PDF of U.S. military bases abroad
42. PDF of World map
43. PDF debate worksheet
44. PDF list of U.S. military action after 1947
45. <http://www.chronozoom.com/#t00000000-0000-0000-0000-000000000000>
46. <https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/account>
47. <https://onedrive.live.com/about/en-us/>
48. <https://mix.office.com/watch/1ieocnm5tg7t>
49. PDF of U.S. military bases abroad
50. <https://accounts.google.com/SignUp?hl=en>
51. <https://www.create.net/support/218-how-to-pin-point-multiple-locations-on-google-maps.html>
52. <http://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/digital-history-resources/evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history/guidelines-for-the-evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history>

APPENDIX A

STUDENT WORKSHEET

NAME: _____

American Umpire examines how the United States became the world's policeman. From George Washington's Great Rule to the Truman Doctrine, the United States has played an unusual global role. In a series of interviews with policymakers, scholars, military leaders, and journalists, *American Umpire* explores options for the nation's future.

COMING HOME

1. What question does Dr. Elizabeth Cobbs raise in *American Umpire*? What is her answer (thesis)?
2. Why does Cobbs use the term "umpire" when referring to American domestic politics? How was this unique compared with European nations? What effect did this have on American development?

WASHINGTON'S GREAT RULE

3. What was George Washington's "Great Rule?"
4. What two reasons explain why the Founding Fathers were apprehensive about a standing army? How did this differ from European nations at the time?
5. What was the third founding principle of American Foreign policy? What was the reasoning behind it?
6. How were these principles reflected in America's approach to WWI? And again in WWII?

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

7. Why did the United States take on a greater role than anticipated following WWII?
8. What was the importance of the United Nations for the United States and the world?
9. Why was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) significant for the U.S. and the world during the Cold War?

AFTER THE COLD WAR

10. Did a new doctrine replace the Truman Doctrine once the Cold War ended? What evidence do the presenters give to justify the argument that the United States' role in global politics should be reevaluated?
11. Why, according to some contributors, do European nations not spend more money on defense? Do they believe the current structure is sustainable? Do they seem to think any thing will (or should) change?

THE BALKANS

12. What happened in Bosnia in the early 1990s? What role did Europeans play? Why was this significant?
13. What is problematic for the U.S. about being the "Indispensable Nation"? Is it problematic for other nations?
14. What are the short-term costs of sustaining America's military presence abroad? Long-term costs?
15. How has the economic climate changed in the United States since the Truman Doctrine? How does this compare to European nations?

SHOULD THE U.S. CHANGE COURSE?

16. What are arguments for changing course?
17. What are arguments for staying the course?

FUTURE GAMES

18. At the beginning of the documentary, narrator Jim Lehrer states that presidents of both parties have told citizens that if the U.S. does not umpire global conflicts, the world will not be safe. After viewing the film, do you agree? Why or why not?
19. Discussion Questions: What questions would you like to ask of the experts?

Written by Ashley Jordan – Atascocita High School, Humble, Texas (2016)

APPENDIX B

DEBATE WORKSHEET

- Which side are you on: in favor of a pullback in international engagement or staying the course?
- What is your argument? (Thesis)
- Which experts in the film take the same position? What are their credentials? Why are they reliable?
- What is some evidence to prove your position? Use sources provided, outside research, or both.

APPENDIX C

MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS OR FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS, 1789-1945 (156 YEARS)

- 1812–15: War of 1812 Against Great Britain
- 1846–48: Mexican-American War
- 1898: Spanish-American War
- 1899–1903: Philippine-American War
- 1900: Intervention in China's Boxer Rebellion
- 1915–34: Occupation of Haiti.
- 1916–24: Occupation of Dominican Republic
- 1912-1932: Occupation of Nicaragua
- 1917: Expedition to Mexico to Apprehend Pancho Villa
- 1917–19: World War One (Europe)
- 1941–45: World War II (Europe, Africa, Oceania, Asia)

*The Indian Wars and American Civil War are considered internal conflicts and not included for the purposes of this list. Naval engagements to defend against piracy are excluded as well.

MAJOR CONFLICTS AND MILITARY INTERVENTIONS, POST-1945 (70+ YEARS)

- 1945-1949: Post-war Occupation of Germany
- 1945-1955: Post-war Occupation of Austria
- 1945-1952: Post-war Occupation of Japan
- 1945-1949: Post-World War Occupation of South Korea
- 1948: Berlin Airlift
- 1950–53: Korean War
- 1961-1973: Vietnam War
- 1962: Naval Blockade of Cuba (Cuban Missile Crisis)
- 1965: Invasion of Dominican Republic
- 1968: Bombing campaign in Laos & Cambodia
- 1982-1983: Lebanese Civil War
- 1983: Invasion of Grenada
- 1990: Invasion of Panama
- 1991: Gulf War in Kuwait
- 1992–95: Somali Civil War
- 1993–95: Bosnian War
- 2001–present: War in Afghanistan
- 2003–2011: War in Iraq
- 2011: Expedition to Pakistan to Apprehend Osama Bin Laden
- 2011: Libyan Campaign
- 2014-present: Intervention in Syria and Iraq against ISIS

*Covert interventions by the Central Intelligence Agency (established 1947) that did not involve U.S. armed forces are not considered here. U.S. bases on foreign soil are excluded as well, along with naval engagements to defend ships.

APPENDIX D

COUNTRIES WITH U.S. MILITARY BASES

As of 2014, the United States had military personnel in 75 foreign countries. In the great majority, the numbers were tiny. Some were present primarily to defend American embassies. For example, in Ireland, there were two U.S. soldiers. In India, only seven. But there were fourteen countries in which American troops numbered more than 500 people, and five in which US soldiers and their dependents numbered in tens of thousands. The foreign nations with more than 500 were:

- Afghanistan
- Bahrain
- Belgium
- Cuba
- Germany
- Greenland
- Italy
- Japan
- Kuwait
- South Korea
- Spain
- Turkey
- United Arab Emirates
- United Kingdom

Source: Base Structure Report: Fiscal Year 2014, U.S. Department of Defense.

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