

## UNITED STATES

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
0a	USA	-77	12	7	4	1776	9	3	1783	-77	-77	-77
0b	USA	-88	6	9	4	1783	4	29	1789	-88	-88	-88
0c	USA	0	8	4	30	1789	3	3	1797	3	5	4
0d	USA	5	4	3	4	1797	3	3	1801	7	6	4
0e	USA	6	3	3	4	1801	6	14	1804	7	7	4
0f	USA	6	21	6	15	1804	3	3	1825	7	7	5
0g	USA	7	4	3	4	1825	3	3	1829	8	7	5
0h	USA	10	21	3	4	1829	1	28	1850	8	7	10
0i	USA	9	4	1	29	1850	5	29	1854	8	7	9
1X	USA	8	7	5	30	1854	12	19	1860	8	7	7
1Xa	USA	-77	4	12	20	1860	5	9	1865	-77	-77	-77
1Xb	USA	7	7	5	10	1865	6	1	1872	8	7	6
1O	USA	8	5	6	2	1872	3	3	1877	8	7	8
1Oa	USA	9	90	3	4	1877	6	22	1967	8	7	9
2X	USA	8	7	6	23	1967	8	9	1974	8	7	7
2O	USA	10	42	8	10	1974	11	7	2016	8	7	10
3X	USA	8	2	11	8	2016	3	21	2019	8	7	7
3Xa	USA	7	1	3	22	2019	2	4	2020	8	6	7
3Xb	USA	6	1	2	5	2020	11	2	2020	8	5	7
3Xc	USA	5	0	11	3	2020	99	99	9999	8	4	7

PITF Problem Events:

1) none

Mainly English settlers began establishing colonies along the Atlantic coast of North America in the early years of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century; many were fleeing the vagaries of nearly constant warfare among European states and religious persecution related to the Protestant Reformation that took place across Europe beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Living conditions for the early settlers were particularly harsh and challenging, particularly due to the region's remoteness from sources of supplies in Europe; trans-Atlantic shipping and support could take months even under favorable conditions. Complicating the settlers' efforts to build vital infrastructures was the fact that North America was already inhabited by a relatively large population of indigenous peoples who were ambivalent regarding the arrival of the new settlers. From their beginning, the new settlements depended on self-administration for their survival and well-being and this self-reliance remained crucial as the settlements began expanding ever-farther into the frontier regions away from the Atlantic coast. Their shared Christian religion was a principal source of their social cohesion and a central feature of their community organization. The northern regions were largely forested and subject to harsh winters, favoring small holdings and urban centers; the southern regions had more temperate climates and were more favorable to large-scale agricultural production. As the American colonies established a basic infrastructure, they began to attract greater interest from the English government and its purveyors of maritime trade; they also began to draw more settlers from a wider array of European countries. Many of the new settlers paid for their relocation to America by becoming indentured servants, repaying their debt through years of labor. The establishment of large-scale "plantation" agricultural enterprises in the more temperate zones of the Western Hemisphere demanded a large influx of unskilled labor that was supplemented through a slave trade that brought a large population of black Africans mainly to the southern colonies. Both the indigenous and slave populations were considered "heathen" (non-Christian) by the European settlers and not amenable to, or worthy of, integration with civil society. This general attitude began to erode somewhat over time as the dependent black African population was socialized and converted to Christianity. The indigenous "sons of the soil" valued

their independence and grew increasingly hostile to the widening, territorial encroachments of the European settlers.

As the living conditions in the American colonies improved and began to prosper, the self-administration of each of the thirteen separate colonies became more institutionalized and a symbiotic relationship with British royal authorities deepened due to the colonies' trade requirements and security needs. Tensions among major European imperial powers with stakes in the Americas: Britain, France, and Spain, first erupted in 1754 between the British and French forces in their American territories: British America and New France (known as the French and Indian War) and soon grew to encompass the European continent in 1756 (the Seven Years' War). The territories comprising New France were relatively sparsely populated, so, the French forces allied with various indigenous tribes against British America. The conduct of the French and Indian War induced a militarization in the British American colonies and greater coordination among the colonies' administrations. Both wars ended with the Treaty of 1763; the territories of New France were ceded to the victorious British as a result of the wars. The British victory, however, came at high cost and led to the imposition of various taxes on its American colonies. The colonies were accustomed to self-administration and relative autonomy but were not granted direct representation in the British Parliament. As a result, the rallying cry of "no taxation without representation" resonated deeply across the colonies and led attempts to coordinate both their response and their active resistance to the taxation and colonial authorities. The Stamp Act Congress in 1765 was an early attempt. It was followed by the First Continental Congress in 1774 and the Second Continental Congress in 1775, which established the Continental Army soon after British forces first engaged rebellious Massachusetts' militiamen in Lexington and Concord on April 17, 1775. The first major engagement took place during the Siege of Boston at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775. The early skirmishes that would lead to the American War of Independence (or Revolutionary War) had begun.

**0a)** July 4, 1776 (declaration of independence; provisional government) – The Second Continental Congress of the American colonies voted to establish the Continental Army on June 14, 1775, and appointed George Washington as its commanding general. American forces attempted to prevent British forces stationed in Boston from taking control of Boston Harbor and were attacked at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775. Once news of the battle reached King George III, he declared the colonies in "open and avowed rebellion" and refused further negotiations. The Continental Congress provisionally assumed the functions necessary for the conduct of the war and issued a Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. In order to formalize the authority of the Congress, it promulgated the Articles of Confederation, which was ratified by each of the thirteen colonies and came into effect on March 1, 1781. Under the Articles, Congress had no power to tax nor independent authority except that necessary to coordinate the war effort and engage in foreign relations; governing authority was retained in the legislatures of the individual colonies which were now recognized as states. Decisions were made by consensus of the states.

### **Revolutionary War: July 1776-September 1783**

The first military engagement between American colonial militias and British forces took place on April 17, 1775, in Lexington, Massachusetts. Delegates from each of the thirteen American colonies met on May 10, 1775, to form the Second Continental Congress. The Congress

established a Continental Army and issued a Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, beginning the American War of Independence. American forces finally scored a major defeat of British forces at Yorktown in Virginia as Gen. Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781. With that defeat, the British Parliament agreed to begin peace negotiations. The peace was confirmed with the Treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783.

**0b)** September 4, 1783 (transitional government) – Britain’s recognition of the American Colonies’ independence in the Treaty of Paris placed responsibility for the formation of central administration of the new American states on the Confederation Congress; however, it became clear that the Congress lacked the authority to do so. Its only important domestic policy success was passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which confirmed the future admission of new states in the Ohio River Valley and Great Lakes regions and banned slavery in that region. The costs of the War of Independence were high and the debt this caused was borne unevenly among the states, raising tensions within and among the states. In response, Congress authorized an assembly to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787 to “devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary.” That assembly resulted in the promulgation of a new Constitution establishing a Federal Government. The new Constitution was presented to the states for ratification on September 28, 1787, and finally came into effect on March 4, 1789.

**0c)** April 30, 1789 (new government; selected executive) – The Constitution of the United States of America provided for a bicameral legislature composed of elected representatives from each of the states. It also established a two-tiered election process for the executive officer (president) by which Electors would be chosen according to rules established by each state (some elected by state legislatures or popular votes) who would then gather as the Electoral College and vote for two candidates of their choice (the top vote getter was named President and the second, Vice President); there was no formal nomination process. The right to vote in elections was generally limited to a relatively small proportion of the general population: white, male, property holders (less than 2% of the population voted in the first election process). The political elites at that time considered that, by limiting suffrage to major stakeholders and discouraging the formation of political parties, a stable, governing consensus could be best maintained; the problem of factionalism was generally understood to be a destabilizing threat to effective governance. Despite the absence of political party organizations, political groupings formed based on general dispositions toward the balance of power either favoring the authority of the federal government (Federalists) or the state governments (Anti-Federalists). Federalists were concentrated in the more urban, northern states and Anti-Federalists were concentrated in the rural/frontier areas and southern states. The initial Electoral College voted unanimously for George Washington, the former Commander of the Continental Army and considered non-partisan, as president and elected John Adams as Vice President. President Washington was inaugurated on April 30, 1789. Without precedent, Washington had great influence in defining the practices and roles of the office of president in the constitutional order. Washington was unanimously elected president for a second term in 1792.

**0d)** March 4, 1797 (peaceful transfer to indirectly elected executive) – President Washington voluntarily retired at the end of his second term in office. The two-tiered election process for choosing the president continued with only half of states using some form of popular vote for the electors; the others chose electors by vote in the state legislatures. Federalist John Adams of

Massachusetts narrowly won the Electoral College vote with 71 votes and was named president, while the Anti-Federalist (now preferring the term Republican) Thomas Jefferson of Virginia received the second-most votes (68) and was named Vice President. In all, thirteen candidates received votes. Suffrage remained narrowly limited.

**0e)** March 4, 1801 (inauguration of new executive) – Federal elections held in late 1800 resulted in a shift away from Federalist in favor of Republican candidates in both chambers of Congress. In the presidential election, both the Federalists and Republicans attempted avoid a split-party executive outcome by advancing only two candidates each with each party favoring one of their candidates for president and asking one elector to submit a blank ballot to ensure that their favored candidate for president gained one more vote than their candidate for vice president. This ploy did not work as planned as the two Republican candidates, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr Jr., received the same number of electoral votes. This tie vote forced a contingent vote be held in the House of Representatives, which was then controlled by Federalist members, to determine which of the two candidates would be elected president, with the other named vice president. Jefferson finally gained the required number of votes in the thirty-sixth round of voting and was named president with Burr as Vice President. Jefferson was inaugurated on March 4, 1801. This electoral imbroglio led to the passage of the Twelfth Amendment and its ratification on June 15, 1804. The Twelfth Amendment requires separate electoral votes for president and vice president.

**0f)** June 15, 1804 (constitutional amendment) – Although the number of states mandating a popular vote for presidential electors was increasing slowly (to 11 of the 17 states in the union at the time of elections held in late 1804), suffrage remained restricted to a small percentage of the male adult population and based on property ownership requirements. The Twelfth Amendment was ratified on June 15, 1804, and changed the way the executives were elected; the separate elections for president and vice president induced political organizations to put forward combined tickets to help ensure that the two offices would be held by members of the same party. In addition, the popularity of the incumbent President Thomas Jefferson increased dramatically following the Louisiana Purchase in July 1803, which opened vast new territories for American settlers. In the runup to the 1804 elections, Jefferson's Republican Party increased its public campaign activities, whereas the Federalists fell into disarray after their leader, Alexander Hamilton, was shot and killed at the hand of Vice President Aaron Burr Jr. in a duel held on July 11, 1804. Burr lost favor and was replaced by George Clinton as Jefferson's running mate; their Republican ticket won the Electoral vote in a landslide (162-14). The popularity of the Republican Party (often referred to as Democratic-Republican to distinguish it from the more recent Republican Party) continued through the subsequent elections of James Madison in the 1808 and 1812 elections and James Monroe in the 1816 and 1820 elections. The Republicans enjoyed a large majority in Congress in all elections from 1804 through 1822 (60-85% of seats). The Federalist faction fielded their final candidates for executive office in the 1816 elections.

**0g)** March 4, 1825 (presidential inauguration) – The long dominance of the Republican Party started to fracture in the runup to the 1824 elections as an intense rivalry emerged for party leadership, especially among the four candidates who were then nominated for the presidential election: John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William Crawford, and Andrew Jackson. Suffrage was beginning to broaden as property/wealth requirements were less restrictive and a majority of

states had some form of popular vote for the Electors. Jackson won a plurality of both the popular vote and the Electoral vote, but the lack of a clear winner sent the final decision for a contingency vote in the House of Representatives to choose from among the top three candidates (Clay was not included). It was alleged that Clay made a “corrupt bargain” to support Adams who won a majority of votes in the first-round voting, surprising Jackson. As a result, Jackson actively campaigned to consolidate his support and the Jacksonian faction split off to become the Democratic Party.

**0h)** March 4, 1829 (presidential inauguration) – By the time of the 1828 presidential elections, nearly all states chose Electors by some form of popular vote. The Jacksonian Democrats worked diligently to organize popular support to ensure victory in the 1828 elections; all other factions of the now defunct Republican Party aligned as the Anti-Jacksonian opposition which came to be known as the National Republican Party. Andrew Jackson won both the popular vote and the Electoral College vote by comfortable margins. The Jacksonian Democrats formalized their organization as the Democratic Party and the National Republicans later combined with an Anti-Masonic Party to form the Whig Party after the 1832 elections to begin a conventional two-party electoral competition (minor third parties continued to form in response to changing issues). The Democrats retained control of the presidency until the 1840 election, which was won by the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison.

**0i)** January 29, 1850 (erosion of accommodation) – Opposing attitudes on the issue of slavery had divided political opinion since the founding of the United States of America. One of the first national laws limiting slavery was the Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves that was signed into federal law by President Jefferson in 1808. The Missouri Compromise, signed into law on March 6, 1820, prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of the 36°30' parallel in exchange for the admission of Missouri as a slave state. The emotively charged debate was largely kept in check by fusing the issues of morality to the foundational issue of states' rights and by maintaining a careful balance between free and slave states in the federal system. The exigencies of continual territorial expansion, immigration, infrastructure, and warfare with indigenous Americans drew politicians' attention away from the issue of slavery. As conditions in the older states east of the Mississippi River consolidated and new states were being organized in the western territories, reflections on slavery became more pronounced in the public debate. The Abolitionist movement in the northern states gained momentum in the early 1830s and the question of slavery became prominent in the debates regarding the organization and admission to the union of the territories west of the Mississippi River, particularly when the Texas gained independence from Mexico in 1836 and sought admission to the union as a slave-holding state. The question of Texas permeated the national debate until the decision was finally made to annex the territory and admit Texas as a slave state in 1845. The deployment of US forces to secure the Texas border with Mexico triggered a military confrontation with Mexican forces on April 26, 1846, and began the Mexican-American War. US forces invaded Mexico, captured its capital city, and defeated the Mexican army; the war ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. The war militarized and crystallized the North-South divide in the United States as the northern states had generally opposed the war and the southern states supported it. The Treaty included the Mexican cession of its northern territories to the US, including the future states of California, Nevada, Arizona, and Utah. A brief wave of patriotic euphoria following the decisive military victory quickly dissipated as the national debate

regarding slavery turned to the future status of the acquired western territories. On January 29, 1850, Senator Henry Clay Sr. proposed a plan for bundling controversial legislative initiatives in order to push their resolutions through Congress; this plan was known as the Compromise of 1850 (Senator Stephen A. Douglas became the lead advocate when Clay became too ill to continue). The several provisions were signed into law in September 1850; perhaps the most polarizing element was the Fugitive Slave Act, which directed that all escaped slaves must be returned to their masters.

**1X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic:** May 30, 1854 (end of accommodation)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:**

Opposing attitudes on the institution of slavery framed national political debates following the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 30, 1854. The desire to build a transcontinental railroad to link the country which now spanned the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean had been first proposed in 1845; that interest increased after Mexico ceded the territories of the American southwest in 1848 and California had been granted admittance to the union as a free state in September 1850. In order to garner support from the southern states to facilitate the political organization of the western territories, Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska bill in early 1854 to organize the territory west of Missouri. As both territories were within the area and above the demarcation line established in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the bill repealed the Compromise to allow each territory to decide the status of slavery according to the principles of popular sovereignty and states' rights. It was hoped that by allowing the states to decide the issue of slavery it would remove the issue from the national debate; the result was the opposite. The Kansas-Nebraska Act narrowly passed in the House of Representatives and was signed into law on May 30, 1854. It led to a rush of pro- and anti-slavery elements to the Kansas Territory and resulted in the establishment of rival administrations: a pro-slavery government in Lecompton and an anti-slavery government in Topeka. Violence ensued in late 1855 and "Bleeding Kansas" induced a polarization of political attitudes and a split in the Whig Party with the northern faction forming the Republican Party. The polarization intensified with the Supreme Court's decision in the *Dred Scott* case delivered on March 6, 1857, that the prohibition of slavery was a violation of property rights and due process, undermining the ill-defined, legal and moral accommodation on slavery that had existed since the country's beginning. Of course, the question of slavery was not the only issue dividing public opinion as interest differences between the industrial, small-holding north and the large-holding agricultural south had grown increasingly prominent.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *Northerners* — Northern free states opposed to the expansion of slavery to new territories; abolitionists; Republican, Free Soil, Native American (Know Nothing), and (northern) Democratic Parties.
- *Southerners* — Southern slave-holding states; Southern Democratic and Constitutional Union (southern Whig) Parties.

### **Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:**

**IXa)** December 20, 1860 (secession; contested dissolution) – The tensions sparked by the debates over the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act left the national parties in disarray. In the Congressional elections of 1852, Democrats controlled roughly two-thirds of the seats with Whigs controlling nearly all the remaining seats. In the 1854 elections to the House of Representatives, a north/south split became evident as the Democratic Party lost about half their seats with their retained seats concentrated in the southern states. The newly formed, anti-immigrant, Native American (Know Nothing) Party won about 20% of House seats and an Opposition Party coalition of northern Whigs, Republicans, and non-party candidates claimed just over 40% of the House seats. The 1856 elections saw the Opposition and Know Nothing members realigning to either the Democratic or Republican Parties. The 1858 elections solidified the north-south split in the House seats. In the 1860 general elections, the north-south polarization continued with some members opting to take a non-partisan Unionist affiliation. Northern and southern divisions of the Democratic Party nominated separate candidates in the 1860 presidential election: Stephen A. Douglas (north) and John C. Breckinridge (south). The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln and the Constitutional Unionist Party nominated John Bell. Even though he was not on the ballot in any southern states, except Virginia, Lincoln won a plurality of the national popular vote (c 40%) and won the Electoral College votes of all the northern states, excepting a New Jersey split vote, giving him enough Electoral votes to win the presidency; he was reelected in the 1864 election. Although opposed to the expansion of slavery, Lincoln favored the immediate preservation of the status quo accommodation on the issues of slavery to preserve the union. Southern political elites, however, saw his impending presidency as a threat to the institution of slavery and Southern identity; Secession Conventions were organized in eleven southern states and seven voted (sometimes by a slim margin) to secede from the union in the months prior to Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861. The Southern Secession triggered the American Civil War which resulted in victory by northern Union forces. President Andrew Johnson, who took office after President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865, declared an end to the insurrection on May 9, 1865. The issue of slavery was first addressed by President Lincoln in an executive order, the Emancipation Proclamation, on September 22, 1862, which declared that all slaves held by persons in states in rebellion or who had escaped from those states were free. The effective prohibition of slavery in the United States was finally accomplished with ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment that came into force on December 18, 1865.

### **Contested Dissolution: December 1860-May 1865**

South Carolina was the first state to declare secession, December 20, 1860. Six other states followed in quick succession: Mississippi (January 9, 1861); Florida (January 10); Alabama (January 11); Georgia (January 19); Louisiana (January 26); and Texas (February 1). These seven states agreed to form the Confederate States of America on February 8, 1861. Four more states declared secession and joined the Confederacy in subsequent months: Virginia (April 17); Arkansas (May 6); North Carolina (May 20); and Tennessee (June 8).

### **Revolutionary War: April 1861-May 1865**

The first battle of the American Civil War began with a bombardment by South Carolina militia forces on Fort Sumter which stood on an island controlling the harbor at Charleston, South

Carolina. After great destruction and loss of life, Union forces were ultimately victorious over the forces of the Confederacy; the war officially ended on May 9, 1865.

**1Xb)** May 10, 1865 (reunification; reconstruction) – While the defeat of Confederate forces resulted in the end of slavery in the United States, it did not end the political division symbolized by the issues of slavery; issues of slavery simply morphed into issues of racism. The end of the war was immediately met with the challenges of integrating some four million freed slaves. Prior to his nomination as candidate for Vice President in the 1864 presidential election, Andrew Johnson had been a US senator from Tennessee. When secession had been debated in his home state, Johnson argued against secession and the initial vote to secede failed in Tennessee due to an east-west split in sentiments toward the union. Tennessee finally voted to secede in June 1861 and Sen. Johnson fled the state in fear for his life. He was the only US senator from a seceding state to retain his seat. In 1862, President Lincoln had appointed him as the military governor of Tennessee as most of the state had been retaken by Union forces. As a Unionist southerner, Johnson seemed the logical choice to be Lincoln’s running mate in the 1864 presidential election to bolster Lincoln’s desire for reconciliation and national unity after the war. However, once he ascended to the presidency following Lincoln’s assassination on April 14, 1865, President Johnson quickly established himself as an obstructionist to the dominant Republican Party’s reconstruction policies; he was adamantly opposed to extending the rights of citizenship to the former slaves. Fortunately, the Republicans enjoyed a super-majority in Congress, principally because the southern states were not represented until they gained formal readmission to the Union, and, so, President Johnson’s vetoes of reconstruction legislation were easily overridden. Johnson was impeached in February 1868 but his removal by the Senate failed by one vote; he left office at the end of his term on March 4, 1869. The economy and infrastructure in the South were devastated by the war and it would take many years for the economy to recover and infrastructure rebuilt. Three constitutional amendments came in to force during the period of Reconstruction: the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) prohibited slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) granted citizenship rights and guaranteed equal rights under the law for all people born or naturalized in the country (the right to vote is enforced only for “male inhabitants”); and the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) ensured that the “right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Each of the former Confederate states was readmitted to the Union only after it had satisfied requirements for admission and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment; the first, Tennessee, was readmitted on July 24, 1866, and the last, Georgia, was readmitted on July 15, 1870. Contrasting the apparent enfranchisement of the former slave population was the disenfranchisement of all persons who had supported the Confederate insurrection. With much of the former political leadership of the Confederacy barred, administration of the southern states was controlled by some mix of “carpetbaggers,” people who relocated from the Union states, “scalawags,” the term for white, southern Unionists, and freedmen (former slaves). The Amnesty Act of 1872, which was passed into law on May 22, 1872, reversed the penalties on the insurrectionists imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment and, on June 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant pardoned all the Confederate insurrectionists except about 500 of the top leaders.



## **10) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: June 2, 1872 (re-enfranchisement)**

### **Brief Explanation of Change From:**

Even before they regained their enfranchisement, former political elites in the South organized to intimidate and, later, regain control of local administration, often forcibly and violently, forming militant groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, White League, and Red Shirts. The overt activities of the “white supremacist” militias were largely brought under control by Federal forces acting under the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. The practical problem with the sudden emancipation of the slaves was their lack of any personal property and, particularly, land ownership. The southern states were almost exclusively agricultural economies and economic freedom required access to land. Reconstruction did not include land reform; title to all lands were returned to prior (white) owners. Undereducated black freedmen found themselves at the mercy of white property owners for their livelihoods and a new form of servitude became common: sharecropping, in which black families were given access to a plot of land (and the means to work it) in return for a share of their produce, tying them to the land without any prospect of property rights. As a way to “stabilize” the necessary workforce for the former plantations and public works, “black codes” were passed to limit workers’ options and their movement. Prominent among the “black codes” were vagrancy laws by which people without visible means of support could be arrested and sentenced to forced labor in work gangs that could then be leased as labor for enterprises and property owners. Voting by black communities was actively suppressed through intimidation and acts of violence. Racial discrimination was not confined to the southern states, although the vast majority of the former slaves remained in the South. Freedmen who were able to relocate out of the South often found themselves in a similarly vulnerable condition, as were new immigrant populations. In the aftermath of the war and with the great and continuing influx of immigrants to the country, more generally, unskilled laborers found themselves at great disadvantage in working conditions and disputes with property owners. The great recession brought about with the Panic of 1873 lasted for many years and favored a further consolidation of wealth. Political corruption was also common throughout the country.

### **Changes within Democratic Period:**

**10a)** March 4, 1877 (presidential inauguration) – Since the founding of the American colonies, many, if not most, American citizens saw the American nation as a white, Protestant Christian nation with limited tolerance of “others.” The indigenous inhabitants were consistently treated as an alien population and forcibly driven from their lands and sequestered in “reservations.” As noted, Africans were at first enslaved and, then, after a very brief respite were forcibly “contained.” By the 1870s, the sources of immigration had shifted to include large numbers of Irish Catholics and southern and eastern Europeans who often were met with discriminatory treatment; similar discrimination was suffered by Asian immigrants and Hispanic populations who were largely settled in the western states (e.g., Asian immigration was tightly restricted and, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Mexican Repatriation resulted in as much as one-third of the Hispanic population of the US being deported). Catholic populations were slowly integrated but identifiably “different” populations were often controlled through discriminatory practices and intimidation. Following the collapse of the early accommodation on slavery, a new accommodation emerged among political elites regarding a tolerance of racial and ethnic discrimination. Although (universal male) voting rights were guaranteed through the

combination of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, states retained the authority to determine qualifications for voter registration; property, tax, and education requirements were often imposed that seriously limited the ability of poorer populations to vote. After the Amnesty Act of 1872, the former political elites quickly reestablished their control of state governments in the South and by the time of the federal elections in 1876, Southern Democratic Party “Redeemers” had regained control of most of the southern state governments and their representation in the Federal government. The presidential election of 1876 proved pivotal in the South’s resurgence; the campaign was one of the most contentious in American history. The many corruption scandals that had plagued the Republican Party’s domination of national politics during the Reconstruction Era had made the Republicans vulnerable to a challenge by the resurgent Democratic Party. The Democratic candidate, Samuel Tilden, clearly outpolled the Republican candidate, Rutherford Hayes, in the popular vote; however, the vote in the Electoral College remained undecided because of disputed results in four states: Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon. A “backroom” agreement was struck between party leaders, the Compromise of 1877, that awarded the disputed Electoral votes to the Republican candidate Hayes, giving him one more vote than Tilden and the Electoral victory. In exchange, Hayes agreed to remove all remaining US military forces from the South, support legislation to improve economic recovery in the South, and allow the Southern states to deal with their black populations without interference from Federal authorities. President Hayes was inaugurated on March 4, 1877. Southern states began to implement so called “Jim Crow” laws that institutionalized racial segregation in all public facilities and suppressed the black vote. Racial segregation was later upheld by the US Supreme Court in the 1896 case *Plessy v Ferguson*. A general accommodation with racial segregation policies began to erode in US politics in the aftermath of the Second World War. In the runup to 1948 elections, President Harry S. Truman supported the inclusion of a comprehensive civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform; he also issued executive orders to integrate the US military and federal agencies. The push for desegregation triggered a “Dixiecrat” rebellion in the South to support the candidacy of the segregationist Strom Thurmond. Racial segregation continued in the Southern states despite the US Supreme Court ruling that “separate but equal” school segregation was unconstitutional in the 1954 case *Brown v Board of Education*. Opposition to segregation invigorated a campaign of non-violent protests and civil disobedience that coalesced under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. that continued from late 1950s through the 1960s, known as the Civil Rights Movement. The remaining “Jim Crow” restrictions were generally undone with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Women’s right to vote was ensured by the Nineteenth Amendment, certified on August 28, 1920. In legal terms, the United States has adopted the principle of universal suffrage with ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment; however, in terms of practice, universal suffrage is not fully implemented until at least 1965 (one could argue: not until 2020).

**2X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic:** June 23, 1967 (mass demonstrations)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:**

The societal (equitable) integration of ethnic minorities (diversity) is, perhaps, the most challenging element of democratic consolidation. Social dynamics in the United States were severely stressed and constrained beginning in late 1929 with the Great Depression through the

Second World War and continuing into the early years of the Cold War. The quickly expanding economy during the 1950s greatly increased social networking and new media technologies and social interaction capabilities. The advent of television in the 1950s, especially, had an enormous impact on public opinion and social dynamics in the United States; previously “local” issues gained a national audience through the visual news media. Images of forceful responses by local authorities to peaceful Civil Rights demonstrations increased public pressures on federal authorities to intervene against segregation and other discriminatory practices. “Ghetto riots” began to break out in poor, black, urban enclaves in July 1964 and became particularly widespread in the “long, hot summer of 1967” and, again, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968. The United Farm Workers movement increased activism in support of largely Hispanic agricultural laborers in the American southwest in the early 1960s. Women’s and gay rights movements also became more activist in the 1960s. Increased activism among indigenous Americans sparked confrontations between Federal authorities and the American Indian Movement by the later 1960s. However, it was the rapid escalation of the US military intervention in the Vietnam War in late 1964 that galvanized anti-establishment activism against the country’s first “television war” and broadened the polarization of the American public against the status quo political parties and political elites by linking civil rights with the youth movements. Mobilized demands for equity and “anti-war” activism spread across the country. We date the beginning of public polarization with the mass demonstrations in Los Angeles targeting President Lyndon Johnson on June 23, 1967. General turmoil was further exacerbated by the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, 1968, and Robert F. Kennedy on June 5, 1968. President Johnson, despite having implemented the Great Society reforms, was held responsible by the demonstrators for America’s war in Vietnam and decided not to run for re-election in 1968. The Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, won the 1968 presidential election and expanded US military involvements across Southeast Asia; mass demonstrations continued to roil American politics into the early 1970s. Under public pressure, American military intervention in the Vietnam War began to wind down with the Paris Peace Accords, signed on January 27, 1973. Corruption scandals involving President Nixon and his Vice President Spiro Agnew led to both officials’ resignations from office: Agnew in late 1973 and Nixon the following year. We date the end of the factionalism period with the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon on August 9, 1974.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *The Establishment* — Establishment (Democratic and Republican) political parties; traditional (status quo) political elites; military-industrial complex.
- *Anti-Establishment* — Social-equity/civil rights movements: black Americans, Hispanic farm workers, indigenous Americans, women, students, gays, counterculture; anti-war movement; Vietnam veterans.

**2O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic:** August 10, 1974 (new executive)

**Brief Explanation of Change From:**

The end of US military operations in Southeast Asia and the resignation of President Nixon largely defused the emotional elements driving the mass mobilization of dissent in the United States. Gerald R. Ford, who had been appointed to replace Vice President Spiro Agnew after his

resignation in late 1973, ascended to the presidency upon Nixon's resignation. President Ford was a non-controversial politician who accepted the increasing assertiveness of Congress acting to constrain executive authority in both domestic and foreign policy. In the presidential election of 1976, the Democratic Party nominated a reformist-minded "Washington outsider," Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, who narrowly defeated President Ford; however, as an outsider, Carter's reform agenda had little impact on the government bureaucracy. Carter's most lasting impact was his emphasis on human rights. The succeeding administrations of Ronald Regan, George H. W. Bush, and Bill Clinton managed public policy without major controversy. The collapse of global Communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s ended the "superpower rivalry" that characterized the Cold War period and seemed to give the United States free reign in global affairs. George W. Bush was elected president in the 2000 elections and on September 11, 2001, a coordinated attack by Middle East "al Qaeda" terrorists crashed four commandeered commercial aircraft into symbols of US global power: the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon in Washington DC, and an unknown additional target that failed when passengers forced the plane to crash in a remote location. President Bush ordered retaliatory US military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq in support of a "Global War on Terrorism" that triggered a fierce domestic political debate on the United States' role in global politics. However, what may be considered the most consequential event in American politics during this period was the 2008 election of the country's first, non-white president, Barack Obama.

**3X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic:** November 8, 2016 (presidential election)

**Brief Explanation of Change To:**

Social networking capabilities continued to improve in the early 2000s with the construction of mobile cellular telephone networks and the widespread adoption of the "cell phone" in the 1990s. Cell phones provided instantaneous, wireless communication between and among individual users regardless of their location; digital cameras were added to cell phones beginning in 1999 making it possible to take and share visual images. Over the short span of a few years, nearly everyone in the country (and in the world) gained the ability to bear witness to both public and private events. A further innovation was the combination of cellular phones with computer technologies as "smartphones" allowed people instant access to information and communication through their connection with the World Wide Web (Internet). Social networking sites linked with the Internet allowed individuals to communicate instantly with vast networks of people, allowing for the rapid mobilization of both opinion and action. Suddenly, even the most isolated and obscure people gained a voice that could resonate across vast social networks and establish contacts and linkages with people anywhere and everywhere with few, if any, filters or constraints on the content of those communications. While the inauguration of President Barack Obama on January 20, 2009, stands as a testament to the country's progress toward the social and political inclusion of diversity and consolidation of democratic authority, it also appears to have triggered a backlash among a "silent majority" who continue to understand the United States as a nation "guided" by white, Protestant male citizens. Obama was re-elected in 2012 and completed his second term in office. The 2016 presidential election pitted the Democratic Party's candidate, Hillary Clinton, aspiring to become the country's first female president, against a "celebrity" businessman with no political experience, Donald Trump, the candidate of the

Republican Party. Trump was a polarizing personality and styled himself as a “populist” leader; he was able to activate and energize his support “base” through emotive appeals spread and amplified through social media platforms and networks, particularly Twitter. The Trump campaign’s election slogan “Make America Great Again” can be seen as a thinly veiled attempt to re-invigorate the “white nationalism” that had dominated and defined early American politics. Mainstream media expressed confidence that Clinton enjoyed a comfortable lead in pre-election polls. Trump’s personal narratives dominated political communication and he exploited this talent to disrupt normal expectations. Clinton won the popular vote by a comfortable margin, particularly among college-educated and urban populations; however, Trump scored a large majority among white voters residing outside the metropolitan areas that gave him victories in more states and command of the Electoral vote. Trump was inaugurated as president on January 20, 2017. When in office, President Trump promoted a general strategy termed the “deconstruction of the administrative state” by his Chief Strategist, Steve Bannon. Problems were attributed to a “deep state” conspiracy promoted by the “fake media”; the Trump administration aimed to “drain the swamp” and countered “fake news” with its own narrative “documented” by the President with more than 30,000 false or misleading statements (as reported by the “fake media”). The President went so far as to proclaim the free press as the “enemy of the people.” Trump’s policies of deconstruction triggered an immediate backlash and strong resistance within the federal bureaucracy. Non-partisan policy initiatives were rare and legislative votes consistently reflected diametrical opposition between the Republican and Democratic parties in Congress.

**Identify Main Factions:**

- *Supporters of Donald Trump* — Republican Party, evangelical Christians, white nationalists, rural populations, local police groups, Fox News.
- *Opposition* — Democratic Party, black Americans, professionals, urban populations, mainstream media.

**Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:**

**3Xa)** March 22, 2019 (executive rejection of legislative oversight) – Assessments by the intelligence agencies detailed a broad, systematic campaign by Russian agents using the Internet to interfere in the 2016 presidential election. Suspicious behaviors connected with President Trump’s election campaign led the FBI to investigate the matter. Trump’s sudden dismissal of FBI Director James Comey, who was leading the investigation, led the Attorney General Jeff Sessions to recuse himself from the Russia investigation. The Deputy Attorney General appointed a special counsel, Robert Mueller, to complete the work. The Mueller Report was finally delivered to Attorney General William Barr, who Trump named to replace Sessions, on March 22, 2019; the report was inconclusive regarding possible collusion and obstruction of justice by the Office of the President. Following the Mueller Report, President Trump ended all cooperation of the Executive Branch with the Legislative Branch’s oversight responsibilities. In August 2019, a whistleblower complaint claiming abuse of authority was lodged in response to a telephone conversation between President Trump and the president of the Ukraine during which Trump was alleged to threaten to withhold foreign aid to Ukraine unless it launched an investigation of Trump’s main rival, Joseph Biden. The accusation resulted in articles of impeachment being passed by the Democratic Party majority in the House of Representatives.

The consequent impeachment trial held in the Republican-controlled Senate summarily dismissed the impeachment articles on February 5, 2020.

**3Xb)** February 5, 2020 (executive purge; vilification of opposition) – President Trump’s reaction to the Impeachment proceedings included a systematic identification and purge of “disloyalists” throughout the Federal Bureaucracy, punctuated by his demand for explicit assurances by bureaucratic leaders of their personal loyalty to Trump. He also required non-disclosure agreements to stop “leaks” of information from within the executive office. Trump also used his “bully pulpit” to systematically vilify all opposition to his policies and initiatives. The President rejected the severity of the unfolding COVID-19 pandemic and refused to accept responsibility for leading a coordinated policy response to the health emergency and related economic crisis. On May 26, 2020, widespread protests erupted after the brutal death of an unarmed, black American (George Floyd) in custody of police in Minneapolis. The Black Lives Matter movement, which was formed in 2013 in response to the killings of black Americans by police, organized protests across the country, despite the pandemic, through the 2020 federal elections; President Trump called for forceful suppression of the protests.

**3Xc)** November 3, 2020 (presidential election) – President Trump ran for re-election in the November 2020 presidential election against the Democratic Party candidate, Joseph Biden. The election campaign was emotionally charged, reflecting the country’s factional polarization. Due to the pandemic, absentee and other remote voting procedures were put in place in many states to accommodate voters who wanted to avoid public gatherings; turnout was the largest in US history. Biden was declared the winner after taking both the popular and Electoral vote by comfortable margins. Trump adamantly refused to concede the election, claiming widespread fraud resulting from the expanded voting procedures. President Trump systematically and vehemently proceeded to undermine the integrity of the voting process, filing over sixty lawsuits designed to nullify the results in four swing states (only one minor challenge was successful), and publicly pressuring and personally contacting several state officials to persuade them to overturn results or appoint “alternate” Electors. Attorney General Barr stated in December 2020 that no evidence of substantial electoral fraud was found by Justice officials and then submitted his resignation. Trump’s claim to have won the vote “in a landslide” could only refer to the fact that he won the vote among whites by a substantial margin (c58%); his legal challenges mainly focused on results in large urban areas with high proportions of black voters, such as Detroit, Philadelphia, and Atlanta (the black vote was nearly unanimous in rejecting Trump). Having failed to reverse the election results, the President organized a rally of supporters on January 6, 2021, near the White House to stop the certification of the Electoral vote by Congress. Trump exhorted the crowd and called for them to march on Capitol Hill to stop the certification. The crowd forced their way into the Capitol building and delayed, but did not stop, the certification of the election result. The House of Representatives passed a second impeachment against President Trump, for inciting insurrection, on January 13, 2021. President Joseph Biden was inaugurated on January 20, 2021.