

# **The UCA Journal of Government, Public Service & International Relations**

**Volume 1, 2024**

**University of Central Arkansas**

**Conway, AR**

## Table of Contents

Comparing Economic Globalization Between France and Japan <i>Emilie Couch</i>	1
Does Education Affect Democracy? An Empirical Analysis <i>Summer Charles</i>	23
Russia-Vietnam Relations in the Post Cold War Era <i>Daegon Schaal</i>	36
Superman's Final Flight: How Heightened Expectations Ruined the Legacy of Herbert Hoover <i>Ryan Webb</i>	52
The Genesis and Genius of the Black Intelligentsia <i>Richard F. Ware</i>	68

# Comparing Economic Globalization Between France and Japan

Emilie Couch

*University of Central Arkansas*

## **Abstract**

The research question at the heart of this study is: What variables influence the variation in the level of economic globalization between France and Japan? I hypothesize that economic development, economic policies, and, economic freedom influence economic globalization in France and Japan. This study suggests that Japan exhibits a higher level of economic globalization compared to France. This conclusion is drawn from an analysis of various factors including economic development, economic freedom, and economic policies, which all contribute to the differing levels of globalization observed in the two countries.

## **Introduction**

The research on economic globalization here measured by foreign direct investment and exports offers a sophisticated analysis of its complex effects across academic fields, shedding light on how it affects society, politics, and the economy. Economic globalization is more than just business; it includes a wider range of global interdependence and connectivity in the social, political, and economic domains. Researchers like Naïm (2009) highlight how prevalent globalization is and how crucial it is to promote interdependence and global connectedness. Economists have long praised globalization, claiming that via promoting specialization and the cross-border movement of capital, ideas, and products, it promotes efficiency,

innovation, and economic development. Research, referenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2001), continuously shows that nations that are integrated into the world economy have faster rates of economic growth as well as higher living standards and increased productivity. The IMF emphasizes how important trade is to fostering wealth and economic progress, especially in the last several decades as trade barriers have been lifted and technology has advanced.

### **Literature Review**

Based on decades' worth of study, France and Japan are intriguing case studies for understanding the processes of globalization. Following World War II, France initiated economic revitalization efforts through the implementation of laws designed to attract foreign direct investment (FDI). This led to a notable increase in FDI inflows, especially in manufacturing and automotive industries. Studies conducted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 1996) highlight a shift from an export-driven development model to one that actively seeks out foreign investment, showing how France evolved into an outward investor nation, characterized by the entry of French multinational businesses into international markets.

Japan's rise to prominence as a major exporter was fueled by its strategic investments in industry, infrastructure, and research & development. Research on Japan's FDI patterns is noteworthy because it shows how, by the late 1980s, the country had substantially expanded into Western Europe and North America, having previously focused exclusively on North America and Asia. "Japan's Foreign Direct Investment" published by Ryutaro Komiya and Ryuhei Wakasugi, explores the factors that influence foreign direct investment in Japan. The study employs a rigorous empirical method to examine many economic indicators and policy factors in order to figure out the intricate nature of foreign direct investment inflows into Japan. The study's key findings provide insight into a number of important factors

affecting foreign direct investment in Japan. First, the report emphasizes how important market size and potential for economic growth are as the main factors in international investment. Potential investors also seem to consider many other aspects, including labor prices, infrastructural quality, and technology innovation. The report also emphasizes how important it is for governments and regulatory bodies to shape FDI patterns in Japan. More specifically, measures that support deregulation, trade openness, and investor-friendly business environments are found to be crucial in stimulating increased inflows of foreign investment. The study offers significant insights into the factors influencing foreign direct investment in Japan through its thorough analysis and empirical rigor. The study offers useful information to develop strategies for luring and facilitating foreign capital inflows into the Japanese economy by clarifying the complex factors that influence foreign investment (Komiya & Wakasugi, 1991).

### **Why Is Economic Globalization Important?**

The relationship between globalization and economic growth has been thoroughly studied by academics, who have acknowledged its complexity. Globalization has significantly improved France's and Japan's economies in several areas, including trade liberalization and technical breakthroughs, but it has also brought about difficulties. These studies emphasize how crucial it is to consider local socioeconomic circumstances when evaluating how globalization affects economic growth. Important roles are played by factors like institutional quality and social capital in mitigating the impact of globalization on the economic trajectories of both nations. Strong financial systems, excellent human resources, and robust institutions are essential for harnessing globalization's benefits. The article titled "Government Size and Economic Freedom" published in *Public Choice* (2010) explores the relationship between government size, economic freedom, and their impact on economic growth. The study utilizes data from 1970 to 1995 and employs various regression analyses to investigate these relationships. The authors argue that previous studies have not

adequately accounted for institutional development when analyzing the impact of economic freedom and globalization on growth. They suggest that countries with larger governments may have experienced reforms differently, affecting the relationship between economic policies and growth. The study provides evidence suggesting that government size negatively affects economic growth, even after considering the influence of economic freedom and globalization. However, the impact of economic freedom and globalization on growth appears to be less significant, with mixed results across different model specifications.

Learning from France's experiences, Hellwig examines how economic globalization influences public trust in political figures and policy demands. The degree to which these countries integrate into the global economy raises questions about national leaders' capacity to control economic outcomes and preserve public confidence. Public trust in national policymakers has been declining over time, according to an empirical study utilizing economic and public opinion data from France and Japan. This reduction has been linked to exposure to international trade and capital flows. Furthermore, it has been discovered that globalization affects changes in the demands for public policy, emphasizing social concerns like crime and violence more than economic policy solutions (Hellwig, 2007).

### **What Factors Influence Economic Globalization?**

Researchers have looked at the connection between economic globalization, economic freedom, and governments' observance of human rights. The research of Dreher et al. (2012) adds to and validates this body of knowledge by illuminating the ways in which governments' human rights policies are influenced by economic globalization and freedom. Economic integration has been often found to increase respect for the right to bodily integrity, while the impact on the right to empowerment is less.

These studies add to a thorough understanding of the intricate interactions between globalization and economic issues, providing insightful information that is useful to both scholars and policymakers. "Globalization, Economic Freedom, and Human Rights" published by Axel Dreher, Martin Gassebner, and Lars-H. R. Siemers, explores the complex relationship between globalization and economic freedom, attempting to clarify the effects of the latter on the former. Economic freedom is a complex concept that includes elements like trade liberalization, monetary stability, and property rights. It is closely studied in connection to a country's degree of globalization. From a methodological standpoint, the authors do a thorough examination across several nations, utilizing the Economic Freedom Index and the KOF Index of Globalization. The study's conclusions indicate a beneficial relationship between globalization and economic freedom. More precisely, countries with more economic freedom also often show more signs of integration into the world economy. The essay highlights the importance of economic policies that promote freedom and openness as powerful catalysts for increased integration into the global economy through its methodological soundness and empirical investigation. Overall, the study provides insightful information to both academics and policymakers on the complex factors that influence the relationship between economic freedom and globalization.

In sum, the wealth of research on the connection between economic expansion and globalization highlights the complex processes influencing the structure of national economies. Through trade liberalization and technical breakthroughs, globalization has unquestionably helped nations like France and Japan grow economically. However, it has also brought with it obstacles, notably with regard to maintaining social cohesiveness and cultural identity. These studies highlight the significance of taking institutional and socioeconomic context-specific aspects into account when evaluating how globalization affects economic trajectories. Additionally, studies examining the relationship between public confidence in political leaders, human rights compliance, and economic globalization offer

important new perspectives on the wider effects of economic integration.

## **Historical and Empirical Evidence**

### *Japan*

Japan's trajectory of economic development post-World War II has been meticulously studied by scholars, offering profound insights into the nation's approach to foreign direct investment and exports over the past six decades. Notably, Japan's strategic initiatives in the realm of FDI have undergone discernible shifts, reflecting its evolving economic landscape. Initially, Japan concentrated its FDI efforts on America and Asia, as documented by Komiya and Wakasugi (1991), highlighting a deliberate strategy to bolster its presence in key markets. However, by the late 1980s, Japan's FDI footprint had expanded to Western Europe, indicative of its growing economic prowess and global ambitions (Komiya & Wakasugi, 1991).

Japan's export dynamics have also changed significantly throughout time, reflecting changes in the country's economy. According to the OECD (1996), manufactured goods such as cars and electronics accounted for the majority of Japan's exports in the early post-war period. But as technology developed and Japan's economy grew, its export portfolio shifted to include high-value goods and services, highlighting the country's shift to a knowledge-based economy (OECD, 1996).

Despite obstacles like recessions and changes in international trade, Japan has proven resilient and adaptive in its use of FDI and exports as engines of economic growth and prosperity. As noted by the OECD (1996) and Komiya and Wakasugi (1991), Japan's ability to adapt strategically to shifting global dynamics is indicative of its resilience and has established it as a significant actor in the international economic sphere.



Scholars like Komiya and Wakasugi (1991) have pointed out that Japan has predominantly benefited from inflows of Foreign Direct Investment based on historical and empirical data. These inflows indicate that overseas investors have been sending money to Japan, either to launch new enterprises, buy out already-existing ones, or form partnerships with Japanese companies. This study emphasizes Japan's deliberate approach to attracting foreign investment. There are several reasons why Japan is attractive to international investors. First, scholarly studies like those by Dreher et al. (2012) highlight how highly trained and educated Japan's labor force is. Furthermore, Japan is an appealing choice for international investment due to its stable economic environment, which is marked by minimal political risk and consistent economic policies (IMF, 2001). Moreover, Japan's reputation for technical innovation, which is reinforced by its successes in some areas, such as electronics and the automobile industry, makes it even more alluring to international investors (OECD, 1996). Empirical evidence showing a positive trend in net foreign direct investment inflows into Japan highlights Japan's importance as a major actor in the world economy. These FDI inflows show international investors' continued interest in the Japanese market and their optimism for the nation's economic future. Japan's general tendency of attracting FDI is successful, in spite of occasional fluctuations brought on by events like changes in regulatory frameworks or economic downturns. This demonstrates Japan's durability and flexibility in the face of economic adversities. (IMF, 2001)

In addition to attracting significant inflows of FDI, Japan has also been a notable source of FDI outflows, reflecting its outward investment activities in foreign markets. Japan began to shift toward being an outward investor nation by the mid-1980s, according to research conducted by groups like the OECD (1996), demonstrating the country's increasing involvement with markets outside of its boundaries. Japan has made these international investments to expand its investment portfolio, enter new markets, and obtain cutting-edge technology. Japan's outward FDI activities continue to support its position as a

significant player in the global economy, facilitating cross-border business operations and establishing economic links with other countries. While drawing foreign capital to its home market has been Japan's main priority, the country has also aggressively sought out investment possibilities elsewhere, especially in areas where it wants to increase its market share or get access to vital resources.

Experts would probably categorize Japan's level of globalization as significant overall, given its aggressive approach to foreign markets and its position as a major actor in the world economy. Japan's economy has changed significantly over the last several decades, mostly due to trade liberalization, FDI, and technology improvements that have increased Japan's integration into the global economy. The studies conducted by OECD (1996) and Komiya and Wakasugi (1991) are two examples of how the academic discourse underlines Japan's strategic endeavors to increase its exports and foreign direct investment (FDI) presence in international markets. Japan has demonstrated its commitment to global economic participation through its aggressive pursuit of foreign direct investment (FDI) possibilities in North America, Asia, and subsequently Western Europe (Komiya & Wakasugi, 1991).

#### *France*

France's road towards globalization has been characterized by deliberate economic measures, particularly in the years following World War II. After the war, France made a determined attempt to revive its economy by implementing measures designed to draw in foreign direct investment (OECD, 1996). This effort was successful, as evidenced by a discernible rise in FDI inflows, especially into industries like manufacturing and autos (OECD, 1996).

France became an outward investor nation by the middle of the 1980s, indicating that it was actively involved in the world economy (OECD, 1996). With this change, French multinational corporations became more prevalent in other markets, which greatly aided in the

integration of the world's economy (OECD, 1996). France's globalization path has been significantly aided by its service industry. Notably, top international banks and financial institutions have emerged in the nation's financial services sector, enabling cross-border investments and capital flows (Britannica, 2024; OECD, 1996). France's standing in the global financial scene has been further cemented by the establishment of large global presences by institutions such as Société Générale and BNP Paribas (Britannica, 2024).

Furthermore, France's real estate market has seen globalization through local and international growth and investment initiatives (Britannica, n.d.; OECD, 1996). By acquiring assets in other markets, French real estate businesses have diversified their portfolios and aided in the integration of the world's capital markets (OECD, 1996). France's tourism industry, which brings in millions of foreign tourists every year, is further evidence for the country's significant position in the global services economy (Britannica, 2024). The nation's well-known sites, activities, and cuisine draw travelers from all over the world, promoting cross-cultural interaction and economic expansion (Britannica, 2024).

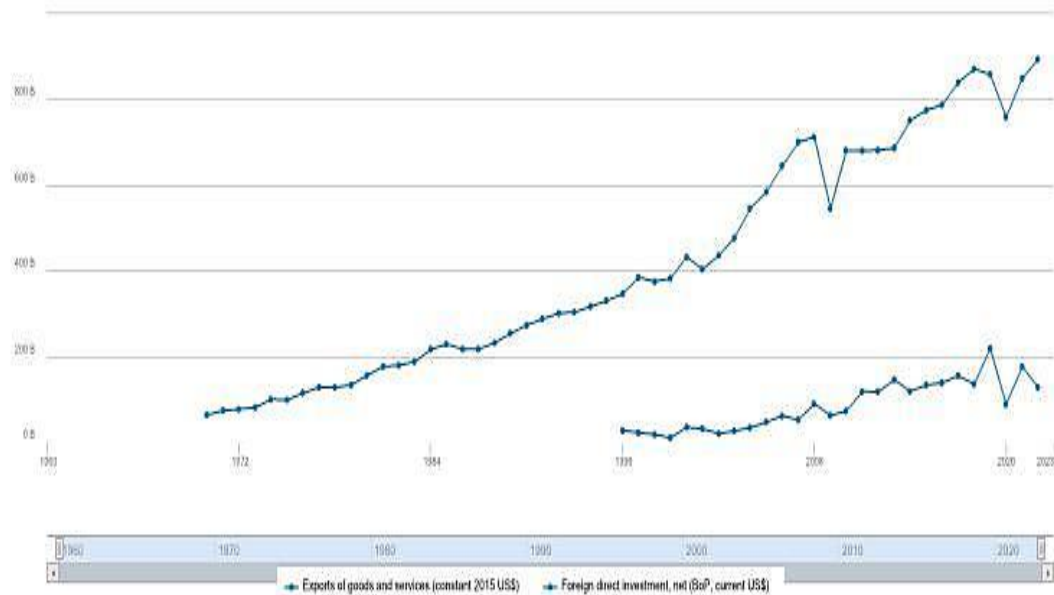
France is recognized as a prominent participant in global trade, owing to its wide array of export sectors that bolster its economic expansion and worldwide competitiveness. Research from institutions like the OECD (1996) highlights France's prowess in exporting a wide range of goods and services to a variety of industries, such as aircraft, autos, agriculture, and luxury goods. France is positioned as a major exporter in the international market because of its export portfolio, which showcases its industrial strength and expertise in high-value-added industries. Over the years, France's export performance has been marked by consistent growth, bolstered by elements like product innovation, quality standards, and a skilled workforce. Furthermore, France's well-developed infrastructure and transportation networks, along with its advantageous geographic location within Europe, have facilitated economic links with neighboring countries and beyond.

Economists' and trade experts' studies, like the ones cited by the OECD (1996), demonstrate how crucial France's export-oriented policies and programs are to advancing both economic growth and global competitiveness. France has successfully increased its export reach and diversified its export destinations, decreasing dependency on any one market and mitigating risks associated with economic fluctuations. This has been accomplished through exploiting its strengths in key industries and actively exploring market openings abroad. France is now regarded as a top exporter globally thanks to this calculated strategy to export promotion, which has also strengthened its resilience in the face of major financial crises.

In sum, historical data indicates that France has actively participated in globalization, especially in the services sector. France has positioned itself as a major player in the global economy through strategic economic policies, increasing FDI inflows, and the globalization of important industries like banking, real estate, and tourism.

### **Data Analyses and Assessment of Japan's and France's Economic Interdependence:**

The empirical statistics on net inflows of FDI and exports of goods and services offer significant new perspectives on the extent of globalization in France and Japan. Due to the intricate relationships between their economies and international trade and investment flows, both nations have been major players in the world economy.

**Figure 1**

Country : Japan  
 Source: World Development Indicators  
 Created on: 04/26/2024

(Japan: Exports is the top line, FDI is the bottom)

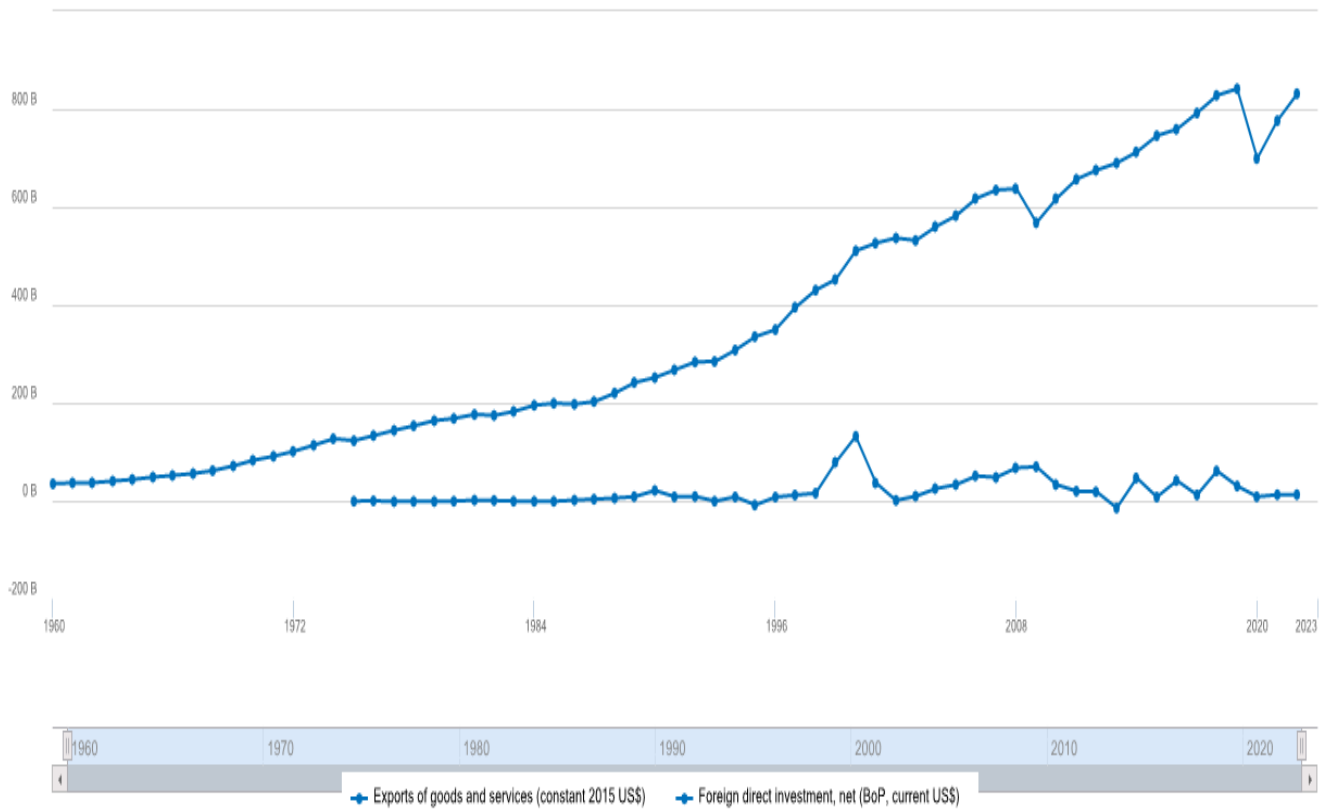
The export trend lines for products and services, starting with Japan, show how deeply integrated the country is into the world economy. Japan's export-oriented businesses have grown steadily over the years, especially in the automotive, electronics, and equipment sectors. The steady rise in export values is a sign of Japan's ability to take advantage of the demand for its goods and services across the world. Japan's exports had a notable upsurge between the early 2000s and about 2008, which may be attributed to the country's strong economic development and increased competitiveness in the global market. The ensuing fluctuations in export growth, particularly after 2008, highlight Japan's difficulties in adjusting to shifting market dynamics and global economic uncertainty. Similarly, Japan's strong

participation in the global investment scene is seen by the trend lines for FDI net inflows. Japan's desirability as a location for foreign investment is demonstrated by positive net FDI inflows, which are fueled by elements including its highly trained workforce, stable economic climate, and innovative technology. These notable FDI influx periods reflect Japan's openness to international investment and its attempts to harness outside resources for economic growth. On the other hand, when net foreign direct investment inflows are negative, they suggest possible difficulties or changes in investment trends brought about by things like regulatory framework modifications or economic downturns.

With a few notable exceptions, the empirical evidence on France offers a story of globalization that is comparable to Japan. France, a country renowned for its solid industrial foundation and diverse economy, has established a strong foothold in international markets through its exports of goods and services. The growing trajectory of export values demonstrates France's competitiveness across a range of industries, including luxury products, agribusiness, automobile, and aerospace. Similar to Japan, France has had ups and downs in export growth, which is indicative of both national and international economic dynamics. Additionally, France's FDI trend lines show the country's initiatives to promote global collaboration and draw in foreign investment. France's attractiveness to international investors is shown by positive net FDI inflows, which are fueled by the country's strategic position, highly trained labor force, and capacity for innovation. The influx of these individuals has enhanced France's economic expansion and competitiveness in the international arena. On the other hand, sporadic times of negative net FDI inflows might indicate problems or changes in France's investment environment, requiring policy interventions to preserve investor confidence and boost economic activity.

**Figure 2: France**

Top line is exports. Bottom line is FDI.

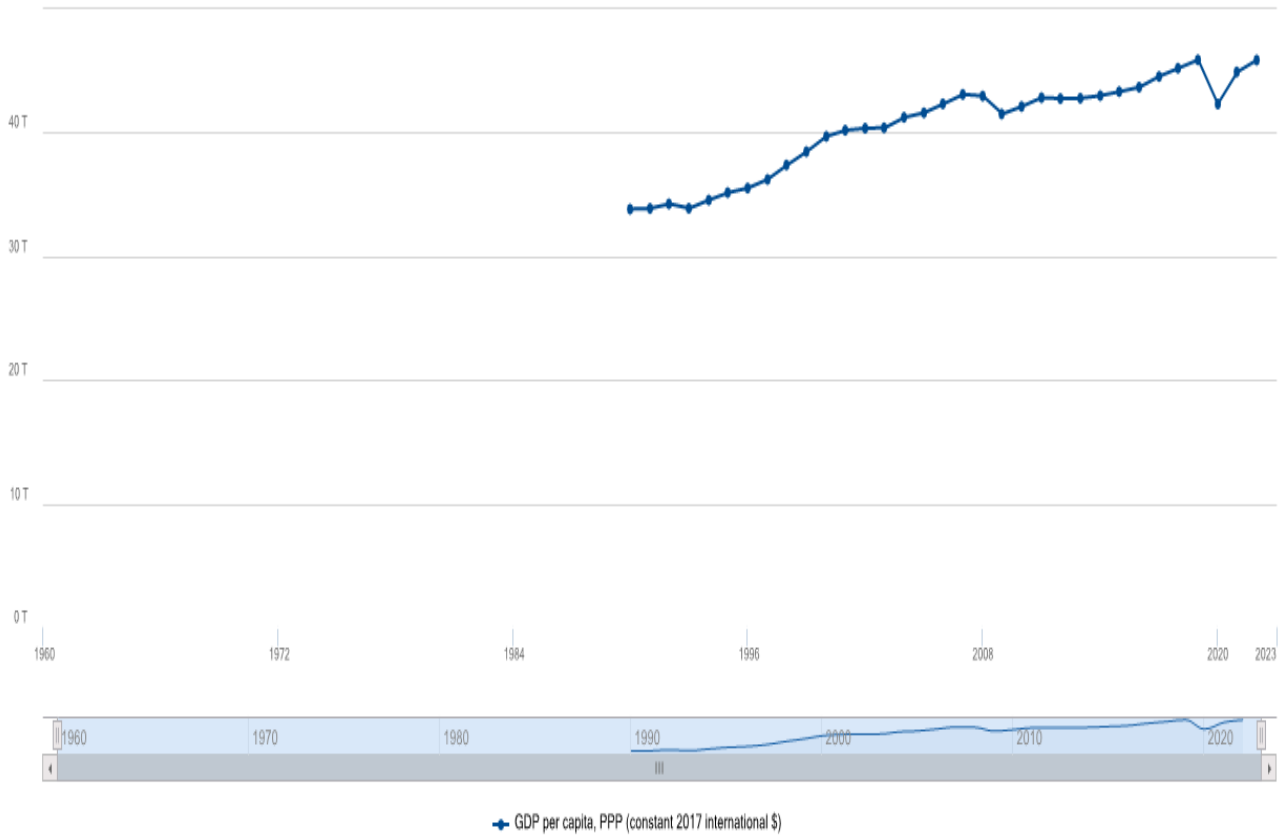


Country : France

Source: World Development Indicators

Created on: 04/26/2024

Figure 3: GDP per Capita, France



Country : France  
Source: World Development Indicators  
Created on: 04/26/2024

This work analyzes the impact of economic development (one of the three independent variables) on foreign direct investment and exports, the two attributes of economic globalization, by showing trend lines and running correlation analyses. The trend line for economic development in France, as represented by the GDP per capita from 1990

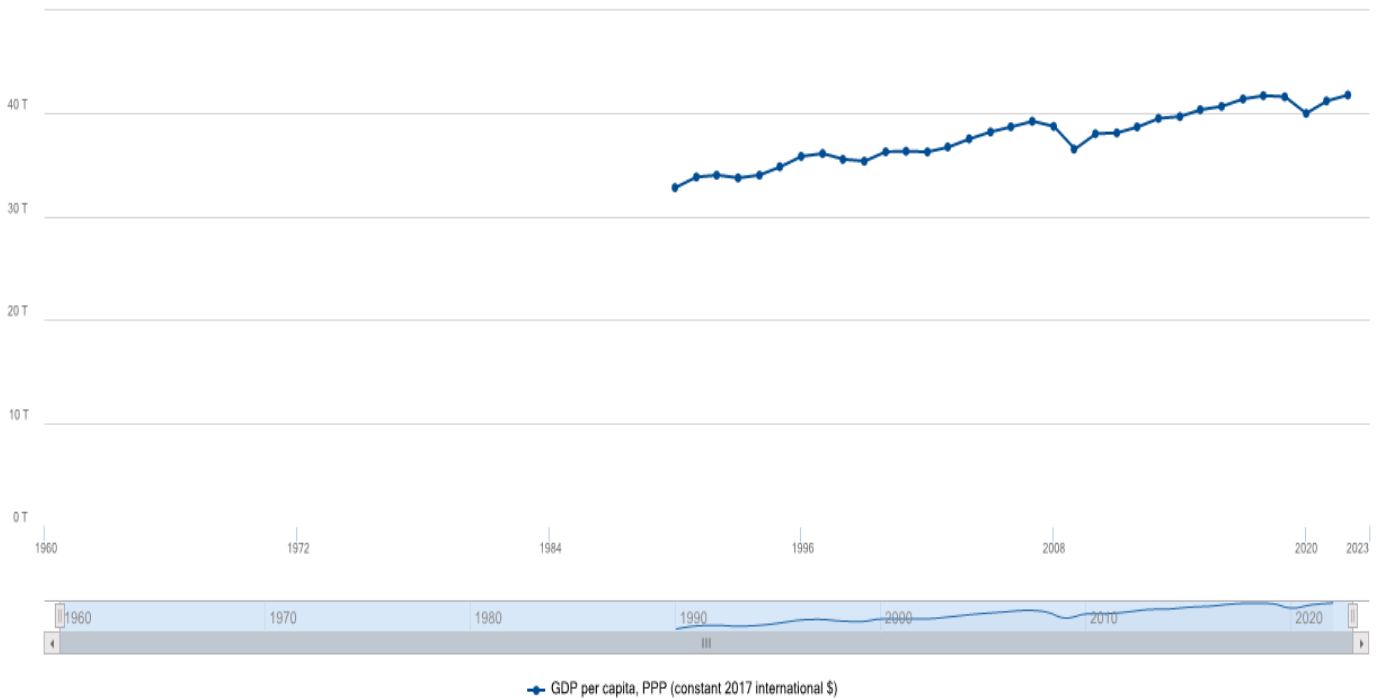


to 2023, exhibits a generally upward trajectory with some notable fluctuations. From 1990 to the mid-2000s, there is a consistent increase in GDP per capita, indicating sustained economic growth over this period. This upward trend reflects France's efforts to bolster its economy through various policies and initiatives, resulting in improved living standards and economic prosperity for its citizens. However, around the late 2000s and early 2010s, the trend line shows a slight decline and then a subsequent recovery in GDP per capita. This period coincides with global economic challenges such as the 2008 financial crisis, which likely impacted France's economy and contributed to the temporary downturn. Nevertheless, France demonstrated resilience and managed to rebound from this setback, as indicated by the resumption of the upward trend in GDP per capita in the following years. While the overall trend line suggests a positive trajectory of economic development, the presence of fluctuations indicates that the economic growth of France is not entirely smooth. External factors, such as global economic conditions and domestic policy decisions, can influence the pace and direction of economic development, leading to periods of both expansion and contraction. Despite these fluctuations, France's economy demonstrates resilience and adaptability, ultimately continuing its upward trajectory of economic development over the long term and impacting the country's economic globalization.

The GDP per capita trend line for Japan's economic development from 1990 to 2023 shows a generally rising trajectory, with a couple of deviations. GDP per capita increased steadily from the early 1990s and the mid-2000s, suggesting sustained economic expansion over that time. This increasing tendency in the GDP per capita reflects Japan's attempts to fortify its economy through a range of initiatives and policies, raising living standards and bringing wealth to the country's citizens. The trend line does, however, also depict certain times when GDP per capita stagnated or slightly decreased, mostly in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These swings are linked to economic difficulties like the asset price bubble explosion in Japan in the early 1990s. Japan exhibits resilience and recovers from periodic downturns despite these setbacks, as seen

by the continuation of the rising trend in GDP per capita in the next few years. There are a couple of downturns. The trend lines demonstrate that the economic growth of Japan is not fully smooth, even while the general trend line points to a favorable trajectory of economic development. Japan's economy exhibits flexibility and maintains its long-term upward trajectory of economic development despite these obstacles, positively impacting the country's economic globalization.

**Figure 4: GDP per capita, Japan**



Country : Japan

Source: World Development Indicators

Created on: 04/26/2024

The correlation analysis of GDP per capita with exports and foreign direct investment (FDI) [attributes of economic globalization]

provides valuable insights into how economic development, economic policies, and economic freedom influence globalization in Japan and France. In Japan, the high positive correlation coefficient of 0.942 between GDP per capita and exports suggests a strong relationship between economic development and export activities. This indicates that as Japan's economy grows and its GDP per capita increases, there is a corresponding rise in exports. This association underscores the importance of international trade in driving economic growth and development in Japan. Additionally, the moderately high positive correlation coefficient of 0.672 between GDP per capita and FDI implies that economic development also attracts foreign investment. However, compared to exports, the relationship between GDP per capita and FDI is slightly weaker, indicating that while economic growth may attract some level of foreign investment, it may not be as influential as export activities in driving globalization.

Conversely, in France, the correlation analysis reveals similar patterns but with some notable differences. The very high positive correlation coefficient of 0.934 between GDP per capita and exports indicates a strong relationship between economic development and export performance, mirroring the situation in Japan. This suggests that as France's economy grows, its ability to engage in international trade and export goods and services also increases. However, the relatively low correlation coefficient of 0.276 between GDP per capita and FDI suggests a weaker relationship between economic development and foreign investment compared to Japan. This indicates that while economic development may lead to some level of FDI inflows, it may not be as significant a driver of foreign investment as in Japan.

These results emphasize how crucial economic development and policy are in determining how a nation interacts with the world economy. Economic growth seems to be strongly correlated with export activity in both France and Japan, highlighting the vital role that international commerce plays in promoting globalization and economic progress. The two nations' different relationships between FDI and

economic development, however, imply that the degree to which foreign investment fosters globalization may depend on a variety of factors, including institutional frameworks and economic policies. Furthermore, the difference in correlation coefficient disparities between France and Japan highlights how crucial it is to consider national characteristics when examining the connection between globalization, economic development, and economic policy.

### Correlations

		GDP	Exports	FDI
GDP	Pearson Correlation	1	.942**	.672**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	33	33	33
Exports	Pearson Correlation	.942**	1	.666**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	33	53	53
FDI	Pearson Correlation	.672**	.666**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	33	53	53

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Japan

### Correlations

		GDP	Exports	FDI
GDP	Pearson Correlation	1	.934**	.276
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.120
	N	33	33	33
Exports	Pearson Correlation	.934**	1	.674**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	33	63	53
FDI	Pearson Correlation	.276	.674**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.120	.000	
	N	33	53	53

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

France

## **Conclusion**

The empirical data underscores the significant degree of globalization observed in both Japan and France. Through their active participation in international trade and investment flows, these countries have not only expanded their economic opportunities but also faced various challenges inherent in a globalized world. Understanding these trends is essential for policymakers and stakeholders in navigating the complexities of globalization and leveraging opportunities for sustainable economic growth and development.

The literature review's historical evidence emphasizes the complex interplay between globalization, economic policy, economic development, and economic freedom in France and Japan. France started an economic revival after World War II by utilizing legislation designed to draw in FDI. According to research carried out by the OECD in 1996, this intentional policy resulted in a considerable rise in FDI inflows, notably in the manufacturing and automotive industries. France's aggressive attitude to international economic integration is demonstrated by its transformation into a nation that attracts foreign investment by the mid-1980s. As Komiya and Wakasugi (1991) explain, Japan's economic trajectory, on the other hand, shows a change from an export-driven growth model to one that actively pursues foreign investment. Strategic investments in industry, infrastructure, and research drove Japan's rise to prominence as an exporter. Japan indicated its growing engagement with international markets by significantly increasing its footprint in Western Europe and North America by the late 1980s. These studies show the role that economic policies have had in determining France's and Japan's routes toward global integration. Deregulation, trade liberalization, and the development of business environments that are conducive to investment all played major roles in attracting international investment inflows. The size of the market, the possibility of economic expansion, labor costs, the standard of the infrastructure, and technical innovation

were also shown to be important determinants of whether foreign investors chose to enter the French and Japanese markets.

The literature also emphasizes how intricately globalization, economic growth, and economic freedom interact. Research shows that while economic freedom and globalization have mixed effects, government size has a detrimental influence on economic growth. However, it is generally agreed upon that nations exhibiting greater economic independence also tend to demonstrate greater integration into the world economy. This research emphasizes how crucial policies supporting economic liberty and transparency are to advancing greater international economic integration.

Overall, the historical evidence demonstrates the multifaceted nature of globalization's impact on France and Japan's economic prosperity. While globalization has facilitated economic growth through trade liberalization and technical advancements, it has also posed challenges in maintaining social cohesion and preserving cultural identity. Understanding the intricate dynamics between economic development, policies, and freedom is crucial for both scholars and policymakers in explaining the complexities of globalization and maximizing its benefits for national economies.

Overall, both countries have demonstrated a commitment to globalization through strategic FDI initiatives, leading to economic expansion and integration into the global marketplace. While their approaches have varied, the empirical evidence highlights their shared goal of leveraging FDI as a driver of further economic growth and prosperity. The empirical data seem to suggest, however, that Japan has a slight edge over France in its pursue of economic globalization. In fact, the overall economic freedom scores for Japan and France, according to the 2024 Heritage Foundation data, are 67.5 and 62.5, respectively, supporting the findings of this paper.

## References

- Cheng, Ming Yu, and Ron Mittelhammer. 2008. "Economic Development and Networking; Globalization and Economic Development; Impact of Social Capital and Institutional Building."
- Dreher, Axel, et al. 2012. "Globalization, Economic Freedom, and Human Rights." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56:3: 516–46. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23248798> Accessed April 22, 2024.
- "France - Services." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc. Accessed April 24, 2024. <https://www.britannica.com/place/France/Services>
- Hellwig, Timothy. 2007. "Globalization and Perceptions of Policy Maker Competence: Evidence from France." *Political Research Quarterly*, 60:1: 146–58. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4623814> Accessed April 23, 2024.
- Heritage Foundation. 2024 Index of Economic Freedom. <http://www.Heritage.org/index> Accessed April 24, 2024
- Hook, Glenn D. 2000. "Globalization, East Asian Regionalization, and Japan's Role in Euro-Asian Interregionalization." *Japan Review*, 12: 5–40. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25791046> Accessed April 24, 2024.
- Komiya, Ryutaro, and Ryuhei Wakasugi. 1991. "Japan's Foreign Direct Investment." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 513: 48–61. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1047080> Accessed April 24, 2024.

- International Monetary Fund. 2001. "Globalization: Threat or Opportunity?"  
<https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2001/110801.htm>
- OECD. "France." OECD Data. OECD. <https://data.oecd.org/france.htm>  
Accessed April 23, 2024.
- OECD. 1996. "OECD Reviews of Foreign Direct Investment: France." Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.  
<https://www.oecd.org/france/34383975.pdf>
- Schmiegelow, Henrik, and Michele Schmiegelow. 1990. "How Japan Affects the International System." *International Organization* 44:4:553–88. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706853>  
Accessed April 23, 2024.
- World Bank. "World Development Indicators." The World Bank, 2024. <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>



# **Does Education Affect Democracy? An Empirical Analysis**

Summer Charles

*University of Central Arkansas*

## **Abstract**

In this study, I ask the question: Does level of education impact the levels of democracy around the world? I hypothesize that as education increases, the level of democracy will increase as well. This study finds that education and level of democracy are related in the world.

## **Introduction**

Democracy is believed to have great relevance to society and the study of social sciences. The implications, effectiveness, and causes of democracy have all been debated by scholars for centuries and remain a consistent topic amongst political analysts. But what influences democracy around the world? I hypothesize that as education increases, the level of democracy also increases. This study finds that education and democracy are related.

## **Literature Review**

Some scholars regard democracy as having positive effects on society while others have criticisms of modern democracy. For example, according to "Democracy and Human Development" from *The Journal of Politics* "long-term democracies benefit from more political competition leading to greater accountability, stronger civil societies pushing for and

promoting human development, the development of norms that support greater demands for equality, and higher levels of institutionalization, relative to authoritarian regimes or new democracies” (Alfaro, Gerring, Thacker, 2012. 1-17). This is one example of the many scholars who believe democracy directly promotes or results in the advancement of society. On the other hand, there are criticism about modern democracy as according to Phil Green’s review of *Democracy and Its Critics* by Robert A. Dahl in the journal *Social Theory and Practice*, “Reacting against the classical understanding of democracy as literally popular self-government, empirical democratic theorists have argued not only that direct democracy is logistically impossible beyond the scale of the small town or commune, but that in any event most people neither are competent to participate in governance nor actually desire to do so”(Green, 1989. 1). These are just two of the many scholarly opinions on democracy, but overall democracy is a widely accepted and influential political system throughout the world and many American political scientists and analysts regard it as the system most essential to countries which seek protection for human rights, civil liberties, and freedom.

But how does education affect democracy? Outside of my study, there have been a plethora of scholarly and academic writing about the intertwinement of education and democracy, and which is a precursor for the other. As I’ve stated in my hypothesis, I believe that an increase in education results in a higher level or likelihood of a country adopting democracy. Political scientists and philosophers alike have made this same argument, believing that education plays a large role in democratization. One of the pioneering scholars who discussed the relationship between education and democracy was John Dewey, a prominent education philosopher who wrote on the need for education in order to have a democracy in his paper *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (1916), which states “A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life

is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder" (Dewey, 1916. 115). Overall, in his writing, Dewey emphasizes how educational institutions instill values of self-expression, critical thinking skills, and communication with others through experiences in school and how this influences the creation of a democratic society.

Similarly, American political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba reiterate the same sentiment about the effect of education on politics and therefore democracy in their book *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, in which they state "The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education" (Almond and Verba, 1963. 316). Their study of the topic argues that educated people are more likely to be politically engaged and will be able to articulate their desire for democracy.

Additionally, some scholars have hypothesized that greater levels of education not only lead to democratization but that it also aids in the stability and performance of a democracy. In the article "Democracy, Education and the Quality of Government" found in the *Journal of Economic Growth*, economists Piergiuseppe Fortunato and Ugo Panizza conduct research to support the correlation between a democratic governments' performance and levels of education and effectively conclude that "(i) the interaction between democracy and education is always a positively and significantly correlated with the quality of government; (ii) the correlation between democracy and quality of government is statistically significant only in countries with high levels of education; and (iii) the marginal effect of education on quality of government is positive and sometimes statistically significant in countries with high levels of democracy." (Fortunato and Panizza, 2016. 359). While most research surrounding this topic led to a similar conclusion, others have argued that the relationship between the level of education and democracy is misleading. For example, in the

paper "From Education to Democracy" by Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared (2005), in reference to the connection between higher levels of education and higher levels of democracy, the researchers insist that their research leads them to believe that the relationship between education and democracy is possibly "related to the joint evolution of economic and political development ("the historical development paths")" (Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson, and Yared, 2005. 48), rather than there being a causal correlation in which education is a precursor to democracy. Despite, differing and nuanced opinions surrounding the nature of education and democracy's relationship, it is consistent that there is a statistically significant correlation between the two.

Overall, amongst scholars the proliferation of democracy happens through formal education as its byproducts cause economic growth, political participation, and literacy. This is further supported by Yekaterina Chzken (2013) in *Education and democratisation: tolerance of diversity, political engagement, and understanding of democracy*, in which she concludes that "Educational attainment has a substantial positive effect on political engagement and interest in politics in every region. Higher educated citizens are also more likely to understand democracy in terms of free elections, civil rights, gender equality, and economic prosperity" (Chzhen, 2013. 21), which directly states how education affects democracy.

### **Model Specification**

In this study the independent variable is education, and the dependent variable is the level of democracy around the world. Specifically, in this study, the independent variable, level of education, is defined as the level to which a country's average citizen has reached in years of formal education in a learning institution. The dependent variable, level of democracy, is defined as the level to which citizens can choose their political leaders in free and fair elections, enjoy civil liberties, and have a government which acts on their behalf (Lipset, 1959). For this study I will be measuring the level of education using

countries' average number of years in school and I will be measuring the level of democracy using the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) Democracy Index, which ranges from 0, least democratic, to 10, most democratic.

Three control variables that exist outside of the independent variable which affects the dependent variable are economic development, history of colonization, and culture. I consider economic development to be a control variable because many scholars associate a growth in the economy and income of citizens with the likeliness of democracy. Most notable of these scholars is renowned American sociologist and political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset who wrote extensively about the correlation between economic growth and the stability of democracy in his paper "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy" (1959), in which he states that "[t]he more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy" (Lipset, 1959. 59). His "Theory of Modernization" is still cited and debated to this day. Countries' history of colonization is also a control variable as many scholars have suggested a correlation between colonization/post-colonialism and the likelihood and sustainability of democracy. Political scientists Alexander Lee and Jack Paine at the University of Rochester discuss this correlation in their paper "Did British Colonialism Promote Democracy? Divergent Inheritances and Diminishing Legacies" (2016), which states "Tailoring independence and experiencing a longer period of colonial elections created the possibility for democracy among British colonies at independence by supplying an electoral framework" (Lee and Paine, 2016. 24). Finally, another control variable for the level of democracy is political culture because the political values a country prioritizes will affect whether it seeks or becomes a democracy. According to political scientists Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel "- evidence indicates that a political culture that emphasizes self-expression, tolerance, trust, life satisfaction, and participation plays a crucial role in effective democracy" (Inglehart and Welzel, 2003. 16), which shows that cultural values can directly impact a country's level of democracy. Each of these

three control variables in some ways have been attached to the level of democracy, therefore must be acknowledged as they have an impact outside of the level of education.

In this study I will be using 50 randomly selected countries from across the world. I obtained my data on the levels of education from OurWorldInData.org, which sources its data from the UNDP Human Development Report. I retrieved my data on the levels of democracy from the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) Democracy Index, which is based on electoral process pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. The year of analysis for the level of democracy is 2022 and the year of analysis for education in 2023.

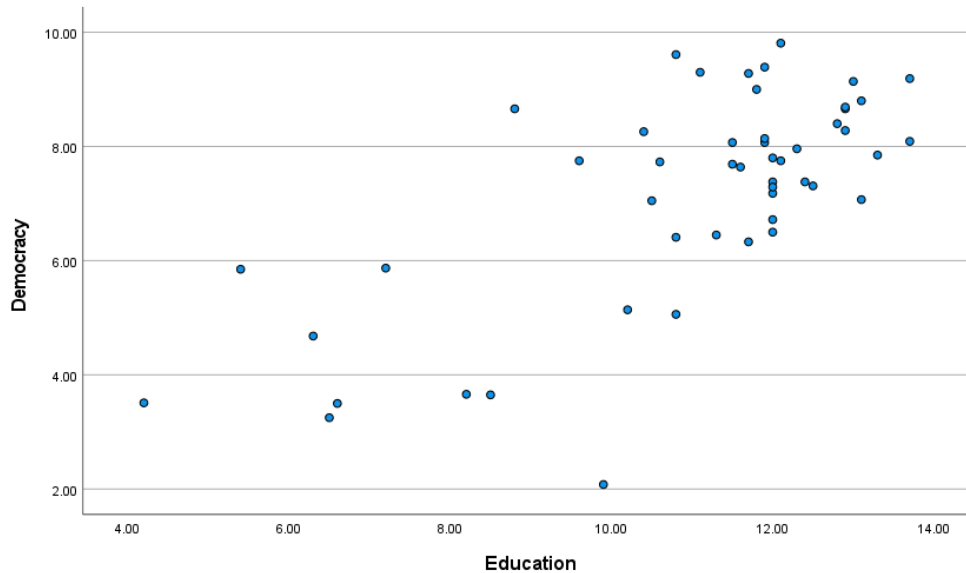
### **Research Design**

The procedure that I used to test the relationship between education and democracy is a regression analysis (ordinary least squares, OLS, and regression estimators). This is because variables measured with interval level data are best estimated by using OLS estimators.

### **Model Estimation and Analysis**

The equation I will be using is the regression line model, which is  $Y = a + bX + e$ , where  $Y$  is the dependent variable,  $a$  is the y-intercept,  $b$  is the slope,  $X$  is the independent variable, and  $e$  is the error term. My data analysis, using the SPSS module, provided the following equation of the regression line:

$$Y = 0.76 + 0.59X; t = 6.73; p = 0.00; r^2 = 0.49$$

**Figure 1**

Since the calculated t-value, 6.73, is greater than the critical t-value, 2.0, and the calculated p-value, 0.00, is less than the critical p-value, 0.05, the regression model is statistically significant. The y-intercept,  $a$ , suggests that with no education, the level of democracy is 0.76, which on the EIU democracy index, which ranges from 0 to 10, is equivalent to almost no democracy. Conversely, the slope,  $b$ , suggests that for every year of education,  $X$ , a country's level of democracy will increase by 0.59 points.  $R^2$  suggests that 49% of the variance or difference in the level of democracy in countries around the world is explained by the variance or differences in the level of their education.

**Table 1**

<b>Countries</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Democracy</b>
Netherlands	11.80	9.00
Algeria	8.20	3.66
Denmark	11.70	9.28
Finland	11.10	9.30
Mozambique	4.20	3.51
Switzerland	13.00	9.14

Norway	12.10	9.81
Austria	10.40	8.26
Estonia	12.30	7.96
Japan	12.80	8.40
Germany	13.10	8.80
Spain	11.50	8.07
Sweden	11.90	9.39
United St	13.30	7.85
Slovenia	12.10	7.75
New Zealand	10.80	9.61
Qatar	8.50	3.65
Lithuania	12.50	7.31
Portugal	9.60	7.75
Croatia	12.00	6.50
Australia	12.90	8.66
Bangladesh	7.20	5.87
Ukraine	10.80	5.06
Serbia	11.70	6.33
United Ki	12.90	8.28
Belgium	11.60	7.64
Saudi Ara	9.90	2.08
Ireland	13.70	9.19
Pakistan	6.50	3.25
Latvia	12.00	7.38
France	11.90	8.07
Canada	12.90	8.69
Israel	12.00	7.80
Slovakia	13.10	7.07
Cyprus	12.40	7.38
South Korea	13.70	8.09
Kuwait	6.60	3.50
South Africa	10.50	7.05
Italy	11.50	7.69
Uruguay	8.80	8.66
Poland	12.00	7.18
Bulgaria	10.80	6.41



Hungary	12.00	6.72
Romania	11.30	6.45
Botswana	10.60	7.73
Greece	11.90	8.14
Malaysia	12.00	7.29
Malawi	5.40	5.85
Mexico	10.20	5.14
Benin	6.30	4.68

## **Conclusion**

In this paper I asked: Does the average level of education impact a country's level of democracy? To address this question, I hypothesized that as the level of education increases, the level of democracy will increase as well around the world. I found that there is both a statistically significant correlation and argue there is a causal relationship between the level of education and the level of democracy around the world.

## References

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2005. "From Education to Democracy?" *The American Economic Review* 95: 2: 44–49.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4132788>.
- Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton University Press.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183pnr2> Accessed 24 April 2024.
- Chzhen, Yekaterina. 2013 "Education and democratisation: tolerance of diversity, political engagement, and understanding of democracy." *UNESCO Digital Library*, 2013,  
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000225926> . Accessed 24 April 2024.
- Dewey, John 1916. "Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education." *Internet Archives*, Macmillan, 1916,  
<https://archive.org/details/democracyandedu00dewegoog/page/n112/mode/2up>. Accessed 24 April 2024.
- Economist Intelligence Unit. "Democracy Index 2023: Age of Conflict." *Pages.eiu.com*, The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited., 2024,  
[https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/Democracy-Index-2023-Finalreport.pdf?version=0&mkt\\_tok=NzUzLVJJUS00MzgAAAGSrKgXRoBryHvO7sMOBjH3AAWF8GZ\\_eyJXc68GiIBKLdb0xiR2H5H01Q0ATc1IsGUb7CoQ9urj18TOkSULSEQQiGy\\_g7YirHDMaMXnjxY\\_mxw7OpQ](https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/Democracy-Index-2023-Finalreport.pdf?version=0&mkt_tok=NzUzLVJJUS00MzgAAAGSrKgXRoBryHvO7sMOBjH3AAWF8GZ_eyJXc68GiIBKLdb0xiR2H5H01Q0ATc1IsGUb7CoQ9urj18TOkSULSEQQiGy_g7YirHDMaMXnjxY_mxw7OpQ). Accessed 24 April 2024.
- Fortunato, Piergiuseppe, and Ugo Panizza. 2015. "Democracy, Education and the Quality of Government." *Journal of Economic Growth* 20:4 : 333–63. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44113710>.
- Gerring, John, et al. 2012 "Democracy and Human Development." *University of Chicago Press Journals*

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381611001113>. Accessed 24 April 2024.

Green, Phil. 1990. Review of *Democracy and Its Critics*, by R. A. Dahl. *Social Theory and Practice*, 16:2, 217–243.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23557082> Accessed 24 April 2024.

Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. 2003. Political Culture and Democracy: Analyzing Cross-Level Linkages. *Comparative Politics*, 36:1: 61–79. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4150160> Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

Lee, Alexander, and Jack Paine. 2016. “Did British Colonialism Promote Democracy? Divergent Inheritances and Diminishing Legacies\*.” *University of Rochester*, University of Rochester, 28 August 2016, [https://www.rochester.edu/college/faculty/alexander\\_lee/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Lee-and-Paine-Britain-and-democracy.pdf](https://www.rochester.edu/college/faculty/alexander_lee/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Lee-and-Paine-Britain-and-democracy.pdf) . Accessed 23 April 2024.

Lipset, S. M. 1959. Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy. *The American Political Science Review*, 53:1: 69–105.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1951731> Accessed 24 Apr. 2024.

Roser, Max. 2022 “Global Education.” *Our World in Data*,

<https://ourworldindata.org/global-education> . Accessed 24 April 2024.

UNDP, Human Development Report (2024) – with minor processing by Our World in Data. “Average years of schooling” [dataset].

UNDP, Human Development Report, “Human Development Report 2023-2024” [original data].

## Appendix

### Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables	Variables	Method
	Entered	Removed	
1	Education <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Democracy

b. All requested variables entered.

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.697 <sup>a</sup>	.486	.475	1.35573

a. Predictors: (Constant), Education

### ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	83.289	1	83.289	45.315	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	88.224	48	1.838		
	Total	171.514	49			

a. Dependent Variable: Democracy

b. Predictors: (Constant), Education

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.755	.972		.777	.441
	Education	.585	.087	.697	6.732	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Democracy

**Correlations**

		Education	Democracy
Education	Pearson Correlation	1	.697**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	50	50
Democracy	Pearson Correlation	.697**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	50	50

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

# Russia-Vietnam Relations in the Post Cold War Era

Daegon Schaal

*University of Central Arkansas*

## **Abstract**

The end of the Cold War started a new era of foreign relations for Russia. With the collapse of the Soviet Union creating a weaker Russian Federation, many officials in Russia strove to renew its relevance on the world stage. Geopolitical events in regions such as Eastern Europe and the Middle East have created a new divide between Russia and the West which has resulted in Russia shifting its search for allies to Asia. This paper analyzes the relations between the Russian Federation and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the post-Cold War era and explains the causes of those relations through the lenses of political ideology, geopolitics, and economic activity such as trade and investment.

## **Introduction**

Ever since the end of the Cold War in late 1991, there has been much discussion of Russia's status in the international political system. Is Russia a major global power or a regional power? Is Russia a rising or declining power? Is Russian influence rising or declining in Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and other regions of the world? With the loss of territory and having effectively lost the Cold War, the new Russian Federation started in a weakened state compared to its predecessor, the Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War resulted in an international system that Russia considered to be unipolar with the United States of America as the hegemon (Kreutz 2002, 49). This

unipolar global order has been particularly frustrating to those in Russia who have nostalgia for Soviet times and saw the collapse of the Soviet Union as a disaster, including President Vladimir Putin himself. Many government officials in Russia were raised in the Soviet Union and have the viewpoint that Russia is, and is meant to be, a great power (Güler 2021, 285). To these government officials, ensuring Russia's relevance on the global stage is one of the most important, if not the most important, issue facing Russia in the post-Cold War period. Many of Russia's actions across the globe can be explained by this attitude among Russian officials, from their attempts to gain influence in Africa through weapons sales and mercenary groups, to their aggressive posture toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), particularly the alliance's Eastern European members who were once Warsaw Pact members and Soviet republics.

With all of this in mind, Russia's actions and commitments globally have resembled both that of a great power and that of an emerging international power. In some cases, such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), Russia leads as a great power would. CSTO is a defensive alliance similar to NATO in which Russia would be seen as the parallel to the U.S., though CSTO is far more reliant on Russia's leadership than NATO is on American leadership. In other cases, such as the economic group consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, known as BRICS, Russia puts itself on equal ground with other lesser powers such as India, Brazil, and South Africa (Güler 2021, 286).

Given the ambiguity regarding Russia's status in the international political system, many scholars have broadly examined Russian foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Most experts view Russian foreign policy through a realist lens in which Russia is seen as an aggressive state that values military and political power over its peaceful participation in the international system. This view of Russia has been challenged by some who argue that it is unidimensional and does not allow for multifaceted analyses (Rezvani 2020, 884). Some of

these experts have also argued that the root of Russian foreign policy is in Russian national identity. This national identity was shaped by the ruling elite with the intention of securing the Russian state and strengthening Russian influence. The first of the two major ideas that make up this national identity is the notion that Russia is meant to be a great power and a conservative counter-balance to western liberalism. The second is that there is a greater Russian identity beyond the Russian state's borders, a new type of civilization to counter western civilization (Zevelev 2016, 2-3). Understanding these roots of Russian foreign policy are important for understanding the decisions Russia makes and the goals they intend to achieve. Other scholars have looked at Russia's involvement in various regions or countries of the world. Russia's interest in Africa was renewed in the 2000s under Putin. The primary motivation for Russia was to challenge the increasing U.S., European, and Chinese influence in Africa at the time, and the Soviet legacy of anti-colonialism and supporting leftist revolutionary groups in Africa is commonly used as a tool by Russia to improve relations with African states (Giles 2013, 9-11). Russia's interest in the Middle East also began to increase after the collapse of the Soviet Union as they now had many new neighbors in Central Asia and the Transcaucasia region. Russia wanted to maintain some level of control over these former Soviet republics, but this control would now be under new threats such as Islamic radical groups and the expanding influence of the U.S. in the Middle East. Russia has since been interested in looking for partners in the region such as Iran (Freedman 2001, 59-67).

In this paper, I will analyze Russian foreign policy regarding the Southeast Asian country of Vietnam. Russia's interest in Southeast Asia is based partially on its desire to reestablish its influence in regions and countries where the former Soviet Union was influential. In Southeast Asia, China has assumed a powerful position in the region due to its geographic proximity, as well as its relative military and economic strength. In an effort to restore its influence in Southeast Asia, Russia has established branches of the *Russkiy Mir* foundation in regional cities such as Bangkok. The *Russkiy Mir* foundation is a Russian state



sponsored organization that promotes Russian culture and values around the world for the purposes of spreading Russia's soft power (Bukh 2016, 447). Soft power is influence over a country's foreign policy through non-coercive means, and it is an important tool that Russia has used to maintain their relevance in international politics. Some members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) can be considered important players in the global economy which can also make them valuable targets for spreading influence. Many of the leaders of ASEAN member states are also generally in favor of the international norms and ideas that Russia promotes, such as "sovereign democracy", the idea that questioning a country's democracy is a threat to their sovereignty, and non-interference. This makes forging alliances and promoting cooperation with these states easier for Russia.

Historically, there were ties between the Soviet Union and some Southeast Asian countries on the basis of shared communist and anti-Western ideology, such as Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos (Bukh 2016, 454). The Soviet Union became involved in the Vietnam war, particularly after the U.S. intervened, increasing support for the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Eventually the Soviet Union became the largest supplier for the North Vietnamese and the NLF, far surpassing China's support, with about 50 percent of the aid and equipment from the communist world coming from the Soviets. The Sino-Soviet split made Soviet leaders concerned with China's dominance over Asia and Vietnam's deteriorating relations with China gave them a chance to exert influence. The U.S. intervention in the war was also seen as a test of communist solidarity which the Soviets were determined to strengthen (Kimball 1997, 158). While many of these relations may have not carried over to the Russian Federation, the foundations for good relations were laid during the Cold War.

The Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 was a pivotal point in international politics regarding Russia and the West. The annexation led to the breakdown of relations between the two parties and as a result,

Russia had a “pivot to the east” in which they began to look toward Asia for allies and partners. This mostly resulted in an effort to improve relations with China, but it also included an effort to spread its influence in Southeast Asia. These efforts in Southeast Asia have only been minimally successful. In 2012, the Asia–Pacific region was considered the third most significant strategic region for Russia, behind only Central Asia and Europe. By 2013, the Asia–Pacific region had been downgraded on the list of diplomatic priorities from third to fourth place behind the US. Russia has not had much bilateral relations with Southeast Asian states. Much of Russia's diplomacy with Southeast Asian states is done through international organizations and treaties (Tsvetov 2016, 64-65). Rhetorically Russia has expressed desire to increase influence and trade with countries in Southeast Asia, but they have yet to invest in the region enough to compete with other powers such as China or even the US.

### **Background Information**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, President Boris showed little interest in the Southeast Asia region. President Yeltsin’s primary foreign policy goal was to create closer ties to the West. Because of this, Russia pulled their influence out of Southeast Asia to focus on their new objectives. In the early days of Putin’s presidency however, some interest in Southeast Asia and Vietnam was renewed. The realization of China’s domination in the region made Russian officials and Putin realize that some presence was necessary to contest the influence of emerging China. Putin made an effort to visit Vietnam and other ASEAN countries in order to reestablish ties that had lapsed under Yeltsin. The renewed relationship between Vietnam and Russia was mostly economic with Putin declaring a “strategic partnership” between Russia and Vietnam in 2001. Vietnamese President Tran Duc Luong visited Moscow in May 2004. During these visits, discussions were mostly about trade and projects for economic development, but they were also symbolic of the partnership of Russia and Vietnam and showed potential for political friendship (Buzynski 2006, 285). Putin

ultimately shaped Russian interests in Asia in the post-Cold War era, going against Yeltsin's neglect of the Far East. While Vietnam was considered an important partner for Russia under Putin, Russia's resources remained focused on other parts of Asia. Malaysia was considered a more important partner to Russia because of its president Mahathir Mohammad who had anti-Western political views that were seen as the most compatible with Russia's views in the Southeast Asia region (Buzynski 2006, 286).

Vietnam's relations with Russia remained focused on trade and economic development throughout the 2000s and 2010s. In Putin's meetings with President Tran Duc Luong of Vietnam in 2004, the Vietnamese promised to pay back any debts owed to the Russians, which amounted to 1.7 billion USD. Ten percent of the debt was paid in cash and the rest was paid over time via goods and investment. They also began making deals for Russian weapons. There was some effort by Russia to promote its culture and values in Vietnam, but the relationship remained neglected compared to other countries across the world. Following Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, Russian-Vietnamese relations remained largely unaffected. Russia's new focus on China did cause some slight problems with Vietnam. Despite their similar Communist past, Vietnam and the People's Republic of China have not had good relations, partially due to China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979. In 2016 Russia officially decided to support the Chinese position in the disputes over the South China Sea in an attempt to improve relations with China. The Vietnamese had a negative reaction to this and while it did not permanently damage relations, it was an example of Russia prioritizing their relations with other Asian countries over their relations with Vietnam (Zareba 2022, 55-56).

The 2020s have seen a large shift in Russian-Vietnamese relations. The Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 caused a major shift in global politics. Russia became a pariah to the West and all hope of improving relations between Russia and the West were effectively lost. This caused an acceleration in Russia's effort to shift

their focus away from the West and “pivot to the east”, which of course had effects on Russian relations with Asian countries in more ways than one. ASEAN member states had varying responses to the invasion of Ukraine. Some were supportive of Russia, some criticized the invasion, and some, including Vietnam, had a mild response. The organization as a whole decided to make a vague and neutral statement about the conflict saying that they were “deeply concerned with the evolving situation and armed hostilities in Ukraine” (Flores 2022, 158). Vietnam abstained from the UN resolutions condemning Russia for the invasion and even suggested that the classification of the conflict as an invasion could have been avoided. Despite these abstentions, Vietnam has sent humanitarian aid to Ukraine (Flores 2022, 164).

The Russian invasion of Ukraine caused problems for Vietnam. Vietnam has historically attempted to balance its relations with China, Russia, and the U.S. as well as the other member states of ASEAN. As discussed before, ASEAN was divided by the invasion. Singapore in particular condemned Russia and participated in sanctions while Myanmar expressed support for Russia. This created an awkward situation for all ASEAN states as they now had to work around their differences. Vietnam, while trying to maintain its relations with Russia was pressured into moving away from Russia as an arms supplier by the US’s threat to sanction countries which purchase Russian arms. China has also taken advantage of the situation to assert more influence over Vietnam, warning the Vietnamese to not side with the US on the issue or there may be another “Ukraine tragedy” (Vuving 2023, 368). While Vietnam has attempted to maintain its relationship with Russia, it is clear that the invasion of Ukraine is putting pressures on Vietnam that are forcing the Vietnamese to move away from Russia. It is another in the many cases in which Russia’s decision to invade Ukraine has mostly worked to distance Russia from the rest of the world.

## **Analysis**

The relations between countries are always complicated, but there are three main factors that have had the largest impact on the relations between Russia and Vietnam. These factors are anti-Western/anti-hegemonic ideology and attitudes in international politics, geopolitics, and economic opportunity. The tensions between the West and Russia are not hard to see. The tensions originated from the Cold War between the Soviet Union and NATO and had only gone away briefly when the Yeltsin administration attempted to heal their relations with the US and American allies. Since Yeltsin's administration, Putin has become progressively anti-Western which eventually led to the annexation of Crimea and eventually the invasion of Ukraine.

Vietnam has also had a history of being anti-Western even though that sentiment is not as strong as it has been in the past. Vietnam is a post-colonial country, which gained independence from France in the early 1950s through a war fought primarily by communist insurgents led by Ho Chi Minh. Upon independence, Vietnam was divided into a communist North Vietnam and an anti-communist South Vietnam. In the late 1950s, the South Vietnamese government faced a growing insurgency by communist rebels supported by North Vietnam. Beginning in the late 1950s, the U.S. government economically and militarily supported the South Vietnamese government. Vietnam's colonial past and U.S. intervention in South Vietnam pushed North Vietnam closer to the Soviet Union. The U.S. military withdrawal from the region and North Vietnam's defeat of South Vietnam in the mid-1970s reinforced the Soviet Union's strong ties to Vietnam through the early 1990s. Since the end of the Cold War, Vietnam has generally supported Russia's anti-Western ideology, including support for a multipolar international political system in which the U.S. does not play the role of global hegemon (Do 2022, 290-291). At the same time, Vietnam has pushed back against attempts by China to play the role of regional hegemon in Southeast Asia, particularly through challenging China in disputes such as that in the South China Sea (Le 2012, 9-12).

Geopolitics is also an important factor in Russian-Vietnamese relations. Russia, as a country which is trying to build its reputation as a great power, is looking for more regions of the world in which to exert its influence and maintain its relevance. Southeast Asia is one of those regions. It should be understood however that geopolitics is not only a reason for Russia to choose to exert influence over Vietnam, but it is also a reason for Russia to choose to ignore it. Russia is involved in the politics of many regions of the world. They are increasingly involved in Africa and continue to support Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria. Ukraine has been a source of tension for many years since 2014, but it has now become a war zone in which Russia is directly involved and highly invested. These regions of the world are certainly more important for Russia strategically. Eastern Europe is on their doorstep and the U.S.' influence in the Middle East is a greater threat than that in Southeast Asia (Mahmood 2015, 76-80). Generally, Russia would like to spread its influence in Southeast Asia by building partnerships and concluding more trade agreements, but Russia has limited resources and must deal with more pressing matters.

Vietnam on the other hand would like closer ties with Russia for geopolitical reasons. As discussed before, Vietnam's foreign policy has been a balancing act between the two major powers – China and Russia. China, however, is in the best position geographically to influence Vietnam, and Vietnam desires closer ties to Russia as a partner to counter China. Chinese and Vietnamese relations have not been good since the Sino-Vietnamese conflict in 1979. Vietnam has tried to distance itself from China while China attempts to coax or coerce Vietnam into their sphere of influence (Guan 1998, 1122-1129). Tensions between China and Vietnam are also high due to the South China Sea disputes. These disputes are Vietnam's greatest national security issue both for economic and defense reasons. China is expanding its claim on the waters in the South China Sea which threatens Vietnam's sovereignty. China claims a large amount of the territorial waters belonging to Vietnam which includes areas that are important for Vietnam's trade and marine economy. Vietnamese fishing boats and surveying vessels

have been harassed and seized by Chinese marine surveillance within their own exclusive economic zone. The waters that China claims also includes islands that Vietnam considers very important for its national security (Le 2012, 9). It is not difficult to see how despite Vietnam's efforts to use Russia as a counterweight to China, Russia's decision to support China on this issue has caused some issues in their relations with Vietnam. Once again, geopolitics can also have a negative impact on relations with Russia from Vietnam's perspective. While the Vietnamese may want closer relations with the Russians, this may not be possible because of the pressures of other great powers. As stated before, the US threatens to sanction any country which purchases arms from Russia because of the Ukraine war, a geopolitical event. Vietnam has no choice in this situation but to comply, and they have.

Economic opportunity is also a major factor of Russian-Vietnamese relations. Most of the interactions between the two countries have been economic since Putin came to power in 2000. Russia has become Vietnam's greatest arms dealer and many trade agreements have been concluded between the two countries. These trade agreements include a free trade agreement between Vietnam and the Eurasian Economic Union, which is a trade organization led by Russia with the goal of linking Russia and Central Asian states economically (World Trade Organization 2015). Russia has also invested in Vietnam, which has made Vietnam's economic relationship with Russia very beneficial for them. As of March 2023, Russia had 171 investment projects in Vietnam with a value of \$970 million. At the same time, Vietnam had 17 investment projects in Russia with a value of \$1.6 billion (Ministry of Planning and Investment 2023). Russia is one of the world's largest suppliers of weapons. Vietnam purchased T-90 tanks from Russia in 2016, and they bought 12 Yak-130 jet trainers and light combat aircraft for \$350 million in 2019 (Zareba 2022, 57). Russia's arms sales to Vietnam are not only economically beneficial for Russia but provide another opportunity to promote Russian weapons and equipment around the world. Arguably, the most valuable thing that Russia gets from trade and investment in Vietnam is the further spread

of their influence. Some goods from Vietnam may be helpful in the Russian economy, but the good relations that can come out of trade deals brings Russia closer to their goals than the trade goods themselves.

Vietnam's economy is also growing which makes it an increasingly valuable economic partner in general. Vietnam historically struggled with their economy after the Vietnam war and the wars that followed with China and the Khmer Rouge because of their inefficient economic policies and isolation from the rest of the world. In 1986, the Communist Party of Vietnam adopted the Doi Moi policy which resulted in the creation of a Socialist oriented multisector market-based economy, promoting science and technology, and opening the country's foreign relations which helped improve Vietnam's economy greatly. The Doi Moi policy increased Vietnam's GDP to seven times its size from 1985 to 2010, and as a result, Vietnam is now considered a low middle income economy with a GDP of \$130 billion that is continuing to grow. The policy also resulted in Vietnam normalizing relations with the US and China as well as most other countries in the world, including the Soviet Union and later Russia. These policy changes are the reason that Vietnam is a valuable economic partner in the region for Russia. They are also the reason that Vietnam actively makes trade agreements with Russia as well as the reason they participate in international organizations that Russia also takes part in (Le 2012, 2-3).

## **Conclusion**

Russian foreign policy has revolved around the goal of securing its position as a major global power following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. Nostalgia for Soviet times and a general frustration with the unipolar world order has led Russia to seek influence in every corner of the world to maintain its relevance. This has meant cooperation with some countries and conflict with others. During the Cold War the relationships between the Soviet Union and several Southeast Asian countries were based on shared communist and anti-



Western ideology. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the ties between Russia and Southeast Asia disappeared briefly, but Putin began to rebuild these ties after taking power.

Vietnam's relations with Russia in recent decades have been mostly economic, centered around investment, trade deals, and the sale of arms. Some efforts are made by Russia to use forms of soft power such as promoting culture and values, but Russia is ultimately focused more on other regions of the world. As tensions with the West increased after the annexation of Crimea, Russia began to focus more on Asia, including China and countries in Southeast Asia. When balancing these two areas, Russia tends to prefer China which sometimes comes at the expense of good relations in Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia. Vietnam has remained interested and invested in Russia regardless of any contradictions in their interests.

The three major factors that have led to these relations between Vietnam and Russia are anti-Western/anti-hegemonic ideology and attitudes in international politics, geopolitics, and economic opportunity. The legacy of the Cold War and colonialism has left a bad taste in the mouths of both Russia and Vietnam regarding the West. As a result of their mutual mistrust of the West and the legacy of the Soviet Union's support for North Vietnam during the 1960s and early 1970s, and later support for unified Vietnam after 1975, there has been a strong foundation for Russian-Vietnamese relations in recent years. Russia's rhetoric around the importance of multipolarity in international politics has also been attractive to Vietnam. Both countries are in a geopolitical situation in which they would benefit from each other's support. Their partnership is also motivated by the potential benefits of trade agreements and investment which can also give Russia more of the influence they desire.

The relationship between Vietnam and Russia in the future is hard to predict. The potential for good relations is there but there are some roadblocks. Vietnam has a clear desire to maintain good relations

with Russia. Vietnam benefits from Russia's counterbalance against China as well as the trade and investment. However, Russia's recklessness on the world stage has sometimes made it difficult for Vietnam to be supportive of Russia. There are many international pressures on Vietnam to distance itself from Russia, including the possibility of U.S. and European sanctions. The path of Russian-Vietnamese relations in the future depends on the course of Russian foreign policy as a whole. If Russia continues down the path of antagonizing the West and testing the West's unity and resolve, Vietnam may be forced to give up on Russia as a partner. The costs of being associated with the current "villain" of international politics to most countries in the world may be too high for Vietnam to justify. If Russia backs down and attempts to reconcile with the West, it would be an obvious choice by Vietnam to continue relations with Russia, but Vietnam's options are heavily dependent on Russia's decisions and their consequences. Also to be considered is Russia's decline. Russia's value as a counterweight against China and a trade partner to Vietnam are based on Russia's current position as a great power. If Russia is no longer perceived as a major global power, its usefulness to Vietnam may be diminished. Many experts are also questioning the effectiveness of Russian arms after the Russian military's poor performance on the battlefield in Ukraine. India and, coincidentally, Vietnam are already looking to "diversify" their military equipment. This is partially due to the threat of sanctions by the West as well. Russia could potentially reach a point where it is even dependent on China, and if that happens it would be catastrophic for Vietnam. They would have to find a different partner, such as the U.S., or submit to China's regional dominance in this situation. Overall, there are many paths that Russia-Vietnam relations could take, and it is ultimately dependent on the choices Russia makes in the near future with regards to its ambitions and maintaining its status as a major global power and a feasible partner for countries in Southeast Asia.

## References

- Bukh, Alexander. 2016. "Russia's Image and Soft Power Resources in Southeast Asia: Perceptions among Young Elites in Laos, Thailand and Vietnam", *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs* 38:3 (December): 445-475. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24916766>
- Buzynski, Leszek. 2006. "Russia and Southeast Asia: A New Relationship", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28:2 (August): 276-296. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25798785>
- Do, Thuy T. 2022. "Between Integration and Differentiation: International Relations Studies and the Promise of Global IR in Vietnam", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 4:2 (August): 289-314. ProQuest Central.
- Freedman, Robert O. 2001. "Russian Policy toward the Middle East: The Yeltsin Legacy and the Putin Challenge", *Middle East Journal* 55:1 (Winter): 58-90. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4329582>
- Flores, Reymund B. April 2023. "Unveiling ASEAN's Diplomatic Equilibrium: Assessing Member Nation-States' Responses to Russia's Attack on Ukraine amidst the Rivalry between United States and China", *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations* 9:1 (April): 151-200. ProQuest Central.
- Giles, Keir. 2013. "Russian Interests in Sub-Saharan Africa", *U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute*, (July): 1-63. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep11667>
- Guan, Ang Cheng. 1998. "Vietnam-China Relations Since the End of the Cold War", *Asian Survey* 38:12 (December): 1122-1141. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2645825>

- Güler, Mehmet Çağatay. 2021. "The Quest for Soviet Legacy in Russian Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey* 23:2 (Spring): 283-293.  
<https://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/server/api/core/bitstreams/c2ca7872-efa5-4bb2-bd23-2d9ba6585da5/content>
- Kreutz, Andrej. 2002. "The Geopolitics of Post-Soviet Russia and the Middle East", *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24:1 (Winter): 49-61.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41858403>
- Kimball, Jeffery. 1997. "Review: Russia's Vietnam War", *Reviews in American History* 25:1 (March): 157-162.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30030762>
- Le, Hong Hiep. 2012. "Vietnam's Strategic Trajectory: From Internal Development to External Engagement", *Australian Strategic Policy Institute* (June): 1-20. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04019>
- Mahmood, Arshad. 2015. "Changing Dynamics of the World Order: Case-Study of Russia's Power Play in Ukraine and Syria", *Journal of Contemporary Studies* 4:2 (Winter): 70-86.  
<https://jcs.ndu.edu.pk/site/article/view/95/60>
- Ministry of Planning and Investment. 2023. "Vietnam-Russia Business Forum attracts 200 Firms", Ministry of Planning and Investment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Retrieved April 3, 2024. (<https://www.mpi.gov.vn/en/Pages/2023/Vietnam-Russia-business-forum-attracts-200-firms-624918.aspx#:~:text=As%20of%20March%20this%20year,of%20its%20outbound%20investment.%2F>)
- Rezvani, Babak. 2020. "Russian foreign policy and geopolitics in the Post-Soviet Space and the Middle East: Tajikistan, Georgia, Ukraine and Syria", *Middle Eastern Studies* 56:6 (July): 878-899.

[https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/00263206.2020.1775590?  
needAccess=true](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/00263206.2020.1775590?needAccess=true)

Tsvetov, Anton. 2016. "After Crimea: Southeast Asia in Russia's Foreign Policy Narrative", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38:1 (April): 55-80. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24916595>

Vuving, Alexander L. 2023. "Vietnam in 2022: Confronting the Post-Post-Cold War Era with Outdated Mental Maps", *Southeast Asian Affairs* : 359-378. ProQuest Central.

World Trade Organization. Sept 7, 2015 "Full Text of Vietnam - Eurasian Economic Union FTA", World Trade Organization. <https://wtocenter.vn/chuyen-de/4760-vietnam--eurasian-economic-union-fta-full-content>

Zaręba, Michal. 2022. "Role of Military Cooperation in Russia-Vietnam Relations", *Eastern Review* 11:2 (March): 51-66. <https://doi.org/10.18778/1427-9657.11.16>

Zevelev, Igor. 2016. "Russian National Identity and Foreign Policy", *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (December): 1-19. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep23235>

# **Superman's Final Flight: How Heightened Expectations Ruined the Legacy of Herbert Hoover**

Ryan Webb

*University of Central Arkansas*

No other president in the history of the United States entered the presidency with expectations as high as President Hoover. Hoover initially made his name as an accomplished mining engineer and humanitarian who worked under presidents of both major parties, thus he entered office with a reputation as a successful organizer and problem solver. While on the campaign trail for Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and presidential candidate in 1920 said of Hoover, "... if any difficult situation should arise, the one man who more than anyone else could be depended upon to bring the widest knowledge and the greatest resourcefulness to the devising of means to meet the emergency would be Herbert Hoover" (Kelhoe, 1949, 7). However, the unfolding economic catastrophe challenged Hoover's leadership as the nation plunged into the depths of economic despair.

Herbert Hoover's presidency (1929-1933), while stained by the Great Depression, was more than a time of economic distress and governmental incompetence. Though economic discomfort was prevalent during Hoover's presidency, many forget that he was a great reformer who was progressive. He worked hard to reform the government, keep tensions cool abroad, and create a safer world for everyone. Unfortunately, all of this is forgotten due to the horrors of the Great Depression.

To give historical context to Hoover's presidency, we must look at the state of the country during his tenure. Hoover was elected during the Roaring Twenties, a time of great economic fortune for most Americans. The Roaring Twenties were an era of unprecedented prosperity, cultural dynamism, and technological advancements. However, the stock market crash of 1929 led to the Great Depression. Despite broader economic factors, Hoover, as President, faced blame for the crisis, overshadowing the earlier optimism of the decade.

After President Coolidge decided he would not run for reelection in 1928, many Republicans wanted Hoover to run. After all, he had gained a reputation as an efficient problem solver, as he had showcased during World War I after helping feed Belgium, which had just been invaded by Germany in 1914, and would help feed American troops stationed in Europe as the head of the U.S. Food Administration in 1917 (Hoover Presidential Library, 2017).

Though Hoover had built a great reputation, many old-guard Republicans were skeptical of him (Hamilton, 2016). Despite the fact Hoover had won primaries in California, Oregon, Massachusetts, and several other states by building coalitions consisting of progressives, women, internationalists, and wealthy businessmen, traditional Republicans were concerned about his "activist approach to government." Nevertheless, they came to accept him when Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon endorsed him at the Republican National Convention in 1928 (Hoover Presidential Library, *Years of Leadership 1928-1933*, 2017). The Republicans nominated Charles Curtis, a senator from Kansas, for vice president.

The Democrats nominated Al Smith, the four-term governor of New York, for president. Smith's candidacy had several issues. Not only was he an anti-prohibitionist but he was also Catholic at a time when many Americans did not like Catholics. As for the vice presidential nomination, the Democrats went with Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson. Robinson's presence on the ticket was strategic. The

Democrats feared that anti-Catholic and pro-prohibition sentiments across the South would hurt Smith, so they figured they could counteract this discrimination by nominating a southern Protestant who supported prohibition to the ticket (“United States Presidential Election of 1928 | Herbert Hoover Victory, Republican Dominance | Britannica,” 2023).

This strategy did not work for the Democrats because, on Election Day, Hoover and Curtis won the election in a landslide. Hoover won 58.2% of the popular vote and 83.6% of the electoral vote, and Smith won 40.8% of the popular vote and 16.4% of the electoral vote (1928 | *the American Presidency Project*, 2015).

Most presidents are the head of their party and have a way of making Congressional members of their party bend to their wants. President Lyndon Johnson might have been the best at this with his Johnson treatment - a persuasion style consisting of flattery and intimidation. Hoover, on the other hand, might have been the worst. Hoover was shy and quiet his entire life and did not possess some of the louder qualities other presidents had such as being inspiring, enthusiastic, or charismatic.

Hoover’s lack of charisma failed to motivate people. His former assistant, Theodore Joslin, once stated: “None of his acts aroused that fire of enthusiasm sufficient to cause them to follow his leadership unquestionably.” It is said that Hoover’s inability to lead was without doubt due to his belief in the separation of powers (Kelhoe, 1949, pg 9). As a result, Congress did not always pass the bills he wanted, and he even had coalitions work against him.

Hoover’s relationship with his staff might have been slightly better than his relationship with Congress; while he struggled to communicate his goals and intentions with large groups, he was “at his best” when with smaller groups of men” (Kelhoe, 1949, pg 11).



Hoover, a reserved and modest man, did not use the media to push his agenda like Wilson or to comfort and reassure the people like FDR. For Hoover, talking to the press was something reserved strictly for matters relating to policy, never politics. The word "policy" means proposals or legislation whereas politics is used to refer to grandstanding or going public. Hoover had a "policy of silence" and believed Congress should have "legislative independence" which suggests Hoover did not prefer to talk to the media as a means of persuading Congress (Kehoe, 1949, pg 6). Hoover might not have believed Congress needed persuading at all. From the evidence gathered, it appears that Hoover believed the legislative branch should legislate while the executive branch executes; this may be the way the Founders expected government to work.

One of Hoover's secretaries claimed Americans did not understand what was going on in his administration as far as the woes they faced and how hard he worked to stave them off, so he suggested that Hoover publicize his efforts. Hoover responded: "This is not a showman's job. I will not step out of character" (Kehoe, 1949, pg 10). Unlike Roosevelt and Wilson, who often went public via the media, Hoover preferred to let his work speak for him since his voice failed to do so. His noble belief that the president was over politics may have cost him the presidency in 1932.

Most of Hoover's time as president was spent trying to find ways to ease the disastrous effects of the Depression. The stock market crashed six months into his presidency which undoubtedly upended any other policy plans he had for his administration. Though many blame him for this crash, many historians agree that most of the blame should go to Hoover's successors who had a hands-off approach to government. Robert Ferrell wrote a book about Coolidge in 1998 where he argued that Coolidge should have seen the Depression coming due to the problems of overproduction and underconsumption - which happens when companies produce more than consumers can purchase which can lead to staggeringly low prices - that were prevalent during

his presidency (Tacoma, 2019). But regardless of where blame is shifted, it is undeniable that Hoover worked hard to fix the Depression.

Hoover worked to implement several economic policies to fight the effects of the Depression. The first thing Hoover did after the crash was call business leaders to the White House and make them verbally commit not to decrease workers' wages. Hoover did this because he believed financial losses should hurt profits instead of employment because maintaining consumer spending would shorten the economic mess (Hoover Presidential Library, *The Great Depression*, 2017). Another strategy of Hoover's was to work with the private sector to increase employment. In 1929, Hoover convinced private businesspeople to spend nearly two billion dollars on public works projects to help increase employment (Hoover Presidential Library, *The Great Depression*, 2017).

On June 17, 1930, President Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act into law which essentially aimed to "protect American businesses and farmers, adding considerable strain to the international economic climate of the Great Depression" ("Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act | History, Effects, & Facts | Britannica," 2023). This law only increased the already exorbitant tariff rates in the U.S. and was opposed by economists, for 1,000 of them signed a petition urging Hoover not to sign it because they believed it would worsen the effects of the Depression ("Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act | History, Effects, & Facts | Britannica," 2023). The economists were right because soon after the law was signed, imported goods were so expensive that only wealthy Americans could afford them which led to more banking failures ("Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act | History, Effects, & Facts | Britannica," 2023).

Though the Depression consumed most of Hoover's presidency, he had a lot of success as a reformer and largely focused on those reforms before the stock market crashed. One of his most drastic reforms was on Indian American policy. Even though Republicans had

an obstinate dislike for welfare programs, Hoover's administration doubled the amount of money given to Indian reservations. This revenue was used to increase the quality of education and healthcare on these reservations (*Domestic Issues - Herbert Hoover - Policy, War, Second, New Deal*, 2023). Hoover also championed prison reform. In August of 1929, he laid out his plans for prison reform which proposed increasing the number of probation officers because he believed many prisoners deserved probation, and that both the prisoners and the government would be better off with them out of prison (Statement on Plans for Federal Prison Reform. | the American Presidency Project, 2023). This was progressive of him because, until Obama, no president advocated for freeing prisoners who deserved probation.

The issue of race was omnipresent in the United States during the 1920s-30s, and many of Hoover's black contemporaries considered him a racist. W.E.B. Du Bois, a prominent black writer and civil rights activist accused Hoover of considering black people as "a species of 'sub-men'" (Garcia, 1979). Robert Moton, a conservative political advisor to Republicans on race, believed Hoover had shown his disdain for blacks through his policies. These claims are supported by the fact that Hoover never followed through with a plan to help black sharecroppers in the South acquire more land via land and equipment loans after a flood hit Mississippi in 1927 while he was the head of a relief committee. He also neglected this plan as president. Hoover also did not believe in racial mixing (Garcia, 1979). However, the mere opinions of contemporary men are not enough to determine whether Hoover was racist or not. Unlike President Wilson, who infamously showed a racist movie at the White House and resegregated the already integrated federal government (Wilson and Race - President Wilson House, 2020).

When President Hoover first entered office, he worked with the 71st United States Congress (1929-1931) which consisted of 270 Republicans, 164 Democrats, and 1 member from the Farmer-Labor Party (*Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art &*

*Archives*, 2013). The Senate looked similar with 56 Republicans, 39 Democrats, and 1 member of the Farm-Labor Party (*U.S. Senate: Party Division*, 2023). Unlike other presidents who lost their majority after the midterm elections, Hoover's party kept their Congressional majority in the 72nd Congress, albeit a much slimmer one. Republicans had 48 seats in the Senate and 218 in the House whereas Democrats had 47 Senate seats and 216 seats in the lower chamber.

Despite Hoover's party holding a majority of seats in Congress, he struggled to keep his party in check with his priorities (Kehoe, 1949, pg 23). Hoover had the cooperation of House Republicans; however, progressive Republicans in the Senate teamed with Democrats to oppose Hoover. Even some of the more traditional or "old-guard" Republicans were not guaranteed "yes" votes for the policies Hoover supported.

Hoover's coalition in the House consisted of some of the same types of people who got him elected in 1928. These groups consisted of conservatives and corporate interests (Hoover Presidential Library, *Years of Leadership 1928-1933*, 2017). Again, Hoover did not have any coalitions to rely on in the Senate, but it is worth noting that the Senate passed many of the bills Hoover proposed during the Depression. This included the Revenue Act of 1932 which raised the tax rate for top earners from 25 percent to 63 percent and raised the corporate tax rate from 12 percent to 13.75 percent (Edwards, 2022).

Another aspect of Hoover that differentiates him from other presidents is his respect for Congress. Hoover once said of Congress: "It is the right and duty of Congress to investigate and formulate legislation: Both the dignity of the two arms and the efficiency of the whole Federal structure will be best served by mutual recognition of each other's rights and responsibilities, and real progress is made in both administrative and legislative arms by cooperation through frank discussion, and by the temperate exchange of views directly between the Executive and the leaders of Congress, out of which wise policies

are evolved and prudent courses are pursued” (Kehoe, 1949, pg 19). Unlike populist presidents who saw presidential elections as mandates and the presidency as superior to Congress, Hoover saw Congress as an institution with the power to legislate and one he was to work with.

President Hoover, who was a pacifist like most other Quakers, pushed hard for international disarmament (*Foreign Relations - Herbert Hoover - Policy, War, 2023*). In 1930, Hoover sent his Secretary of State to the London Naval Conference to discuss reductions in naval armaments. The summit quickly turned into a conversation of specifics and technicalities with countries discussing the exact size, speed, and types of warships; however, Hoover’s Secretary of State was able to create an agreement between Britain and Japan to limit how many naval cruisers each nation could have and how big they could be. The Senate approved this agreement in July of that year (Hamilton, 2016). Two years later in 1932, Hoover sent his Secretary of State to the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva with the quixotic (and probably foolish) goal of banning submarines, airplanes, and tanks. Needless to say, that goal was not met, and the conference was a failure for Hoover.

In September 1931, Japan invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria, which Japanese expansionists had wanted for a long time. Hoover, along with then Secretary of State Stimson, decided against an immediate response to the invasion, but could not remain quiet as Japan successfully seized Manchuria. Two months later, the League of Nations condemned Japan and demanded the immediate withdrawal from Manchuria, but Japan ignored this request. As a result, Hoover and Stimson issued the Stimson Doctrine which essentially said the United States would not recognize the gains Japan had made in Manchuria; however, Japan ignored this, too, and went on to invade Shanghai. It would be a letter written by Stimson to Senator Borah, the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that called for the repeal of the arms control agreements that had been signed with Japan that made Japan end its attack (Hamilton, 2016).

In John Burke's book *Presidential Power: Theories and Dilemmas*, Burke details some presidential frameworks created by political scientist Stephen Skowronek. The frameworks that apply to President Hoover are reconstructive - which is defined as a president who "establishes a new regime within a historical period" - and disjunctive - a president who comes at the end of a regime and has to "stave off disaster" (Burke, 2016, pg 143-144).

Hoover fits into the disjunctive crowd because he became president at the end of the Roaring Twenties and was the president during the Great Depression. Though Hoover is often blamed for this economic conundrum and ultimately lost his bid for reelection because of it, most do not understand that the Great Depression was not Hoover's fault. Hoover became president after eight years of Republican control of the White House with a president who, for six years, had a very hands-off approach to government. Furthermore, when the stock market crashed in October 1929, Hoover had only been in office for six months. It is nearly impossible for a president to ruin the nation's economy by himself in only six months. This makes it clear that Hoover was only trying to prevent the inevitable crash that was the causing of Coolidge. Even Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. rightfully blamed Coolidge (and wrongfully Hoover) for engaging in "reckless" deregulation policies (Tacoma, 2019).

But Hoover was also a reconstruction president because, although he was a Republican who was succeeding two Republican presidents, he was more progressive in his approach to government. He was so different from his predecessors in this aspect that it caused some old-guard Republicans to distrust him in his bid for the Republican nomination in 1928 (Hoover Presidential Library, *Years of Leadership 1928-1933*, 2017). This is also supported by the fact that Hoover was a great reformer, unlike his predecessors.

One thing that can be ascertained, through his many trials, is that Hoover was an active president. Again, Hoover presided over the worst

economic crisis the United States has ever experienced. As a result, he had to be very active as he tried to quell fears and ease the impacts of the Depression. During the Depression, Hoover took action and passed many laws that aimed to provide relief for Americans. A month after the stock market crashed, Hoover met with business leaders from across the country and made them promise not to drop workers' wages. Without giving as much detail as was given in the domestic policy portion, one can make certain of Hoover's hands-on approach to the presidency.

Another framework Burke mentions in his book is how to gauge presidential character as created by Professor James Barber of Yale (Burke, 2016, pg 160). The framework that best suits Hoover is Active-Negative. An active-negative president goes after his goals but does not particularly enjoy the office.

Given the time of Hoover's presidency, it is very likely that he did not much enjoy being president. Furthermore, he likely did not think he would enjoy the presidency based on this statement he made a month after his election to the presidency, "My friends have made the American people think me a sort of superman. They expect the impossible of me and should there arise in the land conditions with which the political machinery is unable to cope I will be the one to suffer" (Hoover Presidential Library, *Years of Leadership*, 2017). This was a prescient quote by Hoover, who would, no doubt, be expected to do the impossible during the Depression. One can only imagine how much a president can enjoy his job when people living in squalid shacks are naming them after you (Hooverilles) and claiming he is not doing enough to help the country even though he is actively doing as much as a president can do to fix the economy, despite the fact the president has little to no control over the economy. The public heavily scrutinized Hoover for a Depression that he did not cause and was not able to fix. No man would enjoy the presidency Hoover had.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Hoover did not want the presidency to begin with. In Hoover's memoir, he tells the story of when he was encouraged to run for president in 1927 after then-President Coolidge opted not to run again. As Hoover tells the story, Coolidge announced he would not run again in August 1927 while Hoover was at a Bohemian club camping meeting, and soon after the campers found out, over a hundred of them surrounded Hoover and told him he had to run in Coolidge's place; however, Hoover kept his lips shut until he was able to get back to D.C. to talk to Coolidge. When back in Washington to meet with Coolidge, Hoover encouraged the President to run again and told him that he would rather remain in the President's cabinet than run for president himself (Hoover, 1952). This story suggests Hoover did not want the job but saw it as a duty.

The presidential election of 1932 marked a significant departure from the Republicans' historical dominance in presidential races since the 1860s. Prior to 1932, the Republican Party had been notably successful in winning elections for the White House - with the exceptions of the presidencies of Presidents Cleveland and Wilson ("United States Presidential Election of 1932 | Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover & Campaigns | Britannica," 2023). However, this election saw a drastic shift in party dominance of the White House with Herbert Hoover at the helm during the worst economic depression the nation had ever seen.

President Hoover, who once had a reputation for being a fixer of things, found himself being held responsible for myriad issues that would shake public trust in him. The Great Depression, which Hoover had next to no responsibility for, has forever cast a long and dark shadow over his presidency. The widespread poverty, hunger, and unemployment that occurred during Hoover's presidency did little other than foment hate against him.

Beyond the economic challenges, Hoover faced a formidable opponent in Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt's charismatic leadership



and policy proposals that would be known as the "New Deal" resonated with the long-suffering nation that was desperate for change. Roosevelt's approach signaled a departure from Hoover's conservatism, advocating for more government intervention and social programs to alleviate the suffering caused by the Depression.

Other factors also contributed to Hoover's electoral defeat such as the Bonus Army incident in 1932, where a group of World War I veterans seeking promised bonuses were violently removed from Washington, D.C. (*The 1932 Bonus Army (U.S. National Park Service)*, 2023). The perception that Hoover was callous and unsympathetic to the plight of the suffering masses added to his growing unpopularity.

In the election of 1932, Roosevelt beat Hoover in a landslide, carrying 42 out of 48 states and winning over 57% of the popular vote (1932 | *the American Presidency Project*, 2015). The Democrats' triumph marked a turning point in American politics, ushering in an era of Democratic dominance that would endure for several decades.

In closing, the 1932 election represented a dramatic shift in American politics and ended the Republicans' longstanding electoral success. Herbert Hoover's presidency, ruined by the Great Depression and a perception of inadequate response, contributed significantly to this transformation. The election signaled a broader shift in public sentiment, as voters turned to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his vision of an activist government to navigate the nation through one of its darkest periods.

Historical reflection and evidence have proven that Hoover was not as bad as history suggests he was. He was an excellent statesman who people expected too much of due to his experience in solving problems and because he was the president. No other president entered the presidency with expectations so high. Hoover's legacy can best be summed up in a passage from David Hamilton of the Miller Center: "Hoover's reputation has risen over the years. He is no longer blamed

for causing the Depression; instead, scholars note that Hoover's efforts to combat its effects were extraordinary when compared to federal anti-depression measures invoked during previous economic crises. These efforts, moreover, flowed logically from the President's unique brand of social, economic, and political progressivism" (Hamilton, 2016).

Herbert Hoover's immediate successor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, often ranks within the top three on lists ranking all presidents (2021 Presidential Historians Survey, 2021). This is likely due to FDR's leadership during the height of the Depression and World War Two. Many credit Roosevelt for bringing the country out of economic despair, but it is a little-known fact that some of FDR's policies, such as the Emergency Banking Relief Act that was passed days after FDR's inauguration, was close to a carbon copy of a bill Hoover proposed just a few weeks earlier (Hoover Presidential Library, *The Great Depression*, 2017).

## References

- 1928 | *The American Presidency Project*. (2015). Ucsb.edu.  
<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/elections/1928>
- 1932 | *The American Presidency Project*. (2015). Ucsb.edu.  
<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/statistics/elections/1932>
- The 1932 Bonus Army (U.S. National Park Service)*. (2023). Nps.gov.  
<https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-1932-bonus-army.htm>
- 2021 Presidential Historians Survey. (2021). *Total Scores/Overall Rankings*  
| *C-SPAN Survey on Presidents 2021* | C-SPAN.org. C-Span.org.  
<https://www.c-span.org/presidentsurvey2021/?page=overall>
- Burke, John. P. 2016. *Presidential Power: Theories and Dilemmas*.  
Westview Press.
- Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives*.  
(2013). @USHouseHistory.  
<https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/71st/>
- Congress Profiles | US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives*.  
(2013). @USHouseHistory.  
<https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/72nd/>
- Domestic issues - Herbert Hoover - policy, war, second, new deal*. 2023.  
Presidentprofiles.com. <https://www.presidentprofiles.com/Grant-Eisenhower/Herbert-Hoover-Domestic-issues.html>
- Edwards, Chris. *Tax Increases and the Great Depression*. (2022, November 16). Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/blog/tax-increases-great-depression>
- Foreign relations - Herbert Hoover - policy, war*. (2023).  
Presidentprofiles.com. <https://www.presidentprofiles.com/Grant-Eisenhower/Herbert-Hoover-Foreign-relations.html>

- Garcia, George. F. 1979 "Herbert Hoover and the Issue of Race", *The Annals of Iowa* 44:7: 507-515. <https://doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.8609>
- Hamilton, David, E. 2016, October 4. *Herbert Hoover: Foreign Affairs* | Miller Center. Miller Center.  
<https://millercenter.org/president/hover/foreign-affairs>
- Hoover, Herbert. 1952. *The Memoirs of Hebert Hoover: The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920-1933*. The Macmillan Company: New York.
- Kehoe, Loretta. 1949. *The Relation of Herbert Hoover to Congress, 1929-1933*. Theses and Dissertations. Loyola University Chicago.
- National Archives | (2017, November). *The Great Depression*. The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum.  
<https://hoover.archives.gov/exhibits/great-depression>
- National Archives. (2017, November). *Years of Leadership 1928-1933*. The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum.  
<https://hoover.archives.gov/exhibits/years-leadership-1928-1933>
- Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act | History, Effects, & Facts | Britannica. (2023). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Smoot-Hawley-Tariff-Act>
- Statement on Plans for Federal Prison Reform*. | *The American Presidency Project*. (2023). Ucsb.edu.  
<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-plans-for-federal-prison-reform>
- Tacoma, Thomas. 2019. Calvin Coolidge and the Great Depression A New Assessment. *The Independent Review*, 24(3), 361-380.
- United States presidential election of 1932 | Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover & Campaigns | Britannica. (2023). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1932>

United States presidential election of 1928 | Herbert Hoover Victory, Republican Dominance | Britannica. (2023). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1928>

*U.S. Senate: Party Division*. (2023, August 7). Senate.gov. [https://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one\\_item\\_and\\_teasers/partydiv.htm](https://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one_item_and_teasers/partydiv.htm)

“Wilson and Race - President Wilson House.” 2020. President Wilson House - Historic Site & Gardens. November 6, 2020. <https://woodrowwilsonhouse.org/wilson-topics/wilson-and-race/>.

# The Genesis and Genius of the Black Intelligentsia

Richard F. Ware

*University of Central Arkansas*

## **Abstract**

This work traces the evolution of the Black Intelligentsia in the United States from its origins to its contemporary manifestations. The nature of the Black Intelligentsia is examined within the broader socio-political landscape of the United States; one where systemic barriers such as slavery, segregation, and institutionalized racism have historically impeded the intellectual, social, and economic development of African Americans. Despite these adversities, the Black Intelligentsia as a status class has persisted and formed itself with the quest for freedom, political equality, and social justice at its forefront. Two critical questions are explored throughout the work: When did the Black Intelligentsia form and what influence has it exercised? Through a comprehensive analysis of historical sources and scholarly perspectives, this paper offers insights into how the Black Intelligentsia preserves its identity through an unwavering dedication to racial justice, exerting a unique influence on society across three distinct eras.

Keywords: *intelligentsia, class, power*

## **Introduction**

The Black intellectual class in the United States traces its origins to the traumas of slavery and its aftermath, Jim Crow. Although members of this class date back to the 18th century, the social web and

timeline connecting these thinkers remain largely unexplored in academia. Analysis reveals a significant intelligentsia of African American thinkers and writers dedicated to social and political change. When did it originate and what influence does it possess? Despite the dynamic changes in American society and its historical development, the Black Intelligentsia maintains its identity through a steadfast commitment to racial justice; it distinguishes itself with a multifaceted influence in shaping societal progress across three periods.

### **Defining An Intelligentsia**

The contemporary understanding of an intelligentsia refers to a social stratum of intellectuals or highly educated people who shape and critique society through mental labor<sup>1</sup> and the dissemination of ideas. Conceptually, the notion of an *intelligencja* originated in 19th-century Poland to describe intellectual Poles who used their nationalism, leadership qualities, and spirit to strengthen their country's national identity. The Polish Intelligentsia, amidst the struggle for independence and national identity, contributed significantly to the cultural and political landscape of the time, championing liberal ideals and educational reforms (Gella 1979, 4). Concurrently, Russia adopted the concept of an *intelligentsiya* and defined it as a status class of highly educated individuals who influence and guide societal developments through their intellectual work (Glazov 1979, 264). Similar to the Polish Intelligentsia, the Russian Intelligentsia challenged the status quo amid political repression and cultural conservatism. Dr. Aleksander Gella (1979) expressed in his work *The Russian and Polish Intelligentsias: A Sociological Perspective* that both national intelligentsias valued the ideals of freedom, progress, and rational thought and shared an "ethos of self-sacrifice for the highest goals." By further exploring and expanding the

---

<sup>1</sup> Stein. *The Soviet Intelligentsia*, 283–92. Stein offers a comprehensive overview of mental labor and intellectual labor by examining the Soviet Intelligentsia that succeeded the Russian Intelligentsia.

concept of an intelligentsia, it can be broadened to encompass other societal strata such as the distinct, yet similar, Black Intelligentsia.

The Black Intelligentsia's historical development and societal role closely mirror that of the Russian Intelligentsia. Understanding the nature of the Russian Intelligentsia is imperative for recognizing its parallels with the Black Intelligentsia in the United States. Dr. Yuri Glazov, a Russian-Canadian Indologist and professor of Russian Studies, offers valuable insights into the nature of an intelligentsia throughout his research of Russian history. Glazov defines members of the intelligentsia as containing "inborn intelligence and deep-seated spirituality" (Glazov 1979, 265). Here, "spirituality" refers to the religious connection many Russians had with the Orthodox Church during the Imperial Era. Yet, "spirituality" can also represent a profound belief in causes larger than oneself, such as political or societal goals. These deep-rooted traits are universal across all intelligentsias, guiding the intellectual pursuits of their members.

Furthermore, Glazov posits that in an intelligentsia the intellectual elites serve as mouthpieces for the socially mute common people, driven by a sense of duty to their people and country. Though the intellectual elites may not always originate out of impoverished or mundane backgrounds, their contributions toward the betterment of society actively reflect the public's will. Glazov illustrates this by emphasizing the close relationship between the Russian Intelligentsia and the common people, highlighting their joint efforts in challenging prevailing power structures and social hierarchies that marginalized the vulnerable (Glazov 1979, 265). This dynamic underscores the crucial role of an intelligentsia in advocating for societal change and challenging established norms for what its members believe to be the betterment of the nation.

The emergence of an intelligentsia is closely tied to the socio-political landscape of a society. Dr. Ethan Pollock (2020), a distinguished Professor of Slavic Studies and History at Brown University, explores this connection by examining the conditions that foster the development



of an intelligentsia. He suggests that when legal avenues for achieving certain political goals, such as forming unions or political parties, are absent or restricted, it often leads to the formation of an intelligentsia. Pollock's analysis accentuates the intricate relationship between political repression and the increasing radicalization of the intelligentsia's objectives and methods. Moreover, in environments where dissent is suppressed or overlooked and lawful means of expression are limited, the intelligentsia tends to adopt progressively radical beliefs in its pursuit of societal change. Therefore, an intelligentsia emerges when there are inadequate government channels for both the intellectual elite and the common people to realize their political aspirations (Pollock, 2020). Ultimately, an intelligentsia can be defined as a distinct revolutionary status class characterized by intellectual prowess, a visionary outlook, and a commitment to advancing society under its own ideals.

The Black Intelligentsia in America represents a distinctive and significant variation of the intelligentsia concept, paralleling the characteristics and functions of the Russian Intelligentsia. Like the Russian Intelligentsia, the Black intellectual class is deeply committed to its constituents and societal advancement. However, the Black Intelligentsia distinguishes itself through its enduring impact on American society and its persistent focus on social equity and justice for Black-Americans. Understanding the origins of the Black Intelligentsia is paramount to appreciating its unique and long-lasting history. By examining its roots, we gain a deeper understanding of the novel paths and contributions of this intellectual class.

### **The Beginning of the Black-American Intelligentsia**

The birth of the American Intelligentsia can be traced to the Founding Fathers' revolutionary experiment in creating a democratic republic based on the Enlightenment principles of reason, individual rights, and self-governance (Robinson 1966, 1). After the American Revolution, the newly founded United States became deeply divided

over the issue of slavery. The Black Intelligentsia originated within the American Intelligentsia, focusing their efforts and intellectual work on abolishing slavery and equality for Blacks nationwide. Their work examined the deep-seated contradictions in a nation claiming to uphold liberty while perpetuating many inequalities. Dr. Donald Robinson's (1966) thesis in *Slavery and Sectionalism in the Founding of the United States, 1787-1808* asserts that the institution of slavery presented a distinct challenge to the union during its founding. This peculiar obstacle made the United States "'ungovernable' in the national context," consequently drawing a "line of discrimination" between the North and the South (Robinson 1966, 2). The deep and complex differences between the North and South prompted the various sub-strata<sup>2</sup> of the American Intelligentsia to focus on solving or palliating the national division over the institution of slavery.

During the antebellum period in America, the American Colonization Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the organizers of the Colored Conventions played significant roles in addressing the issue of slavery, each from distinct perspectives that reflected Northern and Southern sentiments. The American Colonization Society sought to alleviate racial tensions by advocating for the resettlement of freed African Americans to Africa. This proposal appealed more to Southern slaveholders looking to mitigate potential social upheaval. Conversely, the American Anti-Slavery Society, rooted in Northern abolitionist sentiment, fiercely opposed slavery itself and campaigned for immediate abolition and equal rights for African Americans within the United States (Comminey 2015, 3). Meanwhile, the organizers of the Colored Conventions, primarily comprising Black intellectuals and leaders, strategized on advancing civil rights, education, and economic opportunities for African Americans within

---

<sup>2</sup> Kudryavtsev, *The Past and Present of the Intelligentsia*, 333–334. National intelligentsias consists of two main types of sub-divisions: ethnic-based and ideology-based, each of which are based on social-cultural pluralism. For more on where this idea is derived.

the oppressive racial climate of both the North and the South (Comminey 2015, 4).

The economic and social discrepancies between the North and the South set the stage for significant political and ideological conflicts amongst several states and the aforementioned members of the American Intelligentsia (Robinson 1966, 2). This period of division and transformation before the American Civil War also laid the groundwork for the Black Intelligentsia to develop as African American societal leaders and thinkers began to advocate for and recognize that an American society that promoted substantive equality, justice, and freedom for all could quell the divisiveness in the union. Black intellectuals began to recognize each other mutually and foster an exchange of ideas and strategies for achieving equality (Comminey 2015, 4). At the same time, societal expectations and several laws forbade or hindered the education of Blacks across America, forcing the Black elites to covertly organize themselves into networks to overcome these systemic barriers. Nevertheless, this era saw numerous exceptional Black individuals immersing themselves in liberal education.

Before the first Colored Conventions formally gathered America's Black intellectuals, several exceptional individuals served as precursors to the Black Intelligentsia. Phillis Wheatley, an enslaved Black woman who lived primarily in British America, is a prominent example of one of the first recorded African American intellectuals. Considered to be the first African American author of a published book of poetry (Caretta 2011, 1), Wheatley's remarkable journey began in West Africa, where she was kidnapped at the age of seven and sold into slavery. Upon arriving in Boston, Massachusetts, she was purchased in 1761 by the Wheatley family patriarch, John Wheatley. The Wheatleys, unlike many other slave owners of the time, recognized Phillis's literary potential and provided her with an education, a rarity for a woman of any race, much less a slave (Caretta 2011, 23).

Phillis quickly demonstrated her intellectual prowess, mastering English within a few years and becoming proficient in both Latin and Greek. She began writing poetry at a young age, drawing inspiration from classical literature and her experiences as an enslaved person. By 1773, around the age of twenty, she published her book *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, becoming the first African American, and one of the first minority women in America, to publish a book of poetry (Caretta 2011, 25). Her work addressed themes of Christianity, morality, and freedom. Wheatley's work became increasingly popular, even prompting future president George Washington to favorably acknowledge her poetry after receiving a poem personally dedicated in his honor (Siegelová 2020, 15).

Another influential and early African American poet and writer was Jupiter Hammon. Born into slavery, Hammon spent his life in servitude to the Lloyd family in Long Island, New York. Despite his enslavement, Hammon received some level of education after being authorized by his owners; he would later become a minister and writer. Like Washington, Hammon also praised Phillis Wheatley's talents and achievements, yet he was unique in that he could empathize with her experiences as a slave. In his poem *An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatley*, Hammon, forty years her senior, wrote to Wheatley as a mentor, advising that she prioritize her writings on spiritual salvation instead of worldly concerns (Ransom et al. 1970). It is unknown whether Wheatley ever replied to the message, yet Hammon's recognition of her talents and his efforts to guide her spiritually and intellectually demonstrate burgeoning solidarity, precipitating the widespread formation of the Black intellectual class.

Without a doubt Wheatley and Hammon possessed the "inborn intelligence and deep-seated spirituality" Glazov described in his research (Glazov 1979, 265). However, one cannot yet say conclusively that their interaction was the beginning of the Black Intelligentsia. Although both writers operated within the severe constraints of slavery and were critical of the practice, their writings were not overtly

advocating for radical change or offering solutions to societal problems. Nevertheless, their work still subtly challenged the social order by asserting the intellectual and creative capacities of the Black race.

The academic reverence among Black individuals such as Hammon and Wheatley foreshadowed the emergence of a more radical, organized, and politically engaged Black Intelligentsia in the 19th and 20th centuries. Though the poets' interaction did not fully encompass the definition of an intelligentsia established previously, the relationship between Hammon and Wheatley exemplifies the initial stages of an intellectual kinship that Pollock (2020) identified as crucial for the development of an intelligentsia. Hammon's recognition of Wheatley's talents suggests the beginnings of a shared social identity and purpose among African American academics. Therefore, it can be conclusively determined that the Black intellectual class began with Phillis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon.

### **The First Black Intelligentsia's Formation & Organization**

The early 19th century marked a pivotal moment in American history, particularly for African Americans striving for liberation and equality. The Colored Conventions Movement developed as a vital platform for African American leaders and communities to organize, advocate for civil rights, and address the pressing racial discrimination issues<sup>3</sup>, thereby establishing the First Black Intelligentsia. Among the towering figures of this era and movement were Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, whose collaboration and intellectual gallantry thoroughly influenced the trajectory of the Black Intelligentsia and the struggle for freedom.

---

<sup>3</sup> Pease and Pease, *Negro Conventions and the Problem of Black Leadership*, 32. Additionally, the conventions also addressed Black economic self-sufficiency, the establishment of Black-owned businesses, and the creation of newspapers to disseminate information and mobilize support.

Born into slavery in 1818, Frederick Douglass defied his oppressive circumstances to become one of the most influential abolitionists, writers, and orators of his time. His autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* powerfully depicted the brutality of slavery, capturing audiences both in America and abroad (Bennett 2016, 241). Martin Delany, born in 1812, was equally instrumental in the fight for African American liberation. A polymath and visionary leader, Delany made significant contributions to medicine, journalism, and activism, promoting ideas of Black self-determination through his nationalist framework (Shelby 2003, 668). It was during the turbulent years leading up to the Civil War that Douglass's and Delany's paths converged, igniting a partnership that would definitively create the Black Intelligentsia and profoundly impact African American history.

The primary objective of the First Black intelligentsia was to achieve recognition as a prominent social class and movement, aiming to dismantle racist stereotypes and challenge misconceptions about Black capabilities. United by their vision of racial equality and liberation, Douglass and Delany understood the transformative power of education and collective action in affecting social change. Both were active participants and supporters of the Colored Conventions Movement, a crucial forum for strategizing against slavery and discrimination (Pease and Pease, 1971, 32). Beginning in the 1830s, these conventions played a significant role in nurturing the intellectual and political growth of Black leaders. During this period, the Black Intelligentsia was limited to a select few who were fortunate enough to receive an education enabling them to read and write. They were also courageous enough to publicly engage in advocating against slavery and racial injustices. The first recorded meeting of a Colored Convention in 1830 discussed the possibility of emigrating from the United States to Canada to escape the oppressive laws affecting both fugitive slaves and freedmen (Pease & Pease, 1971, 32). The efforts made during these assemblies inspired several members of the Black Intelligentsia to take action against slavery and racial oppression.

For example, drawing on their personal experiences and those of their peers, Douglass and Delany co-founded one of the most influential abolitionist newspapers of the era, *The North Star* (Bennett 2016, 241). The newspaper served as a beacon of hope and resistance, mobilizing literate African Americans to action and educating readers about the atrocities of slavery and institutional racism across the nation. Moreover, *The North Star* played a vital role in shaping public opinion and galvanizing support for the abolitionists, sparking widespread legislative and moral scrutiny of slavery (Shelby 2003, 668).

Douglass and Delany embodied the spirit of collective struggle and highbrow unanimity that defined the Black Intelligentsia. Recognizing the importance of uniformity in their rhetoric, the two worked tirelessly to forge connections with other Black leaders. Among Douglass's and Delany's contemporaries and collaborators were figures like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and many more, each contributing in their own way to the cerebral ferment of the era (Bennett 2016, 241). Ultimately, the organization of these dedicated leaders in devising plans to combat the legal terrors of their people decisively finds that the first iteration of the Black Intelligentsia can be traced to three scores before the start of the American Civil War, effectively beginning with the collective organization of the Colored Conventions Movement and as strengthened by *The North Star*.

### **Reconstruction and Transitioning to the Second Black Intelligentsia**

Following the Civil War, the United States entered the Reconstruction period, which American legal scholars like Eric Foner referred to as a "Second Founding." This period saw the introduction and ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, fundamentally reshaping the U.S. Constitution and redefining legal concepts related to slavery, citizenship, states' rights, and voting rights (Foner 2019). Recalling Pollock's (2020) exploration of the conditions conducive to forming and maintaining an intelligentsia, the intellectual class must collaborate with their common constituents to shape and mold society

through mental labor and organization when political boundaries hinder their efforts to do so through means of legislative or executive action. During Reconstruction, the Black Intelligentsia faced the immense challenge of integrating millions of formerly enslaved people into American civic life and ensuring their newfound rights were protected. Access to literacy and broad freedoms of expression, assembly, and petition remained unprotected and uncertain (Foner, 2019). As slavery had been abolished and rights of citizenship were afforded to African Americans nationwide, the Black Intelligentsia had to realign its vision to a new objective: achieving substantive equality.

Before the institutionalization of Jim Crow, Southern states enacted a series of discriminatory Black Codes as statutory law immediately after the Civil War to thwart any sense of equality sought by the Black Intelligentsia. These codes, enacted in 1865 and 1866, aimed to maintain the racial hierarchy by severely restricting the rights of newly freed Blacks, including limitations on movement, employment, legal protections, and other rights (Middleton 2020). Recognizing the harmful implications of these laws, the Black Intelligentsia mobilized to resist and dismantle them. Intellectuals, activists, and other Black leaders used their platforms to vehemently oppose the Black Codes, publishing essays, petitioning White leaders, and delivering speeches that highlighted the injustice and inhumanity of these laws. They primarily advocated for federal and Republican intervention in the South to safeguard the rights of African Americans. The efforts of the Black Intelligentsia were instrumental in galvanizing support for the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, which led to the establishment of Union-led military districts in the South, forcing states to draft new constitutions and abolish their Black Codes (Middleton 2020).

Another significant development during Reconstruction was the establishment of educational institutions for African Americans. These institutions became crucial incubators for the Black Intelligentsia. Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) such as Howard University, Fisk University, and Morehouse College were founded



during this period, providing a platform for Blacks to engage in intellectual pursuits, develop leadership skills, and form networks essential for their collective advancement. These institutions offered empowerment and a means to counter the remnants of slavery's intellectual and social oppression, especially since predominantly White institutions often forbade the admission of Black people. Education at HBCUs was seen as a vital tool to challenge the pervasive racism that persisted despite the legal gains of Reconstruction (Wade 2021, 5).

As the Reconstruction era waned and gave way to the rise of Jim Crow laws, a new leader emerged within the Black Intelligentsia and Black Elite: Booker T. Washington. A former slave who attended an HBCU, Washington rose to prominence as an educator, author, and advisor to several U.S. presidents. He was instrumental in founding the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which focused on vocational training for African Americans. Washington's philosophy of self-help and vocational education aimed to provide practical skills that would enable Blacks to achieve economic independence and improve their social standing within the constraints of a racially segregated society (Wade 2021, 5). His reserved approach, exemplified in his famous Atlanta Compromise speech, was viewed by some members of the Black Intelligentsia as conciliatory and pragmatic, emphasizing economic progress over the immediate repeal of segregationist policies (Aiello 2016).

Contrasting sharply with Washington's philosophy was the vision of his contemporary, W.E.B. Du Bois. The Du Bois v. Washington Debate represents a significant moment in the history of the African American intellectual tradition and the formation of the Second Black Intelligentsia, as they had two different visions on how Blacks could achieve social mobility and equality. A rising sociologist and philosopher in the late 19th Century, Du Bois became a fierce advocate for immediate and unequivocal equality for Blacks nationwide. Du Bois argued that political and social equality were non-negotiable and that African Americans should demand their rights as citizens rather than

settle for inferior status. He criticized Washington's emphasis on vocational training, arguing that it perpetuated the subordinate position of Black people in society (Aiello 2016).

Du Bois's emphasis on higher education, intellectual engagement, and political activism was pivotal in shaping the Black Intelligentsia's role in the early 20th century. He co-founded the Niagara Movement in 1905, a social and political initiative that sought to address the shortcomings of Washington's approach by demanding full civil rights, political representation, and higher education for African Americans. The Niagara Movement laid the intellectual and organizational groundwork for the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), founded in 1909, which became a leading force in the civil rights movement (Aiello 2016). While Du Bois and Washington represented opposing viewpoints, their exchange of ideas catalyzed a broader conversation about the strategies and tactics necessary to achieve racial equality and justice. Their collective contributions to the Black common people and the Black Intelligentsia helped spawn subsequent movements. Ultimately, this debate continued to influence African American thought and activism well into the 20th century, leaving a lasting impact on the trajectory of the civil rights movement and the struggle for racial justice in America.

### **New Black Movements & Transitioning to the Third Black Intelligentsia**

Concurrently with Washington's and Du Bois's efforts for Black self-determination, an artistic movement known as the Harlem Renaissance began to take shape in New York. This movement, which became a key part of the Black Intelligentsia, flourished during the 1920s and 1930s. This vibrant cultural, artistic, and intellectual movement centered on the thriving and appreciation of Black literature, art, music, and political activism (Gibson 1995, 38).

African American intellectuals and artists of this time also sought to redefine representations of Black identity and culture in American society. Figures such as Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Alain Locke, Claude McKay, and many more produced groundbreaking literary works that captured the complexities of African American life and experiences. In addition to literary figures, the Harlem Renaissance also saw the emergence of influential civil rights leaders and activists who used their platforms to advocate for racial justice and equality. For example, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph, and James Weldon Johnson played key roles in organizing political protests, labor strikes, and advocacy campaigns aimed at challenging racial segregation and discrimination (Gibson 1995, 38).

In the years succeeding the Harlem Renaissance, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s marked the beginning of the Third and Current Black Intelligentsia (Morris 1999, 533). Characterized by a multitude of different methods for fighting social inequality, the Third Black Intelligentsia is ongoing and focused on reaching and maintaining intersectional and substantive equality. This period saw and continues to see a significant rise in Black intellectual and social activism. During the Civil Rights Movement, efforts of civil disobedience were spearheaded by leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, John Lewis, etc. These figures, among countless others, used their intellectual prowess, oratory skills, will, and decisive action to challenge institutional racism. King advocated nonviolent resistance sit-ins and silent marches in particular (Morris 1999, 533). Today, these methods combat the same causes that King fought, as seen, for example, in movements such as Black Lives Matter (Clayton 2018, 450). Malcolm X was another prominent leader during the Civil Rights Movement, yet his approach to achieving rights for Blacks was markedly different from King's. Malcolm X's advocacy for Black empowerment and self-defense reflected the diversity of thought and strategy within the Black Intelligentsia as his methods were markedly different from King's mainstream approach. His emphasis on racial pride, economic self-sufficiency, and the right to defend oneself against racial aggression

offered an alternative vision that appealed to many African Americans disillusioned with the slow pace of progress through nonviolent means (Morris 1999, 533).

To combat the police brutality against African Americans nationally, an issue still prevalent in the present, the modern liberalism wing of the Black Intelligentsia employs a variety of approaches that combine advocacy, education, and policy reform. One significant strategy involves raising public awareness through media and scholarly work. Intellectuals like Michelle Alexander, author of “*The New Jim Crow*” and activists such as Shaun King use platforms ranging from academic publications to social media to expose the systemic nature of police violence against Black communities (Alexander 2011, 7). This awareness-building effort is crucial in voicing the Black Commons’ voices and creating a foundation for systemic change. Another crucial aspect of combating police brutality involves advocating for comprehensive policy reforms. The Black Intelligentsia supports initiatives aimed at restructuring police practices and accountability measures. This includes advocating for the implementation and public review of body cameras, revising use-of-force policies, and establishing independent oversight bodies to investigate incidents of police misconduct. Additionally, figures within the Black Intelligentsia promote the defunding and reallocation of police budgets towards community-based services, such as mental health support, education, and housing (Alexander 2011, 7).

Because the Third Black Intelligentsia represents the longest era and most numerous group of leaders, there are naturally more pronounced ideological divisions than those in the past. This era is characterized by various political thinkers including Black socialists, conservatives, and those who occupy positions of an arbitrary and ambiguous nature. The Black socialists of this era—drawing inspiration from socialist, anti-colonialism sentiments, and Marxist principles—advocate for greater economic equality, social justice, and the redistribution of wealth. They argue that systemic inequalities such as

poverty, racism, and capitalism disproportionately affect Black communities and call for transformative policies such as universal healthcare, affordable housing, and progressive taxation. Figures such as Angela Davis, Cornel West, and Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor are prominent voices within this movement, challenging the status quo and advocating for radical change (Heideman 2018).

On the other end of the ideological spectrum, Black Conservatives espouse values such as individual responsibility, free-market capitalism, and limited government intervention. They argue that self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and education are the keys to prosperity and advancement for Black Americans. Figures such as Thomas Sowell, Candace Owens, and Ben Carson have championed conservative principles and policies, challenging traditional narratives about race and politics within the African American community and the Black Intelligentsia (Brooks 2024).

Between these two poles lies a diverse array of intellectuals and leaders who navigate complex intersections of politics, race, class, gender, and ideology. Some members of this wing of the Black Intelligentsia advocate for pragmatic solutions that blend elements of socialism and capitalism while others critique both mainstream liberalism and conservatism in favor of alternative frameworks such as Afrocentrism, Black feminism, or critical race theory. Figures such as Ta-Nehisi Coates, bell hooks, and Kimberlé Crenshaw exemplify this nuanced approach, offering critical perspectives on a wide range of social and political issues (Turpie 2021, 25).

Ultimately, the evolution of the Black Intelligentsia in the United States of America has been marked by three distinct periods, each defined by the relentless pursuit of liberation, equality, and justice. The early efforts of Phillis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon to assert the intellectual capabilities of African Americans effectively established the notion of a Black intellectual social class. Subsequently, the concrete and strategic organization and activism by the Black Intelligentsia from the

1830s onward solidified its role as a significant social force. Through its three distinct periods of striving for recognition, equality, and civic security, the Black Intelligentsia has consistently demonstrated its enduring power to shape society according to its goals.

## References

- Aiello, Thomas. 2016. *The Battle for the Souls of Black Folk: WEB Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and the Debate that Shaped the Course of Civil Rights*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. "The New Jim Crow." *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 9 (2011): 7.
- Beall, Charles P. 1958. "Social Classes and Class Consciousness in the U. S. S. R." *The Western Political Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (June): 383–85.
- Bennett, Nolan. 2016. "To Narrate and Denounce: Frederick Douglass and the Politics of Personal Narrative." *Political Theory* 44, no. 2 (April): 240–64.
- Brooks, Marcus. 2024. "The New Black Right: A Paranoid Turn in Black Conservatism?" *Social Problems* (March): ??–??.
- Carretta, Vincent. 2011. *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage*. University of Georgia Press.
- Clayton, Dewey. 2018. "Black Lives Matter and the Civil Rights Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Two Social Movements in the United States." *Journal of Black Studies* 49, no. 5 (March): 448–80.
- Comminey, Shawn C. 2015. "National Black Conventions and the Quest for African American Freedom and Progress, 1847-1867." *International Social Science Review* 91, no. 1 (2015): 1–18.
- Foner, Eric. 2019. *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution*. W.W. Norton & Company.

- Gella, Aleksander. 1979. "The Russian and Polish Intelligentsias: A Sociological Perspective." *Studies in Soviet Thought* 19, no. 4 (June): 307–20.
- Gibson, Donald. 1995. "The Harlem Renaissance City: Its Multi-Illusionary Dimension." *The City in African-American Literature* (December): 37–49.
- Glazov, Yuri. 1979. "Preface: The Russian Intelligentsia and the West." *Studies in Soviet Thought* 19, no. 4 (June): 263–73.
- Heideman, Paul. 2018. "Socialism and Black Oppression." *Jacobin Magazine*.
- Isani, Mukhtar. 2000. "The Contemporaneous Reception of Phillis Wheatley: Newspaper and Magazine Notices during the Years of Fame, 1765-1774." *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 4 (Autumn): 260–73.
- Kudryavtsev, Andrey. 1977. "The Past and Present of the Intelligentsia." *Studies in Soviet Thought* 17, no. 4 (December): 331–40.
- Middleton, Stephen. 2020. "Repressive Legislation: Slave Codes, Northern Black Laws, and Southern Black Codes." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Retrieved May 21, 2024.
- Morris, Aldon. 1999. "A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25 (1999): 517–39.
- Pease, Jane, and William Pease. 1971. "Negro Conventions and the Problem of Black Leadership." *Journal of Black Studies* 2, no. 1 (September): 29–44.
- Pollock, Ethan. 2020. "Who were the intelligentsia? What was their role in Russian society?" Posted March 20, 2020. Video, 3:10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SgccvvgTgQs>.



- Ransom Jr., Stanley Austin, Oscar Wegelin, and Vernon Loggins. 1970. *America's First Negro Poet: The Complete Works of Jupiter Hammon of Long Island*. Kennikat Press.
- Robinson, Donald Leonard. 1966. "Slavery and Sectionalism in the Founding of the United States, 1787-1808." PhD dissertation, Department of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
- Stein, Jay. 1951. "The Soviet Intelligentsia." *The Russian Review* 10, no. 4 (October): 283–92.
- Shelby, Tommie. 2003. "Two Conceptions of Black Nationalism: Martin Delany on the Meaning of Black Political Solidarity." *Political Theory* 31, no. 5 (October): 664–92.
- Siegelová, Eva. 2020. "The Legacy of Phillis Wheatley." PhD dissertation, Department of English Language and Literature, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic.
- Turpin, Cherie. 2021. "Strategic Disruptions: Black Feminism, Intersectionality, and Afrofuturism." *CEA Mid-Atlantic Review* 29 (2021): 21–92.
- Wade, Evan. 2021. "The History of HBCUs: Lessons on Innovation from the Past." *Reimagining Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Survival Beyond 2021* (May): 5–13.

