MI OPEN BOOK PROJECT

United States History

Reconstruction to Today

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Kim has a B.A. in History and Social Studies and a M.A. in Educational Leadership, both from Western Michigan University. She has served in many roles during her thirteen years as an educator, including department chair, curriculum director, and administrator. Kim currently teaches World History and Economics at Grand Haven High School.

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Troy Kilgus serves as the high school social studies chair at Standish-Sterling Central High School. In his eight years of teaching, he has taught various social studies courses including AP US History and multiple levels of French. Mr. Kilgus earned his undergraduate degree in French Education and his Masters in Teaching from Saginaw Valley State University.

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Adam began his teaching career at Cadillac High School in Cadillac, Michigan where he taught US History, Global Studies, and AP World History. After 7 years, he moved back home to central Michigan to teach at Ithaca Public Schools. While his main charge has been teaching World History and starting the AP World History program, Adam also teaches 8th Grade History, US History, History in Popular Culture and all sorts of computer science classes. Adam coaches Model United Nations, and runs the Jumbotron at Ithaca Community Stadium during events. Adam has served as a member of the Michigan Council for the Social Studies for over a decade and has worked to unite his twin passions of Social Studies and effectively integrating technology into the classroom. Outside of school, Adam has served on the Content Advisory Committee, as a Social Studies item writer for the Department of Education, and worked for the PASST project. Adam teaches History and Social Studies methods classes at Alma College as adjunct faculty. Apart from the world of education, Adam enjoys spending time with his family especially traveling on new adventures.
Kim Noga
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Kim has a B.A. in History/Social Studies and an M.A. in Curriculum and Teaching, both from Michigan State University. For the past 14 years she has been employed at Ionia High School where she teaches Economics, U.S. History, and Humanitarian Studies. Her hobbies include reading and traveling the world.

LaRissa Paras
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LaRissa is an alumni of Central Michigan University and the State University of New York. She is a tenured teacher in New York and now in Michigan where she works and resides with her husband and two rambunctious boys. Currently she is teaching World History and Current Issues at Greenville High School. She and her husband founded LP Inspire, LLC to encourage young people to grow into their best selves. She is also the proud creator of The Lotus Project, a successful mentoring program to help young women become empowered and rise above adversity in a positive way. In her spare time she enjoys reading, yoga, and being outdoors.

Mike Radcliffe
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Mike Radcliffe is a native of South Lyon, Michigan. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Colorado State University, followed by a Masters of Arts degree in American Studies from the University of Colorado. Over his 23 years of teaching students in Colorado and Michigan, he has taught Advanced Placement United States History, American Popular Culture, World History, World Geography, Sociology, and Economics. He currently serves as the department chair for the social studies department at Greenville High School, where he has taught the past 15 years. His previous textbook projects include serving as a teacher consultant for textbooks in US History and World Geography for Teachers Curriculum Institute. His interests include his wife of twenty-five years, three amazing children, mountain biking, and really bad puns.
Rebecca Bush
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Rebecca Bush is currently the Social Studies Consultant at the Ottawa Area Intermediate School District (OAISD), where she assists K-12 social studies teachers in developing curriculum, modeling instructional strategies in social studies literacy, and designing district-level formative and summative assessments. Additionally, as Project Director, she has written and received multiple Teaching American History grants, working with teachers throughout an eight-county radius. She has presented at various national conferences on multiple topics surrounding social studies instruction as well as innovative techniques and topics in formative and summative assessment design. Currently she is Co-Project Director of The Performance Assessments of Social Studies Thinking (PASST) Project and assists with the professional development of teacher writers for the MI Open Book Project where she serves as an editor of several of the project’s texts. Rebecca currently leads the Michigan Social

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Heather has taught Social Studies at Shepherd High School for 16 years. She currently teaches American History and Law, but has also taught Modern American History, Civics, Current Events, and History of American Wars in the past. Heather is a graduate of Central Michigan University, where she earned both her undergraduate degree, as well as a Master of Arts in History. She also teaches Social Studies Methods and Pre-Student Teaching courses at CMU. Heather also is the chair of the Social Studies Department at Shepherd High School and is involved in many other facets of the school and community. Heather was named 2009 High School Educator of the Year by the Michigan Council for the Social Studies. She enjoys reading, traveling and spending time with her family.

Dustin Webb
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Biography Coming Soon!
Chapter 1

Did the Economic Benefits of the Industrial Revolution Outweigh the Social and Environmental Costs?

• How did physical geography impact industrial growth?
• How did tycoons influence the growth of corporations?
• How did inventions impact demands for labor?
• How did the government interact with big business?
• How did urban development change the landscape of America?
• How did race, gender and social status affect American politics?
The Industrial Revolution

In 1870, the United States was primarily an agricultural nation. Most Americans made a living from farming. Flash forward fifty years, the United States underwent a major transformation as more Americans left farming in search of industrial jobs in cities. With the discovery and usage of raw materials, creation of new inventions, and expansion of big business; the Industrial Revolution transformed the American economy and the lives of millions of Americans.
Natural Resources

In the early Industrial Revolution, factories and modes of transportation greatly relied on the steam engine as their main power source. As a result, factories grew up along natural water sources for easy access to the natural resource. The Northeastern portion of the United States served as the leading industrial area as water sources were in abundance.

Native Americans have long known and used oil sources in the U.S. It was not until 1859 when oil was first successfully drilled commercially. George Bissell and Edwin L. Drake made the first outside of Titusville, Pennsylvania. The United States proved to have a vast amount of natural resources to fuel the Industrial Revolution. Natural gas, petroleum, and coal were extracted from below the earth’s surface and used to power factories and production. Iron ore would be used to create steel to urbanize the United States.

How do the maps above demonstrate that the United States was geographically ready for the Industrial Revolution?
Early Inventions

As natural resources were fueling industrial growth, American inventors sought to create inventions or perfect previous creations. **Thomas Alva Edison** was one such inventor who transformed American lives. With his perfection of the electric lightbulb in 1879, the night now could become easily become day. Edison would patent electric currents and create the country’s first power company which serviced New York City. With that, factories could run longer production hours as they were not limited to sunlight. Along with the economic impact, Americans on average would sleep approximately two hours less per night.

Along with invention of the light bulb, communication inventions greatly transformed American lives. **Christopher Sholes**, a newspaper publisher from Wisconsin, sought ways to increase word typing productivity. In 1867, Sholes was able to perfect the typewriter which allowed for a faster and neater means to scribe messages which included the standard QWERTY keyboard.

**Alexander Graham Bell**, a Scottish born inventor, would successfully complete the first telephone call in 1875 which enabled communication to be faster than ever before. Women greatly benefited from these inventions as they would become staples in offices. Clerical jobs opened up an entire job market to women.
Railroads

Prior to the Civil War, the United States government was providing land grants and low interest loans to railroad companies to develop the nation’s railway network. Railways allowed for an increase of commercial activity and development of the West. The Central Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads were tasked with completing the first connected railroad from the west coast to the east coast. Thousands of immigrants including Chinese for the Union Pacific and Civil War veterans jumped on the task. With dangerous conditions such as fearing attacks from Native Americans and explosions, it was a treacherous task. On May 10th, 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was sealed with a golden spike at Promontory, Utah. The United States was efficiently connected from coast to coast. By 1890, roughly 180,000 miles of railroads crisscrossed the nation which well exceeded the amount of network prior to the Civil War.

There were numerous effects after the completion and expansion of the national railway network. New towns such as Seattle, Washington and Denver, Colorado sprung up as materials were needed to complete the railroads. As communities were connected, railroads faced handling irregular time zones. In 1870, Charles F. Dowd proposed four standard time zones which two years later would be revised to be based off of Greenwich-Median time. The new time zones would make interstate business easier to conduct as the United States would adopt them.
Government Interaction with Railroads

With the numerous positive effects of the railroad industry, there also were numerous negative effects which brought the government into play. During construction of the first transcontinental railroad, Crédit Mobilier, a construction company created by railroad executives, overpriced the cost of laying down track by two to three times. Their investors kept the profits for themselves and paid off government officials to keep quiet. In the end, government officials were left merely untouched and the executives maintained their profits.

As the railroads helped move people west, they also clashed with the same people that they took west, the farmers. Railroads would often sell the best lands to businesses, charge higher shipping rates on local routes as they had a monopoly, and charge different individuals different rates. Upset, the farmers organized into The Grange as an attempt to voice their concerns. They elected many officials at local and state levels who passed laws known as the “Granger Laws” that did protect farmers’ interests. In Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Company v. Illinois, the Supreme Court overturned state legislation and noted that it was the federal government who maintained the right to regulate railroads. However, a year later in 1887, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act which gave federal regulation over railroads via the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). The ICC was unique as it was the first independent governmental regulatory agency in which future agencies would be modeled after. In the transition from state to federal power, the railroad monopolies greatly benefited from ICC rulings within the first ten years. The commission lacked the power to support the needs of farmers which enabled the railroad companies to return to their

practices. The Interstate Commerce Commission would obtain power in the future via new acts and court rulings to regulate railroads.

**Rise of Big Business**

As railroads served as the big business in the West, the steel and oil industries began to take off in the East. Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant who came to the United States when he was twelve, worked his way up through the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as messenger. On a trip to England, he observed the Bessemer Process which blew cold air over hot iron which rid of impurities and made steel stronger and cheaper to produce. He brought this practice back to Pittsburg and founded the Carnegie Steel Factory. By 1900, Carnegie dominated the United States’ steel market and produced more steel than all of Great Britain. Carnegie was able to do so because he practiced **vertical integration** in which he bought out all of the suppliers including the mines, freighters, and railroads. Carnegie was able to cut costs by owning all factors of production and ensure a quality product. Carnegie would later sell the Carnegie Steel Factory to J. P. Morgan who created the United States Steel Corporation, the largest corporation in the world.
American industrialist John D. Rockefeller took a different approach when he entered the oil industry. In 1870, Rockefeller’s corporation Standard Oil Company owned roughly three percent of the nation’s oil. Rockefeller practiced horizontal integration by merging with other oil companies or driving his competition out of the market by underpricing his product and paying his employees cheaply. Rockefeller would create trusts, a larger company that controls similar smaller companies, to help him dominate the oil industry. He would raise oil prices to incredibly higher prices once he controlled the market.

**Economic Policies of Government and Big Business**

The Carnegie Steel Company and the Standard Oil Company perfectly represent big business practices. They rose to the top by cutting costs, raising profits, paying low wages, and dominating their markets. The idea that businesses will survive, thrive, or die without government intervention is known as **social darwinism**. This concept, evolved from Charles Darwin’s theory of biological evolution, was well practiced in this era as the United States’ government kept a hands off approach and allowed the markets to dictate how big business would operate.

To counteract the harshness of social darwinism, Andrew Carnegie wrote “The Gospel of Wealth.” His view was that it was the job of the elite to help enrich society. With his own money he donated millions to create public libraries, encourage scientific research, and left ninety percent of his fortune behind after death to support learning. Rockefeller also donated $500 million dollars which helped set up the University of Chicago.

With the growing power of big business, Americans were growing worrisome of monopolies and their power on markets. The United States government reacted when Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890. This act targeted trusts that interfered with the free market including and interstate commerce. Despite the intentions of the government, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act did little to improve conditions as big business’ lawyers were able to find legal loopholes in the legislation. It was not until the Progressive Era when the act was strengthened and impacted big business.

**Auto Industry**

Just as the railroads revolutionized transportation in the 1800s, a new invention transformed the need for railroads. Henry Ford created his first car, the “Ford Quadricycle” in 1896. This first model ran on ethanol fuel and used bicycle tires for wheels. Seven years later, Henry Ford found the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, Michigan. In 1908, the Ford Motor Company produced the famous Model-T which served as the basis for autos in the future.

**Interactive 1.2 Gospel of Wealth**

Excerpt from “Gospel of Wealth”
Read here: [http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5766/](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5766/)

1) How does Andrew Carnegie view the role of the wealthy?
2) How does Andrew Carnegie view charity?
3) What part of the American identity does Carnegie emphasize in this document?
4) How does this document reflect the "Forty-Millionaire Carnegie in his Great Double Role" political cartoon?

Just as revolutionary as the automobile itself, Henry Ford was able to produce them at reasonable costs so all Americans could afford them. He is credited with perfecting the assembly line which allowed for mass production. The assembly line allowed for factory workers to complete the same task repeatedly so the automobile could be produced in record time. As production efficiency increased, the price fell. As assembly line jobs were unskilled, they attracted millions of laborers to Detroit to fill the demands of the growing auto field. By 1914, Ford was able to offer $5 a week to his laborers. Along with Ford; Chrysler, Dodge, and General Motors brought in workers. Factory workers were able to purchase single family houses, typically in the neighborhood of the factory they worked. However, two distinct cities emerged as white Americans and African Americans lived in neighborhoods. Ford would also attract skilled workers such as engineers and supervisors who brought a middle class to neighborhoods further away from the plant.


How does the population growth in Detroit reflect the growth of the Auto Industry?
Video Question:

1. How did labor change and stay the same from pre-Industrial Revolution to during the Industrial Revolution?

2. What inventions greatly changed how Americans work?

3. To what extent did labor benefit from the Industrial Revolution?

4. To what extent did government interact with the economy?
Industry and Labor

Just as the Industrial Revolution impacted the economy of the United States, it also had an enormous impact on the lives of millions of Americans. Early industrial inventions such as the McCormick reaper and the Cyrus plow lessened the demand for farm labor which drove rural populations to urban industrial jobs. As farmers looked to expand their land to make profits, they oppositely found themselves in debt as eastern banks and the railroad industry exploited their opportunities. Likewise, urban factory workers faced terrible conditions while working for large industries that demanded long hours, unsafe conditions, and low wages. Efforts to combat unfair conditions were created in both rural and urban settings to make life better for the ordinary American.

Early Farming Organizations

As industry helped farmers increase production, technology also impacted the farming sector. As farmers competed to make profits, technological advances led to overproduction. With a high supply, prices dropped as the demand did not increase as rapidly with the increase of supply. Along with overproduction, the banking sector charged high interest rates on loans. The railroad industry charged higher rates on short hauls as they maintained a monopoly on local markets and
charged different rates to different individuals. As the farmers grew increasingly in debt, they organized to improve their situation.

**The Grange** became the first major farmers group to address the issues. This organization gained momentum in the midwest by establishing cooperatives and battling the railroad sector at the state level. However, the federal government overturned the states’ control on railroads with the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad Company v. Illinois case which noted the federal government had the final say with railroads as they are part of interstate commerce in 1886. The Grange would drop in membership but began the farmers’ crusade to improve their conditions.

In the south and west, the Farmers Alliance set out to educate farmers on topics including low interest rates and government influence on railroads and banking. Lecturers went from town to town to promote concepts to improve the conditions of most farmers. It grew up to nearly 4 million members at its peak. However, the Farmers Alliance ignored tenant farmers and African Americans. As they made up a high percentage of farmers, the alliance weakened itself by not including large subgroups of farmers.
**Populist Party**

The education provided by the Farmers Alliance eventually led to political action. The Populist Party formed in the 1890s and focused on the plights of the farmers and working class. Their platform included a graduated income tax, single terms for president, eight hour workday, direct election of U. S. Senators, and loan programs that would balance the costs of food. Lastly, they called for unlimited coinage of silver which would help put more wealth in the hands of farmers and the working class.

The Populist Party had great success in the 1892 election by securing five U.S. senate seats, sending representatives to the U. S. House of Representatives, and winning seats at numerous seats state level Congresses. In the 1896 presidential election, the debate heavily focused on the gold standard which used only gold to back up the currency. The Populists greatly supported Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan who delivered his infamous cross of Gold Speech. In this speech, Jennings Bryan noted that the weight of gold will crush the country. In the end, William Jennings Bryan lost to William McKinley and the U.S. would remain on the gold standard. The Populists failed to secure enough urban votes. As the nation’s population became more urban for the first time in history, the Populists would lose their voice as they could not connect to that setting.

Source: [http://stealthflation.org/2015/03/01/the-end-of-honest-money/](http://stealthflation.org/2015/03/01/the-end-of-honest-money/)

**Interactive 1.4 The Cross of Gold Speech**

1) What grievances does William Jennings Bryan address in this speech?

2) How does he compare farmers to those on the Atlantic Coast?

3) How does this speech represent the goals of the Populist Party?
Interactive 1.5 Gold Bugs and Silverites

Test your knowledge with this drag-and-drop quiz.

The Election of 1892

Election Map of 1892. Source: http://www.rense.com/general90/1892.JPG

Depiction of William Jennings Bryan's Cross of Gold Speech. Source: https://historymartinez.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/cross-of-gold.jpg
Big Business Affects Laborers

Unskilled workers flocked to the factories during the Industrial Revolution. These unskilled workers included working class men, women, and children. The working class was continuously filled as new immigrants flocked to the United States for a better life. As labor was quite easy to replace, factory owners were able to maintain low wages. Even with low wages, factory workers faced highly unsafe conditions.

The average working class American male made approximately $453 a year which equivalent to $13,000 today. Women were roughly paid half of a male’s salary and children were expected to earn roughly one third of the salary. Factory workers typically worked from before ten to fourteen hour days to earn that pay. Along with low pay, factory conditions were deplorable. Factories lacked guardrails, proper ventilation, and proper safety techniques. In 1900, there was reportedly 35,000 deaths in factories with approximately 1 million injuries. Without health insurance or factory accountability, workers were left to deal with death and injuries on their own.

Working class children were often needed to take jobs to help support their families. By 1900, roughly 18% of children under the age of 16 were employed in industrial work. These children were often employed with tasks of cleaning dangerous machines, coal mining, and working in the textile industry. They were often paid lower wages and were easily replaceable. Working children forwent an education which greatly hindered their chances of obtaining a skilled job as an adult. Reforms would come in the early 1900s to rid the United States of the grim conditions of child labor and placed emphasis on students minimally earning a primary school education.

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/Childlabourcoal.jpg
To combat long hours, low pay, and unsafe working conditions; multiple labor unions form. The **Knights of Labor** began as a secret society in 1869 and would not become more public until 1881. The Knights championed both skilled and unskilled labor.
laborers and included women and African Americans. Their main goal was to set a standard eight hour workday and improve safety conditions at factories. The Knights also pushed for the abolition of child labor and equal pay for equal work. The Knights’ membership piqued in 1886 after a successful strike against Jay Gould’s Wabash Railroad in 1885. The Knights of Labor faced an untimely setback when they were linked to anarchist bombs at the Haymarket Square protest in Chicago in 1886. The public backlashed against the alleged connection to the incident and the Knights of Labor plummeted to approximately 100,000 members by 1889. The other downfall for the union was that there were many tensions between skilled workers and unskilled workers which led to internal disputes and resentment.

As the Knights of Labor were on the downfall, another union began to rise. Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker, founded the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL consisted of groups of unions, usually skilled, instead of one large union. The main goals of the AFL were to increase wages and have shorter work weeks. Samuel Gompers also pushed for a closed shop in which a factory would only employ union members. The union used strikes as a main tactic to achieve its goals. The AFL had numerous successes in establishing 8 hour workdays and increasing pay for its members. By 1914, the AFL topped 2 million members.

Samuel Gompers

While the AFL championed skilled laborers, radical union ideas emerged throughout the United States. Eugene V. Debs championed the idea of a union including all laborers. Debs’ American Railway Union won a strike in 1894 which increased its membership by the thousands. However, his union was short lived as membership dwindled only after a successful strike. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a socialist union, formed in Chicago in 1905. By including African Americans and being too radical, its numbers rarely exceeded 100,000. While both unions had few successes, they contributed to the idea that members should unite for the betterment of their lives and working conditions.
Mary Harris Jones, commonly known as Mother Jones, proved an exceptional leader for the rights of miners and children. She helped organize the United Mine Workers of America and was faced numerous death threats. In 1903, she led children onto the White House lawn and demonstrated the harshness of child labor to President Roosevelt which inspired child labor laws. By committing to the need of miners and children, Jones continued to push for better conditions for the working class until her death.

Failed Strikes

While unions had some successes, they often faced numerous setbacks when strikes proved unsuccessful in achieving their goals. The Pullman Town, established in 1880, was based on the Pullman factory that created luxury railroad cars. The owner,
George Pullman, owned all parts of the town so his employees bought goods from his stores and paid rent as his tenants. This practice by a business owner became known as a company town. Soon, company towns sprang up all over major industrial cities as an unregulated way for wealthy business owners to increase their already exorbitant profits. During the panic of 1893, Pullman cut wages but did not lower the cost of rent or goods from his town. The Pullman Strike occurred in 1894 as Eugene V. Debs led the way to aid the workers. Federal troops were sent in and the strike was exterminated. Most of the workers lost their jobs and were placed on blacklists that prevented them from obtaining employment at other factories.

In 1892, Andrew Carnegie’s Homestead Steel Mill cut the wages of its workers. Roughly 750 belonged to the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers Union out of 3,000. Determined to break the union, Carnegie gave manager Henry Frick full support to crush the union and bargain with employees separately. The Homestead Strike began workers struck and the factory was walled off as union workers vowed to prevent anyone from entering. The police were first sworn to help protect the factory and were chased off by strikers. Frick hired private guards to have strike breakers and new labor come in to keep the factory operating. After four months of striking, support for the union plummeted and the workers gave into the factory’s conditions.

Even though unions faced setbacks, they created a unity among workers. Unions would grow in numbers through the 1900s and gain further rights most notably during the Progressive Era and Franklin Roosevelt administration.
An Influx of Immigrants

As the United States increased its industrial output, the need for workers increased. This, along with other factors, drew more people into the US globally. Immigration into the United States grew immensely between 1860-1910 and peaked in 1907. People then, as well as today, migrated for many reasons. The reasons that people move are categorized as **push and pull factors**.

Welcome to America

When immigrants entered the US, they did through two major entry points: Angel Island in California and Ellis Island in New York. The majority of European immigrants arrived in New York and Asian immigrants arrived in California.

In this undated photo, immigrants stand outside of a building on Ellis Island at the Port of New York. Between 1892 and 1924, an estimated 20 million individuals began their new lives in America at the Immigration Processing Station, Ellis Island. Photo courtesy of The National Archives.
Angel Island in San Francisco Bay processed hundreds of thousands of immigrants from 1910-1940. Most of these immigrants arrived from China. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the Chinese were not welcomed in the US, not easily anyway. The **Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882** banned the immigration of Chinese laborers into the US and prohibited the Chinese from becoming natural citizens. This act remained in effect for 60 years. Years later, court cases were brought by second and third generation children to claim their constitutional right to citizenship by birth. Angel Island’s main goal was to control the flow of Chinese people into the United States. At Angel Island men and women were housed separately and spent most of their time waiting in the barracks during their detention between interview interrogations. During this process immigrants would have been detained on Angel Island for weeks or months - some even years- before entering the US or being deported. Interrogation questions were purposefully challenging and even included obscure questions about Chinese villages and family genealogies that would have been difficult for immigrants to answer correctly. Many of the people arriving on Angel Island were not allowed entry into the United States.

Create your own comic strip describing what would cause your character to move. Try using Bit Strips!

**Think Geography!** Why would more Asian immigrants enter through California, while more European immigrants came in through New York?
After the earthquake and fire that ravaged San Francisco in 1906, many government records were destroyed, leading to the practice of “paper sons”. When new citizenship papers were obtained after the fire, people were able to pass on citizenship rights to their children. Many claimed that their Chinese born offspring were really born in the US. Sometimes one would report the birth of a son when in reality the “slot” would be sold or given to a relative. Sons who entered the US this way were known as “paper sons.” This deception was in reaction to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.
In New York, Ellis Island opened up its doors to immigrants in 1892 and it processed over 12 million people in the 62 years it was open. The immigrants that arrived in America having purchased a first or second class ticket were able to avoid the Ellis Island inspection by having a cursory one done aboard the ship. The idea behind this was that if a person was wealthy enough to afford a high class ticket that they were less likely to contribute negatively to the general public either due to medical or legal reasons. The federal government felt that more affluent immigrants were less likely to end up in state institutions or hospitals and become financial burdens to the state.

The story looks different for third class passengers, also known as “steerage” passengers. These people traveled to America in tight, unsanitary quarters near the belly of the ship. Passengers from steerage would undergo a physical and legal inspection that took about 3-5 hours if one was in good health. Approximately 2% of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island were not allowed to enter the United States. A person would have been deported back to their country of origin.

(Appl

(Application for Readmission of a Native Born Son of Chinese Parents by Rock Hang Regarding Rock Fee

8/9/1906

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service

National Archives)
origin if a doctor diagnosed him or her with a contagious disease that risked the health of the public or if a legal inspector thought he or she would have ended up living at the expense of the government.

Urbanization

America was a land of farmers for much of its early life as a nation. In 1820, barely 5% of the nation’s population lived in cities of over 10 thousand or more. Decade by decade after that the numbers in cities grew. By 1900, 30% of Americans lived in a city and the architecture shifted to accommodate them. The first skyscrapers were built.

Factories were built at a rapid rate; therefore, people were settling to be near work. Skyscrapers were introduced and started reaching into the clouds while tenements were overflowing with people. Imperial looking banks and mansions of the uber wealthy emerged while the slums teeming with rats and lice were available to the lower working class. Middle class white collar workers also emerged and added to the success of cities. Cities were not just places to make a living but also became cultural centers, too.

While people in rural areas were still successful in the agriculture field, city dwellers were working in factories, manufacturing, shipyards and transportation systems. Jobs in the entertainment field were also on the rise as the middle class saw an increase in leisure activities like stadium sports, amusement parks, theaters, and department store shopping. Cities were setting trends in art, music, and fashion. Large department stores like Macy’s in New York and Marshall Fields in Chicago attracted urban middle class shoppers and provided jobs for the working class—even young women.

Living in a city proved to be much different than living in a rural area. Living on a farm, not much went to waste. Table scraps went to pigs, families mended clothing instead of tossing it out,
household products were bought in bulk at the general store and most things weren’t wrapped. Cities were different. Cities had electricity, indoor plumbing, and the latest in technology such as the telephone. Packaging such as boxes, bottles, cans and bags were disposable. Apartments didn’t have pig pens for scraps. Ready-to-wear clothes “off the rack” were cheap and as fashion trends changed quickly old garments ended up in the trash piles. Urban problem solving such as what to do with massive amounts of waste became a new issue in cities. The increase in consumerism and its subsequent waste was not the only issue in cities. Hygiene and safe living were also concerns. Lice was rampant in the slums, and most of the water was unsafe for drinking, cooking and bathing. This along with animal waste, uncollected garbage and unwashed people also contributed to the health and safety of urban city dwellers.

The worst of all places in the cities were the slums. In 1879, tenement style
housing was perfected. In these multi level buildings people lived in a tight barracks’ like situation with extended families in small rooms with a shared community bathroom on each floor. People also worked out of their homes in many cases to help raise money for the family. This also allowed for women to work at home while tending to the children, or putting them to work as well. Lice and rats were frequent guests of the residents in the tenements and sickness spread quickly, as did fire on occasion.
One of the worst fires happened to the city of Chicago in 1871. Like all major cities of the time, most city dwellings were made of wood and built tightly together. The use of candles and kerosene in such tight quarters made city fires much more catastrophic and deadly than in rural settings. The fire in Chicago started on October 8 and raged for two full days. When the inferno ceased, the city was left with 100,000 people who had lost their homes and over 300 dead. There was $200 million in lost and damaged property and the entire central business district was completely destroyed.

John R. Chapin was an illustrator for Harper’s Weekly and was staying at the Sheridan House hotel when he was awoken by the commotion from the fire. He reported the following:

In the presence of such a fearful calamity, surrounded by such scenes of misery and woe, having within a brief hour barely escaped with my life from the burning hotel, knowing that under my eye human life was being destroyed, wealth swept away, and misery entailed upon untold thousands of my fellow-men, nothing but the importance of preserving a record of the scene induced me to force my nervous system into a state sufficiently calm to jot down the scenes passing before me. . . . Niagara sinks into insignificance before that towering wall of whirling, seething, roaring flame, which swept on, on—devouring the most stately and massive stone buildings as though they had been the cardboard playthings of a child. . .

Although the loss was tragic, it did bring about new building requirements. Brick (and eventually steel) structures replaced the traditional wooden ones that acted like fuel to the fires of cities.
As many people moved from rural farm lives and transitioned to life in the cities, cities swelled from the influx of new residents. As immigrants were moving into the American cities they carried with them customs and experiences from their homelands. Often times, when settling in new neighborhoods, people with a common culture, language, religion and history would form their own ethnic communities. In this era of urbanization, cities see “little China”, “little Italy” and “little Poland” (to name a few) emerged. With these new immigrants to America, new newspapers, shops, celebrations and eating emerge as well. The growth religions other than the majority protestant christian grow, too. Eastern European Jews and Roman Catholics from all over Europe made their way to the shores of America.

In a metropolis like New York City came the freedom of chosen anonymity. In the shtetl, the Jew was marked as such by clothing, language and association. In New York, a Jewish man could shave off his beard. A married Orthodox Jewish woman could discard her required wig. They could buy some American style clothes. Walk out of the ghetto. And be seen and treated as any other person just walking down the street. With the skills in English, the possible transformation was complete. 1910 was the high tide of Jewish immigration to America. At that time the greater Lower East Side housed more than 500,000 people in two square miles. It was then that the Lower East Side came to be known as the Jewish Ghetto. The adjoining communities of Little Italy and Chinatown were minuscule in comparison to the Jewish community.

The Lower East Side was always crowded. As the 20th Century began, Jewish immigrants, having crossed the Atlantic in steerage. Having endured the processing and the fear of rejection at Ellis Island. And having been dropped on the tip of Manhattan in the shadow of a forest of unbelievably high buildings. Now walked into a virtual cauldron of people. A maze of streets strewn with offal from slaughtered animals and garbage and horse manure. Just the horse and wagon, period, for transportation. There’s a lot of horse doo in the city, which is collected regularly. Put on carts. Taken to the East River. And dumped there in the river where the boys were swimming. Life seemed to gush out of the suffocating flats and shops into an ever-flowing stream of shouting men. Babbling women. Shrieking children from early dawn to midnight. So many of these new arrivals had come from small towns. And now in the two square mile sea of five, six and seven-story tenements, they had to locate relatives or countrymen. Find housing. Obtain work. Learn anew language, et cetera. Amazed by the people flooded streets, journalists of the time described the Lower East Side as having a population density greater than Bombay or Calcutta. The incredible scene was, of course, most daunting to the immigrants and their children.

(The Tenement Saga, webcast, Sanford Sternlicht, 5/19/2014, Library of Congress)
Politics in major cities also suffered challenges from urbanization. Nothing was quite as scandalous during the Gilded Age as the political machine of Tammany Hall in New York City. The term “political machine” is basically an organization that works to get its member(s) elected into political positions, thus holding political power. In New York City, this was Tammany Hall and its leader was William “Boss” Tweed.

In the 1860s and 1870s the men of Tammany Hall used graft bribery and rigged elections to extort over $200 million from the city of New York. Some money went towards helping immigrants and creating public buildings that helped create jobs. The trouble was that anyone doing business in their city - especially suppliers and contractors - had to give “kickbacks” (money) to the bosses in order to stay in business. “Boss” Tweed and other machine bosses grew large fortunes as a result of these kickbacks and bribes.

Was this positive in the development of America’s "melting pot"? Or did it lend itself to stereotyping and eventual prejudice? How could you compare urbanization from this era to today?
Prior to the 1880s, the United States government policies toward Native Americans was dominated by the idea to remove the people from their land, acquire land (via treaties), wage war and civilize and assimilate tribal communities into American society. For tribal communities, the entire 19th century is defined by their loss of land, either through treaties or forced removal, which translates into loss of their culture and way life. By 1900, tribes in Michigan had lost 99% of their ancestral land base. What lands tribes did reserve for themselves under treaties were called reservations. On average, these reservations were the equivalent to the size of a county. But reservation lands would be alienated from tribes as well.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did physical geography impact industrial growth?
2. How did tycoons influence the growth of corporations?
3. How did inventions impact demands for labor?
4. How did the government interact with big business?
5. How did urban development change the landscape of America?
6. How did race, gender and social status affect American politics?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

reservations
assimilation

(Image of Dawes Act, ourdocuments.gov)
Certain federal measures, such as the Homestead Act of 1862, the Indian Homestead Act of 1875 and the Dawes Act of 1887, would help break up reservation lands and open them to public purchase. On February 8, 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act, named after Massachusetts senator, Henry Dawes. Dawes once expressed that to be civilized was to "wear civilized clothes...cultivate the ground, live in houses, ride in Studebaker wagons, send children to school, drink whiskey [and] own property." The Dawes Act focused on breaking up reservation land by granting land parcels to individual Native Americans. The mentality of the government was that if native individuals owned their own land and farmed their own land like their white neighbors they would lose their “Indian-ness” and become assimilated.

Unfortunately the theories did not come to pass as reality. Natives holding individual patents to their allotments were often swindled out of their lands by greedy land speculators. Unethical government officials were also a problem, as they sold Indian patents of tribal lands to non-natives. Tribal land (reservations) was valuable for different reasons. Some lands had rich timber resources, others good for farms. Some lands were valuable for the growing railways across the country. But the fact America’s population was exploding and white settlers needed land was the most prominent reason tribal people became alienated from their homelands.

The change from owning land communally to individual ownership was a radical change in belief. Often children that inherited land became severed from the land because they had been sent away to boarding schools. (See more on this below.) Allotment selection did not extend to future generations, thus only one group of tribal members got to make a selection, making their children and grandchildren ineligible to make a allotment selection under treaty provisions. Tribal reservations became overrun with land speculators and white squatters during the 1800s, leaving the Odawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway with the hardship of staying on their homelands. As white American settlers expanded their presence into Michigan, the indigenous peoples’ presence shrank.

Treaties

If you ask somebody what the most important document for them as a U.S. citizen is, many would answer “the Constitution”. But for indigenous people, many would answer “the treaties”. Treaties

Interactive 1.10 Schedule of Indian Land

Charles C. Royce compiled The Schedule of Indian Land Cessions and 67 maps outlining those land cessions as the second part of the two-part Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-1897. Part two was also printed as House Document No. 736 of the U.S. Serial Set, 56th Congress, 1st Session. These two maps of Michigan show how the treaties effected land ownership of native tribes in 1795 and then again in 1854.
directly impacted tribal communities with regard to economics, land use, right to self government and natural resource use. The United States engaged in over 600 treaties with tribes across the United States, from 1778-1883. Not all tribes were party to treaties and some tribes were involved in multiple treaties, with multiple tribes. Treaties reserved land, resources, rights and created a trust relationship between the tribes and federal government. But treaties were many times not honored by the United States and created problems for tribal communities. Some treaties did end wars between tribes and the United States but the vast majority were land acquisitions from tribes. The majority of treaties were made during the 1800s. In Michigan, the Odawa, Ojibway and Potawatomi signed multiple treaties, in order to avoid forced removal from their lands, to retain access to natural resources and reserve lands for themselves.

Michigan tribes made treaties between 1795-1864. Chiefs from individual villages would represent their communities with these negotiations with the United States. Sometimes tribes did not always see eye to eye on the terms spelled out in the treaty. Many treaties were made under extreme pressure as well. If a tribe did not sign the treaty, it was very possible the U.S. army would remove them by force. Or the tribe would lose out on securing a land base for future generations and monies, if they did not sign. Treaties were part of a federal policy to civilize natives. The U.S. government thought that if natives owned small tracts of lands, they would become farmers; not hunters. Also, treaties provided the legal means of acquiring millions of acres. The civilization policy of natives would go beyond treaties and onto the children as well.

The Civilization Policies

As the United States grew in the 19th century, so did its handling of tribes. As land bases shrunk for tribes, their subjection to American rule became more prevalent. Tribes would continue to fight American expansion west of the Mississippi River after the War of 1812 but with each losing battle to the United States, the force of American law was inescapable. A large part of this law was the civilization policies for tribes. The prevailing thought among American officials during the 1800s was that tribes were “uncivilized” “barbaric” and “heathen” in nature. Thus, it was the duty of the American society to “enlighten” the tribes and bring them into a civilized state. This “civilized” state was that of the Americans, which had a huge emphasis on individual land ownership, western education, Christianity, American appearance, English as the primary language, capitalism and farming. Thus it became illegal for tribes to practice their traditional religions and access to sacred areas became forbidden under private land ownership. Private land ownership also drastically altered the traditional use of land in hunting and fishing. Natives began to mirror the appearance of Americans, in order to assimilate into society. Hair was cut, tattooing ceased, piercings taken out, body painting stopped and American clothes
became the norm. By the 1880s, the government deemed that the natives were still not “civilized”, even though many were farmers, worked the same jobs as whites and attended church. The government argued that as long as family units stayed together, kids were still learning traditions at the home, speaking their native language and thus, not fully becoming civilized. The answer, according to the federal government, was to take the children directly out of the home and place them in institutions where it was forbidden to practice anything native. These institutions were boarding schools.

**Boarding Schools**

The US government established boarding schools in the late 19th century with the goal of assimilating native youth into while culture by stripping them of their own culture, tradition and ways of worship. Roughly 100 schools were established in the US. The largest and most infamous was the school established by Richard Pratt in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His sentiments below were widely followed by many Americans at the time.

"A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one," Pratt said. "In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."

Three **assimilation** schools were established in Michigan: Baraga, Mt. Pleasant and Harbor Springs. Some children were taken away from their families by government officials, others were sent away by parents that felt it was their only choice as regular public schools wouldn’t allow their children to attend with white children.

According to the Library of Congress, “To make Indian children patriotic and productive citizens, government-run boarding schools, reservation boarding schools and day schools were introduced. These schools strictly adhered to the speaking of only the English language. They were conducted with military-like schedules and discipline, and emphasized farming and other manual skills. The daily schedule was split between academics and vocational training. By 1893, such education for Indian children was mandatory. The Bureau of Indian Affairs ceased to support this form of education in the 1920s. Complaints about costs, substandard living conditions, poor medical care, and poor teaching practices contributed to the demise of this strict, mandatory program.”

The schools trained the children to become laborers. They were taught to become domestic and manual laborers and were not given the option of becoming professionals like lawyers, teachers or doctors. They were not taught to become leaders.
Indian Training School in Chemawa, Oregon. Boarding school students learned skills that the American teachers believed would benefit the students in an Americanized way of life. (www.edb.utexas.edu)

Primary Source Activity

The Library of Congress has many documents to explore the education and assimilation of Native peoples in America from the late 1800s-1920s. Students can explore...

- legal government documents
- annual reports
- photographs
- short film clips
- first hand accounts
- a musical performance and battle demonstration

Use these sources to compare and contrast the mixed messages that are in these materials.

Discussion Questions for Classrooms

- What does it mean to be civilized? How are civilized persons different from uncivilized persons?
- Who decides who is civilized and who is not?
- From what you know about the Indians living in North America before the Europeans arrived, were they civilized? By whose standards?
- Look at the "before and after" photo of Tom Torino (above). Tom was a Navajo youth who entered Carlisle Boarding School. Ask the students if you think Tom is more civilized in the "after" photo. Why or why not?
The civilization polices carried on well into the 20th century for native people in the United States. The last boarding school to close its doors in the United States was the Holy Childhood of Jesus Indian School, Harbor Springs, Mi. This institution ceased operation in 1983. Other civilization policies that went well into the late 1900s were the inability for tribal people to practice their religion. This was reversed in 1978 with the Indian Religious Freedom act. Even further into the 20th century is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. This law enabled tribes to reclaim ancestral human remains and sacred items.

Tribes would advocate for their civil rights throughout the 20th century, which in turn reversed many of the archaic civilization policies of the 19th century. As women, African-American and other minority groups advocated for their personal freedoms, so did the tribes of the United States. But the civilization policies had devastating effects on tribes, particularly when it comes to land loss and loss of culture, religion and heritage. Many tribes are working diligently to recover language, ceremonies and sacred areas today.

Additional Links and Resources

- American Indian Boarding Schools Haunt Many
- Native American Names for National Parks
- Native American boarding schools have nearly killed Michigan’s native language
- Our Spirits Don’t Speak English
- White Bison Website
Chapter 2

How effective was the Progressive Movement at solving America’s problems?

What challenges did American society face?

How did Americans respond to these challenges?

What were the goals of reformers?
During the end of the 1800s, society had changed dramatically as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Cities had grown and the demographics of the American population had become increasingly diverse. Although the economic gains were substantial, this came at a significant social cost. The nation began to struggle with issues of unemployment, dangerous working conditions, and political corruption. Although private citizens had long been making attempts to reform these issues, many began to feel that an increased role of government would be necessary to effectively address the nation’s problems.
Muckrakers

Many Americans that shared concerns about society began to focus on initiating change. Individuals began to investigate the problems plaguing the nation and to publicize those results to draw attention to issues such as working and living conditions. Many hoped that by drawing attention to the horrors they had witnessed, citizens would feel compelled to act and pressure their legislators for change. Journalists during this period were well known for their attempts to alert the public to the wrongdoings occurring within society. President Theodore Roosevelt called these writers muckrakers. He took the term from a story called Pilgrim’s Progress in which the character was so busy raking filth on earth that he never lifted his eyes to heaven. The nickname was earned largely because these journalists uncovered the nation’s problems and wrote about them. Americans read startling accounts from the muckrakers, and many began to feel inspired to take action by joining reform organizations. Because numerous groups sought to bring positive change and progress in society, this period of American history from 1890 to 1920 is known as the Progressive Era.
Poor Living and Working Conditions

The United States became an increasingly urban nation as jobs attracted migrants to cities. Industrialization brought many changes to American life such as advances in technology, communication, transportation, and economic growth. It also brought new challenges to those individuals seeking opportunities, with many urban laborers living in poverty and working in grueling conditions.

As factories began to increase production, many of the jobs that were available to urban citizens were unskilled manufacturing positions. Factory work was often repetitive and straining. According to one worker, “Life in a factory where any textile industry is carried on is perhaps, with the exception of prison life, the most monotonous life a human being can live.” Factory work could also often be dangerous. In an attempt to maximize profits, employers were often willing to cut corners on safety. Working conditions were often hazardous and negatively impacted the health and safety of employees. Many urban workers labored with dangerous machinery, breathed in harmful chemicals and dust, or worked in buildings with no codes for fire safety. The tragedy of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company is just one example. On March 25, 1911, a fire started on the eighth floor of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. Because many of the exit doors were locked to prevent employee theft, 146 people were dead within eighteen minutes. Firefighter’s ladders were several stories too short to perform a rescue and the water from their hoses could not reach the top floors, forcing many to choose to jump to their deaths rather than to burn alive. This tragedy highlighted the inhuman working conditions to which many industrial workers were subjected. Many

Interactive 2.2 Crash Course - The Progressive Era
Learn more about the Progressive Era in this video from Crash Course

Interactive 2.3 The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory
What potential problems can you identify in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory that may have contributed to the death of so many workers?

Search the website and locate two sources that corroborate your findings above. Discuss how your sources support your conclusions.

What recommendations would you make to the state of New York in order to ensure worker safety in the future?

Interactive 2.4 The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory
Watch a video describing the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire.

Use this website to answer the questions in the blue box.
employees were also forced to work long hours (14-16 hours daily) at low wages, and the right to unionize to advocate for worker rights and safety were often restricted.

Poor workers in the cities had difficulty obtaining housing and often had to cram many families into one apartment in order to get by. These cramped living spaces were often rundown, and illness would spread quickly. These buildings were called tenements and often housed poor immigrants. Jacob Riis described a typical tenement as “one or two dark closets, used as bedrooms, with a living room twelve feet by ten.” Not only were the tenements crowded, but the buildings themselves were crammed together. As these neighborhoods became rundown and developed into areas of poverty, they became known as slums. These areas were densely populated and housing was often dirty, unsanitary, and crowded. Lack of fire protection posed a serious danger, and many of the buildings lacked indoor plumbing so that waste often ended up in the streets. Because of the poor sanitation and crowded conditions, diseases such as tuberculosis and pneumonia often spread quickly through the tenements and slums. Some urban neighborhoods became ghettos, or areas where a particular ethnic or racial group dominated. Immigrants often moved to the cities where they could find jobs, which usually meant lower wages and poor working conditions. Usually they would settle in neighborhoods with members of their ethnic group (i.e. Little Italy in New York City). There they could speak their native language and form social groups with other people from their homeland. It was a safe place for immigrants where they felt comfortable, especially in the face of threats from whites. How well immigrants adjusted depended upon their ability to learn English, adapt to American ways of life, and marketable work skills. If they were deficient in any of these areas, it became even more important to settle among other members of their own group where they could get help.

Increased production often meant that more goods were available, but it did not necessarily ensure that these products were safe. Quality was not regulated and consumers often did not know what was in the products they were buying. In the 1906
novel, *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair revealed the unsanitary conditions of the meatpacking industry:

“There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together.”

Not only did toxic chemicals contaminate many processed foods, but even common medicines were unregulated. Substances such as morphine and opium were not prohibited, though their risks would eventually become apparent. Many consumers believed these medicines would cure their illnesses, only to find that instead they would grapple with drug addiction.

**Reforms**

Some reformers worked to improve the lives of those living in urban poverty. *Jacob Riis*, a native of Denmark, personally experienced the terrible conditions under which many Americans lived. He began writing about his experiences while investigating tenement slums filled with immigrant families. He eventually completed a book about what he had seen called *How the Other Half Lives*. His coverage and exposure of the abject poverty that many people faced was shocking to a lot of Americans. He hoped that by exposing these conditions, he could generate public support for change. Riis used photographs to show the conditions of tenements and, as a result of his work, New York passed some of the nation’s first laws to improve tenements.

Urban churches also became interested in providing services and assistance to those in poverty. The reform movement that developed within religious institutions became known as the social gospel movement. Religious organizations sought to apply Christian ethics to society and focused on the ideals of charity and justice. In many cases this was applied to labor reform, such as trying to improve the living conditions for all workers and address the problem of income inequality. Many put the social gospel into practice in a new program called the settlement movement. Young reformers would move into the middle of poor neighborhoods and offer social services. The concept behind this movement was that only through living near those in need and witnessing the effects of poverty firsthand, could reformers begin to understand and address the problem.
One famous settlement house was established by Jane Addams. She established the settlement house in a poor neighborhood in Chicago in 1889, and soon Hull House became an inspiration to other settlement houses across the country. Jane Addams believed that the way to understand poverty was to be immersed in it. She offered help when needed to individuals and tried to anticipate and respond to the needs of the whole community. Hull House had cultural events, classes, exhibits, childcare, playgrounds, clubs, summer camps, assisted with employment and legal aid, and provided a health-care clinic. Settlement houses like Hull House sprang up across the United States. Most of these homes were funded by donations and run by missionaries or volunteers who would work for low wages. Many were women college graduates who have been excluded from other professions. The women running these homes would provide services such as medical care, recreation programs, English classes, and hot lunches for factory workers. Women were instrumental in these homes since work outside of charity was frowned upon for women.

In response to Upton Sinclair’s report about the meatpacking industry, government began to adopt legislation to address concerns about sanitation and safety of consumer products. The Meat Inspection Act was passed in 1906 and brought reforms to the processing of animals destined for human consumption. All animals were required to pass inspection prior to slaughter and cleanliness standards were established to prevent poor quality livestock and products from being sold as food. This law helped to ensure that meat products were slaughtered and processed under sanitary conditions. The Pure Food and Drug Act was also passed in 1906 and created the Food and Drug Administration, which was entrusted with the responsibility of testing foods and drugs destined for human consumption. The law also required prescriptions be written by licensed physicians before a patient could purchase certain drugs, and that label warnings should be included on habit-
Challenges for Women and Children

Because families struggled economically, many children were forced to work in order to help the family get by. This meant that young children were often working instead of attending school. Children often worked long hours in factories, mines, and sweatshops. According to John Spargo, “I could not do that work and live, but there were boys of ten and twelve years of age doing it for fifty and sixty cents a day. Some of them had never been inside of a school; few of them could read a child’s primer.” Employers had no issue taking on extremely young children who could work for low wages.

The role of women began to change during the Progressive Era, with a growing number of women beginning to work outside the home. Some of these workers were women that provided unskilled factory labor. Others with some education might find skilled work as nurses or teachers. Many of these women were exploited and found it difficult to make ends meet. For those women that had lost their husbands or been abandoned, it was especially difficult to be the sole income responsible for caring for their children. Other women experienced abuse at the hands of their husbands, who might drink the family income away or act violently towards their wives. Women had limited rights and opportunities, and in many cases were forced to accept their situation. However, many would begin to take on the role of reformer in order to improve their lives and the nation as a whole.

Interactive 2.6 Pure Food and Drug Act and the Food and Drug Administration

How has the Food and Drug Administration evolved since its creation? Look at the items regulated under the Pure Food and Drug Act versus what the Food and Drug Administration regulates today.
Many people saw alcohol as a problem within family life and society as a whole. Some began to call for a moderation in drinking habits, and the temperance movement (an organized campaign against alcoholic consumption) began to grow. While some wanted restraint in the consumption of alcohol, others wanted to ban alcohol altogether. Part of this was due to the fact that many men spent their time in saloons, partly because it was an opportunity to socialize but also because it was a source of job information. The fear was that this behavior could greatly undermine morals and that it caused many problems in American life: scarce wages were spent on alcohol, and drinking sometimes led to physical abuse and sickness. Employers believed that it hurt worker efficiency while political reformers viewed saloons as places that could breed corruption. Largely, it was women that led the crusade and sought to reduce the consumption of alcohol. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union became a strong force in lobbying for laws to restrict alcohol and educating citizens about the social ills associated with alcoholic consumption. Eventually their temperance movement would yield results with the passage of the 18th amendment, which established prohibition, or a ban on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

With more women entering the workforce and becoming involved in reform activities, a cultural shift began to occur as well as the expectations of women evolved. Many women began to support the spread of information about birth control, a campaign led by Margaret Sanger. She supported giving women more control over pregnancies, especially those in poverty that could not afford to care for more children. Sanger believed that women, to gain more equal footing in society and have healthier lives, needed to be able to have more information about reproduction and control of it. She argued that the standard of living could be improved if families were able to limit the number of children in the family unit. These ideas were shocking to more traditional Americans, and Sanger was arrested for distributing information about contraception.
Since women and children were workers, labor issues were very important to progressive women. Florence Kelley was a strong voice for labor reform that championed government regulation to help protect women and children in the workplace. She went on to investigate sweatshops and became the first female factory inspector, largely because many other public officials wouldn’t enter the sweatshops for fear of contracting disease that infected the tenements. She successfully lobbied for laws in Illinois prohibiting child labor, limiting working hours for women, and regulating conditions of sweatshops - and was placed in charge of enforcing them. When she became frustrated by the district attorney’s failure to prosecute cases, she went on to earn a law degree so that she could effectively enforce these laws by taking action herself. Florence Kelley also fought to protect women and children through the National Consumers League. This organization was formed to unite local consumers’ leagues, where women investigated the conditions under which products were made and sold. They encouraged people to purchase goods only from businesses that did not use child labor and insisted that factories follow inspection laws. Kelley also spearheaded an effort to create a federal children’s bureau that would support legislation to benefit children in the workplace. In 1912, Congress created the Children’s Bureau and appointed Julia Lathrop as the head - the first woman to head a federal agency.
Winning suffrage—the right to vote, had been a major focus of women reformers since 1848 at the Women’s Rights Convention at Seneca Falls. There Elizabeth Cady Stanton read the “Declaration of Sentiments” which was patterned after the Declaration of Independence. It declared that all men and women are created equal and demanded suffrage, or the right to vote, for women. While the movement had been strong and well-organized, the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments that granted the right to vote to African-American men, actually split the women’s movement. While many suffragists supported efforts to gain suffrage for African-American men, others did not because women hadn’t been included in the push for suffrage. In the meantime, adult women were still treated much the same way as children had been. They could not vote, they could be beaten by their husbands, and they could not own property in the own names. A “cult of domesticity” emerged in which women’s special sphere was the home. Her main focus was to maintain an orderly home and raise children. By 1890, female reformers, mostly white and upper class, began to challenge the social and political structure. Early reformers, such as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony
B. Anthony worked to further the cause of women’s civil rights. Other feminists, such as Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Lucy Stone, and Amelia Bloomer, challenged the gender roles they felt were forced on them by society.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was formed in 1890 by women’s rights pioneers such as Stanton and Anthony. However, by 1900 a new generation of women had taken over the fight. Most notably, Carrie Chapman Catt changed from making arguments emphasizing the equality of men and women to making arguments emphasizing that the vote would allow women to better fulfill their traditional role as caretakers for their families by having a voice in debates over issues such as public health and education. This new strategy of linking suffrage to traditional gender roles lead to some gains for the movement, particularly in the West. Wyoming, which became known as “the Equality State,” granted full voting rights to women in 1869 while still a territory. Other western states soon followed. By 1890, most states had even recognized the right of woman to own and control property after marriage.

Women gained valuable experience working on other social movements, such as temperance (anti-drinking), that they could use to help them in their fight for suffrage. Notably, however, NAWSA and other women’s organizations of the time period mostly excluded black women. They felt that taking on issues of race would handicap their efforts. So black women created their own associations. Ida B. Wells-Barnett launched an anti-lynching campaign and pushed for what eventually became the National Association of Colored Women in 1896.

Interactive 2.9 Women’s Suffrage

Learn more about when Suffrage was enacted in several states through this interactive widget.
Despite all of the efforts of women’s suffrage groups, only four states had granted women the right to vote by 1900. Between 1910 and 1912, women in Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona gained the ballot, while women in Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin were thwarted in their cause. This led some suffragettes, most prominently Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, to advocate for the use of more daring tactics. After witnessing firsthand the radical tactics used by British suffragettes, they originally worked with NAWSA, but felt that its state-by-state approach and insistence on ladylike behavior was limiting the pace of the movement. Paul had formed the Congressional Union within NAWSA to aid the work of NAWSA’s Congressional Committee, which Paul was in charge of. When a rift developed between the Congressional Union and NAWSA leadership over tactics and use of funds raised by the group, they parted ways in 1913.

In 1916, Paul and Burns formed the National Woman’s Party (NWP) as a single issue party, and that issue was women’s suffrage. They focused their efforts in Washington, DC pushing for a national amendment. Early on, it was decided that the NWP would not endorse any candidate, but they were very critical of the Democrats as they were currently the party in power. Unlike their British counterparts, they decided not to put their campaign on hold in order to support the World War I effort. They picketed the White House and, when they were arrested for it, they attempted a hunger strike. While many Americans did not approve of their tactics, they were still outraged that these women were being abused and force-fed in jail.

The efforts of the NWP served to make groups like NAWSA look reasonable by comparison. It was a combination of the different efforts of groups, such as NAWSA and NWP, and the efforts of patriotic women who worked tirelessly to support the war effort that finally gained passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919.

STOP
And Think...

According to the cartoon, where did women experience early success in gaining suffrage? (the right to vote)
and its ratification in August 1920. In November 1920 women across the United States, including Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, cast their first ballots for the first time in a presidential election.

Interactive 2.10
Comparing Women

Can you tell these two suffragists apart?

Interactive 2.11 Crash Course Women's Suffrage

Want to learn more? John Green has you covered!

What argument does this cartoon make about why women should have the right to vote?

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Handicapped!_Women%27s_suffrage_poster_1910s.jpg
African Americans Face Discrimination

As former slaves entered the job market, they competed for scarce jobs which drew hostility. African Americans faced both discrimination and violence. The Great Migration brought many to northern cities in search of new opportunities, but no matter where African Americans lived they would continue to face the challenge of inequality.
After the end of Reconstruction, African Americans began to see many of their new freedoms disappear. Southerners were concerned African Americans would gain too much political power by voting and began using tactics to deny them the vote. One strategy was requiring voters to own property and pay a poll tax, or a special fee that had to be paid before voting. Because this was often beyond the financial reach of African Americans, it effectively kept them from the polls. Voters were also required to pass a literacy test, in which they had to demonstrate a minimum standard of knowledge. These tests were designed to keep African Americans from voting, and often they were given more difficult tests than white voters. To ensure that the literacy tests did not keep too many whites from voting, many states adopted grandfather clauses. A grandfather clause exempts a group of people from obeying a law provided they met certain conditions before the law was passed. In the case of voting in the south, these clauses would exempt men from voting restrictions if they had previously voted or their ancestors had, prior to black suffrage. Therefore, African Americans would not be exempt from the literacy tests.

Many states also adopted a system of legal segregation called Jim Crow. Although this system of separation was used in the north, it was more prevalent in the south and more firmly established. The laws required the separation of races in all aspects of life including schools, public buildings, parks, hospitals, transportation, and water fountains. Facilities for African Americans were almost always inferior. This policy of separation was cemented by the United States Supreme Court, who established the principle of separate but equal in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. This was one of the greatest setbacks to American equality by ruling that the Fourteenth Amendment, which contains the equal protection clause, was “not intended to give Negroes social equality but only political and civil equality.”

Interactive 2.13 Literacy Tests

Would YOU be able to pass a literacy test? Find out here!

The facts of the case involved Homer Plessy, an African American that was arrested for sitting in the “white” car on a railroad despite segregation laws stating that African Americans must ride in a separate car. Plessy argued that the equal protection of laws was violated by the Louisiana law that required separate seating on public railroads. When the court ruled against Plessy, they established the concept that segregation (or separation of the races) was legal as long as the separate facilities for whites and blacks were equal.

African Americans not only experienced discrimination in their daily lives, but violence as well. One of the worst crimes was lynching, when a mob illegally seizes and executes a person. Sometimes victims were suspected criminals, but often they were innocent people in the wrong place at the wrong time. Sometimes lynchings would include a mock trial, torture, or even mutilation before the victim was hanged and shot. Those that committed these crimes were rarely pursued or caught, and it was even more rare for individuals to be punished.

Interactive 2.14 The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow (PBS.ORG)

Use the interactive map to identify examples of Jim Crow laws.

Interactive 2.15 Jim Crow Narratives

Listen to personal narratives from individuals that experienced Jim Crow firsthand. What challenges did these individuals face?

STOP And Think...

1. What laws most disturbed you? Why?
2. What law surprised you the most? Why?
3. Why types of laws seemed most common? Why do you think so?
Many African Americans began to move north, both to escape discrimination and to seek out job opportunities in the cities. Although legal segregation was not prevalent in the north, de facto discrimination was. This meant that people were separated “by fact” rather than by law. Schools, neighborhoods, and employment were segregated even though law did not mandate it. As African Americans began to compete with whites for employment, and white fears of racial equality grew, this could sometimes erupt into race riots. For example, the Springfield Riot in Illinois began when the authorities refused to release a black prisoner charged with rape to a mob of white citizens. Thousands of whites attacked, looted, and burned black businesses and homes throughout the city. The militia was called in to get the mob under control and establish order once again.

Confronting Inequality

As African Americans struggled with the challenges of discrimination, leaders emerged to offer different approaches to address the problems of inequality. One strong leader that emerged was W.E.B. DuBois. He argued for political and social equality for African Americans so they could become leaders of thought. Dubois wrote “I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man … The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people.” He emphasized pride for both African and American heritage and sought brotherhood with whites. In 1905 he established the Niagara Movement, which called for full civil liberties, an end to discrimination, and a recognition of brotherhood. Eventually W.E.B. DuBois would go on to work as a publications director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP worked primarily through the courts to strive for the equal rights of African Americans and achieve an end to segregation. In addition to their legal work, they would protest lynching and other violence against African Americans. This organization would remain an essential force in achieving civil rights for African American citizens in the following decades.

Review the interactive map: What trends can you discover in terms of causes of the riots?

Interactive 2.16 The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow (PBS.ORG)

Use the interactive map to identify examples of Jim Crow laws.
Another African American leader that emerged was **Booker T. Washington**, an African American educator. He founded the Tuskegee Institute, which was a vocational school for African Americans in the south. His believed that African Americans should gain respect and status by working their way up in society. Washington taught his students skills that he felt would help them to be successful. His focus was on the economic condition, and he believed that political and social equality would follow. Washington said in a speech, “Cast down your bucket where you are’ – cast it down … in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

Because Booker T. Washington advocated for patience over more radical solutions, he relieved many whites that worried that educated African Americans would seek more equality. His strategy is sometimes called accommodation because he called on African Americans to adapt themselves to the limits imposed by white society.

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**Progressivism and African Americans**

Many African Americans felt ignored by the Progressives. Only the small group of Progressives that helped start the NAACP made addressing deteriorating race relations in the United States a priority. Limited action was taken by government to address problems of racial inequality and discrimination in the United States. As a result, African Americans would continue to struggle with segregation, discrimination, violence, and limited voting rights for years to come.
Many Progressives believed that the government would need to take on a larger role to help combat the nation’s problems, whether this be in regulating economic activity or an increasing responsibility for human welfare. Many Progressives hoped to see government develop more social welfare programs to ensure a basic standard of living for Americans. As reformers looked to government for action and support, their demands for change led to much legislation and reforms at all levels of government.

Local Government

Political Corruption. During the Progressive Era, corrupt political machines ran many local governments and bribery to obtain votes was commonplace. A political machine is an informal political group designed to gain and keep power and led by a powerful party “boss”. Party bosses would often provide necessities such as jobs, housing, food, heat, and police protection to citizens in exchange for votes. Tammany Hall was a well-known political machine in New York led by William Marcy Tweed. “Boss” Tweed would often use bribes to obtain votes, though he was eventually arrested for corruption and sent to prison. In other instances of corruption, politicians were often paid to look the other way concerning certain business practices. Many wealthy entrepreneurs used their economic advantages to obtain political ones. Businessmen dominating important
industries often used their power and influence to bribe politicians to pass laws that would benefit them.

Reform began at the local or city level because it was easier to implement than at the vast state or national level. Progressives focused on electing mayors that would support and implement their reforms. Municipal reformers were opposed to the influence of political bosses and argued that public service jobs should be filled based on merit instead of favors. Reformers hoped to weaken the control of political machines, which were seen as corrupt and often aligned themselves with the interests of big business. Because urban corruption from political machines was a major focus, reformers began the process of reorganizing local government using the commissioner and city-manager styles of governance. A city commissioner was an expert in a particular field charged with running a single aspect of city government (i.e. sanitation commissioner in charge of garbage and sewage removal). A city manager was a professional hired (based on merit rather than favors) to run each department of the city and report directly to the city council. Cities also began to work to end monopolies by taking control of utilities (water, gas, electricity) so they could ensure more affordable services. Some cities even began to support welfare services such as work relief, parks, and schools.

**State Government**

Reform of the electoral process, which increasingly had become controlled by political machines, was another priority of the Progressive agenda. Progressives sought to promote wider

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http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/art/common/image/Ga_cartoon_38_00392.htm
citizen participation in the electoral process. This would include forms of direct democracy that would give citizens more power. One example was the direct primary, an election where voters cast ballots to select nominees for upcoming elections, which ensured that voters could pick candidates for office rather than party bosses. Progressive reformers also successfully lobbied for the direct election of United States senators, achieving this goal through the 17th amendment. This replaced the former system in which members of the U.S. Senate were chosen by each legislature. Many states passed laws allowing the initiative, where citizens could propose new laws by getting a percentage of voters’ signatures on a petition. Their proposed law would be placed on a ballot and put before voters in the next election. The referendum process also allowed for more citizen participation by letting citizens demand via petition that a law passed by the legislature be sent to voters for their approval. Reformers in many states also pushed through systems to allow for the recall (or removal) of elected officials. All of these changes were implemented to provide people a greater and more direct connection with their government.

Progressive governors such as Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin helped get reforms passed in their respective states. As governor, LaFollette championed state level changes such as a worker’s compensation system. This would make it easier for workers to collect payment for workplace accidents. LaFollette also pushed for a minimum wage and progressive taxation, which would place the burden of taxes on the wealthy. “Battling Bob” would also stand up to the railroads by forming a commission to regulate their rates and increasing taxes on the railroads. State reformers also worked to implement laws for improved worker conditions and safety, such as an eight-hour workday and increased fire safety regulations.

National Government

The efforts of the Progressives extended far beyond the local and state levels, and into the national level where the result was legislative and even constitutional changes. The social problems of the era seemed so complex that many Progressives believed only the federal government was large enough to respond effectively. Trusts and monopolies were regulated under legislation such as the Sherman and Clayton Acts. Consumer safety was guaranteed under laws such as the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act. A new Labor Department was created to investigate and pursue labor abuses of women and children. Lands were set aside for preservation and conservation through the National Reclamation Act and creation of the National Park Service. Finally, reformers wanted government to stabilize the banking system. The Federal Reserve
Act created the Federal Reserve System, or central bank of the United States. The “Fed” would offer a safety net to private banks, set policies concerning the amount of money in circulation, and control lending by setting interest rates.

The nation passed the 16th amendment, which created a federal income tax. Up until this point, the national government had relied on tariffs (tax on imports) as their primary source of revenue, which pushed up the prices of goods bought by the working poor. The new federal tax on income would be a progressive tax, which places a higher rate of taxation on those with high incomes than those with low incomes. The 17th amendment expanded democracy by allowing voters instead of state legislators to elect U.S. Senators. Finally, the 18th amendment would be the result of pressure from the temperance movement which resulted in prohibition, or the ban on the sale and manufacture of alcohol. Many thought this amendment would protect society from the poverty and violence associated with drinking, but it would prove to be very controversial.
Roosevelt

Teddy Roosevelt was born into a wealthy New York family, but was often sick as a child. He got his start in politics in the New York State Assembly before becoming police commissioner of New York City, then governor of New York, secretary of the Navy, Vice President of the United States, and eventually President upon the untimely death of President William McKinley.

The political bosses in New York believed they could get rid of him by moving him up to the vice presidency. However, when McKinley died, Roosevelt suddenly became the most powerful man in the country.
Roosevelt’s Square Deal

Just like Roosevelt’s other endeavors, he acted boldly. He saw the presidency as a “bully pulpit” from which he would be able to successfully influence the news media and shape legislation to benefit the common people. Roosevelt referred to his progressive reforms as a “Square Deal” to which all common people deserved. The primary components of Roosevelt’s push for reform included three C’s: control over corporations, consumer protections, and conservation.

Roosevelt’s first challenge to his assertion of federal power came in 1902 when 140,000 coal miners went on strike over the demand for a 20% raise, a 9-hour work day, and the right to organize a union. After five months into the strike, with coal reserves running low and no end in sight to an agreement between workers and owners, Roosevelt threatened to take over the mines. Both sides agreed to submit their differences to an arbitration commission which issued a compromise settlement. This was monumental in that Roosevelt’s actions demonstrated a new principle. From that point on, when a strike threatened the public welfare, the federal government would now be expected to intervene. Additionally, the progressive belief that disputes could be solved in an orderly way through the assistance of experts became a widely accepted principle.

Roosevelt also used his skills as a mediator to deal with the problem of trusts. While the president believed that some trusts were “good” because they had a conscience, there were many more that greedily abused the public. Under the Sherman Antitrust Act, in 1902, the President ordered the Justice Department to sue the Northern Securities Company which was able to secure a monopoly over Northwestern Railroads. By 1904, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the company. The Roosevelt administration filed 44 antitrust suits during his presidency and even though Roosevelt’s reputation as a trustbuster had been secured, his real goal had been federal regulation.

Not only was President Roosevelt known as an extraordinary buster of trusts, he was even more successful in railroad regulation. In 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act established the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the new law prohibiting “pools” in which railroad owners were dividing their business in a given area and then shared profits. Prior to Roosevelt’s administration, railroad owners would bypass the ICC through the appeal process to federal courts. Roosevelt was successful in urging Congress to put teeth into the original act by passing the Elkins Act in 1903. Other Congressional Acts followed resulting in a huge boost to the government’s power to regulate the railroads.
A Public Mandate

Having acceded to the Presidency in 1901 after the death of President McKinley, it was important to Roosevelt to win election as President in his own right in the 1904 election. He knew that he would need the support of two major contingencies: Congress and the American public. Roosevelt came to an understanding with conservative Congressional Republicans, gaining their support in exchange for holding back the more progressive items on his domestic agenda. However, Roosevelt knew he couldn’t refrain from breaking up monopolies if he wanted backing by the American public. Therefore, Roosevelt continued to bring suits against the beef trust, the oil trust, and the tobacco trust. This increased his popularity with the American public as he rode a huge wave of public support to

What does this cartoon suggest about Roosevelt’s approach to trust busting?
easily win the 1904 election—a public mandate unlike anything the nation had ever seen.

**Protections to Citizens and the Environment**

While President Roosevelt had continued to bust trusts and regulate the railroad industry, investigative reporters known as Muckrakers were busy investigating social, political, and economic corruption, calling for societal change for the improvement of the quality of life for most Americans. One such Muckraker whose investigative work in the meatpacking industry helped bring about reform for the consumer was Upton Sinclair. Upon reading Upton Sinclair’s description of conditions in the Chicago meat-packing industry in *The Jungle*, President Roosevelt reportedly spit out the sausage he was eating for dinner. He appointed a commission of experts to investigate the meatpacking industry and upon the commission’s scathing report that reinforced Sinclair’s disgusting descriptions of the meatpacking industry, Roosevelt pushed for the passing of the Meat Inspection Act. The act created a program at the federal level for the inspection of meat as well as strict requirements for cleanliness for meatpackers. Congress then took federal regulation a step further by passing the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, which put a stop to the sale of contaminated foods and medicines while also calling for truth in labeling.

Prior to Roosevelt’s presidency, very little concern for the country’s natural resources existed at the federal level. Meanwhile, many Americans had exploited the natural environment. Forests had been leveled, prairies had been plowed up, cattle were allowed to overgraze on the Great Plains, spoil dumps from coal companies littered the land, and rivers had been polluted. Roosevelt condemned the attitude that America’s natural resources were in endless supply. Persuaded by naturalist John Muir with whom Roosevelt had camped with in California’s Yosemite National Park in 1903, the President set aside 148 million acres of forest reserves. Additionally, Roosevelt established more than 50 wildlife sanctuaries and several national parks. While Roosevelt and the head of the U.S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot disagreed with Muir’s stance on conservation and permitted some wilderness areas to be developed for the common good, Roosevelt’s legacy as a wildlife advocate was cemented.

**The Push for Racial Equality Fails**

As with most other progressives, President Roosevelt’s push for reform did not include civil rights for African Americans. While the president did support a few individual African Americans such as **Booker T. Washington** who was head of an all-black training school, the Tuskegee Institute, the progressive movement mostly focused on the needs of middle-class whites. Additionally, the two presidents who followed Roosevelt—Taft and Wilson, also did
little to advance the goal of reducing or eliminating racial inequality.

**Taft**

As soon as Roosevelt won the election of 1904, he vowed not to run again in 1908. Because of his immense popularity, however, he was able to handpick a successor to carry out his agenda. He chose William Howard Taft, a close advisor and his Secretary of War. For the third and final time, Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan. Bryan committed a major blunder during the campaign by calling for government ownership of the railroads. Such a move was regarded as socialism even by those with strong progressive leanings and made Bryan look like a wild-eyed radical. Taft easily won the presidency in 1908.

Although Taft was physically a large man at six feet tall and 350 pounds, he did not have the same larger-than-life personality that Roosevelt possessed. This was evidenced by the sheer number of the 90 trusts he busted in his four year term compared to Roosevelt’s 44 trusts over a seven year period. He was cautious in his pursuit of the progressive agenda eliminating Roosevelt’s distinction between “good” trusts and “bad” trusts and hesitated to take advantage of the presidential bully pulpit in the way that was Roosevelt’s trademark. He unsuccessfully tried to strike a balance between the conservatives and progressives in his party which Roosevelt had managed to hold together through the sheer force of his personality. Progressives were particularly angry with him over tariffs and conservation.

Taft had campaigned on the promise to lower tariffs. This was a fundamental issue for progressives because high tariffs benefited businesses at the expense of consumers. All went according to plan in the House of Representatives where they passed the Payne bill which lowered tariffs on many manufactured goods. Conservative Republicans in the Senate, however, eliminated most of the cuts in their version. Progressives, including Roosevelt, felt betrayed when President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. He only made matters worse when he referred to it as the “the best [tariff] bill the Republican party ever passed” in his attempts to defend it.
Conservationists were the next group to become upset with Taft. Taft had appointed Richard A. Ballinger, a wealthy Seattle lawyer who disapproved of the level of control the federal government had over western lands, as Secretary of the Interior. Ballinger took a million acres of land in Alaska out of federal control and sold it to Seattle business interests who, in turn, sold it to wealthy New York bankers. When head of the US Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, joined a former Department of the Interior official in publically criticizing Ballinger’s actions, he was fired. Pinchot had been appointed to that position by Roosevelt who relied heavily on his advice in crafting his conservation policies.

Election of 1912

After President Taft had been elected in 1908, President Roosevelt decided to travel to Africa to hunt big game. Upon his return in 1910, a hero’s welcome awaited him. Because President Taft’s cautious nature made it impossible for him to keep the Republican party unified and a majority of the American public was disappointed with Taft’s inability to look out for the welfare of the American people, Roosevelt decided to run for President in 1912. At the Republican convention, when Taft’s supporters refused to unseat him as the incumbent, Roosevelt’s supporters held their own convention a month later in August of 1912. The Progressive Party became known as the Bull Moose Party after Roosevelt had boasted that he was “as strong as a bull moose.”

The split in the Republican party between Taft’s conservative supporters and Roosevelt’s progressives split the Republican vote, thus handing the presidency to Woodrow Wilson—the first Democratic president since the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892.

STOP
And Think...

1. What does this cartoon suggest about Taft’s administration?
2. What does Roosevelt’s response seem to be?
Like Taft’s predecessor Teddy Roosevelt, President Wilson claimed to champion progressive ideals. As governor of New Jersey in 1910, Wilson declared himself independent of the political machine that had tapped him for the governor’s seat and helped him get elected to the position. As governor, Wilson sponsored legislation to promote progressive programs that included direct primaries, workmen’s compensation, and the regulation of railroads and public utilities. As newly elected President of the United States, Wilson outlined his program. Titled, the “New Freedom,” Wilson’s plan was an attack of what he called the triple wall of privilege: tariffs, trusts, and high finance.
Although President Wilson had much more in common with Roosevelt’s idea of a progressive President than his predecessor William Taft, there were some distinct differences between Roosevelt’s approach toward businesses and government and Wilson’s. Wilson didn’t believe that trusts should be regulated—he thought they should be broken up entirely. Additionally, with regard to changes in the role of the federal government, Wilson believed that government shouldn’t become bigger—large businesses should get smaller. However, Wilson also promised more freedom and opportunities to small businesses.

The Clayton Antitrust Act

Up until 1914, conservative courts were treating trade unions as monopolies under the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914 sought to strengthen and clarify the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act. Additionally, the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission gave a five-member agency the power to investigate possible violations of the Clayton Antitrust Act.

Federal Income Taxes are Born

President Wilson believed that reduced competition in the marketplace was created by the actions of monopolies which were in turn created by high tariff rates. This was part of his address to a special session of Congress early in 1913, when he established a precedent by delivering his State of the Union message in person rather than sending it to be read by a clerk. Wilson drew on his experience as a previous political science professor at Princeton to help secure passage of the Underwood Tariff which substantially reduced tariffs by approximately 10% for the first time since before the Civil War.
Lower tariffs meant that the federal government had to figure out how to replace the revenue that tariffs had previously supplied. The 16th Amendment put into place a legalized federal income tax.

Additional Financial Reform

Wilson next turned his attention to financial reform. Most Americans agreed that credit availability and money supply both needed to keep pace with the economy. Wilson was able to address both issues through the establishment of a decentralized private banking system controlled by the federal government. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 established and divided the nation into 12 districts each affiliated with a federal reserve bank. Through the power to issue new paper currency in emergency situations and transfer funds to member banks on the verge of closing, by 1923, the Act had resulted in approximately 70% of the nation’s banking resources as part of the Federal Reserve System. Many Americans still see the nation’s banking system as one of the most enduring achievements of President Wilson’s administration.

Based on your completed chart, who do you think was the most progressive U.S. President and why?

Interactive 2.22
Progressive Presidents

Use this Google Doc to track information on Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.
Chapter 3

How successful was the U.S. in balancing the ideals of democracy with those of imperialism as America became a world power?

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?

2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?

3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?

4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

5. Were Wilson’s 14 Points idealistic or realistic? How did America’s response to WWI challenge the concept of the American dream and change what it meant to be an “American”? 
As progressives worked for domestic reform in political, economic, and social matters, others focused on and pushed for U.S. expansion overseas. American Imperialism was partly rooted in ‘American exceptionalism,’ the idea that the United States was different from other countries due to its specific world mission to spread liberty and democracy. While many Americans favored imperialistic endeavors, others wondered if the contradiction to democratic ideals was too large of a gamble in the area of foreign affairs.

“JUSTICE TOWARDS ALL NATIONS”

As George Washington bid farewell as President in 1793 amidst the turbulence of the French Revolution overseas, he provided the young country with some fatherly wisdom regarding relationships—specifically, the “great rule of conduct” of relationships between the U.S. and foreign powers in general: “Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.”

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Alfred Thayer Mahan
annexation
Frederick Jackson Turner
Imperialism
Queen Liliuokalani
Sanford B. Dole
Tariffs
Theodore Roosevelt
In Washington’s eyes, friendly trade relations with foreign countries was the goal, but playing favorites through political alliances that could needlessly drag the young nation into Europe’s seemingly endless cycles of imperial war and drama would need to be avoided.

Geography played an important role in America’s development. By the early 1900s, French ambassador Jules Jusserand noted that the United States was “blessed among nations....On the north she had a weak neighbor; on the south, another weak neighbor; on the east, fish, and on the west, fish.”

Washington had every reason to view those controversies as foreign since, in terms of its geography, the young country had tremendous capacity for growth. Geographically, the young nation took full advantage of the vast territory to its west. The century that followed saw an America that rapidly expanded across the North American continent, acquiring a path to the Pacific Ocean through negotiation, purchase, war and conquest. Unbeknownst to Washington, the following century would see the United States flourish at an unimagined rate, thanks in large part due to a geography that left it with seemingly unlimited natural resources, two vast oceans, and relatively few obstacles involving greater foreign powers.

“...Just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated...”

“. . . Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none; or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.”

--George Washington's Farewell Address, 1796

U.S. Expansion in North America is republished with permission of Stratfor.
For the better part of the following century, the United States was able to adhere to Washington’s advice in regards to relationships overseas, despite the turbulence of war with Great Britain in the new nation’s early “teen years”. However, the late nineteenth century found the country jealously watching the great empires of Europe carve out large territories of control and influence in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, and the siren call of empire became irresistible. This policy of extending political, economic, and military control over other nations became known as imperialism.

Each new territory acquired by a foreign power within the waters surrounding the United States was a potential threat to United States security and economic interests. And as European powers began to troll the Pacific and Caribbean for large trophies to add to the economic and strategic might of their empires, America found itself racing to compete. The influence of America’s international peers overseas proved too great, and Washington’s earnest warning to avoid Europe’s influence, fell upon deaf ears.

REDEFINING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Throughout the past century, historians have often debated the primary causes of America’s shift away from Washington’s foreign policy ideals toward the overseas pursuit of building an empire. While opinions still differ on whether America stumbled upon the process of building an empire or actively pursued the creation of one, few would challenge the significant impact that America’s territorial expansion would have on its emergence as a world power.
Early Settlement Patterns While historians in the twentieth century developed differing interpretations as to whether the expansion of the United States was “a great aberration” from previous periods of expansion, or was simply a continuation of patterns of expansion begun in the colonial cradles of Jamestown and Plymouth, the patterns of territorial acquisition following the Civil War were significantly different from the acquisition of territories before the war. Prior to the Civil War, settlers generally migrated westward across the continent in pursuit of rich, fertile soil. New lands were frequently adjacent to existing U.S. territory and, despite the presence of smaller tribes of Native Americans, were perceived to be sparsely populated and open for settlement. When enough settlers had arrived in a particular area, the territory could then apply for statehood and enter the United States as a state equal with its colonial predecessors. Upon admission, the Inhabitants were then considered citizens of the United States. Territories in the Old Northwest, the Louisiana Purchase, Florida, Texas, and California had followed this pattern, as did the land acquired from Mexico (Arizona and New Mexico).

Post-Civil War Settlement Patterns However, lands acquired following the Civil War tended to be island possessions away from the mainland United States that were desirable for strategic and economic reasons, such as naval bases, coaling stations, and trading ports along major shipping lanes. Whereas pre-Civil War land acquisition reflected the resource needs of an agrarian society, post-War expansion reflected the needs and desires of an industrial society seeking access to economic markets in

Cartoon Analysis:

1. What is the main argument presented by the cartoonist?
2. What evidence does the cartoonist present for his argument?
3. Is the argument convincing? Why or why not?
heavily-populated, foreign lands. The new lands were viewed as
colonies to be possessed, with little regard for future statehood or
potential citizenship for its settled populations.

**Interative 3.1**
Characteristics of Expansion

Determine which of the following characterize American expansion
prior to 1865, and which ones characterize Post-Civil War expansion.

**AMERICA LOOKS OVERSEAS**

Problems with the Industrial Economy  Throughout much of the
nineteenth century, American industry grew rapidly and profited
greatly from America’s vast natural resources, steady stream of
immigrant labor, and technological advances in agriculture and
industry. However, by the late 1800s, rapid gains in productivity
had produced a new problem—America’s domestic markets for its
products were saturated. American industrial and agricultural
output had far outstripped the capacity of the American public to
purchase its goods. As quantities of goods remained unsold,
prices fell, as did profits. Employment rose and fell with the
fortunes of business. The economic challenges of
overproduction in an industrial economy resulted in several
difficult financial crises throughout the late 1800s, including
significant depressions in the years 1873-1878, 1882-1885, and
1893-1897 (the country’s worst until the Great Depression of the
1930s). [4] Railroads, which had driven much of America’s
corporate growth, found themselves plagued by overexpansion
and facing bankruptcy. With virtually half of the last twenty-five
years of the nineteenth century mired in economic uncertainty,
social unrest in America increased.

**Labor Unrest**  As workers fell upon hard times financially, labor
unrest exploded in a series of violent strikes, forcing business
leaders to conclude that new markets overseas for American
goods were necessary before the American ship of state sank like
a stone amidst the stormy waves of economic crisis.
The Disappearing Frontier and Need for New Markets

Compounding the troubling situation domestically was the United States Census Bureau’s 1890 announcement that the Western frontier was no longer distinguishable from settled areas. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner argued that the American character, innovation and democracy had been profoundly shaped by the frontier, and its disappearance would pose a challenge to America’s future. With potential settlement and future markets within the country’s borders limited, “new frontiers” and markets in Latin America and Asia became financially attractive for America’s excessive agricultural and industrial products.
Technological Advances

Overseas markets became an option in the nineteenth century due to significant advances in communications and transportation technology. Since the 1830s, steamships had greatly reduced the time necessary to reach distant ports in such faraway places as Hong Kong, Manila, Hawaii, and China. Communications developments such as telegraphs, telephones, and undersea cables further improved the information flow internationally, thereby assisting in raising public awareness and curiosity about lands previously absent from the public imagination.

Today, many Americans are exposed to foreign cultures through television, movies, and the internet. For many Americans in the late 19th century, their first exposure to foreign cultures came through seeing the world through a stereoscope.
Christian Missions

As more people became aware of those distant shores, the missionary impulse to bring the message of Protestant Christianity to regions like Hawaii and China increased as well. Christian missionaries sought to improve the lives of native populations by bringing Christianity, education, medicine, and modernization to distant populations.

Racial Superiority

Some expansionists, such as Josiah Strong, were strongly driven by the idea that the Anglo-Saxon race was superior to all others. As the superior race, Strong argued that America had a moral responsibility to fulfill a divinely-appointed destiny of bringing the blessings of liberty and Christianity to less enlightened races. Such ideas were blended into the period’s economic arguments to further promote the expansion of democratic and economic interests overseas.

The Influence of Alfred Mahan

Of course, in order to protect those markets and America’s economic interests abroad, a strong navy was necessary, especially among nations that began to see the lessons of the biological world of Charles Darwin and the social world of Herbert Spencer in terms of “survival of the fittest”—Life among the nations was a continuous struggle for existence, and much like the biological world, the strongest nations would survive and dominate the weaker ones. In a world where ideas have consequences, Naval Academy graduate Alfred Thayer Mahan became the man who provided the rationale for American empire (in addition to the rationale for the naval buildup in Europe that contributed to World War I), and a powerful navy to back it. In a series of several books, including The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783 (1890), Mahan argued that sea power was essential to national greatness, and that greatness was dependent upon a highly productive industrial economy, a large fleet of ships engaged in the “carrying trade,” a powerful, modern navy to protect the merchant ships, and colonies that could provide strategic naval bases, foreign markets for products, and essential raw materials. Mahan’s ideas heavily influenced policy makers across America and the Atlantic, including the future Assistant Secretary of the Navy and President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. Among Mahan’s solutions to help America win the competitive struggle of the nations: Build strategic military bases in the Caribbean and the Pacific to guard...
the canal and American interests from European encroachment, gain control of Hawaii and other islands along key trade routes in the Pacific, and construct a canal across the isthmus of Central America. When McMahan’s book was published, the American Navy was ranked twelfth in the world. By the end of the 1890s, the United States was firmly anchored at number three. Ultimately, America was not the only country heavily influenced by Mahan’s writings. The European powers and Japan were persuaded as well, leading to a military arms race that would culminate in two world wars.

Below are a list of common foreign policy priorities of presidents over the ages. The year is 1896 and you are President of the United States. As you consider the social, economic, and political state of the nation, what would be your top three biggest foreign policy priorities? Justify your answer. What should be our top priorities today?

**National Unity**
To develop, promote, or maintain a sense of national identity by uniting Americans against a hostile, external group or force

**Humanitarianism**
To promote justice and stability globally through relief efforts, quality of life improvements, reduction in human trafficking, or to stop the actions of an aggressive/oppressive country against another

**Markets**
New outlets for manufactured products, services, or raw materials; access to foreign goods necessary to meet consumer demand

**National Security**
Actions taken to protect the country from foreign threats

**Raw Materials**
Acquisition of food, ports, or other natural resources

**Ideology**
To spread political, religious, or economic ideas (or to stop the spread of them in other areas)

**Self-Determination**
The desire to liberate a group or nation of people from the influence and domination of another

**National Prestige or Pride**
The desire for more power or influence among other nations, which may include the desire to overcome a previous loss or humiliation

SEEDS OF AN AMERICAN EMPIRE
Seward’s Vision American expansion into the Pacific took root several decades earlier under Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson’s Secretary of State, William Seward. As an early expansionist who envisioned a vast commercial empire that included Canada, Mexico, the Pacific, and Latin America, Seward and others like him saw the trade routes and markets of China and Asia as a significant key to American prosperity, in addition to a canal across Latin America that was protected by strategic island bases in the Caribbean. In order to orient American economic ties westward, Seward managed to annex the uninhabited Midway Islands northwest of Hawaii in 1867.

**Alaska** That same year, Seward encouraged a reluctant U.S. Congress to approve the purchase of Alaska from Russia for $7.2 million, which would provide the United States with fish, furs, and coaling stations for merchant ships in the Pacific. While many regarded Alaska as “Seward’s Icebox” and “Seward’s Folly,” the sentiments were quickly forgotten by the time gold was discovered in the Yukon.

Hawaii

Hawaii was also a key to Seward’s vision of empire, although he was unsuccessful in negotiating economic treaties with the island nation. Known as the “Crossroads of the Pacific,” Hawaii was strategically located in the heart of the Pacific and served as a vital port for whaling and merchant ships. Naval strategists valued its harbors, and it was perfectly situated to guard the approaches of any canal that might be built in Central America. Christian missionaries had first arrived on the island in 1820, and new settlers soon followed, as did American business investors who felt sugar cane could grow heartily in the Hawaiian climate. They were not disappointed. Soon, sugar cane became the heart of the Hawaiian economy. By the 1870s and 1880s, economic treaties were signed between Hawaii and the United States that allowed Hawaiian sugar, an industry which soon came to be dominated by American planters, to be sold in the United States duty-free. This had been done in exchange for a Hawaiian pledge that no other nation would be able to lease or acquire Hawaiian territory or be granted special economic privileges. To protect American trade and provide a strategic military base in the Pacific, America further negotiated a naval base at Pearl Harbor. However, by 1890, the economic fortunes of Hawaiian sugar took a dramatic twist. That year, tariffs went into effect that made Hawaiian sugar more expensive in the United States. A tariff is a special tax placed on imported goods. Because
Hawaiian sugar had become so dependent upon American markets, the Hawaiian economy crashed, and unemployment skyrocketed among the large numbers of Chinese and Japanese immigrants who worked the cane fields and sugar mills. In an effort to re-assert political control over an island nation that was increasingly being dominated by a minority group of American planters, in 1891 the Hawaiian queen Liliuokalani began calling for a “Hawaii for the Hawaiians” that constitutionally restricted the political power of U.S. planters in favor of native Hawaiians. By January of 1893, American planters responded. Outraged by the queen’s quest to keep Hawaii independent, the white American planters revolted against Liliuokalani’s authority in a bloodless coup. An intimidating force of 150 U.S. Marines, called in by U.S. Ambassador John L. Stevens in response to planters’ requests to “protect American lives and property”, were lined up outside of the royal palace with Gatling guns. Queen Liliuokalani surrendered her throne to “the superior force of the United States,” in the hopes that she would be reinstated once leaders in Washington, D.C. investigated how her throne had been overthrown. A provisional government was immediately established with Sanford B. Dole, a Hawaiian-born son of American-born missionaries, as president. Stevens, sensing an opportunity for the United States to take over control of the islands, famously cabled back to Washington, "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." The provisional government submitted a treaty for annexation into the United States. President Grover Cleveland, however, refused to seek annexation of the islands and had U.S. troops removed, believing Liliuokalani’s overthrow to be illegal and an “act of war.” When Cleveland sought Liliuokalani’s restoration to the throne, the white planters refused.

Hawaii’s Queen Liliuokalani in 1891
Instead, they drafted a constitution and proclaimed the birth of the new Republic of Hawaii, with Dole as its first president. Despite native Hawaiian opposition, the republic would not have to wait long to gain admission to the United States, however, as the outbreak of the Spanish-American War on the island of Cuba 5,000 miles away would soon cause President William McKinley to support Hawaii’s annexation in 1898.

To what extent was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny in the 1840s?
Cuba had found itself alongside Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam as the only remaining colonies of the once vast Spanish Empire that had rose to prominence with Columbus's discovery of the New World in 1492.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?

2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?

3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?

4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Yellow Journalism
Reconcentration
Jingo
Teller Amendment
Rough Riders

http://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/28700/28700v.jpg
Cubans Seek Independence  As Hawaiian planters discovered, the world was becoming much more interconnected in the nineteenth century, and connections with American markets could come with a steep price. Cuba’s reliance on US markets for its sugar produced a situation similar to what Hawaii experienced only a few years earlier. Located 90 miles off the Florida coast, Cuba was home to a native population that had tried unsuccessfully to free itself from the colonial grip of Spain. However, Cuba was also home to the largest share of American investments overseas, with American business interests deeply involved in Cuban sugar and tobacco plantations, mining operations, business properties, and residences. Sugar planters in Cuba had also teamed up with American sugar planters in the United States to encourage Congress to pass tariff protections on Cuban sugar, at the expense of Hawaiian sugar. Now, only a few years later, Cuba found itself holding the short end of the stick when the U.S. Congress passed a tariff in 1894 that eliminated the special economic benefits given to Cuban sugar in U.S. markets. The ensuing decline in the demand for Cuban sugar deeply impacted the Cuban economy, as sugar growers on the island cut jobs and laid off thousands. Then, amidst the economic turmoil of 1895, Cuban separatists began their push to finally liberate themselves from Spanish rule. The Philippines followed suit by rebelling against Spanish rule in 1896.

In American political cartoons, Uncle Sam and Columbia have often been used to represent the United States. In this cartoon, Uncle Sam refers to the U.S. government, while Columbia is representative of the American people.

STOP And Think…

1. What are some of the symbols that are critical to understanding the political cartoon?

2. What is the cartoonist's perspective on assistance for Cuba?
U.S. Intervention in Cuba

For the United States, the strategic location of Cuba at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and its tropical climate had left an indelible impression on the minds of policymakers who saw Cuba as key to American prosperity and security. Thomas Jefferson saw this as early as 1823: “[Cuba’s] addition to our confederacy is exactly what is wanting to round out our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest.” Several times in the 1800s, American presidents sought to purchase the island, but to no avail. In absence of actually acquiring the island, American policy was dictated by another of Jefferson’s ideas, that being that Cuba’s “independence against all the world, except Spain . . . would be nearly as valuable to us as if it were our own.” In other words, in the eyes of American foreign policy interests, the best Cuba was a free Cuba.

Yellow Journalism As the insurgency began to spread across the island of Cuba, American newspapers picked up the Cuban cause of independence and began to catalogue the violence and suffering of the Cubans in an effort to increase their newspaper circulation. Leading the way were William Randolph Hearst’s New York Journal and Joseph Pulitzer’s New York World, two newspaper publishers at war against one another on the journalistic battlefield of the country’s largest city. Using artillery such as bold, sensational headlines, riveting pictures, and novelty elements like comics, the newspapers engaged in direct warfare designed to pay off the costs of expensive state-of-the-art printing presses by winning over the wallets of the American people. Their over-the-top style of reporting that emphasized eye-catching headlines over concern for the facts soon became known as yellow journalism.
Reconcentration  Not only did Americans begin to associate the Cuban struggle for independence with their own, but the national press collectively incited the public against Spain in other ways. In an effort to put an end to the rebellion, the Spanish sent the veteran general, Valeriano Weyler, to Cuba in 1896. Known for his ability to pacify rebels, Weyler turned to a new policy to end the hit-and-run tactics of guerilla-style warfare that the Cubans had practiced with great success against the Spanish. Known as reconcentration, the policy sought to limit the guerillas' access to resources and people by forcing the local populations to move inside fortified camps and towns where access could be strictly controlled. Scorched earth tactics, or policies used by a military that involved destroying anything of value to an opposing army, were then used by the Spanish to further limit the guerillas' access to food and supplies. The policy of reconcentration had two significant impacts: First, the crowded conditions inside the camps and towns, combined with shortages of food, produced an abundance of disease, illness, and poor sanitation, killing an estimated one in every four Cubans inside the camps. Hundreds of Cubans perished as a result of the inadequate supplies. Second, it drove many locals who had been undecided in the war to the side of the Cuban nationals. The American press, sensing an opportunity to increase their circulation and pay the bills, picked up the stories and made “Butcher” Weyler a household name. By the end of 1897, public outrage led the Spanish to recall Weyler and announce an end to reconcentrado.
The Impact of Weyler’s Reconcentration Policy

“Torn from their homes, with foul earth, foul air, foul water and foul food, or none, what wonder that one-half have died and that one-quarter of the living are so diseased that they cannot be saved. A form of dropsy is a common disorder resulting from these conditions. Little children are still walking about with arms and chests terribly emaciated, eyes swollen and abdomen bloated to three times the natural size. The physicians say these cases are hopeless.”

--Senator Redfield Proctor, “When Will the Need for this Help to End?”, Address to the U.S. Senate, March 17, 1898

Januray of 1898 raised Presidential concerns that the Spanish were further losing control of the island, President McKinley, with the full permission of Spain, ordered one of America’s newer battleships, the U.S.S. Maine, to Cuba. Spanish officials gave a warm reception for the ship, and one historian commented that the presence of the ship seemed to provide a calming of tensions in the city. However, two events permanently altered the course of affairs between Spain and the United States.

The De Lôme Letter  First, tensions increased when a Cuban sympathizer intercepted personal correspondence between Spain’s ambassador to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, and a Spanish foreign minister residing in Cuba. De Lôme, concerned about the actual effectiveness of Spanish policy in Cuba and the influence of the yellow press, labeled McKinley as “weak,” “a bidder for the admiration of the crowd”, and “a would-be politician.” While criticism of McKinley’s decision-making was not new, the fact that it was from a Spanish minister set off a fury of outrage in the yellow press. The letter was initially published by Hearst’s New York Journal with the headline, “Worst Insult to the United States in Its History!” American public opinion surged against Spain. In response, de Lôme resigned which left Spain without a high level ambassador in the U.S. Unfortunately, the next event would forever change the course of American history.
On the evening of February 15, a thunderous shockwave rippled through Havana as the U.S.S. Maine exploded. The source of the blast was just below the sleeping crew’s quarters. The ship sank quickly. In all, 266 Americans died in the explosion. The yellow newspapers immediately blamed Spain. The New York World even offered $50,000 to anyone who could identify the destroyer of the U.S.S. Maine. With sensational headlines, the yellow press devoted pages to the tragedy. A popular rallying cry soon arose, “Remember the Maine and to Hell with Spain!” President McKinley, who had sought to avoid involvement in a war over Cuba, ordered an investigation into the causes of the explosion and requested $50 million from Congress to prepare for war. Much to the delight of the American public and to the total surprise of Spain, Congress wasted no time in passing the bill. Near the end of March, six weeks after the explosion, the Presidential board of inquiry found the cause of the explosion to be external to the ship, most likely a Spanish mine. More recent investigations have suggested coal may have combusted spontaneously in storage bins adjacent to the ship’s powder magazine, thereby internally causing the explosion. Nevertheless, the leaked results of the commission further incited public opinion toward war, a war that many Wall Street investors hoped to avoid due to its potential impact on trade with Cuba. Public sentiment on behalf of the Cuban people prevailed.
War with Spain  On March 27, the President sent an ultimatum to Spain. Spain agreed to provide relief to the Cuban people, an end to reconcentrado, and to an *armistice* with the Cuban rebels. However, it made no guarantees toward Cuban independence. On April 11, President McKinley addressed Congress and asked for authorization to take necessary measures to end hostilities in Cuba, including the use of military and naval forces. On April 19, after debate over McKinley’s request, Congress passed a joint resolution that declared Cuban independence, demanded that Spain withdraw its troops completely from Cuba, and granted McKinley authorization to use military force against Spain. However, concerned that pro-imperial factions within the government might use the humanitarian response toward Cuba as an excuse to annex the island, Senator Henry M. Teller from Colorado proposed an additional measure stating that the United States had no intentions of controlling the island and would leave Cuba free and independent in the hands of its citizens once hostilities ended. This addition to the joint resolution, known as the Teller Amendment, was sent to McKinley and signed into law April 20. The next day, in response to the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, the Spanish government cut diplomatic ties with the United States and declared war. On April 24, Congress did the same.

Dewey Captures the Philippines  Despite the challenges faced by the army, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt took steps to insure that Alfred T. Mahan’s recommendations became reality. Ten days after the U.S.S. Maine explosion, when Roosevelt’s superior, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, stepped out of the office early one afternoon, Roosevelt capitalized on the opportunity to prepare for war by strategically ordering the American fleet in the Pacific to report to Hong Kong, then to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines in the event of war with Spain.
On April 25, the fleet commander, Commodore George Dewey, received the orders to take the fleet to the Philippines. In the early dawn of May 1, Dewey’s flagship, the U.S.S. Olympia, sailed into Manila Bay with five other warships and dropped into formation. As the U.S. fleet approached the anchored Spanish fleet, Dewey turned to the U.S.S. Olympia’s captain, Captain Charles Gridley, and issued an iconic order: “You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.”[2]

Over the course of six hours, the entire Spanish fleet was decimated at the Battle of Manila Bay: three Spanish ships were sunk and seven more were reduced to flaming debris. By one o’clock in the afternoon, the Spanish governor of the Philippines had surrendered. Not a single American life was lost, and only nine were injured. The Spanish fleet, meanwhile, suffered 371 casualties.[3] George Dewey became a national hero. Soon thereafter, Filipino insurgents, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, gained control over most of the Philippine archipelago. The only remaining obstacle was the city of Manila, which was the last remaining stronghold for the Spanish. While besieging the city, Aguinaldo declared the independence of the Philippines from Spain on June 12th and declared that he would be dictator and supreme head of the formal government of the Philippines.

The U.S. Army in Cuba Meanwhile, in the United States, the recruitment of soldiers for the war in Cuba provided an interesting assortment of volunteers. Roosevelt, sensing a unique historical opportunity to “make his words good by his deeds”[5] and lead the country into a just war that he felt would liberate the suffering Cubans, protect sugar and tobacco interests, resigned his post in the Navy Department to assist in organizing a volunteer collection.
of horse-riding Harvard, Yale and Princeton graduates from the East with “young, sound, good shots and good riders” from the West. He had hoped to create a group that represented a cross-section of American society and included immigrant groups and American Indians. African Americans were excluded. The result was what the Army called the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, or simply, the Rough Riders. Led by Colonel Leonard Wood and assisted by Roosevelt, the Rough Riders soon made their mark on history...without their horses. Unfortunately, due to crowded quarters on the ship headed for Cuban shores, the Rough Riders found themselves invading Cuba relatively horseless. They soon dubbed themselves, “Wood’s Weary Walkers.” Fortunately, Roosevelt was able to secure his horse for the travels, and the Rough Riders made a name for themselves when they charged a barrage of Spanish bullets to take Spanish positions at San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill.

Ironically, it was the African American Buffalo Soldiers that established themselves heroically in the fighting alongside the Rough Riders, but Roosevelt emerged as the Army’s largest hero for his own charge up Kettle Hill on the San Juan Heights. Roosevelt documented the account in his memoir, The Rough Riders, an account so centered around himself that Peter Finley Dunne’s popular fictitious political pundit, known as Mr. Dooley, light-heartedly noted that the account should have been called, “Alone in Cuba.”

Interactive 3.10 The Buffalo Soldiers
To learn more about the Buffalo Soldiers, click here

In addition to serving in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, the US Army’s 13th Cavalry Regiment, known as “Buffalo Soldiers,” also served in the Indian Wars, the Philippine-American War, and two World Wars. The Spanish referred to African American troops as “Smoked Yankees.”
Roosevelt: A Just and Necessary War
Theodore Roosevelt, 1898

“During those years, while we continued at "peace," several hundred times as many lives were lost, lives of men, women, and children, as were lost during the three months' "war" which put an end to this slaughter and opened a career of peaceful progress to the Cubans. Yet there were misguided professional philanthropists who cared so much more for names than for facts that they preferred a "peace" of continuous murder to a "war" which stopped the murder and brought real peace. Spain’s humiliation was certain, anyhow; indeed, it was more certain without war than with it, for she could not permanently keep the island, and she minded yielding to the Cubans more than yielding to us. Our own direct interests were great, because of the Cuban tobacco and sugar, and especially because of Cuba’s relation to the projected Isthmian Canal. But even greater were our interests from the standpoint of humanity. Cuba was at our very doors. It was a dreadful thing for us to sit supinely and watch her death agony. It was our duty, even more from the standpoint of National honor than from the standpoint of National interest, to stop the devastation and destruction. Because of these considerations I favored war; and to-day, when in retrospect it is easier to see things clearly, there are few humane and honorable men who do not believe that the war was both just and necessary.”

Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913
With the Army victorious on land, the Navy was able to soundly defeat the Spanish fleet outside of the port of Santiago de Cuba once the poorly-armed and equipped Spanish fleet attempted to escape U.S. naval forces blockading the island. With the waters around Cuba securely in U.S. hands, the remaining Spanish army command in Santiago de Cuba surrendered within two weeks, bringing an end to the major fighting on the island. American forces then landed in Puerto Rico, the last remaining Spanish colony, and defeated the Spanish forces there within three weeks.

Terms of the Treaty

On August 12, with the last of its major colonial holdings lost (Cuba and Puerto Rico), and the last remaining stronghold in the Philippines surrounded by insurgents (Manila), Spain asked McKinley for an armistice, an agreement to end the fighting. McKinley agreed. The next day, Spanish forces surrendered Manila to the custody of U.S. forces, rather than the Filipino insurgents.

In December, the Treaty of Paris formally ended the Spanish-American War. U.S. Secretary of State John Hay labeled the Spanish-American War “a splendid little war”. Combat resulted in 379 American deaths. Tropical diseases and fever accounted for another 2500 lives lost. In just four months of fighting, the United States managed to acquire strategic holdings in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The Spanish agreed to give up all claims to Cuba, and Puerto Rico and Guam were ceded to the United States. The most controversial article in the treaty was the cession of the Philippines to the United States for $20 million. Convinced
that he could not give the Philippines back to Spain, that the Filipinos were unfit for self-rule, and that the Philippines might be easy-pickings for imperial Pacific rivals like Germany, Russia, Japan or Great Britain, President McKinley made the decision to retain possession of the islands. When the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification, it touched off a storm of political and public debate.

The Debate over Empire

Theodore Roosevelt, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and others who agreed with President McKinley saw a host of opportunity in retaining the Philippines. The Philippines would provide the United States with the necessary gateway to Asian markets that had been sought for American exports, while its raw materials could supply American industry. For McKinley, it was an opportunity “to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them.” Not everybody agreed, especially the Filipinos.
Cartoon Analysis

“THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN” (with apologies to Rudyard Kipling)

1. Describe the objects or people in the cartoon.

2. What words are being stepped over by John Bull (England) and Uncle Sam (United States)? What do they represent?

3. What issue is this political cartoon about?

4. What is the cartoonist’s opinion or message on this issue?
Opposition to McKinley’s expansionism galvanized immediately in the form of the Anti-Imperialist League, which included such prominent national figures such as the reformer Jane Addams, the writer Mark Twain, labor leader Samuel Gompers, and steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie (who offered to purchase the independence of the Philippines for $20 million. McKinley declined the offer). The League, organized in June of 1898, held meetings throughout the country and published tracts that promoted the message of liberty and self-determination for all men ‘whatever race or color’:

“DECLINED WITH THANKS”

The Antis--Here, take a dose of this anti-fat and get slim again!

Uncle Sam--No, Sonny!, I never did take any of that stuff, and I’m too old to begin!
“We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

Others opposed the annexation of the Philippines for economic and social reasons, as opposed to matters of principle. Labor leaders were concerned that the newly acquired territories would flood the market with cheap labor. Other members of the Anti-Imperialist League, such as E.L. Godkin, voiced racial concerns about admitting “alien, inferior, and mongrel races to our nationality.”

**Interactive 3.17**
**Promoting/Rejecting Imperialism**

Identify whether the following arguments are promoting imperialism or objecting to it. For what reasons was imperialism supported by some and opposed by others? Furthermore, classify the reasoning as political, economic, social, religious, or military.

**The Philippines in Revolt** Of course, the greatest resistance to annexation of the Philippines came not from the anti-imperialists within the United States, but from the Filipinos who had fought incessantly against Spain for their own independence. Tensions began to mount between the rebels and the United States when it became clearer to Emilio Aguinaldo that the United States was not about to recognize Filipino independence. Aguinaldo’s revolutionary government found itself unrepresented at the Paris

**Interactive 3.18**
**Declaration of Philippine Independence**

[Read the Declaration of Philippine Independence here]
peace talks between Spain and the United States.

In December of 1898, while the United States secured the treaty conditions with Spain, the Philippine revolutionaries worked on implementing a new constitution. With the arrival of the New Year, Aguinaldo was declared president of the new Philippine Republic. The United States refused to recognize the new government. In February, when three Filipino soldiers were shot and killed by U.S. troops, tensions between the two sides exploded into full scale war. The ensuing Philippine-American War, also known as the Philippine Insurrection, was a brutal guerilla conflict that lasted three long years before United States troops captured Aguinaldo and asserted control over the island.

The violent struggle saw multiple atrocities committed on both sides. Many of the same military tactics that had incited outrage among the American public in Cuba were used to pacify the Filipinos: the burning of villages, the use of reconcentration, brutality towards civilians, and the utilization of torture against prisoners of war. McKinley’s rationale for adding the Philippines to the U.S. map was to “uplift and civilize and Christianize” the Filipinos. All told, the United States ended up committing 125,000 troops to the pacification of the Philippines, a number four times higher than the number of troops who fought against the Spanish in the Caribbean. The death toll was horrendous: The tragedy led Carnegie to comment to a friend in McKinley’s cabinet: “You seem to have finished your work of civilizing the Filipinos; it is thought that about 8,000 of them have been completely civilized and sent to Heaven.” When the gunfire subsided, the number of American soldiers killed numbered 4,200, while the Filipinos suffered the loss of 16,000 troops in the struggle for their independence. Tragically, upwards of 200,000 civilians on the islands died from war-related famine, disease, and violence. The uprising ended when five American officers, disguised as prisoners, managed to capture Aguinaldo in his hiding place in 1901. After urging his people to give up the fight, he pledged his loyalty to the United States. Despite sporadic guerrilla fighting that lasted another year, American troops secured the Philippines.

Emilo Aquinaldo, c. 1898

To learn more about the Philippine-American War, look here

To read letters from American soldiers who fought in the war, click here
Entanglements of Empire

In the popular Marvel comic book series and movie, Spider-Man, the superhero’s is reminded that “With great power comes great responsibility.” With the dawning of the twentieth century, for the first time America found itself controlling the destinies of lands outside its own hemisphere. Throughout this time, the question could legitimately be applied to the world’s newest emerging power: Would it live up to its great responsibilities?

During America’s own war for independence a hundred and twenty years earlier, Thomas Jefferson had envisioned an “empire of liberty” on the North American continent that would bring the virtue of freedom and self-government to other nations, thereby “converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends.” The imperialists of Roosevelt’s generation further promoted the idea as justifications for acquiring territory overseas. Opponents argued against it, reminding the American public that empires like the old Roman Empire were synonymous with tyranny and oppression, not liberty. With the dawning of an American empire in the Pacific and the Caribbean, events overseas seemed to bring to mind past history lessons regarding how difficult empires were to maintain. The Philippine Insurrection was one such reminder that all empires come with a cost, both in terms of the rulers and the ones being ruled. The acquisition of empire had important ramifications for America deep into the twentieth century. First, America found its own foreign
policy moving away from a previously isolationist foreign policy to one that took a more active role in the affairs of other countries, particularly those essential to U.S. economic well-being. That active role frequently involved sending troops to foreign shores at the slightest appearance of potential problems to U.S. interests, raising questions about whether an “empire of liberty” could truly maintain liberty while attempting to preserve its own interests.

Second, the appearance of empire raised important constitutional questions regarding whether or not the Constitution “followed the flag.” Prior to the Spanish-American War, people in territories acquired by treaty (the Louisiana Purchase, Mexican Cession) had been given the opportunity for full citizenship as American citizens with the potential for qualifying for statehood in the future. The Founding Fathers had made Constitutional provision for this. However, the Constitution lacked a provision for handling previously-settled, overseas lands that were not candidates for statehood. Would the Constitution still be applicable in those lands, guaranteeing Constitutional rights for its inhabitants?

The lands acquired by America during and after the Spanish-American War found themselves heading in very different directions.

The Pacific

Hawaii  When it had become clear during the Spanish-American War that the Philippines were going to end up in American hands and, with it, a gateway to Chinese markets, Congress dropped its previous inhibitions against annexing Hawaii and, to the dismay of the Japanese, snatched it up for its strategic location between the Philippines and a future Central American canal. Like its predecessors of Louisiana, the Mexican Cession, and the Oregon Territory, Hawaii was put on the path to statehood when it was given traditional territorial status in 1900. Hawaiian residents were given full American citizenship and were authorized to elect a legislature. Hawaii, along with Alaska, received statehood in 1959. Guam and American Samoa were placed under the supervision of the United States Navy

The Philippines  Once the revolutionaries surrendered in the Philippines, President McKinley promised the Philippines self-government when they were perceived to be ready for it, and he appointed William Howard Taft, a well-known judge from Ohio, to lead a civilian commission that would govern the islands and prepare them for democratic government. Politically, the Taft Commission helped construct local governments throughout the islands that took into account Filipino ruling traditions and
encouraged Filipino participation. Many positions in Taft’s government were filled by Filipinos who had served in Aguinaldo’s revolutionary government. In order to restore good will among the general population, U.S. soldiers were involved in food distribution, law enforcement duties, school construction, and the building and improvement of infrastructure such as railroads, telegraph lines, harbors, roads and bridges. Taft wanted the Filipino people to see the best of what “Anglo-Saxon liberty” could be. Some soldiers even taught classes to Filipinos. Significant improvements were made to public health. Hospitals were built, vaccinations were introduced, and sanitation was improved. Educationally, the schools built under the Taft Commission provided Filipinos with an education in English, courses in industrial arts, and introductions to American democratic values. Agriculture was also modernized, although not without problems that ran contrary to cultural considerations. Despite these gains, many Filipinos were disillusioned by the vast discrepancies they observed between America’s talk and its walk. Many thought their independence from Spain had been clearly earned, only to see their homeland fall into the hands of another imperial power. In schools, American values of life and liberty, freedom and self-government were spoken of highly, but on the battlefield America’s own struggle with racism manifested itself with a vengeance, and in the eyes of many it showed up in how American soldiers responded to the pressures of the battlefield and the conduct of brutal guerilla warfare against the natives. For many Filipinos, the American “empire of liberty” was one full of contradictions, and it would take almost fifty years of American rule and two world wars before the Philippines would become a fully independent nation on July 4, 1946.
Analyzing Political Cartoons

“SCHOOL BEGINS”

Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization):

Now, children, you’ve got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!

Cartoon Analysis

1. What is the subject of the political cartoon?
2. What is the occasion of the cartoon?
3. Who is the intended audience of the cartoon?
4. What is the purpose of the cartoon?
5. Compare the various nationalities portrayed in the cartoon. What impressions might such portrayals leave with the audience?
With the acquisition of the Philippines, a gateway to China became fully realized. However, by 1899, the European powers and a newly-modernized Japan were in the process of dividing up a weakened China into spheres of influence, where each power had been given special privileges that allowed them to dominate trade in specific ports. To counter the possibility that the powers would ultimately colonize and divide China, leaving the United States locked out of highly profitable Chinese markets and ports, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay wrote identical letters to Japan, England, Germany, France, and Russia, influential powers that maintained a significant presence in China. Known as the “Open Door Notes,” Hay laid out his expectations that all nations in China would have their trading rights and privileges respected, regardless of whose sphere of influence they were in. In order to ensure China’s territorial integrity, the Chinese government would continue to collect tariffs (a nod to the Chinese government’s continued independence), and the European countries would not favor their own interests by charging higher port fees or railroad rates to foreign nations than they would their own nation. While responses to the Open Door notes varied (with an outright rejection from Russia), Secretary of State Hay nevertheless declared in May of 1900 that all countries had accepted it, and that the United States would expect the Open Door policy to be the law of the land in governing trade relations among the powers in China.

For many Chinese nationalists, however, it was too much watching their homeland get carved up by “foreign devils”. Three months after the Open Door policy was announced by Hay, the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the Chinese capital of Beijing in June of 1900. Encouraged by the Chinese empress and led by a
secret society of Chinese nationalists known as the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists (or Boxers, for their practice of martial arts), the rebellion’s goal was elimination of foreign influences from China. Shouting “Kill, Kill! Death to the foreigners!”, the rebels murdered Christian missionaries, slaughtered thousands of Chinese civilians who converted to Christianity, targeted foreign businessmen and railroad workers, and destroyed property associated with the West. The rebellion, which began in Beijing (China’s capital) and spread like wildfire across eastern China, was ultimately put down when a coalition of 20,000 troops from Europe, Japan and the United States was sent into Beijing to rescue the foreign diplomats, who were besieged for two months by the rebels. Constrained by time, President McKinley established a new precedent by ordering over 2,000 troops to China without a congressional declaration of war, in order to assist in the rescue of the diplomats and to secure peace in China. The European countries responded to the uprising by demanding further concessions against the Chinese. To prevent China from being further divided up by the imperial powers seeking compensation for losses from the Boxer Rebellion, Hay released a second set of Open Door notes, declaring the importance of preserving Chinese territory and independence. The European nations instead settled for cash compensation from the Chinese government. With U.S. access to Chinese ports preserved, the Open Door became the prevailing foreign policy of the United States in East Asia and established the precedent for United States intervention in the affairs of Asia.
Governing The Caribbean

No region on the globe saw greater American influence in its affairs than the Caribbean. In the hemisphere that was fully considered off-limits to any other foreign power by the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the United States asserted its newly acquired power politically, physically and economically throughout the early twentieth century. Following America’s acquisition of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the debate as to whether the Constitution followed the flag raged fully.

Cuba  How well did America live up to those ideals of an “empire of liberty” in the Caribbean while projecting its power? The strategically-important islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico found themselves moving in very different directions than did Hawaii and the Philippines. Unlike the Philippines, Cuba resigned itself to American occupation following the Treaty of Paris with Spain, and most U.S. troops were withdrawn from the island by 1899. While some Cubans believed, much like the Filipinos, that they had been deprived of independence by American intervention in their war for independence, there was no question that the prolonged civil war between Cuba and Spain had taken a serious toll on the island’s inhabitants, its social order and stability, and its economy. And, unlike the situation in the Philippines, the Teller Amendment had provided a certain measure of comfort and security to Cuba that the U.S. was not going to keep it as a war prize. A small contingent of U.S. forces remained on the island while a constitutional convention was held, a census taken, local governments put in place, and the social order stabilized. During this time, the United States also oversaw the reconstruction of the island’s infrastructure, which had been damaged during the civil war. Roads and schools were built, ports modernized, sanitation measures implemented, and Yellow Fever eradicated. As a requirement for the last U.S. troops to depart from Cuban soil, however, the new constitution (which had been modeled after the U.S. Constitution) was required by the United States to contain a series of political, economic, and military guarantees that would define the future of US-Cuban relations, protect American business interests, and reinforce America’s commitment to the Monroe Doctrine. First, because of Cuba’s proximity to the United States, its location at the mouth of the Caribbean, and its strategic location near a potential Central American canal, the Cuban government was prohibited from ever entering into a treaty with a foreign power that would put its independence in jeopardy, or to allow any foreign power access to Cuban soil for military or naval purposes. Second, because foreign debt was the gateway to foreign intervention, Cuba was prohibited from undertaking any
debts it could not pay. Third, the Cuban government had to grant the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to “preserve Cuban independence” and to maintain “protection of life, property and individual liberty.” These provisions, including one that gave the United States a naval base at Guantánamo Bay, became known as the Platt Amendment. Once added to the Cuban constitution, Cuba gained the independence it had sought, although its future was clearly intertwined with its vast neighbor to the North.

Puerto Rico  Puerto Rico, like Cuba and the Philippines, had dreams and aspirations of self-rule within the Spanish empire. When the United States invaded Puerto Rico and drove the Spanish out, the future of the country remained up in the air. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris with the Spanish, Puerto Rico’s civilian government was structured under the Foraker Act of 1900, which ended military rule and established the organization of the Puerto Rican government and court system. The lower of the two-house legislature would be composed of 35 delegates that were democratically elected, while the President of the U.S. would appoint a governor and the eleven members of the upper house. However, the Foraker Act labeled the island as an insular area a designation from the Latin word for “island” that clearly distinguished it and its inhabitants from incorporated territories like Hawaii and the Mexican Cession, which granted its inhabitants the full rights of U.S. citizenship and a path to statehood. Instead, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico were considered citizens of Puerto Rico only, despite residing in a U.S. territory. In a series of Supreme Court decisions collectively known as the Insular Cases (1901), the Supreme Court ruled that full American citizenship did not necessarily follow the United States flag, but it granted that Congress could extend U.S. citizenship rights to those in the newly acquired territories as it deemed necessary.

In 1917, Congress granted Puerto Rico U.S. citizenship, and today the island is classified as a U.S. commonwealth under the protection of the United States. While it cannot vote in U.S. presidential or congressional elections, it does elect its own government.
The Panama Canal

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?

2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?

3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?

4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Big Stick Diplomacy
Dollar Diplomacy
George Washington Goethals
Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty
Moral Diplomacy
Roosevelt Corollary
William Gorgas

“The Path Between the Seas”

With the acquisition of Samoa, Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific, and Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, the United States now had increased...
motivation to pursue a canal in Central America. With so much new real estate and trade routes to protect, the US Navy needed a faster way to move its fleet between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The two months it took the battleship U.S.S. Oregon to sail 15,000 miles around the tip of South America to reach Cuba during the Spanish-American War in 1898 only confirmed the great need for a shorter route in the interests of American security. When President McKinley was assassinated at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, in 1901, the man who had been most influenced by Alfred Thayer Mahan’s naval recommendations, Theodore Roosevelt, now sat in the highest office of the land. Now, all of Mahan’s naval recommendations for America as a world power were falling into place: a domestic economy that could prosper based on significant trade connections to foreign markets? Check. A large fleet of merchant ships engaged in international trade? Check. Colonies which could provide raw materials, coaling stations, and markets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific? Check. Defensive bases to guard entrances to a Central American canal? Check. All that was needed now was to construct a canal somewhere across the Isthmus of Central America in order to expand the mobility of a powerful, modern navy that could patrol the seas, project American strength, and protect American interests at home and abroad.

Epic Fail The French had tried to dig such a canal in the 1880s through the region of Panama, an isthmus belonging to Colombia. Despite being led by the well-recognized name of Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had just finished building the Suez Canal through the deserts of Egypt, and later another engineer named Gustave Eiffel, the French attempt ended in economic ruin and human tragedy. Tropical diseases such as yellow fever and malaria; relentless tropical rains, flooding and mudslides; and the deaths of over 20,000 workers doomed and ultimately bankrupted the project within eight years of the beginning of excavation. The Panama Affair in France became associated with scandal, ruin, and the ultimate “epic fail”.

A Man, A Plan, A Canal, Panama Roosevelt was not about to let the “lamentable failure” of the French efforts stop him. After U.S. Secretary of State Hay successfully negotiated with Great Britain to allow the United States to build, maintain and protect a proposed canal open to all nations across the Central American isthmus, considerable debate took place as to the best geographical location for the canal. The decision was narrowed
down to the two most feasible routes: a shorter but more challenging route across Panama and a longer, but potentially easier, route across Nicaragua. The shorter route through Panama was chosen and negotiations with Colombia began.

The United States negotiated a $250,000 annual lease payment for a six mile-wide canal zone, plus an additional one-time payment of $10 million. Under terms of the Hay-Herrán Treaty (1903), the agreement would be good for 99 years. However, the Colombian Congress refused to ratify the treaty, citing concerns over sovereignty of the land and requesting an additional $10 million in cash. In Roosevelt’s eyes, it appeared that the Colombian government was going to delay another year until the French Panama Canal Company’s rights expired and its assets were forfeited over to the Colombian government, meaning that the $40 million paid by the United States Government to the company for the right to its holdings would fall back into the hands of the Colombian government, as well. Calling the actions of the Colombian government a “sham” and an example of “pure bandit morality,” Roosevelt considered occupation of the isthmus for the purpose of building the canal, in addition to pursuing the longer canal route through Nicaragua. Personally, Roosevelt expressed his frustrations with the Colombians, calling them “jackrabbits”. However, three months after the rejection of the treaty, the Panamanians, who supported the canal project for the economic boost it would potentially give their region and who had a long history of rebellion against Colombia, revolted. Roosevelt acted fast, sending troops from the U.S.S. Nashville to prevent Colombian troops from quelling the rebellion on the isthmus. Within three days, the United States recognized the independence of Panama and immediately negotiated the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903). The treaty guaranteed Panama’s independence, while also giving the United States the “use, occupation and control” of a 10 mile-wide canal zone “in perpetuity” for $250,000 a year, with the same one-time $10 million payment it had offered to Colombia.
Work began on the U.S. phase of the canal in 1904. Ten years and $375 million later, the first boat steamed through the canal just as the European powers were heading off to World War I. The canal reduced travel time between the Pacific and the Atlantic from two months to less than three weeks, cutting more than 8,000 miles off the typical voyage. In addition to the 20,000 plus who died under the French phase of canal construction, another 5,600 lives would be lost before the canal would open, many of them black West Indians who provided the chief labor source for the project. Colonel George Washington Goethals would become known as the Army officer and chief engineer who finally conquered Panama’s geography through courage, organization, and persistence. Dr. William Gorgas, known for his previous work eradicating disease in Cuba, conquered the tropical diseases in Panama that had taken so many lives under the French phase of the project. According to Roosevelt, Gorgas made Panama “as safe as a health resort.” And while the canal was welcomed in Panama, the tactics used by Roosevelt to acquire the canal zone left a bitter taste in the mouth of Latin America for decades to come. To help mend relations, President Woodrow Wilson ended up paying Colombia $25 million.
Theodore Roosevelt, speech at the University of California, 1911

"The Panama Canal I naturally take special interest in because I started it. There are plenty of other things I started merely because the time had come that whoever was in power would have started them. But the Panama Canal would not have been started if I had not taken hold of it, because if I had followed the traditional or conservative method I should have submitted an admirable state paper occupying a couple of hundred pages detailing all of the facts to Congress and asking Congress' consideration of it. In that case there would have been a number of excellent speeches made on the subject in Congress; the debate would be proceeding at this moment with great spirit and the beginning of work on the canal would be fifty years in the future. Fortunately the crisis came at a period when I could act unhampered. Accordingly I took the Isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me. And in portions of the public press the debate still goes on as to whether or not I acted properly in taking the canal. But while the debate goes on the canal does too..."

Jose Marroquin, President of Colombia
The Rights of Colombia - A Protest and Appeal (November 28, 1903)

"The Government of the United States is treating Colombia in a manner that seems dishonorable to all the people of that country. American Secretary of State Hay has astonished the world by finding a right to exclude the troops of Colombia from the Isthmus of Panama. The United States violated international law by recognizing the independence of Panama only days after the revolution and before the nation of Colombia had a chance to put down the insurrection. Colombia did not recognize the southern states which seceded during the American Civil War - why should the United States recognize the seceding states of Panama? How are you to escape the condemnation of history? Never has any nation dealt with a weak one in a way that seemed dishonorable to any considerable part of its own people but that history has affirmed the judgment of the protesting minority."
Big Stick Diplomacy

As the dreams of constructing a canal across Central America were being realized, United States foreign policy within the region focused on ensuring the political and economic stability of the region, protection of the Canal Zone, and keeping foreign influences out of Latin America in accordance with the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. Theodore Roosevelt often quoted an old African proverb, "speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far. The “big stick” turned out to be military intervention, and that approach backed his foreign policy in the Caribbean. In 1902, when the international bill collectors of Germany and Great Britain arrived in Venezuela and blockaded its ports to collect unpaid debts, it became clear to Roosevelt that excessive debt by Latin American nations would invite European powers to intervene, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. In order to prevent similar issues in the future, Roosevelt extended the doctrine in a speech given to Congress in 1904. In that speech, Roosevelt asserted the right of America to intervene in Latin American nations as an "international police power" in order to collect debts and ensure that the United States would not have to deal with European involvement in its own hemisphere.

The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine set the precedent for American foreign-policy for the next quarter century until it was reversed by Franklin Roosevelt's “Good Neighbor Policy” of the 1930s. Several times throughout the Caribbean, Presidents Taft and Wilson followed the footsteps of Roosevelt and sent troops to intervene in the affairs of Latin America.

Interactive 3.23
Roosevelt’s Message to Congress

To read Roosevelt’s Message to Congress where he asserts the Roosevelt Corollary, click here
American countries. Unfortunately, with Americans nosing into the affairs of their neighbors, namely to protect any US markets that were perceived to be threatened, it established a legacy of bitterness, resentment and bullying that has lasted even to the present day.

Interactive 3.24 Crash Course Imperialism

For an overview and recap of Imperialism, view this video.

Interactive 3.25 Presidential Policy Toward Latin America

Can you identify the policies?
Chapter 4

Would the American image have changed drastically from both foreign and domestic viewpoints if the U.S. had not participated in WWI?

1. Do any of the causes of WWI still pose foreign policy issues or problems for the U.S. today?

2. What can be learned about the changes in American character from the manner in which the U.S. mobilized, prepared, and participated in a world war both at home and abroad?

3. How did the geography of Europe impact WWI warfare?

4. To what extent should the victors of a war be permitted to structure a post-war peace?
The Causes of World War I

On June 28, 1914 Gavrilo Princip, a young Serbian Nationalist, leveled his pistol and fired two shots at the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his young wife Sophie. As an angry crowd tackled him to the ground and beat him, not even he could imagine the chain of events that these two shots would set off around the world. Long before these shots echoed out in Serbia, a perfect storm of forces was laying the groundwork for what would become the first truly global conflict the world had ever seen.

World War I, “The Great War”, or as it was optimistically, and rather naively known, “The War to End All Wars,” pitted the Triple Entente, comprised of the Great Britain, France, and Russia, against the Central Powers, made up of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. These major world powers were joined on both sides by almost one hundred other countries in a conflict fueled largely by swelling militarism, an entangling and chain reacting set of alliances, a fever of imperialism, and chest pounding nationalism in both large and small countries alike.

Militarism

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Do any of the causes of WWI still pose foreign policy issues or problems for the U.S. today?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Triple Entente

Triple Alliance

Militarism

Nationalism
The United States was not the only country that had spent substantial amounts of time and money expanding its navy and other military forces during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Militarism is the belief or desire of a government or people that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests. The military buildup was no new game to Great Britain, France, and Germany. Between 1890 and 1913, these powers had more than doubled their defense spending as well as the sizes of their militaries. Militarism is closely tied to imperialism and nationalism, and generally serves as another way for countries to compete against each other, sometimes resulting in an arms race.

Alliances

Perhaps one of the biggest contributors to the ticking time bomb prior to the war in Europe was the entangling system of defense alliances that had been in place since the early 1900s. An alliance occurs when two countries have a mutual interest and agree to protect each other. Beginning in 1879, with the Dual Alliance, between Germany and Austria-Hungary, the complicated system of alliances snared more and more countries as tensions began to rise. The two major alliances which entangled all of the major powers inside of Europe were the Triple Alliance, comprised of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; and the Triple Entente, made up of Great Britain, France, and Russia. All that
was needed to set off the chain of alliances was a small spark.

**Imperialism**

Imperialism, or the economic, political, and military domination of a strong nation over other weaker nations, also played a major role in the building tension between the European powers. Great Britain and France had been carving up and claiming territory around the globe for centuries. Russia had also been carving out its own slice of the globe for territorial expansion.

As can be seen in the map above, most of the world had been claimed by 1914, leaving very little territory for Germany to expand and compete against the other world powers in their hunt for supremacy, markets, and natural resources. Germany had only managed to stake claim to small sections of Africa, and in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, had managed to annex Alsace-Lorraine from France, a major point of contention between the two powers.

**Nationalism**

The spark that lit the powder keg came from a building sense of nationalism in both small and large nations alike. Nationalism is the belief that a nation’s interests and national unity should be placed ahead of global cooperation and that a nation’s foreign affairs should be guided by its own self-interests.
Two competing philosophies about nationalism were starting to create a rift between the major European powers. To Germany, nationalism was defined along clearly ethnic lines. The only way to be “German” was to speak German, have a German name, and a German heritage. Germany’s ultimate goal was to unite all German speaking regions of Europe under one flag and one country, by any means necessary. Countries like France had a different theory about nationalism. To the French, anyone who claimed allegiance to the French civil state was deemed to be “French”. While there was a degree of uniformity enforced, this type of nationalism was not defined along ethnic lines, like the German brand.

A nationalistic sense of pride was also brewing in smaller nations as well. This nationalism was based largely along ethnic lines, like the German brand, but instead of seeking to join together, they were looking to break away and seek their independence with the opportunity to form their own identity. In Serbia, a country, within the Balkan region of Europe, this nationalism was particularly strong.

The Assassination that Sparked it All

The pressure had been building in Europe for decades, but every explosion needs a spark. On June 28, 1914, Gavrillo Princip ignited the match that would set the entire world off. The Archduke of Austria-Hungary, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Franz Ferdinand was making an official visit to Sarajevo, with his wife Sophie.

Gavrillo Princip, one of three members of the Serbian Nationalist group the Black Hand sent to Sarajevo during the Archduke’s visit, pulled the trigger that killed Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. The assassination of the archduke caused Austria-Hungary to declare war on Serbia, which in turn triggered Russia to declare war on Austria-Hungary. Germany responded by declaring war on Russia and France, which in turn triggered Great Britain to declare war on Germany.

The Great War had begun.

US Neutrality

Fresh from victory in the Spanish-American War, and with its appetite whet from its first taste of true imperialism, an inner battle began within the United States as to what its role should be in the growing global conflict.

Despite forays into imperialism, for decades, the United States had tried to heed the warnings of George Washington in his farewell address: “steer clear of permanent alliances with any
portion of the foreign world”. But Germany was ready to test how committed the United States was to its doctrine of isolationism.

Woodrow Wilson, a pacifist at heart, determined to keep the United States out of the war, would have his own morals and doctrine tested. Wilson wanted to remain neutral for a variety of reasons, first and foremost being the conflict had little to do with the United States in the first place. Wilson also feared a highly divided population if the United States were to get involved. According to the 1910 census, ⅓ of the United States population was made up of immigrants, many of these from European countries on both sides of the conflict across the Atlantic. By 1914, that number had easily grown. Many of these new immigrants still had strong ties to their mother country, and if the United States chose sides, it could potentially divide the population, making support for the war effort a very difficult endeavor to undertake.

Wilson’s battle to maintain neutrality became increasingly difficult as the war raged on, and the following events served as major forces pushing the United States towards war.

**Unrestricted Submarine Warfare**

When World War I first broke out, naval blockades were quickly established to prevent necessary war related materials from entering countries. Great Britain, with its superior navy immediately established the coast of Germany as an active war zone. The British warned any ship that was entering those waters could face imminent danger. The British went so far as to declare food as contraband, or prohibited items.

The Germans responded in 1915 by declaring all of the water around Great Britain as an active war zone. Because the British navy was far superior to Germany’s, the Germans had to rely on the u-boat, or submarine, to sneak up and sink ships without warning they felt were carrying contraband to the British.

While U-boat attacks were deemed immoral and cowardly by the Allies (naval battles to them should be fought above the sea, and in plain sight), the only way for the German’s to compete against
the British naval superiority was to utilize the stealth abilities of the U-boat.

On May 7, 1915, the RMS Lusitania, a British passenger ship, was traveling from New York to Great Britain when it was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland by a German U-boat. When initially hit by the torpedo, some claimed there was a mysterious secondary explosion (check out these theories on the source of the second explosion!), and the Lusitania sank in just under 18 minutes. Of the over one thousand victims, roughly 128 of them were American, enraging the American public.

President Wilson immediately called for an end to unrestricted submarine warfare, and in 1916, the Germans hesitantly signed the Sussex Pledge (named after another passenger liner, sunk just a year after the Lusitania). The Sussex Pledge stated that unrestricted submarine warfare had to stop, and in order for a ship to be sunk, a submarine would have to announce itself and conduct a formal inspection of the vessel.
before deciding if the vessel should be sunk or not. The signing of the Sussex Pledge served as great political ammunition for Wilson and arguably earned him reelection in 1916, by “Keeping the US out of war”.

**The Zimmerman Telegram**

The tipping point for many Americans, and the last straw for Wilson’s pacifist patience, occurred in January of 1917. British cryptographers intercepted a message between Arthur Zimmerman, the German Foreign Minister, and the German Ambassador in Mexico:

The message called for an alliance between Germany and Mexico against the United States along with the promise of helping Mexico “reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.” Zimmerman even extended his invitation to include Japan.

For Wilson and many other Americans, who were already clamoring for war, this was the final straw. On April 2, 1917, Wilson appeared before the US Congress and asked Congress to, “take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.”

American neutrality was officially over.
“It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war,” Woodrow Wilson declared to Congress on April 2, 1917. By the time the United States joined the conflict, Europe had already been embroiled in a bitter stalemate for just over three years, leading to hundreds of thousands of casualties, both military and civilian. While eager to join the fight to support the Allies, Wilson knew that in order for U.S. troops to be successful in Europe, a wartime mentality would need to be developed and strengthened not only among soldiers but among all Americans on the homefront. Revving up the American “war machine” would require a lot of work.

**Opposition to the War**

While Wilson was quite certain that he could secure the approval of Congress, he did anticipate dissent. He didn’t have to wait long. At 1:00 a.m. on April 6, 1917, after 15 hours of debating President Wilson’s request for a declaration of war against Germany, a roll call vote began in the U.S. House of Representatives. When the clerk of the House came upon the name of Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress stood up and declared, “I want to stand by my country but I cannot vote for war. I vote no.” In later years she reflected on this action by saying, “I believe that the first vote I cast was the most significant vote and a most significant act on the part of women, because women are going to have to stop war. I felt at the time that the first woman [in Congress]
should take the first stand, that the first time the first woman had a chance to say no to war she should say it.” Jeannette Rankin: First Lady in Congress

Although Representative Rankin was the only member in the House of Representatives to vote against U.S. entry into the Great War, other Americans opposed entry into the war as well for various reasons. Some did not think the war had anything to do with the United States and was a European conflict that only involved Europeans--the issues shouldn’t concern Americans. Other Americans opposed the war because they did not want the US to take the side of the British. This was especially true of German immigrants (who leaned favorably to Germany, of course) and of Irish immigrants (who hated Britain for colonizing their homeland). Finally, socialists opposed the war because they thought the war was purely an economic conflict--fighting that would end in the rich getting richer. They didn't want the poor to die for the sake of rich men’s profits. Prominent Americans like Henry Ford, Jane Addams, and Carrie Chapman Catt were also known to support American neutrality during the war. Catt argued that the U.S. should stand for democracy through neutrality, although once the war began for the U.S. in 1917, she was a strong advocate for women’s roles in the war effort to further ideals of democracy including the women’s right to vote. The picture below illustrates a public patriotic parade in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The words below the picture were written by Catt herself.
Mobilizing the Economy

Many Americans believed that the first step to waging war successfully was to mobilize the economy. Industrialization had primed the pump for the United States, and made the conversion to war time production a little bit easier. But switching the economy over to wartime production was not as easy as flipping a switch. The Laissez-faire attitude of little government intervention and promotion of the free market that had paved the way for industrialization to expand on such a large scale ended with the creation of the War Industries Board, and the National War Labor Board.

The War Industries Board, headed up by Bernard Baruch, was tasked with regulating and controlling industries responsible for producing war related materials. Among its duties, the War Industries Board was responsible for dictating what products would be produced, where they would be produced, how much they would cost. This amount of control ensured that the American Expeditionary Force would get what it needed when it needed it.

To ensure that factories were operating at full capacity, the National War Labor Board brokered agreements between factory owners and factory employees over wages and work hours to ensure that strikes would not inhibit the factory’s ability to produce necessary military materials.

While Bernard Baruch and the War Industries Board were gearing up industry, Herbert Hoover, tapped by President Wilson to head the Food Administration, was mobilizing the food industry and agriculture. Hoover encouraged Americans to practice food rationing practices, and also hiked up crop prices to encourage farmers to grow certain crops over others.

Mobilizing the Army

The last major war the United States had fought with a major standing army had been the Civil War. While Wilson encouraged Americans to sign up and serve, volunteer forces alone would not be enough to supply the necessary number of troops to help the Allies “over there.” In May, 1917 Congress passed the Selective Service Act. The act authorized the government to carry out a military draft to raise the requisite number of troops. The first
draft call required all men ages 21 to 30 years old to sign up for potential service in the armed forces. During the course of the war, there were three total draft calls to provision the demand of the military, which drafted over 24 million men, of these, 2.8 million of these men served in the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), commanded by General John J. Pershing.

American Success in Combat

Once the American military was mobilized, the next task for the U.S. was to transport its troops overseas--complete with food and equipment not only for them but for the Allied forces as well. To complete this huge task, the U.S. immediately began to build ships to expand its fleet. While on the surface, it might have seemed like an easy switch from the production of industrial capital to that of wartime production, the U.S. would have to take four critical steps in order to make mobilization, or assembly a reality. First, shipyard workers were exempted or deferred from military service. Second, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce participated in public relations campaigns in order to increase the number of workers in shipyards across the nation. Third, a new process of fabrication, using standardized parts to more quickly assemble ships at shipyards was employed. Fourth, the federal government took over privately owned ships used for commercial trade on the Great Lakes and converted them for transatlantic use.

The Convoy System Comes to the Rescue!

U.S. Navy Rear Admiral William S. Sims persuaded the British that the best strategy against German U-boats was that of the convoy system. Sims plan called for merchant vessels to travel in large groups with a guard of circling destroyers and cruisers as protection. The convoy system worked; by midsummer of 1917 shipping losses were cut in half.
Additionally, soldiers in the U.S. navy helped lay 230 miles of mines in the North Sea from Scotland to Norway. Designed to bottle up German U-boats and keep them out of the Atlantic Ocean, by the first few months of 1918, the Allied Forces had drastically minimized the U-boat threat.

**Fighting in Europe**

The American contribution of fresh and enthusiastic troops to the Allied war effort cannot be overstated. After suffering three years of exhausting **trench warfare** against the Germans, British and French soldiers were grateful for the massive numbers of American troops sent overseas. Under the leadership of General John J. Pershing, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) first served mostly as replacements for Allied casualties. Nicknamed doughboys because of the white belts they wore which they cleaned with pipe clay or “dough”, the AEF fought as an independent force under the overall direction of French marshal Ferdinand Foch, commander of all Allied forces in Europe.

By spring of 1918 having been successful in knocking Russia out of the war, German forces shifted their armies from the Russian front to the western front of France. By May, an aggressive German offensive had approached to within 50 miles of Paris. Thankfully, American forces helped stop a German advance at Cantigny in France and a few weeks later assisted with forcing German forces to retreat at Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood. By August the American forces helped the AEF win the Second Battle of Marne and in September assisted with mounting offensives against the Germans at Saint-Mihiel and in the Meuse-Argonne area. Even though American losses seemed

extensive (48,000 men in battle and an additional 62,000 from disease), by October 1918 the tide had definitely turned against the Central Powers.

**Enemy on the Homefront: The Influenza Pandemic**

American doughboys weren’t the only subculture of Americans fighting for their lives. In the fall of 1918, with the end of fighting on the horizon in Europe, the U.S.suffered a life-threatening crisis as an international flu **pandemic**, or international epidemic had reached American shores. The pandemic actually occurred in three waves: the first wave had occurred when mild influenza erupted in the late spring and summer of 1918. The second wave occurred with an outbreak of severe influenza in the fall of 1918, and the final wave occurred in the spring of 1919. It was the second (and most severe) mutation of the flu that erupted in the port city of Boston in late August of 1918 and spread rapidly across the nation. As many who were infected with the flu died from pneumonia that set in, the effects on the American economy were devastating. Mines were shut down, telephone service was cut in half, and factories and offices were forced to stagger shifts to avoid contagion. Cities ran out of coffins causing the corpses of some who had died to lay unburied as long as a week. Doctors were at a loss as to what to do other than to recommend extreme cleanliness and sanitation. By the time the flu finally disappeared after the third wave in 1919, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has estimated that at least 675,000 Americans lost their lives to the pandemic. Worldwide, the pandemic killed as many as 40 million people—more people than were killed in the Great War.
Poppies with a Purpose

Do you ever wonder why Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) volunteers give you a paper poppy after you give them a donation? Noticed as early as the Napoleonic Wars, red poppies were found to have grown on the graves of dead soldiers in the fields of northern Europe. Poppy seeds lie underground for years and bloom if they are plowed up. In the spring of 1915, red poppies flourished in the fields of the Ypres salient in Belgium covering the newly dug graves after the Second Battle of Ypres on May 2. To learn more about the most famous war memorial poem, In Flanders Fields or about the author of the poem, visit: [http://www.flandersfieldsmusic.com/thepoem.html](http://www.flandersfieldsmusic.com/thepoem.html)

Interactive 4.7 In Flanders Fields

For a powerful reading of the poem click here!

Mobilizing Support

Americans would not have been as willing to sacrifice the free market, ration food, and register for the draft if they did not believe in the cause for which they were being asked to sacrifice. In order to ensure that Americans knew they were making a worthy sacrifice, Wilson approved the creation of the Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel. The former journalist from Kansas City was tasked with “selling” the war to the American public. The CPI utilized advertising principles developed through studying psychology, such as dramatizing the evilness of the enemy, to harness the emotions of Americans and rationalize the sacrifices they were making to support the war effort. Propaganda posters were posted to garner support for various war efforts from enlisting in the army, to working in a factory. Amongst many of its efforts, the CPI also trained “4 Minute Men” to deliver speeches to
educate audiences on America’s war aims and efforts.

The American government took other avenues for mobilizing public support as well: silencing the opposition. In 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act followed by the Sedition Act in 1918. The Espionage Act gave postal officials the right to ban certain newspapers and magazines. It also threatened individuals attempting to inhibit the draft with hefty fines and substantial jail time. The Sedition Act outlawed any “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” against the government or the war effort.

While a clear violation of the first amendment, the Supreme Court upheld the Espionage and Sedition Act in a landmark case in 1919 Schenck v. The United States. Charles Schenck, a prominent socialist, was distributing literature discouraging young men to resist the draft. His activity was found in violation of the Espionage Act for promoting dissent against the war effort. The case established the “clear and present danger” test, which essentially meant that the first amendment’s guarantee of freedom of speech isn’t limitless, and in fact, is limited by the context of the situation in which it is used.

**Other Impacts of the War on the Homefront**

While mobilization for the war had some predicted consequences, there were others that the government and other planners could have never predicted. Attacks on civil liberties, both official and unofficial erupted with the main targets of the drive for patriotic conformity set upon immigrants--especially those from Germany and Austria-Hungary. Many Americans who had emigrated from those countries lost their jobs. Orchestras stopped playing music of the composers Mozart, Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. Some towns with German names changed the name of the town. In some instances, acts of physical violence broke out.

When young American men left home to fight in the war, they left behind not only family and friends, but jobs. With the American war machine revving its engine, filling these jobs, many of them in manufacturing, was critical to supplying the war effort with the necessary equipment. Women started filling jobs left behind by their husbands and boyfriends, but the demand for workers had not been satisfied.

African Americans, who felt they were economically trapped in the South, dealing with Jim Crow segregation laws began moving north in hopes of escaping not only the terrible segregation, but of finding a job to help them get one step closer to living the American dream. The Great Migration had begun, as African Americans moved in large numbers to large northern cities like Chicago, Detroit, and New York. Unfortunately though, when the war ended and soldiers returned home, both women and African Americans were forced out of their factory jobs. Most women went back to the home, but African American families were now
living in large cities without viable job opportunities and no source of income.

As a result of economic tensions, many larger cities experienced sectioned growth--many blacks ended up creating their own cities within big cities which fostered the growth of a new urban African-American culture. The most prominent example was Harlem in New York City. A formerly all-white neighborhood, by the 1920s Harlem was home to some 200,000 African Americans. The black experience during the Great Migration became an important theme in society, especially with aspects of culture. The Harlem Renaissance, for example, known first as the New Negro Movement and later as the Harlem Renaissance, would have an enormous impact on the culture of the era. Politically, the Great Migration was also the beginning of a new era increased political activism among African Americans, who after being disenfranchised by Jim Crow laws in the South, found a new place for themselves in public life in the cities of the North and West.

An End to the War

On November 3, 1918 the German Grand Fleet was ordered to set out to sea from its naval base at Kiel. A total shock to the admiralty occurred when the sailors and marines refused to man their ships. To them, there was no use in fighting any longer and they verbalized these thoughts to their superiors. The mutiny quickly spread and soon everywhere in Germany soldiers were organizing revolutionary councils. Six days later on November 9, the people of Berlin rose in rebellion, forcing the kaiser to abdicate his throne and seek refuge in the Netherlands. With no actual battle taking place and no Allied troops on German territory, the German economy and war machine were too weak to continue. On the eleventh hour on the eleventh day in the eleventh month of 1918 a cease-fire agreement was reached that ended the war.

News of the armistice, or truce brought great relief for the Allies--both in Europe and across the Atlantic as American civilians were
grateful. And while many wanted to believe that life would continue as it had prior to the war, many soon realized their lives had changed nearly as much as those who had fought in Europe--there was no going back.
Even before the war had ended, President Wilson, guided by the basic ideals of progressivism which had guided American domestic policy during the previous decade, was inspired to draft several international points for peace. Divided into three groups, the list consisted of core points which stressed self-determination of peoples, free trade, and open diplomacy. Wilson believed that international acceptance of his Fourteen Points would lead to a just and lasting peace. Believing that U.S. endorsement of his points was critical to international acceptance by the Allied nations, President Wilson delivered his address to a joint Congress on January 18, 1918. Assuring the country that World War I was being fought for a moral cause and for a lasting, postwar peace in Europe, Wilson outlined his Fourteen Points.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Do any of the causes of WWI still pose foreign policy issues or problems for the U.S. today?

2. What can be learned about the changes in American character from the manner in which the U.S. mobilized, prepared, and participated in a world war both at home and abroad?

3. How did the geography of Europe impact WWI warfare?

4. To what extent should the victors of a war be permitted to structure a post-war peace?

Interactive 4.8 The Fourteen Points

Click here to access the primary source document of Wilson’s Fourteen Points:
A simplified version of Wilson’s Fourteen Points is below:

The Fourteen Points could be simplified to a core list of agreements and goals for all participating nations:

1. No secret alliances between countries.
2. Freedom of the seas in peace and war.
3. Reduced trade barriers among nations.
4. General reduction of armaments.
5. Adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of inhabitants as well as the colonial powers.
6. Evacuation of Russian territory and a welcome for its government to the society of nations.
7. Restoration of Belgian territories in Germany.
8. Evacuation of all French territory, including Alsace-Lorraine.
9. Readjustment of Italian boundaries along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. Independence for various national groups in Austria-Hungary.
11. Restoration of the Balkan nations and free access to the sea for Serbia.
12. Protection for minorities in Turkey and the free passage of the ships of all nations through the Dardanelles.
13. Independence for Poland, including access to the sea.
14. Establishment of a League of Nations to protect "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike."

The first five of Wilson’s points addressed issues that Wilson believed had caused the war in 1914. The following eight points dealt mostly with boundary changes for countries that had been involved in the war. Wilson’s final point called for the establishment of an international organization responsible for addressing diplomatic crises, similar to those that had started the war. Named, The League of Nations, the organization would provide a forum for nations to discuss and settle their grievances without having to resort to war. President Wilson believed that the U.S. should serve as a moral compass to the rest of the world and clearly delineated the United States’ goals in the war from the goals of the other warring powers. To Wilson, the U.S. had not entered the war with the hope of obtaining wealth or territory; instead, Americans entered the war to bring about a new international climate and to ensure the well being and continued growth of democracy. Wilson’s campaign was successful--Americans responded to his idealistic aims and rallied behind him and the war effort.

Internationally, Allied governments paid lip service to the Fourteen Points while the war waged on. Allied nations needed American financing to assist in their rebuilding after the war and did not want to risk offending President Wilson. Some in Europe feared in the U.S. might seek a separate peace with Germany, freeing that nation to continue the fight without the presence of American forces.

**Cartoon Analysis**

Sometimes cartoonists overdo, or exaggerate, the physical characteristics of people or things in order to make a point. In this political cartoon what object does the cartoonist exaggerate? For what purpose? In other words, what point was the cartoonist trying to make?

An analogy is a comparison between two unlike things. By comparing a complex issue or situation with a more familiar one, cartoonists can help their readers see it in a different light. After you’ve studied the cartoon for a while, try to decide what the cartoon’s main analogy is. What two situations does the cartoon compare? Once you understand the main analogy, decide if this comparison makes the cartoonist’s point more clear to you.

**Allies Reject Wilson’s Fourteen Points**

Even though President Wilson’s ultimate goal was to establish a foundation for international peace, many were surprised at his failure to grasp the level of anger that was felt by Allied leaders. Because of their intense desire to make Germany pay for its actions, a general consensus on all of the points could not be reached and President Wilson was forced to concede on most of his points in return for the establishment of the League of Nations.

**A Treaty is Reached at Versailles**

On June 28, 1919, the Big Four (President Wilson of the U.S., British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando) gathered in the Great Hall of Versailles with leaders of the defeated nations to sign a peace treaty officially ending WWI. The Treaty of Versailles addressed the following main provisions:
• Nine new nations were established (including Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia) and boundaries of other nations were shifted

• Four areas of the Ottoman Empire were given to France and Great Britain as temporary colonies

• Germany was demilitarized and stripped of its air force and most of its navy; its army was reduced to 100,000 men

• Germany was to return the land of Alsace-Lorraine to France and pay reparations to France

• Germany was forced to acknowledge that it alone was responsible for WWI

• Two international peacekeeping bodies were established— the League of Nations and the World Court. League member countries were obligated to assist one another in stopping international aggression. The World Court was set up to mediate disputes between countries.

Because the provisions of the Treaty were extremely harsh toward Germany, its ability to serve as a basis for lasting peace was severely weakened in three main aspects. First, the war-guilt clause humiliated Germany. Germany could not protest any of the other provisions, nor could it pay back the huge amount of financial war reparations. Second, because the Bolshevik government in Russia felt that their sacrifices caused by three years of involvement in the war had been ignored by the Big Four, attempts to gain back former territory was imminent. Lastly, because Germany had been stripped of all of its colonial possessions in the Pacific, there was no way Germany could make war reparations.
Wilson’s Troubles at Home

Upon his return to the U.S. President Wilson discovered several groups were opposed to the treaty. Many Americans felt the provisions of the treaty were too harsh. Some, like Herbert Hoover, believed that the economics alone would pummel Germany into financial collapse and the rest of Europe (and ultimately the U.S.) with it. Still others protested that the treaty was a sellout to imperialism—that one set of colonial rulers would be exchanged for another. Some ethnic groups objected because the newly established national boundaries didn’t satisfy demands for self-determination and still many were angry with Wilson for not attempting to secure Ireland’s independence from Great Britain.

Additionally, President Wilson also discovered considerable opposition to the establishment of the League of Nations because of the threat of European entanglements. Conservatives in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge had suspicions about the provisions for joint economic and military action against aggression even though it had been voluntary. Realizing there was enough discontent in the Senate to block approval, President Wilson decided to appeal directly to the people and set out on an 8,000 mile tour in September of 1919. Despite warnings from friends and physicians, Wilson delivered 35 speeches in 22 days in his attempt to garner public support. On October 2nd, Wilson suffered a stroke and was rushed back to the White House. When the treaty came up for a vote in the Senate in November, 1919, Senator Lodge introduced a number of amendments and while the Senate rejected the amendments, it also failed to ratify the treaty. The U.S. signed a separate treaty with Germany in 1921 under President Harding and never joined the League.
Chapter 5

How did the decade of the 1920s illustrate social, economic, and political change in the United States?

1. From a political and economic perspective, were the actions of government and business seen as more conservative or innovative during this decade?

2. What part did the League of Nations play in the shift toward isolationism by the U.S. after WWI?

3. At what point can fear lead to infringement upon an individual or group’s civil liberties?

4. Did the short-term victories of the labor movement in the 1920s ultimately help or hinder its long-term goals?

5. To what extent did the contradiction between agriculture and business contribute to economic bust by the end of the decade?
Revolution Overseas Causes Mixed Reactions at Home

America’s involvement in WWI left most Americans exhausted—in more ways than one. Soldiers returning home had suffered huge emotional distress from the war itself as well as from the physical injuries that many had suffered. Americans at home were deeply divided over the issues at the forefront of the League of Nations debate and the impact that the war had on thousands of immigrants with relatives overseas, many suffering in war-torn lands. Many Americans wished to return to what President Harding described as “normalcy.” Because of this desire by the American public, three trends in American society began to develop, both in rural towns and in urban areas across the country:

• A desire to return to the practice of *isolationism*, in which the U.S. would pull away from any involvement in world affairs

• The return of *nativism*, in which many Americans would become increasingly suspicious of individuals not born in the U.S.
• The leaning toward political conservatism which would cause governmental activism that had become the norm during the Progressive era to cease.

The first result of these trends was the fear by many of the rise of communism in the U.S.

By 1917, the Russian Revolution had begun. Czar Nicholas II, unable to cope with desperate conditions in Russia, combined with the great loss of life of a large number of Russian soldiers to the fighting of WWI, abdicated his throne. The provisional representative government that was put into place was quickly overthrown by the Bolsheviks—a group of revolutionaries led by Vladimir Lenin. Eventually a state based on the economic and social system of communism was put into place. In March of 1919, during the Third Communist International meeting that was held in Moscow, a worldwide revolution was advocated to overthrow all of the tenants of capitalism.

**The Red Scare**

In response to the call for international revolution, approximately 70,000 radicals in the U.S. formed a Communist Party in the U.S. And even though the 70,000 radicals was the equivalent of only one-tenth of 1% of the American population, any talk of communism frightened the American public. In addition, several dozen bombs had been mailed to both government leaders and prominent business leaders in the U.S. thus adding to the panic that the “Reds” or Communists would take over the country. The Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer took decisive action in order to combat the “Red Scare.”

In August of 1919, a new division to the Justice Department had been added and J. Edgar Hoover had been appointed by Palmer to oversee it. (This new division would later become the FBI.) In his essay, The Case Against the Reds, Palmer charged that “tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.”
Government agents were sent to hunt down anyone who was suspected of being a socialist or communist, as well as anyone suspected of being an anarchist—a person who opposes any form of government. Suspects were jailed without being entitled to a lawyer and many foreign-born radicals were deported without trials even though no evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy was found. Eventually in 1920, Palmer was discredited when his claim of a communist plot to overthrow the government failed to happen.

**The Trial of Sacco & Vanzetti**

Fear and distrust of foreigners bled into other facets of society during the 1920s. Groups that endorsed socialism or anarchism bred suspicion amongst citizens and government officials. The 1920s was plagued by what became known as the “Red Scare,” or the fear of a leftist revolution or communist take-over as had happened in Russia in 1917. The trial of Italian immigrants, Sacco and Vanzetti, had come to illustrate the fear of foreigners that gripped the nation at the height of the Red Scare.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were Italian-Americans and anarchists, who were charged with the crimes of robbery and murder in Braintree, Massachusetts in 1920. The trial that ensued was largely sensationalized and some of the evidence used against the men was discredited. However, given the anti-foreign, anti-radical sentiment at the time, Sacco and Vanzetti were both convicted and sentenced to death. On August 23, 1927, the men met their death by electric chair. Their executions sparked protests across Massachusetts and the nation.

**The Ku Klux Klan Rises Again**

With a national sentiment that seemed to enhance nativist attitudes, groups like the Ku Klux Klan began to wield their influence and power. Traditionally a group that was prejudiced towards African-Americans, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) began to broaden their target during the decade of the 1920s to include immigrant groups, Catholics and
members of the Jewish faith. With a message of “Americanism” and limits on foreign immigration to the United States, the message of the Ku Klux Klan gained appeal. At its height, Ku Klux Klan membership swelled to four million people during the 1920s.

Labor Conflicts

Another substantial conflict that occurred in postwar America pitted labor against management in the workplace. Poor working conditions, income inequality, and low wages, combined with an increased cost of living led to overwhelming frustration and anger among thousands of workers. During the war, workers had not been allowed to strike as nothing was allowed to interfere with the war effort; however, once the war had ended, labor unions began to look favorably upon striking for better conditions as an effective tactic. Management on the other hand, did not want to provide raises to workers, nor did they want to be seen as catering to organized labor unions as visions of revolt similar to the one in Russia were in forefront of many business owners’ minds. Believing that a strike, or work stoppage by employees in order to gain higher wages and/or better working conditions would yield the most positive benefits for the greatest number of unionized workers, some 3,000 strikes were used in 1919 alone. Of those, three grabbed the attention of the American public.

The Boston Police Strike

When Boston police officers sent representatives to the police commissioner in 1919 to ask for a pay raise, the cost of living had doubled. The police commissioner responded by firing everyone in the group. The remaining officers responded by going on strike.
Calvin Coolidge who was the governor of Massachusetts at the time, called out the National Guard to restore order. The strike was then called off by the police but the commissioner refused to hire back the officers he had fired. When the commissioner hired new officers to replace those he had fired, Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) got involved. Appealing to Governor Coolidge on behalf of the fired men, the governor replied by declaring that, “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, any time.” The public praised Governor Coolidge as many felt he had saved Boston from communism and anarchy.

**The Steel Mill Strike**

Even more upsetting to the American public was the strike at the U.S. Steel Corporation in September of 1919. Union representatives, representing more than 350,000 workers, attempted to meet with management to plead for shorter hours and a living wage. When the company refused to meet with representatives the strike began.

Steel companies had been in the practice of hiring strikebreakers and force was not uncommon. U.S. Steel security police, state militias, and federal troops killed 18 workers and injured hundreds more. The strike was finally broken in January of 1920 but even after a report was published about the harsh working conditions in the steel mills, the steelworkers remained without a union.

**The Coal Miner’s Strike**

In November of 1919, the new president of the United Mine Workers, John Lewis called for his workers to strike in protest of long workdays and low wages. When Attorney General Mitchell Palmer ordered workers back on the job through a court order,
Lewis publicly declared the strike over while quietly telling striking workers to continue to strike. After the mines remained closed a month, President Wilson appointed an arbitrator to decide on the outstanding issues. Although the miners did not receive a shorter work day or a 5-day work week, they did receive a 27% wage increase.

Although gains were made for workers during the 1920s, the decade saw a substantial decline in the labor movement. One reason had to do with the huge influx of immigrants that had come to the U.S. Because of the language barrier, organization into unions was a difficult task. And many immigrants were willing to work in poor conditions because their circumstances were so dire. Farmers who left their farms and moved into cities for work weren’t used to the idea of organized labor; their previous necessity of self-reliance made them reluctant to join unions. Additionally, many unions excluded African Americans which reduced their favorability. Combined with the decline of need for unskilled labor, many Americans changed their attitudes not only about unions but also about immigration.

Isolationism Impacts Immigration

In the wake of the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917, immigration to the United States began to increase. As the influx of immigrants rose, old issues including nativism, made a reappearance. To stem the tide of immigration, primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe, Congress passed the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. This law’s aim was to curb the tide of immigrants by setting a yearly constraint of immigrants entering the country to 350,000. The law further went on to restrict immigration of each nationality to 3 percent of the 1910 U.S. census figures. In 1924 the Emergency Quota Act was strengthened to completely exclude Japanese immigrants to the United States. Laws passed reflecting Anti-Asian sentiment was nothing new. The Emergency Quota Act continued an earlier trend established in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Legislation, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907, put restrictions specifically on Japanese immigrants. Pressure from labor groups helped to validate laws during the 1920s designed to specifically exclude Asian immigrants.

Interactive 5.5 Says the Foreigner Is Not Appreciated

Why would labor groups pressure the government to pass laws like the Emergency Quota Act of 1921? Why would the law be geared specifically restrict Asian immigrants?
The 1920s Version of Business in America

In the immediate years following World War I, the United States, for the first time ever, had a population that was more urban than rural. Though the definition of what is defined as an urban environment has changed throughout the last century, in the 1920s the relative number of people working on farms decreased. During World War I, the price of corn and other foods reached an all-time high. At the start of the 1920s, farmers were earning 70 cents per bushel, but by the end of the decade farmers were reaping only 10 cents per bushel. The term prosperity is often associated with the 1920s, but this does not paint a complete picture when illustrating the economic perspective of the decade. Some farmers had borrowed large quantities of money to supply troops with food in Europe during World War I. At the end of the 1920s, farmers were earning 70 cents per bushel, but by the end of the decade farmers were reaping only 10 cents per bushel. The term prosperity is often associated with the 1920s, but this does not paint a complete picture when illustrating the economic perspective of the decade. Some farmers had borrowed large quantities of money to supply troops with food in Europe during World War I. At the end of the war, farms harvested large quantities of food with fewer buyers. This overproduction led to an oversupply of food lowering the price of most foodstuffs. Farmers were not making the money they anticipated when they had borrowed money from local banks. By 1924, with decreasing commodity prices—corn, wheat, pork—and the inability to pay back loans to banks, over 2400 farms faced foreclosure. This helped trigger the movement from rural areas to more urban centers as people searched for jobs. The average daily wage rate for a farmworker in 1920 was $2.82, and by 1929 the average was only $2.30.
As soldiers demobilized after World War I, they returned to the United States and looked to enter the workforce. While unemployment rates were relatively low throughout the decade, male participation in the labor force decreased and women’s participation increased. Even though the process of women entering the workplace had started long before the 1920s, there were jobs that were considered by greater society to be “acceptable” for women’s work. World War I saw the need for women to work as secretaries, nurses, and clerks. These so-called “Pink-Collar” professions continued into the 1920s in many industries and were characterized as lower paying jobs since many thought the jobs were to be secondary family income.

The Economy of the 1920s

Not all areas of the economy faced the issues confronting the agricultural industry. With the exception of the first few years of the 1920s, as demobilization occurred and veterans of World War I returned home looking for employment, there was great economic prosperity for many Americans. On some levels the US economy, at least in urban areas, benefited the nation’s families—providing more income to spend on consumer products like radios, phonographs and vacuum cleaners. The auto industry grew as millions of cars were produced on assembly lines, providing affordable vehicles for many families to purchase. New financial instruments like purchasing items on credit in installment plans allowed Americans to purchase greater quantities of consumer goods. As consumers bought more goods and as industry met the demand for these goods, there was a general increase in Gross National Product (GNP). Typically, a higher GNP per person equates to a higher standard of living for a country, though that is not to imply that this prosperity was
equally distributed amongst all people evenly. As a matter of fact, the gap between the wealthy and poor increased during this time period, leading to a **superficial prosperity**. Rural farms and the urban poor did not reap the same benefits garnered by a relatively few corporations and wealthy individuals.

Along with the increase in GNP per Capita, the stock market increased during this time period. New businesses and industries like the automobile and home appliance industries prospered while older industries like the coal industry struggled as it was replaced by gasoline, electric, and natural gas industries. Electrification of homes increased as a result of corporations like Westinghouse and General Electric. Americans spent less money on staples like food and utilities and spent a larger percentage of their incomes on at home appliances, new consumer products like radios, and recreation like the going to the movies. The tourist industry also flourished, partly due to the increased affordability of cars. As electrification increased, especially in urban areas, so did the purchasing of new consumer goods like stoves, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and more. The mechanical refrigerator typified this growth. In 1920, only 2500 refrigerators were manufactured. In 1921, 5,000 mechanical refrigerators were manufactured in the US. By the end of the decade, the number grew to over 1 million.

**STOP And Think...**

Which effects had the greatest impact on the trend shown in the graph?
Stock Market Boom

Many corporations grew at staggering rates especially with sales of new goods geared toward consumer and the growth of electricity. These corporations’ stocks drove the stock boom of the 1920s. Even though many corporations like RCA did not pay dividends to shareholders, the expectation of growth helped increase stock value. This mirrors the internet “.com” boom of the late 1990s and the housing market boom of the 2000s where the value of internet corporations or real estate increased as a result of speculation. In the 1920s, the use of credit to purchase consumer goods expanded to some employing the same tactic to purchase stocks. Buying on margin—borrowing money to purchase stocks—became a favorable practice by some. For example, Investors would purchase a stock with only having 10% of the value in their own money. They would borrow the rest of the value of the stock. In a bull market, where stocks prices are rising, an investor could make money on the stock as its value increased greater than what they paid for it. They could pay back the loan and still reap the monetary reward.

What happens when stock prices remain stagnant or decrease--This is known as a bear market. Investors need to pay back loans plus any interest accrued. If the stocks purchased on margin decrease in value, investors run the risk of losing any sort of equity they had invested and still owe money from whom they borrowed the money. When the stock market crashed in October 1929, the ripple effects of these practices would have tremendous impact on the American and global economy.
At the start of the 1920s, the United States had a population of approximately 106 Million people. People were moving to more urban environments—places such as Detroit where the 15 millionth Model T would roll off Henry Ford’s assembly line in the suburb of Highland Park, Michigan in May of 1927. The economy grew at 4.2% Gross National Product (GNP) on average, each year of the decade. America had become an urban nation where urban centers and cities were the place many wanted to be. As cities rose to prominence in the eyes of many, small town attitudes had lost their hold on the predominating culture. As many moved into the booming cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, changes in thinking had to accompany changes to everyday living. This was difficult for many as they experienced a moral and sometimes cultural tug-of-war between small town safety and close ties to others, hard work, and strict morals and that of anonymous crowds, money makers, and pleasure seekers of larger cities. The conflicts of the 1920s pitted a more modernist, urban culture against a more traditionalist, rural culture.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did the majority of the social and cultural changes that took place in the 1920s reinforce traditional values or represent a shift more reflective of modern thoughts and ideas?

2. In what ways did the emergence of the double standard reflect the broader struggle for women between traditional and modern societal and cultural standards?

3. To what extent did growing venues of mass media shape a mass culture?

4. In what ways did the arts of the Harlem Renaissance break down racial boundaries?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Urban
Rural
Temperance
Prohibition
Bootleggers
“Rum-runners”
Speakeasies

Fundamentalism
Flappers
Jazz

Interactive 5.6 The 20s At A Glance

Take a look at this stacked timeline to get an overview of the 20s.
The Experiment of Prohibition

One robust clash between cultures began in 1920 when the 18th amendment. Temperance groups such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were common in the early Twentieth Century. These groups had been in existence since the late 1800s. Members of these organizations saw alcohol as a social evil that was leading to a decline in American society, causing destruction of families, and threatening morality. Partially influenced by pressure from temperance societies, big business, progressives reformers, and other groups, the United States Congress passed the 18th Amendment in 1919. The prohibition amendment banned the sale, manufacture, transportation and distribution of alcohol nationwide. It did not prohibit the consumption of alcohol.

Although the purpose behind the passage of the 18th Amendment may have been a worthy one to many Americans, problems developed from the onset of the law. The enforcement of this unpopular amendment became problematic. Government officials at the National, State and local levels fought to enforce prohibition through the Volstead Act, but due to the enormous profit to be made, Gangsters, “bootleggers,” and “rum-runners” began to smuggle and distribute alcohol. Some law enforcement officials also found they could make a profit, by turning a blind-eye to smuggling operations. Violence began to consume and terrorize cities like Chicago and Detroit, as powerful liquor gangs vied for territory to distribute illegal alcohol.
In Detroit alone, there was an estimated number of illegal bars between 15,000 to 25,000 known as speakeasies by 1925. Detroit’s location, situated on the international border with Canada, with only the Detroit River separating the two countries, provided the perfect opportunity for organized crime to flourish. Seventy-five percent of all alcohol smuggled into the United States during prohibition, came across the Detroit River from Canada. The Purple Gang, led by the Bernstein brothers, took advantage of the situation and controlled smuggling and distribution operations in Detroit throughout the decade of the 1920s. Al Capone, one of the most infamous gangsters during the prohibition era, counted on Detroit’s Purple Gang to supply his mob with illegal alcohol. Instead of curing many of society’s ills, it soon became clear that prohibition was having the opposite effect, leading to a rise in violence and crime and a breakdown of order.

Instead of stopping the production, sale and distribution of alcohol, prohibition pushed the manufacture and drinking of alcohol underground, often accompanied by devastating outcomes. People began to make their own alcohol, known as “bathtub gin” or “moonshine” in their homes. Bootleggers also tried to stretch their supply of alcohol by diluting it with substances such as wood alcohol, rubbing alcohol, or other lethal chemicals that could lead to ailments from blindness to death.

Organized Crime

In addition to disrespect for the law that prohibition helped to create, there were other harmful effects as well. The most harmful effect was the flow of money away from lawful or law-abiding businesses and into organized crime. In almost every major city, the opportunity to make and sell liquor at an enormously high profit rate was seized by underground gangs. Chicago for example, was known as the most corrupt and crime-ridden cities in America not only in the 1920s but the 1930s as well.

What role did geography play in Chicago’s emergence as one of the most corrupt cities in America during the 1920s?
One of the most notorious gangsters in Chicago at this time was Al Capone, whose bootlegging empire netted more than $60 million a year. As a gangster who took control of the Chicago liquor business by killing off his competition, newspaper headlines reported at least 522 gang-related killings during the 1920s.

**Interactive 5.7 Al Capone**

To view a succinct video of Al Capone and organized crime in the city of Chicago, watch the short video by the Smithsonian.

As ordinary citizens began to grow weary of organized crime and the violence that often accompanied it, many began to change their opinions about prohibition. By the middle of the decade, only 19 percent of Americans were still supportive of the 18th amendment—many believed that the rise in the crime rate and the level of disrespect for the law was worse than the problem of prohibition itself and the original

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**STOP And Think...**

Based on what is depicted in this cartoon, why does the author think that prohibition is a failure?

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problems prohibition was supposed to fix. The outcry to repeal the 18th Amendment began to grow, especially in urban areas after largely publicized murders, such as the 1929 St. Valentine’s Day Massacre in Chicago occurred. By 1933, a Constitutional Amendment to repeal prohibition was being debated in the United States Congress. That same year, Congress sent the 21st Amendment to the states for approval. Michigan became the first state to ratify the 21st Amendment and Prohibition was officially repealed on December 5, 1933.

The Clash Between Science and Religion

Another contentious struggle between traditionally held ideas and modern ones that tended to also run along regional lines was that of religion versus science. More specifically, **fundamentalism**, a Protestant movement that was grounded in a literal interpretation of the Bible led Fundamentalists to reject the more modern theory of evolution--a theory developed by Charles Darwin in the 19th century that plant and animal species had developed and changed over millions of years. As a result of a widespread Fundamentalist following, many Americans feared the clash between science and religion would rear its head in public schools across the nation--specifically about the teaching of evolution (or the prohibition of it) in public schools. It didn’t take long for the issue to claim national attention.

**The Trial of John T. Scopes**

The first state in the country to pass a law making it a criminal offense to teach evolution in a public school was in Tennessee in 1925. Almost immediately, the American Civil Liberties Union or ACLU publicly announced that it would defend any teacher who would challenge this law. Founded in 1920, the ACLU already had the reputation as a public-interest law firm that defended rights such as freedom of speech. On May 7, 1925, John Scopes, an Illinois native new to his job as a general science teacher at Rhea County Central High School in Dayton, Tennessee was officially arrested for violation of the Butler Act which forbid the teaching of any theory that denied the biblical story of Creationism. The trial began on July 10th with Clarence Darrow, one of the most famous trial lawyers of the day defending the actions of Scopes. William Jennings Bryan, a

![Photo of John T. Scopes, 1900. Library of Congress.](http://www.loc.gov/item/ggb2006013628/)
three-time Democratic candidate for President as well as a devout fundamentalist was hired to serve as a special prosecutor for the case.

The Scopes trial was a conflict over evolution and the role of science and religion in public schools and in a larger sense, American society.

Before a crowd of over 2,000 people, Darrow questioned Bryan about his religious beliefs. Through the onslaught of questions, Bryan’s answers revealed his admission that the Bible might be interpreted in many different ways. He had been publicly humiliated and his fundamentalist beliefs had been disgraced. Even though Bryan had won the case (Scopes was found guilty and fined $100), he was a defeated man. On July 26th, just five days after the trial had ended, Bryan laid down for a Sunday afternoon nap and never woke up. Although the verdict of the trial was later overturned on a technicality (the fine imposed was determined to be too excessive) the law remained until the issue was addressed by the Supreme Court in 1968 where a similar case in Arkansas was found to be unconstitutional.

The 1920s Woman

The 1920s was an era of conflicting views and ideologies as demonstrated over the struggle with prohibition and contrasting views of traditional vs. modern viewpoints. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment became Constitutional law, giving all American women the right to vote. With this sweeping political change, women began to enjoy unprecedented social freedoms as well. Bolstered by a new found sense of independence, many women desired to break free from traditional gender roles. Some women known as flappers, pushed conventional boundaries that defined the way that women were expected to look and act. Flappers

Interactive 5.8 The Scopes Trial

For a thorough and succinct overview of the trial with actual footage, check out this 3-minute video:

https://usercontent2.hubstatic.com/5521457_f260.jpg
daringly cut their hair short, in a bobbed-off fashion and dyed it jet black. They also wore short, flashy, waistless dresses, often adorned with fringe and beads. According to a 1926 article written by Samuel Crowther of Collier’s Magazine, “Barring size, flappers at a hundred feet are as standardized as Ford cars. As far as dress goes, they are a simplified national product....” Since the 1920s, the flapper has become an iconic symbol of the roaring 20th youth culture and fashion.

Flappers danced the Charleston and frequented nightclubs where jazz music became the norm. In a huge departure from the acceptable behavior of the previous generation, flappers pushed social norms by smoking and drinking in public and conveyed a more casual attitude about the previously taboo topics of dating and sex.

And while magazines, newspapers, and advertisements took advantage of the opportunity to promote the image of the flapper, this image was not reflective of the attitudes and values of many of the nation’s young people. Morals loosened but only to a certain extent and for the first time in the nation’s history, a social double standard for men and women soon developed during this decade. Social morals for men loosened gradually from decade to decade--by the decade of the 1920s, casual dating which also included greater sexual freedom for men became increasingly accepted. For women of this time, however, the expectation was that they were to observe stricter social standards of behavior than men. Because of this double standard, many young women (flappers or not) were pulled back and forth between old standards and new.

**Changes to the Home and the Workplace**

The challenge of old standards clashing with new was also occurring for women with regard to their roles at work and at home. As soldiers demobilized after World War I, they returned to the United States and looked to enter the workforce. While unemployment rates were relatively low throughout the decade, male participation in the labor force decreased and women’s participation increased. Even though the process of women entering the workplace had started long before the 1920s, there were jobs that were considered by greater society to be “acceptable” for women’s work. World War I saw the need for women to work as secretaries, nurses, and clerks. The increasing trend for women to work in professional positions continued in the 1920s with nearly one million female college graduates entering into what were referred to as a category of women’s professions. Many women worked as nurses, teachers, librarians, social workers, bankers, lawyers, and police officers.
But even though by 1930 approximately 10 million women had entered the workforce, most faced discrimination and wage inequality in the workplace.

As a result of the widespread economic change of women in the workplace, social changes as well also contributed to the changing image of the family. While the U.S. birthrate had been slowly declining, it dropped at an even faster rate in the decade between 1920 and 1930. The biggest reason for this was the greater availability of information about birth control. The founding of the American Birth Control League in 1921 by Margaret Sanger. During the same time, social and technological advances helped simplify household labor; ready-made clothes, canned foods and the emergence of public agencies freed many homemakers from the most traditional family responsibilities. This impacted the sphere of influence that women had as many experienced greater equality in their marriages. But although the institution of marriage experienced improvements, many women had a new challenge to deal with: that of the rebellious teen. This was reflected in much of the entertainment of the day.
To what extent did growing venues of mass media shape a mass culture?

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Double standard

The Lost Generation

Great Migration

Harlem Renaissance

Mass Media Shapes Popular Culture

For the first time, the growing mass media in the 1920s greatly shaped a mass culture. Newspaper circulation rose substantially across the nation as did mass-circulation magazines. However, nothing could rival the medium of the radio—both as the main source of entertainment as well as national news brought to the American public as it was happening. And much of the nation’s pop culture was broadcast over radio airwaves.

Thanks to the medium of radio, many sports heroes of the 1920s became household names. Baseball’s most legendary star, New York Yankee, Babe Ruth hit home run after home run in the 1920s. The colorful, hard-drinking Ruth was quite the character earning nicknames such as Sultan of Swat and Colossus of...
Clout. Ruth lived up to his nicknames and in 1927 hit a record 60 home runs; needless to say, Americans went crazy with the utmost certainty that Ruth was a one-of-a-kind baseball player whose accomplishments would never be replicated.

Simultaneously, in 1920, the Negro National League formed as one of the nation’s first in a series of black baseball leagues. Wildly popular in their own right, these leagues produced such talented players as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige up until many entered the major leagues.

Additionally, other sports possessed famous athletes as well. Boxing’s biggest star was Jack Dempsey; in football, Red Grange’s college career at the University of Illinois fascinated thousands, and tennis greats Bill Tilden and Helen Wills and golfing great Bobby Jones all became household names in the 1920s.

Sports were not the only institution to benefit from the ever-expanding news media of newspapers and radio. Small town pilot, Charles Lindbergh became famous with his first nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic in May of 1927. 33 hours and 29 minutes after taking off from New York City, Lindbergh landed his plane, the Spirit of St. Louis at LeBourget airfield outside of Paris. Seen as a hero in the U.S., Lindbergh represented the honesty and bravery that many felt the nation had lost.

Not to be outdone by radio, newspapers, or magazines, the movie industry tapped into America’s desires for excitement and romance in the 1920s as well. By 1925, filmmaking held its place as the fourth largest industry housing more than 20,000 movie houses across the nation with Hollywood as America’s movie capital.

While motion pictures provided escape for thousands, many turned to art for a fresh perspective. Plays and
concerts became popular as playwrights and composers tapped into their creativity to contest the status quo, instantly becoming famous. Art at this time was also wildly dynamic and experimental. Perhaps one of the most famous artists of this decade was Georgia O'Keeffe who became famous for her paintings of the Southwest while capturing urban artistic dramatic styles such as New York City.

In contrast to famous Americans in sports, movies, theatre, music, and art, the writers of the 1920s lived and wrote in sharp contrast to mainstream American society. Much of the work they produced represented their highly critical views of society. Sinclair Lewis, known as one of America’s most outspoken critics won a Nobel Prize in literature for his novels, Main Street and Babbitt where he articulately depicted middle-class American life as stifling and shallow. Another famous writer of the time, F. Scott Fitzgerald’s The Great Gatsby brought to life the negative side of high society.

Many more American writers became so disenfranchised with American society that they settled in Europe. Termed the “Lost Generation” by Gertrude Stein, writers such as Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot embraced the literary cultures of Europe and frequently used new forms of literature in their works.

During this time of rich cultural development shaped by the many variations of the theme of “old” conflicting with “new”, important cultural developments were also taking place in African-American society. Messages of pride in their heritage, black writers and artists creatively illustrated the richness of African-American culture.
The Great Migration

During the WWI era, many African-Americans had moved to northern cities for job opportunities and to escape racial injustice. This mass movement of African-Americans, called the Great Migration, concentrated large populations of black Americans in large urban areas such as Chicago, New York, and Detroit. By the end of the 1920s, approximately 4.8 million of the country’s 12 million African-Americans lived in cities. And along with the massive influx of African-Americans to large cities came rising tensions, especially in cities in the North. The result was more than 25 urban race riots culminating in the summer of 1919.

The NAACP and the Campaign Against Lynching

As a result of the alarm to African-Americans caused by the race riots, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) undertook an anti-lynching campaign. The NAACP worked through the court system to gain civil rights protections for African-Americans. Under the leadership of Executive Secretary James Weldon Johnson the group supported an anti-lynching bill.
introduced in Congress in 1922. Johnson became the primary Congressional lobbyist for this legislation in the 1920s. The text of the anti-lynching bill called for, “An act to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching.” Although the Senate defeated the bill, the NAACP’s vigilant campaign to end lynching, led to awareness of racial violence directed against African-Americans in the United States. The NAACP continued to gain political power in the decades that followed to help African-Americans gain protections of liberty.

**Marcus Garvey and The Universal Negro Improvement Association**

During the 1920s, Black nationalist leader, Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). His movement was based in Harlem, and focused on self-reliance of African-Americans. Garvey promoted the idea that “Black is Beautiful” and encouraged African-Americans to be prideful in their culture and heritage. Garvey initiated a “Back to Africa” movement, in an effort to build a separate society from whites. He believed the only way that African-Americans could truly be free of racial prejudice and violence was to unite to form their own society. The downfall of his movement came when Garvey was indicted on charges of mail fraud, however the legacy of his message caused many African-Americans to gain a newfound appreciation for their heritage.
The Harlem Renaissance

The neighborhood of Harlem in New York City, began to attract many talented writers, artists and musicians. Harlem soon became the center of a literary, social and artistic movement that forged a rebirth of black culture. The movement that became known as the **Harlem Renaissance** showcased the talents of African-Americans in the arts and helped to encourage pride in black heritage.

Writers such as Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston and Claude McKay became large contributors to the movement. Their works focused on African-American themes that addressed the struggles that black Americans endured. In one of his poems titled, If We Must Die, McKay described how African-Americans should ban together to contest racial prejudice. Likewise the poet Langston Hughes addressed similar themes. In two of his most famous works, The Negro Speaks of Rivers and I Too, Sing America, Hughes not only described the importance of African-American heritage, but also the triumph of the African-American spirit. Zora Neale Hurston’s most famous novel, Their Eyes Were Watching God, chronicled the difficulties faced by a young African-American woman.

Jazz, a uniquely American form of music, born out of ragtime and blues, also came to epitomize 1920s culture and the Harlem Renaissance. Some of the most influential musicians in the history of American music became famous in Harlem nightclubs. Notable jazz artists including Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington and Cab Calloway performed at the Cotton Club, one of Harlem’s most well-known entertainment establishments.

For a short overview of the music of the Harlem Renaissance and the works of Langston Hughes, click here:
musician Louis Armstrong, also largely contributed to Harlem Renaissance. Armstrong was known for his raspy sounding voice and the use of improvisation. Armstrong has been referred to as the “most important improviser” in the history of jazz. The influence of Louis Armstrong continues to impact music in the 21st Century.

Blues music evolved from African-American spirituals was also gained notoriety during the Harlem Renaissance. Singer Bessie Smith, was regarded for her strong vocal ability. Although a highly regarded performer in her own right, Smith collaborated with Louis Armstrong on works such as Saint Louis Blues. Bessie Smith was celebrated for songs, such as Nobody Knows You When You’re Down and Out, and became widely regarded as “The Empress of the Blues.”

**The Impact of the 1920s**

The decade of the 1920s left a lasting impact on American society. Jazz music paved for more modern forms of music such as rock ‘n’ roll. Literature defined the attitudes of a generation and shared themes of the Lost Generation and the Harlem Renaissance. Conflict over changing attitudes concerning traditionalism vs. modernism shaped new ideas and perspectives. However, the “roar” of 1920s was short lived. The excesses of the 1920s led to the most prolonged economic disaster to face the United States and the world.
Chapter 6

What Role Should the Government Play in the Economy and Society?

1. How did economic, political, social/cultural choices made a decade earlier contribute to the start of the Great Depression?

2. How did environmental factors affect the Great Depression?

3. How did the government under Hoover react to the Great Depression and what were pros and cons associated with his response?

4. How did the Great Depression affect American citizens?
Even though the 1920s were “roaring” in many respects, from an economic standpoint it became clear that serious problems threatened the nation’s economy. Important industries were in trouble and overproduction plagued the agricultural sector. As the decade came to a close, the slipping economy would soon crash, thus ending a decade of innovation, cultural advances, and individual prosperity.

**Industries Experience Trouble**

The prosperity of the late 1920s was superficial and hid the weaknesses that would ultimately lead to the Great Depression. Key basic industries barely made a profit because of improvements to each industry. The chart below shows some of the most significant impacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Competition or Decrease in Demand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railroads</td>
<td>Other forms of transportation such as trucks, buses, and private automobiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile manufacturers</td>
<td>Foreign producers in Japan, India, China, and Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and lumbering</td>
<td>Diminished demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal mining</td>
<td>New forms of energy including hydroelectric power, fuel oil, and natural gas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Farmers Also Experience Hard Times

More than any other aspect of the economy, agriculture suffered the most in the 1920s. After the war had ended, overproduction was thought to be the solution to helping farmers boost profits. However, the plan failed and prices fell even further. Attempts by Congress for federal price supports—the support of certain price levels at or above market values by the government for key products were consistently vetoed by President Coolidge, so farmers continued to struggle. Many defaulted on their loans and the residual effect was that many rural banks began to fail.

Consumers Suffer as well

The American consumer was not immune from the cyclical economic events of overproduction, over-speculation, and shifts in supply and demand; the end results was the same—economic hardship to the consumer.

Late in the decade, it was evident that American consumers were buying less because of rising prices, stagnant wages, unbalanced income, and overbuying on credit. As production expanded at a rapid rate while wages failed to increase, the gap between the rich and the poor widened. As the gap widened, the resulting unequal distribution of income meant that fewer and fewer Americans could participate fully in taking advantage of the economic advances of the 1920s. The foundation of the nation’s economy was more fragile than it had even been.

The Stock Market Tumbles

As early as March of 1929, some financial experts had warned that banks were granting too many loans for stock speculation. The Federal Reserve responded as the U.S. central bank tried to rein in the country's banks but was not successful. In September, Roger Babson, an economist for the New York Herald Tribune, publicly predicted the market was headed for a crash. After his speech, stocks wavered and declined a bit. Again, the Federal Reserve tried to slow the out-of-control pace at which banks were making loans to buy stocks but again, to no avail. On October 23, a block of General Motors stock was sold at a loss, and the market headed in a downward direction. Orders to sell came in too fast for brokers to keep up. Bankers tried to stabilize the market at the end of the day, but on Thursday, October 24, the market took another sharp downward turn. Financial losses were in the billions of dollars, and small investors were wiped out. On Friday, October 25, and Monday, October 28, bankers tried to revive the market by finding new big investors but their efforts came too late forcing bankers to announce that they could no longer support the market. On Tuesday, October 29, 1929—which became known as "Black Tuesday"—stock prices crashed.

Individuals as well as corporations tried desperately to sell their stocks before prices fell even further. By the middle of November, approximately $30 billion was lost in the American economy—ironically, the same amount of money that had been spent by Americans in WWI. As the stock market crash of 1929 ushered in
what became known as the **Great Depression**, few could imagine the far reaching impact it would have on the country.

**Causes of the Great Depression**

A depression is a prolonged downturn in the economy, marked by high unemployment and restricted growth of the economy. The Great Depression earned its namesake for its duration, depth, and ghastly effects. While the stock market crash signaled the start of the Great Depression—the time period between 1929-1941 in which the economy was in severe decline and millions of people were out of work, it was not the sole cause of the Great Depression. Although there are some differences of opinion by economists and historians, most identify a common list of factors. View the following Teachable Moments video, “What Caused the Great Depression?”

**Financial Collapse in the U.S. and Around the World**

What happened after the Stock Market Crash of 1929 is a classic example of cause and effect. Many Americans panicked and rushed to their banks to withdraw what little money they still had. Because banks in many rural areas did not have a sound financial reserve of money, once those living in rural areas rushed to their bank, there were no funds available for withdrawal. This is known as a “run-on-the-bank.” With no financial insurance by
the federal government, for most smaller banks, the end result was closure. When farmers couldn’t make the mortgage payments on their farms, many were forced into foreclosure. 

Additionally, many American workers couldn’t earn any income as the unemployment rate jumped from three percent in 1929 to 25 percent by 1933 as businesses were hit equally hard—many forced into bankruptcy. The U.S. was not the only country to suffer huge economic loss during this period of time. Much of Europe had also experienced a depression which began a few years before the depression in the U.S. economy. Countries that had been severely damaged by WWI faced huge debt payments. And Germany, with its requirement to make war reparations—payments to compensate Allied countries for the damage it had caused, experienced great suffering during this time. Because most of the countries in Europe found themselves in a similar situation, foreign trade of American farm products and manufactured goods was stagnant.

**Congress tries to Help**

In 1930, Congress (while trying to help pull the U.S. out of the Depression) made the bad situation worse by passing the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. While this act was designed to help American farmers and manufacturers by protecting their products from foreign competition through the highest protective tariff in U.S. history, it ended up having the opposite effect. Unemployment was worsened in industries that could no longer afford to export their goods to European markets. And with the retaliation of raised tariffs in European countries, world trade fell more than forty percent which caused an extreme reduction in

![Figure 8: Farm Mortgage Foreclosure Rate, 1920 to 1930](http://eh.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/image017.gif)

How does the trend illustrated in the graph demonstrate the plight of farmers in the 1920s? Predict how this will impact farmers in the 1930s
economic activity throughout the world.

**Social Issues**

As the Great Depression gripped the nation, the effects were widespread—in both cities and rural areas, no person or family unit could escape the hardship and suffering that millions of Americans faced. Unemployment was a problem that affected much of the population. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 1 out of every 4, or one-quarter of the American workforce was jobless by 1933. In March of 1933, it is estimated that fifteen and one half million American workers were unemployed.

**The Impact of the Depression in Cities**

In cities across the country, many Americans were unable to provide for themselves and their families. Destitute and unable to pay their mortgages, some Americans suddenly found themselves without work and homeless. Before long, “Hoovervilles” or shantytowns--small towns consisting largely of shacks emerged on the outskirts of cities. While some consisted of only a few families, others grew to the point where they functioned like communities. For some quick but interesting facts about shantytowns during the Depression visit this site:

Daily, the urban poor could be found scrounging throughout the city, searching for food by digging through garbage cans or, in some cases, begging on street corners. In the absence of government relief programs, people could also be seen waiting in long lines, commonly known as “bread lines,” in order to receive nourishment. With so many Americans living in poverty, community organizations began to open soup kitchens to feed the hungry.

**Interactive 6.2 Crash Course - the Great Depression**

Learn more in this video from John Green

**Interactive 6.3 Shanty Town Facts**

Learn more at this website from American Historama.

**Interactive 6.4 Brother Can You Spare A Dime?**

Click this link to hear “Brother Can you Spare a Dime,” a popular song from 1931:

How does this song illustrate the context of the time period?
The Impact of the Depression in Rural Areas

The impact of the Depression in rural areas was just as devastating but there was one advantage over living in the city: most farmers could manage to grow just enough food to feed their families. As crop prices continued to fall, plots of land that farmers once owned no longer belonged to them when they couldn’t pay their debts. For many, tenant farming was the only way to scrape by.
The Devastation is furthered by the Dust Bowl

In addition to overproduction and falling crop prices, the Great Plains suffered a phenomenon that became known as the Dust Bowl. A combination of factors led to a devastating situation for people living throughout the region from Texas to the Dakotas. Traditionally the Great Plains were covered with prairie grasses, but a high demand for wheat during World War I, caused parts of the Great Plains to be stripped of its normal foliage. Over-farming and dry farming techniques depleted the topsoil and overgrazing cattle on the land left parts of the Great Plains barren.
In the early 1930s drought and a large wind storms plagued the region, causing the soil to blow away. In 1932, the weather bureau reported fourteen dust storms.

In the following year, there were 38 dust storms. The storms were so monstrous that the clouds of dust reached 10,000 feet high, blocking out the sun. The dirt rose so high in the atmosphere that in 1934 Midwest towns like Chicago had twelve million tons of dust fall over the city. Likewise, ships located 300 miles off the Atlantic coast had a blanket of dust covering their decks.

The effects of these “black blizzards” were astounding. Dust buried crops and farms. Heat caused uncovered crops to bake in the sun. The wind storms were so powerful that dust seeped into homes, covering everything in a film of soot. Humans and livestock that breathed in the dust suffered a variety of ailments and some died as a result. The children and the elderly were more susceptible to a condition known as “dust pneumonia,” which resulted from prolonged exposure to the dust, eventually leading to death by suffocation.

Farmers tried desperately to hold on to their land and keep their farms, but unable to grow their crops and raise livestock, led many to become penniless. Banks began to foreclose on property and farmers began to migrate west to California in an effort to find work as migrant farmers. Over 400,000 people left the Great Plains region during the “dirty thirties.”

Interactive 6.5 Dust Bowl Timeline

Learn more about the Dust Bowl in this interactive timeline.

Interactive 6.6 The Dust Bowl Episode

Click this link to see a video about the Dust Bowl:
The Depression’s Effect on Society

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did economic, political, social/ cultural choices made a decade earlier contribute to the start of the Great Depression?

2. How did environmental factors affect the Great Depression?

3. How did the government under Hoover react to the Great Depression and what were pros and cons associated with his response?

4. How did the Great Depression affect American citizens?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Rugged Individualism
Bonus Army
Run on the bank

The Depression Strains Many Families

While some Americans feared that the suffering caused by the Depression would undermine moral family values, their fears were mostly unfounded. Family unity became extremely important as families rode out the economic setbacks and social effects of the Depression together. However, there was intense pressure on family life on a daily basis as the struggle to make ends meet was continuous. In some cases, families broke apart for one reason or another because of the emotional strain.

Psychologically, many men had a difficult time coping with unemployment. Accustomed to being able to support their families, many would daily walk the streets searching for jobs.

Some, believing that no work would be available within walking distance, abandoned their families. Wandering the country, hitching rides on railroad boxcars, and sleeping under bridges to survive and hopefully find work to send money home to their families, approximately 2 million men and 8,000 women were labeled as hoboes during the Depression.
The Struggle for Women and Children

Women also worked hard to help their families survive the hard times of the Depression. Within the home, many did what they could to save money such as canning foods and sewing clothes. Outside the home, those who could find jobs, did so, though they usually received less money than men did. Pay was not the only area where women faced job discrimination. As the 1930s wore on, many working women faced resentment because there were so many men who were unemployed. Some cities even refused to hire married women as teachers.

Children also suffered many hardships during the Depression. Some suffered serious health problems due to poor diets and lack of healthcare. As milk consumption declined, reports of malnutrition and diet-related diseases such as rickets and pellagra increased. With no child-welfare funded programs, prevention of these maladies became extremely difficult. From an education standpoint, due to lack of funds, school years were shortened and some schools even closed leaving more than 300,000 students out of school. Many children went to work instead of attending school, working in sweatshops under deplorable conditions.
Long-lasting Social and Psychological Effects

The short-term economic effects of the Depression led to significant sacrifices that resulted in long-term psychological and social issues for many. Many adults stopped going to the doctor or dentist because they couldn’t afford it. High school graduates gave up their dream of going to college. Others set aside plans for marriage and the raising of a family. While seen as a drastic measure, many lost their will to survive; There was a thirty percent increase in the suicide rate between 1928 and 1932.

For many who survived the Depression, their lives were changed forever by memories of extreme poverty and suffering. For some, the feeling of being financially stable was the driving force in their lives. Others continued to take advantage of opportunities to save money and food whenever they could. Perhaps just as strong was the sense of unity that developed among multiple generations of people during this decade of hardship and suffering. To strangers down on their luck, many showed kindness often sharing food, giving clothing, and in some instances a place to stay. Families worked together to share resources and strengthened bonds in communities while developing positive habits that would see themselves through dark economic times. An entire generation of Americans was shaped by these habits--habits that would not only see them through the Great Depression but through further decades of conflict and challenge.

Hoover’s Attempts to Deal with the Depression

In his 1928 presidential bid, Herbert Hoover promised prosperity. A famous Hoover campaign slogan exclaimed there would be “a chicken for every pot.” However, eight months after his inauguration, the president soon found himself presiding over the worst economic depression in the nation’s history.

Herbert Hoover’s policies to combat the Great Depression, are often criticized and misunderstood, because they did little to alleviate the immediate social consequences of the Great Depression. President Hoover was an opponent of socialism and a supporter of rugged individualism, the belief that people should better themselves, with minimal government intervention. However in the midst of the Great Depression, President Hoover took action to try to fix the nation’s economic woes. Hoover expanded public works programs and asked Congress to pass a $160 million tax cut. In addition, President Hoover persuaded Congress to enact legislation that led to the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which allowed the government to issue loans to businesses, in an effort to stimulate...
the economy. Hoover, however did not advocate direct relief, in the form of federal welfare payments to impoverished individuals, believing that would lead to corruption and dependence on the government. Hoover’s political adversaries, in turn portrayed him as callous and disconnected from the citizenry.

**Hoover and the Bonus Army**

During the summer of 1932, over 15,000 World War I veterans and their families converged on Washington, D.C., demanding an early payment of bonuses due to them in 1945. With the nation’s economy in shambles, many veterans were also suffering from jobless and homeless. Dubbed, “The Bonus Army,” the veterans camped in Hoovervilles on the Washington mall and petitioned Congress to issue the payment of their bonuses. According to eyewitness, Joseph C. Harsch, “...These were simply veterans from World War I who were out of luck, out of money, and wanted to get their bonus.” On July 28, upon orders from President Hoover, the military confronted the veterans with tear gas and bayonets in an effort to get them to disperse. Panic and riots ensued, and by nightfall hundreds had been injured and a baby had died. With Hoover’s response to the economic crisis brought on by the Great Depression already in question, the media and public opinion criticized his handling of the Bonus Army incident, further harming his credibility and sealing his fate as President.

**Interactive 6.7 Bonus Army Video**

Learn more about the Bonus Army here.

![Bonus Army Hooverville shacks on Fire after the confrontation with the US Military.](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/00/Evictbonusarmy.jpg)
Many see the election of 1932 as a referendum on the policies of “rugged individualism” of the Hoover administration. In the election, Hoover primarily only won the northeast states, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Connecticut whereas Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) carried all of the other states in the Electoral College. With the election of FDR, the United States embarked on a new path where the Federal Government would take a more active role in the economy with greater intervention including direct relief to citizens in the areas of agriculture, banking, and other social programs. Where Hoover did not advocate for direct relief to Americans, he had—especially since the stock market crash of 1929—worked to alleviate the economic situation through the creation of governmental programs and providing incentives to banks and business to stimulate the economy. He had increased the federal budget significantly from his Republican predecessors in the prior decade from

$3.3 billion in 1930 to $4.6 billion in 1933 resulting in deficit spending to the tune of $2.7 billion in 1932. Although Hoover did attempt to deal with effects of the beginning of the depression, however FDR stated he was willing to go further. He believed that the presidency and the federal government could create programs to directly aid American citizens. This message resonated with American voters who overwhelming elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt as president in 1932.

**The New Deal**

In a fireside chat on May 7, 1933, newly inaugurated President Franklin Roosevelt outlined his “New Deal” for the American people. He laid out his plan to cope with the banking crisis in an earlier chat, but he continued to spell out what action was being taken for relief for the nation in terms of unemployment, mortgage relief for farmers, an increase in public works programs among other ideas. He stated, “We are working toward a definite goal, which is to prevent the return of conditions which came very close to destroying what we call modern civilization. The actual accomplishment of our purpose cannot be attained in a day...I do not deny that we may make mistakes of procedure as we carry out the policy. I have no expectation of making a hit every time I come to bat. What I seek is the highest possible batting average, not only for myself but for the team.”

Roosevelt’s New Deal demonstrated a new role for government in the economy. Economic theories like those of John Maynard Keynes argued for increased government spending, including
deficit spending if necessary, to help moderate the boom and bust cycle of the business cycle and to alleviate unemployment. Since the United States was in a period of economic calamity, Roosevelt believed it necessary to create new government programs and regulation to mitigate the impacts of the depression and eventually lead the US to economic recovery. During a radio address on July 24, 1933, FDR referenced the first 100 days that the 73rd Congress was in session. These 100 days contained legislation for the underpinnings of the New Deal including programs for relief for banks, farmers, and the unemployed. Roosevelt’s goal for his New Deal included programs for relief, recovery, and reform. Some programs focused on relieving the suffering of the Depression, while others were aimed at helping the economy recover. The last set of programs aimed to reform the economy to avoid future depressions.

To address the needs of the banking system, a bill passed by Congress on March 9, 1933 and signed by Roosevelt, created a “bank holiday”, that temporarily closed banks. The act was created to give time for the US Treasury to look at the health of the banks in the United States and rate banks based on their solvency. People's faith in the banking system had waned since the stock market crash of 1929 and culminated in many runs on banks, where a massive amount of people went to withdraw their savings at the same bank at the same time. If banks didn’t have enough cash available and couldn’t liquidate assets quickly enough, they were forced to close and people sometimes lost all of their life’s savings. In 1930 alone, 1,300 banks failed and by 1933 over 9000 bank closed their doors. Further compounding the issue, some banks quickly sold assets at low prices and limited the availability of credit to generate money to pay depositors, so banks had limited funds available to payout, while the need for the money grew even greater. The Hoover administration had tried to provide relief for banks by loaning money with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but borrowers including banks were publically disclosed thus appearing weak since they had borrowed money.

In order to restore faith in the banking system, Roosevelt and Congress enacted various laws and executive orders to bolster people’s faith in the American banking system. Banks reopened after the “holiday” increasing faith in the US banking system.
Farmers had faced lower commodity prices throughout much of the 1920s and into the beginning of the 1930s. Many farmers faced foreclosure as they struggled to repay mortgage loans. The Hoover administration had set up the Federal Farm Board to help stabilize crop prices by holding certain surpluses of commodities like cotton and grain in storage. By reducing the supply, the price of these crops was thought to rise. When Roosevelt became President, he asked Congress to take more action.

In a message to Congress on March 16, 1933 he stated in regards to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, “It relates to agriculture and seeks to increase the purchasing power of our farmers and the consumption of articles manufactured in our industrial communities, and at the same time greatly to relieve the pressure of farm mortgages and to increase the asset value of farm loans made by our banking institutions.”

Part of the act was to provide governmental subsidies to farmers for not planting certain acres and to slaughter various livestock. The intent of both of these programs was to reduce the excess supply of farm commodities which prices had remained very low since World War I in order to increase the price. Many of these programs benefited farmers throughout the United States, but especially on the...
great plains where farmers had been confronted with not only falling farm prices, but the huge ecological problem of drought called the Dust Bowl.

Even though the the AAA was eventually ruled unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court, it was rewritten and passed again in another form. The legacy of these programs is evidenced today in various farming practices including subsidies for not cultivating land and farm price supports.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

In order to address the widespread poverty and needs contained in the Tennessee Valley, President Franklin Roosevelt authorized the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933. The Tennessee Valley, including portions of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, encompassed some of the most poverty stricken areas of the country during the Depression. The region suffered from destructive flooding and many residents had a difficult time dealing with the disastrous effects. Parts of the region also lack modern efficiencies such as electricity. Section 23 of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act directed the government to improve “the economic and social well-being of the people living in said river basin.”

While providing jobs through this government agency, The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), constructed dams to control flooding and also harnessed the power of the Tennessee River to produce hydroelectric power. As a result electricity was brought to the homes of thousands of residents in the Tennessee Valley region for the first time. The TVA also helped to foster economic development within the states contained in the Tennessee Valley.
The Civilian Conservation Corps

One of the New Deal’s most regarded programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Roosevelt proposed the program to Congress soon after he assumed office, and in March of 1933 the CCC was passed by Congress and signed into law. The CCC had a dual purpose of putting young American men to work, as well as, environmental conservation. Throughout the decade of the 1930s, the CCC employed over three million workers.

The Labor Department and state agencies, selected single men between ages 18-25, many of which were listed on relief rolls, to work in the forestry service planting trees, putting out fires, fighting soil erosion, clearing trails and beautifying beaches. The men were paid $30 a month, a major portion of which, was sent directly to their families. CCC camps were set up in every state in the Nation. The program included African-Americans, however the camps were segregated, with separate camps for minority groups by 1935. Indigenous People were also part of the CCC workforce in many states. In fact over the course of the program over 80,000 Indigenous People were employed by the CCC.

The efforts and legacy of the CCC are still visible in many states, including Michigan. By the time the program ended in 1942, the CCC had employed millions men who had worked in forestry or environmental projects in 94 national parks. The CCC also established 711 state parks, and expanded many others.
The Supreme Court and the New Deal

The New Deal was not enacted without controversy. Roosevelt’s programs faced attacks from both the political right and the political left. Conservative opponents felt the New Deal involved too much government interference in business. They also believed that policy of deficit spending--spending more money than the government collects from tax revenues to finance the New Deal, was putting the U.S. too far into debt. Some liberal opponents believed the New Deal did not go far enough to aid poor Americans.

Some of the conservative criticisms of the New Deal became apparent when the Supreme Court declared the National Recovery Act (NRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) unconstitutional. The NRA was declared unconstitutional because, according to the Court, the program went too far to regulate business. In January of 1936, the Court also voided the Agricultural Adjustment Act. In a 6-3 decision, the Court ruled that the federal government did not have the power to regulate agriculture; only the states could do that. The Supreme Court was also poised to rule on many other programs such as the Wagner Act and The Tennessee Valley Authority and the Social Security Act. Sensing that his New Deal could be dismantled, Roosevelt announced his plan to pack the Supreme Court with as many as six new justices that would support his policies. The “court-packing plan,” as it became known threatened to undermine the system of checks

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did economic, political, social/ cultural choices made a decade earlier contribute to the start of the Great Depression?
2. How did environmental factors affect the Great Depression?
3. How did the government under Hoover react to the Great Depression and what were pros and cons associated with his response?
4. How did the Great Depression affect American citizens?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Direct relief
Fireside chat
Deficit spending
Sit-down strike
Welfare strike
and balances. In the eyes of some, Roosevelt lost credibility. In the end, Roosevelt did not carry through with his court-packing plan. By 1941, four justices retired and two died. Roosevelt ended up appointing seven out of the nine justices, who would serve on the Court.

**Additional Critics**

In addition to the challenges placed before him by the Supreme Court, FDR also faced challenges by critics outside the governmental realm. Some of the most notable are listed in the chart on this page.

As New Deal programs took hold, President Roosevelt started to look ahead as he knew that a lot more plans for relief, recovery, and reform were needed. The second hundred days of the Roosevelt administration would bring a second burst of New Deal reforms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person or Group</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Rationale for Opposition to the New Deal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Liberty League</td>
<td>Largely comprised of wealthy business leaders</td>
<td>The ND violated respect for the rights of property as well as individuals, believed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Charles Coughlin</td>
<td>Roman Catholic priest from Detroit</td>
<td>The ND didn’t allow for the nationalization of the banking system or provide for the free coinage of silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Townsend</td>
<td>Physician from Long Beach, California</td>
<td>The ND didn’t provide for an Old Age Revolving Pension like Townsend had proposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huey Long</td>
<td>Senator from Louisiana; later became the state’s governor</td>
<td>The ND didn’t provide for a program similar to Long’s “Share Our Wealth” social program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Second New Deal is a Hit

By the second hundred days of FDR’s Presidency in 1935, economic gains were not as great as the President had hoped they would be. But even though unemployment remained high and industrial production was lower than expected, the New Deal experienced widespread popularity. This led to increased majorities in both houses of Congress gained from the 1934 midterm election. A pleased President Roosevelt took advantage of this and called on Congress to help provide more extensive financial relief for two groups of people: farmers and workers.

Farmers Get a Hand

Early in 1936, when the Supreme Court had struck down the AAA, Congress responded by replacing the law with another. The Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act paid farmers for cutting the production of their soil-depleting crops such as cotton and wheat and rewarded farmers for practicing good methods of soil conservation. Two years later, Congress approved a second AAA, bringing back many features of the first AAA. Through additional assistance many sharecroppers and tenant farmers were able to resettle on more productive farm land. Followed by the establishment of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in 1937, more than $1 billion in assistance was provided to sharecroppers, tenant

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Direct relief

Fireside chat

Deficit spending

Sit-down strike

Welfare strike
farmers, and migrant workers. Additionally the FSA sent photographers such as Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, and Carl Mydans throughout rural towns and farms to capture the tough lives those in rural America faced during the Depression.

**Labor Conditions Get a Boost**

Even though the labor movement had lost momentum in the 1920s, the economic crisis of the Great Depression changed many people’s perspectives on the role of unions and labor. The largest union in the United States up until the Great Depression was the American Federation of Labor (AFL) which organized skilled craft workers. Competing models from organizations like the Congress of Industrial Organizations worked to bring many more types of workers including:

**African-Americans And Women**

The passage of the Wagner Act in 1935 reaffirmed the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act that had provided workers the rights to organize and to collectively bargain contracts with their employers. The act also restricted ways employers could interfere and react to labor practices in the private sector, including the activities of labor unions and striking. Additionally, Congress later passed the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 to establish maximum hours and minimum wages.

These rights were not greeted by most business leaders as something that was beneficial. In fact, most of them were unwilling to negotiate with the new unions. Starting in December 1936 and continuing into 1937, the United Auto Workers in Flint, Michigan staged a strike. The workers, instead of picketing outside the General Motors (GM) factory, took to the factory floor and engaged in a sit-down strike. There were violent clashes between the strikers and local police. GM took to the courts to end the strike, but the Governor of Michigan, Frank Murphy, refused to use the Michigan National Guard to expel the workers from the plant. Murphy stated, “If I send those soldiers right in on the men, there’d be no telling how many would be killed.” He declared, “The state authorities will not take sides. They are here only to protect the public peace.” Talks between management and labor ensued and in the end, the UAW was recognized by GM. This was seen as a victory for union recognition and collective bargaining rights. This was further evidence by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which set minimum wages, ensured better working conditions, and limits on minors in the workplace.

**The New Deal Affects Multiple Groups**

One of the goals of New Deal programs was to provide new opportunities for women. FDR attempted to model this by appointing women to important official positions. Frances Perkins, for example, was the first woman ever appointed to a
President’s Cabinet as the Secretary of Labor. FDR also appointed the first female ambassador and a considerable number of women to federal judgeship positions. Unfortunately, women still faced ongoing discrimination in the workplace with regard to lower wages and unfair hiring practices. Widespread criticism against women working during the Depression didn’t help with women’s desires for equal employment rights; yet the long-term trend of women working outside the home became a reality.

Increased rights for African Americans during the decade of the Depression was a contradiction because although President Roosevelt tried to promote racial equality, he stopped short of a commitment for full civil rights.

Through the President’s appointment of Mary McLeod Bethune to head a special department of the National Youth Administration, her efforts toward increased opportunities for African Americans didn’t stop there. Bethune helped organize a “Black Cabinet” of influential African Americans to advise the President’s administration on racial issues. Never before were there so many African American voices in White House affairs and decisions. However, some New Deal programs discriminated against African Americans. The WPA, the CCC, and the TVA discriminated against African Americans in providing direct relief and wages to workers. Nonetheless most African Americans supported FDR and abandoned the Republican Party.

Mexican-Americans also supported FDR’s administration even though, as a group, they received fewer benefits than did African Americans. Because many Mexican-Americans worked on farms and the farming industry wasn’t protected by state or federal laws. With no support at the state or federal level for guaranteed wages or protection for unions, farm workers ended up working for pennies per hour with no union to fight for them.

Perhaps the group that experienced the most support from the New Deal were the Indigenous Peoples. Strong government
support through the strengthening of land claims helped place reservation lands back into the hands of tribal leadership. Many Indigenous Peoples who valued tribal traditions saw the transfer of land as a giant step forward.

Although results were mixed for minority groups, most backed the President because the general consensus was that the Democratic Party would continue to move rights for each group forward. Many saw one of FDR’s greatest achievements as his creation of a New Deal Coalition. This alignment of diverse groups of people including Southern whites, various urban groups, African Americans, unionized industrial workers, and many others shared one common goal: to support the Democratic Party—not only with regard to the U.S. presidency, but in the U.S. Congress as well.

Other Groups Receive Assistance

Another large group to receive assistance through the establishment of various programs was comprised of youth, professionals, and workers. One of the largest programs was the Works Progress Administration. The WPA created as many jobs as possible employing more than 8 million persons between 1935 and 1943. Workers built airports, constructed and repaired roads, built libraries, schools, and hospitals and female WPA workers sewed over 300 million garments for those in need. Professional workers were also employed by the WPA to create music and art, construct city guides, paint murals, and perform in theater troops providing entertainment across the country.

Meanwhile, Eleanor Roosevelt was pushing her husband to create relief programs for younger Americans who had also suffered during the Depression. Mrs. Roosevelt worried that long-term unemployment and poverty would undermine young Americans’ faith in democracy. She told The New York Times that “I live in real terror when I think we may be losing this generation. We have got to bring these young people into the active life of the community and make them feel that they are necessary.” The National Youth Administration (NYA) was created shortly thereafter, to help young people by providing aid and employment by providing grants to high school and college students in exchange for work. Secondly, for young people who were both unemployed and not in school, the NYA combined economic relief with on-the-job training in federally funded work projects designed to provide youth with marketable skills for the future.

Social Security

One of the most influential programs that was enacted as a part of the New Deal was the Social Security Act of 1935. The Great Depression had far reaching effects on all sectors of the economy and on all portions of the population. Often the first to be laid-off, elderly Americans were hit especially hard by during the Depression. In addition, less than ten percent of Americans had access to private pension plans through their employers. Hence
the Depression, led to a situation in which many older Americans, could not sufficiently provide for their needs. The Social Security Act (SSA) aimed to provide some financial security to older Americans, as well as unemployed workers, those with disabilities and impoverished children.

The old age pension portion of the Social Security Act was designed to provide a retirement benefit, that was to be collected monthly when people reached the age of 65 and ceased working. Social Security was funded through payroll taxes of working Americans, which garnered controversy among critics of the New Deal. However, Roosevelt wanted the program to be self-sustaining, not dependant on government revenues. The payroll tax was a necessity in Roosevelt’s view. Although Social Security gave aid to many who were suffering from poverty, it also excluded agricultural and domestic workers, meaning that at least 60 percent of the nation’s black population was excluded.

Social Security Act of 1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Old-Age Assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td>Federal financial support and oversight of state-based welfare programs for the elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Federal Old-Age Benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Social Security program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Unemployment Insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td>National unemployment insurance, with federal funding and state administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Aid to Dependent Children</td>
<td></td>
<td>State-based welfare for needy children (what would come to be called AFDC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td>Federal funding of state programs for expectant mothers and newborns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Public Health Work</td>
<td></td>
<td>Federal funding of state public health programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Aid to the Blind</td>
<td></td>
<td>Federal funding of state programs to aid the blind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES: [http://www.olderpeople isSuccess.org/seniors.html](http://www.olderpeople.isSuccess.org/seniors.html)

Interactive 6.11 Fireside Chat

Click on this link to listen to and read Franklin Roosevelt’s Fireside Chat.
Society and Culture

The popular culture of the 1930s was full of contradictions. While the previous decade might have signaled the beginning of the clash between traditional values and modern ways of thinking, it continued during the 1930s. The sentimentality associated with the longing for the good and simple times of the “Roaring 20s” would have to blend with the toughness needed to survive the decade of financial suffering of the 1930s and dream of a brighter future. As with other decades, artistic expression through art, music, theater, movies, and literature reflected the societal challenges of the time.

New Deal Reforms that Last

Both New Deal programs attracted criticism from all sides of the political scene. While some labeled the Roosevelt administration as fascist, others labeled it communist. From the political right, the New Deal placed too much of an emphasis on the government’s involvement in the economy and was too extreme...
in its pro-labor and anti-business stand; from the left, the New Deal gave business too much power--never attempting to change the system of capitalism in the country.

No matter which side of the political spectrum critics leaned, there were enduring effects of Roosevelt’s New Deal programs. The Roosevelt administration was responsible for expanding the power of the federal government (especially that of the President) in shaping the state of the nation’s economy. Prior to the Great Depression, there was little government oversight in the banking and financial sector. Programs were put in place to help the economy recover, to restore confidence in the US banking system, and to help to avoid future depressions. The Federal government created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to guarantee individual bank deposits up to $2500 initially and increased to $5000 by 1934. The FDIC continues to exist today. During the Great Recession of 2008, deposits became guaranteed up $250,000. Another program that is still in existence today, called the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC), was put in place in 1934, to protect investors, insure fairness in trading, and help maintain efficiency in the stock market.

Another program that continues to have a lasting impact on the United States is Social Security. With the goal of providing financial security to elderly Americans, unemployed workers, the disabled, and dependant children, Social Security has become a controversial assistance program. The debate hinges on how the program continues to be funded. With a greater percentage of Americans reaching retirement age, compared to those who are currently working and paying into the system, many fear that Social Security may be unsustainable. However, many Americans continue to rely on Social Security as an important source of income in their retirement years.

One of the greatest legacies of the New Deal was not the programs, but instead, how people viewed the role of government in the economy and society. The New Deal dramatically expanded the size of the federal government and the influence of executive power. One of the most pronounced effects of the New Deal was the acceptance of deficit spending. In order to finance the multitude of governmental programs that made up the New Deal, the government needed to spend more money than it took in through taxes. This caused the U.S. debt to increase from $22 billion in 1933 to $33 billion by 1936. In addition to the expansion of the government spending, the public view of governmental assistance changed. The idea that the government was responsible for the economic security of its citizens was a shift in perspective, that became more accepted as a by product of the New Deal. The effects of the Welfare State remains point of political discussion and debate today.

Although the New Deal did not end the Depression, it did help to relieve some suffering and provide a stronger sense of security for
many Americans. The New Deal expanded the role of government in the United States. The legacy of these programs is mixed as far as their effectiveness and how people view the role of government in the economy and society. Regardless of perspective, there are New Deal programs that still impact the nation today.
Chapter 7

Was the Conduct of the U.S. During WWII Consistent With Its Core Democratic Values?

1. What were the causes of World War II?

2. How did the civic values of the Axis powers differ from the core democratic values of the United States?

3. Would the alliance of Axis powers have happened if the U.S. had not adopted a policy of Isolationism?

4. How did American civic values contribute to the role the U.S. home front played during WWII?

5. Could steps have been taken by the Allies that would have prevented or greatly reduced the impact of the Holocaust?

6. What were the major turning points of the war in each theater of war?

7. How did the role of technology affect the outcome of World War II?

8. How did World War II change the foreign policy of the United States?
Roots of the Second World War

After four long and bitter years of a disastrous conflict that claimed the lives of over 620,000 soldiers, a haggard and worn president looked over the crowd and uttered the immortal words:

“With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What were the causes of World War II?
2. How did the civic values of the Axis powers differ from the core democratic values of the United States?
3. Would the alliance of Axis powers have happened if the U.S. had not adopted a policy of Isolationism?
4. How did American civic values contribute to the role the U.S. home front played during WWII?
5. Could steps have been taken by the Allies that would have prevented or greatly reduced the impact of the Holocaust?
6. What were the major turning points of the war in each theater of war?
7. How did the role of technology affect the outcome of World War II?
8. How did World War II change the foreign policy of the United States?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Totalitarianism
Fascism
National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazi)
Lebensraum
Collective Security
Just a month before his assassination, President Abraham Lincoln spoke those words with the intent to heal the nation’s wounds and unite friends and foes alike after four years of the American Civil War. Lincoln seemed to understand that bitterness and hatred, revenge and strife, have the capacity to inflict severe damage long after the last artillery shell is launched on a battlefield.

**Failure of the Versailles Treaty**

Just over fifty years later, Woodrow Wilson headed to the Versailles Conference following the Great War, hoping to bring reconciliation and peace to Europe after four years of a different tragic, senseless war--World War I, the “war to end all wars.” His goal: “a just and lasting peace.” Wilson also understood the destructive nature of revenge, and his hope for the world was one that could cut right to the causes of war and surgically eliminate them, replacing them instead with democratic ideals and self-determination. However, European leaders wanted to make Germany pay, and pay it did. The “just and lasting peace” sought by Wilson ended with a treaty that one Versailles representative called “a peace built on quicksand.” David Lloyd George, Britain’s prime minister, lamented that the terms were “so harsh that we shall have to fight another war again in 25 years’ time at three times the cost.” The end result was a Second World War that picked up where the last one left off.

Look at the maps in the interactive.

1. What changes do you see on the 1923 map?

2. What countries seemed to have lost the most territory?

3. How might the changes on the map as a result of the Treaty of Versailles contribute to political, social tensions and geographic

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“I The Day” (Der Tag): Allied leaders at Versailles force Germany to take a bitter pill. Source: Daily Express [London] 7 May 1919

Interactive 7.1 Map Analysis

Study the maps located here. Use them to answer the questions that follow.
President Wilson had hoped that “making the world safe for democracy” through self-determination, young democracies would be born that would assist in promoting world peace and security. But, in the years following the Great War, democracy after democracy struggled. Leader after leader arose and made promises to provide food and jobs for people while the social order continued to break down around them. Instead of democracy flourishing in the post-war world, democracies gave way to powerful leaders who secured their power through brutal means and controlled every aspect of society. The 1920s and 1930s were the decades characterized by the rise of totalitarian dictatorships. **Totalitarianism** is a form of government whereby a leader or small council of leaders have total and complete authority, controlling all aspects of a country's political, economic, and social life.

**Stalin and the Communist State**

The rise of totalitarian dictatorships in the interwar period began in Russia following its early departure from World War I. The war had greatly highlighted Russia's weak and ineffective leadership, both politically and militarily, in addition to its relative lack of industrialization compared to the Western powers. Furthermore, Russia was
forced to make tremendous land concessions when it surrendered to the Germans in 1917, only to watch that land further divided up by the Allies at Versailles.

In the ensuing years of the Russian Revolution, the move towards communism brought about a complete reordering of Russian society and the creation of the world’s first socialist state. The country’s name was changed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union. The country’s leader, Joseph Stalin was able to ultimately seize power and gain total control of all aspects of Soviet power, the economy and life. The process began with the creation of a powerful police state that heavily monitored all aspects of Soviet life. Instead of serving and protecting, the Soviet secret police used terror, murder and intimidation to carry out the policies of Stalin’s government. Education was used to promote the virtues of communism with Stalin at the head. Propaganda was used extensively to control the information received by citizens. Anyone perceived to be a threat to Stalin’s authority were systematically destroyed through the use of a secret police that ruthlessly arrested and/or executed any opposition. Millions were sent to Soviet work camps in Siberia, known as gulags, where life expectancy was typically one winter. While many of these aspects of Soviet life under Stalin’s rule were hidden from international view, Stalin’s impact on the Soviet economy got the attention of the world. For the Soviet Union to overcome the humiliating defeat to Germany in World War I and to become a global power to be reckoned with, the Soviets needed to increase the availability of essential industrial products like oil, steel, and electricity, in addition to significantly improving agricultural production. Stalin took control of all aspects of the Soviet economy by instituting a series of economic plans that sought to modernize the country. After some initial setbacks industrially, Stalin’s plans significantly enhanced the Soviet Union’s position as a modern industrial power.

Stalin’s economic plans succeeded in providing full employment and economic growth in the Soviet economy during the early 1930s at a time when western democracies were struggling heavily with the global depression. Even as early as the 1920s, as young democratic countries arising out of the ruins of World War I struggled economically to provide jobs for workers, Russia’s initial transition to communism began to seem like a better solution than capitalism. As unemployed workers took to the streets in protest of ineffective governments and poor economic conditions, violence often resulted, and many perceived communism to be a significant threat to stability and social order. They responded by supporting individuals and political parties who promised to counter communism, bring about social order,
and restore a perceived path to destiny that had somehow been lost due to the outcome of World War I. For Italians and Germans, those individuals were Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, and their emergence as totalitarian dictators took similar paths.

Mussolini and the Fascist State

Benito Mussolini’s rise to power in Italy eleven years before Hitler was fueled mainly by troubling economic conditions and frustration that Italy’s territorial gains from the Versailles Treaty had not been more significant. Italy had been severely weakened by the war and suffered from inflation, unemployment, and a series of ineffective governments that could not handle the postwar economic challenges. This only gave birth to further instability and popular discontent. Further plaguing the country was the spread of the ideals of the Russian Revolution, whose communist philosophy promoted wave after wave of labor strikes and even led Italy’s peasant farmers to seize private land.

Mussolini gained a following after creating a political party called the Fascist Party and using his followers (known as “Black Shirts” due to the uniforms they wore) to violently confront communists and socialists in the streets. Fascism is a totalitarian political movement characterized by extreme nationalism, militarism, anti-communism, and denial of individual rights. [Mussolini coined the term after the fasces, a symbol from Ancient Rome of an ax head projecting from a tight bundle of sticks, which came to represent power (ax) and collective strength (the bundle of sticks)].

For Mussolini, fascism was summed up by the idea, “All within the state, none outside the state, none against the state.” In addition to promising order and stability, Mussolini further promised through fiery, rousing speeches that he would lead Italy “back to her ways of ancient greatness.” The ensuing social order brought about by the fascist troops earned him the support of the lower middle class, in addition to the wealthy industrial and agricultural land-owning classes. Mussolini secured his power in October of 1922 when he marched on Rome with 30,000 fascists and demanded that Italy’s king put him in power. To avoid violence, the king appointed him as prime minister and, from that point forward, Mussolini worked to consolidate total power. Calling himself “Il Duce” (the leader), he moved quickly to eliminate democracy, outlaw political parties, and eliminate any
opposition through the secret police. Italy soon became the world’s first fascist government.

**Hitler and Nazi State**

Mussolini’s march on Rome was inspiring to a German World War I veteran named Adolf Hitler. A few years after the war, Hitler got involved in a political organization that was also able to capitalize on the instability of the postwar years and the bitter legacy of the Versailles Treaty. While Italians were struggling with Versailles because of what they did not get, Germans were stunned by what they did get—blame for the loss and a $33 billion reparations bill for the entire cost of the war, all while having a significant means of national income stripped away from them in the form of lost colonies and productive capacity. In the minds of many Germans, being saddled with the loss of the war was inconceivable, especially in light of the fact that the German army had forced the Russians from the war in 1917, and the German army still maintained troops in France and Belgium when the armistice was signed. The bitter defeat, the harsh conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty, and the ensuing economic collapse of the German economy led German citizens to seek blame for the postwar settlement that had deprived Germany of her greatness on the world stage. For Hitler, the answer was found in socialists, communists, Jews, and anybody else who had “stabbed Germany in the back,” including members of Germany’s own Weimar Republic who seemed a little too quick to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler found his ideas were collectively shared by a German political party that ultimately came to be known as the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, or Nazi Party.

**Interactive 7.5 Nazism and Fascism: A Comparison Pt 1**

**Interactive 7.6 Nazism and Fascism: A Comparison Pt 2**

To see the 25 core beliefs of the Nazi Party (the Nazi Party Platform) under Hitler, click here to visit this website from The History Place.

Hear Mussolini’s own Definition here.
Much like the Italian fascist Black Shirts, the Nazis distinguished themselves with their private uniforms and army (known as Brown Shirts, or storm troopers), their willingness to use violence, and the use of symbols (the swastika) for identification. Their intensely nationalistic beliefs and racist views, their desire to stomp communism from their midst, and the belief that Germany needed to be liberated from the bondage of the Treaty of Versailles led Hitler and the Nazis to overthrow the German government in Munich in 1923, the year after Mussolini marched on Rome. While the “Beer Hall Putsch” was a failure and resulted in his arrest for treason, Hitler served only nine months of a five year jail term. While in prison, he wrote his autobiography, Mein Kampf (My Struggle), which outlined several key beliefs that would serve as a blueprint for the rise of a new Germany: Germans were a “master race”, and races such as Jews and Slavs were inferior; German losses at the hands of the Versailles Treaty needed to be rolled back; German-speaking peoples needed to be reunited...
in one land; and the vastly-underutilized expanses of eastern Europe and Russia were destined to provide Lebensraum, or “living space,” for Germany’s master race. All members of the master race who wanted employment would find it, and Germany’s prosperity and greatness would be restored.

Hitler and the Nazi party remained relatively powerless until the impact of the Great Depression reached Germany and Europe. As the German economy worsened and fear and uncertainty increased, more Germans began to vote extremist political parties like the Nazi and communist parties into the Reichstag, Germany’s national parliament. Hitler found easy targets for Germany’s economic woes—capitalists, the Weimar Republic, the Versailles Treaty, communists, and especially Jews. Political battles for public support often found violent expression in the streets, where clashes between communists, Nazis and other groups became commonplace. Through the clever application of propaganda and Hitler’s ability to captivate audiences with a dramatic flair for public speaking, the Nazi party was able to democratically win more seats in the German Reichstag than any other political party by 1932. Hitler used the results of the popular vote and his rising political influence to demand that he be installed as chancellor of Germany.

After the Reichstag fire was blamed on communists, he persuaded the German president, the German people, and the Nazi Party-controlled Reichstag to grant him “emergency powers” necessary to protect the country. He suspended civil liberties and began the process of purging Germany of anyone who might oppose him. The communist party was banned, while freedom of the press and of assembly were denied. A month later, another act was passed which gave Hitler powers to bypass both the Reichstag and the country’s constitution. With his power expanding, Hitler had his enemies, rivals, and even former friends murdered in 1934 in what became known as “Night of the Long Knives.” When the German president died later that summer, Hitler assumed full dictatorial

**Interactive 7.7 How did Hitler Rise to Power?**

For a short video on how a democracy like Germany could give rise to a dictator like Hitler, click here

When a suspicious fire burned down the German Reichstag building a month later and was blamed on a communist plot to take over the government, it conveniently gave Hitler the opportunity he needed to secure his power. Image source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/20/Reichstagsbrand.jpg/374px-Reichstagsbrand.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/20/Reichstagsbrand.jpg/374px-Reichstagsbrand.jpg)
powers and began pursuing the goals he laid out in Mein Kampf. But before he could regain lands taken from Germany after World War I, he needed to equip Germany with a powerful military that had been denied by the Treaty of Versailles. In violation of the peace agreement, Hitler began a dramatic expansion of the military, including the creation of a dominant air force known as the Luftwaffe. Withdrawal from the League of Nations soon followed.

**Japanese Emperor Hirohito**

Meanwhile, halfway across the globe while Hitler and the Nazi Party were rising to power in the Reichstag, the imperial-minded and highly nationalistic Japanese military had taken dictatorial control of Japan, while Emperor Hirohito ruled as the symbolic power of Japan. Throughout the early 1900s, Japan had sought to take its place among the most prestigious and modernized countries of the world, but it struggled economically due to its overpopulation and lack of important raw materials necessary for industry, like oil, rubber, and metals. Furthermore, the country had felt that European powers were a little too slow to recognize its emergence as a world power, and its national resentment began to build. Its first solution to the problem was to invade the resource-rich region of China, known as Manchuria, in 1931. This would be the aggressive first step for the Japanese in creating an empire that would provide living space for the country, in addition to the raw materials necessary for Japan to prosper. China, in little position to act while in the midst of a civil war, appealed to the League of Nations for assistance. The League condemned Japan’s actions in the region, but was unable to encourage League members to collectively impose sanctions. Japan simply withdrew from the League in 1933 and soon began a massive naval build up in the Pacific. This would give the Japanese the military power needed to expel Western imperial powers from Asia and increase the magnitude of the Japanese empire.
The League of Nations Fails to Halt Aggression

The League of Nations was created in direct response to Woodrow Wilson’s desire to avoid future wars through a “general association of nations”, both big and small, that could gather and peacefully resolve international disputes. By pursuing policies related to disarmament and the principle of collective security, war (at least in theory) could be rendered obsolete. **Collective security** is the idea that countries can maintain peace by entering into agreements whereby an attack against one member is viewed as an attack on all members. Unfortunately, the League of Nations was weak from the start.

- Several powerful countries were initially left out of the formation of the League following World War I, including Germany and Russia.
- The United States itself failed to join, for fear that the country would be under obligation to enter into yet another horrendous foreign conflict.
- Without a military or even the full cooperation of member nations, the League lacked the power to effectively carry out its rulings.

As a result of the League’s weaknesses, it was often ineffective in halting acts of aggression committed by larger countries seeking to expand their territory, restore their national honor, and to overcome the humiliations handed out at Versailles following World War I.

With little to stop the ambitious totalitarian agenda, the result would be the single biggest catastrophe in the history of mankind, a second global war that would view civilian populations as legitimate targets of military action.
Italy Invades Ethiopia  By 1935, Italy began pursuit of its plans to dominate the Mediterranean and to incorporate more of Africa into its empire, in pursuit of the dream of reestablishing for Italy the glory of the old Roman Empire. Fighting soon broke out between Italian and Abyssinian troops in Africa’s only remaining independent nation, Abyssinia (now Ethiopia). Despite pleas for assistance to the League of Nations by Abyssinian emperor Haile Selassie, the best the League could do was impose limited economic sanctions (coal and oil were not included) against Italy. With European democracies weakened by depression, Mussolini sent in tanks and planes, and Abyssinia fell, eliciting little response other than sympathy from the West. With the world watching, the door was now opened for
Germany, Italy and Japan to further expansion of their empires without much resistance from the Western powers, who were growing increasingly isolationist and pacifistic in their desires to overcome the effects of the Great Depression and to avoid being drawn into the affairs of other countries.

Hitler Enters the Rhineland

By 1936, Hitler was ready to make his move. With the world’s eyes focused on events in Abyssinia, German troops moved unchallenged into the Rhineland in violation of the Versailles Treaty. France and Britain, unwilling and unable to challenge the rising Nazi war machine, declined to intervene. It would not be the last fascist challenge of the year.

Under the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, the territory around the Rhineland was not to be militarized.

The bombing of the Spanish city of Guernica by the German air force was a forerunning of how aerial attacks on civilian populations would characterize the Second World War.

Spanish Civil War

Spanish General Francisco Franco led a rebellion against his country’s republican government, seeking to replace it instead with a fascist government. Both Mussolini and Hitler supported the move with troops and weapons, including the use of the
German Luftwaffe to bomb civilians in the Spanish city of Guernica. After three years of fighting, Franco’s fascist troops prevailed, and another European country fell to fascism. Once again, France, Great Britain and the United States stood by, alarmed by the direction events were headed, but unwilling to be dragged into another potential war. The Spanish Civil War, along with the economic sanctions imposed on Italy after the invasion of Abyssinia, cemented the relationship between Italy and Germany. After signing a treaty of friendship with Hitler, Mussolini announced the creation of “a Rome-Berlin axis around which all European states that desire peace can revolve.” By 1937, the alliance of Italy, Germany and Japan (the Axis Powers) was complete.

America Moves Toward Isolationism

With events heating up overseas, the United States was being swept by a wave of isolationism. Mired in depression and haunted by the memories of the senseless loss of lives during World War I, the United States was further moved toward isolation by the findings of the Nye Committee, a Senate committee charged with investigating a popular conspiracy theory that the United States had entered World War I so that munitions makers could earn a profit. Although the investigation had found that so-called “merchants of death” had indeed made a profit (and were a little resistant to international disarmament throughout the 1920s), there was little evidence that bankers and armaments manufacturers had overly influenced Wilson’s decision to enter the war. Despite the reports’ findings, the aggressive actions of the totalitarian governments overseas combined with rising anti-war sentiment of the American public encouraged Congress to pass an initial series of Neutrality Acts in 1935, 1936, and 1937. The acts essentially prohibited Americans from selling arms, providing loans, or travelling on ships of any foreign nation at war with another. The acts additionally banned American

Interactive 7.8 Merchant of Death

To learn more about the Nye Committee’s investigation, click here
involvement in the Spanish Civil War, although 3,000 Americans (the Abraham Lincoln Brigade) did voluntarily fight on behalf of the Loyalists. At the discretion of the President, belligerent nations could purchase items unrelated to arms, but only a "cash and carry" basis-- They had to pay upfront and then transport the goods using their own ships.

**Japan Invades China**

While the solution seemed reasonable to keep America out of Europe’s growing crisis, events across the Pacific cast a rather long shadow on those hoping to keep America out of conflict. In the summer of 1937, Chinese troops clashed with Japanese troops outside of the city of Peking, not far from the border of Manchuria, which the Japanese had renamed Manchukuo. The Japanese used it as a pretext for all-out war to capture Chinese markets, a move that the Open Door policy and the presence of the Western imperial powers had prevented. Japanese troops poured across the border and, in the ensuing months, advanced towards the Chinese city of Nanking. Hoping to issue a wakeup call to the American public regarding the inevitability of involvement in war, President Roosevelt called for an economic "quarantine" of the aggressor nations, warning that peace-loving nations had a responsibility to oppose the “reign of terror and international lawlessness” that was spreading like a disease across the globe. Isolationists criticized Roosevelt, fearing that Roosevelt was steering the United States away from neutrality.
### Panay Incident

In less than two months, Roosevelt’s warnings were driven home after Japanese planes attacked several American and British ships on the Yangtze River in China. Three tankers and the U.S.S. Panay, a gunboat which had been charged with evacuating American citizens from China, were sunk, killing two Americans and wounding 30 more. Roosevelt and the American public were outraged. Roosevelt suggested that Britain and United States should collectively impose a naval blockade of Japan to cut off imports of raw materials but, fearing war, Britain declined. The threat of action, however, lead the Japanese to issue an apology, in addition to payment for damages and a promise to avoid future attacks. The American public was temporarily satisfied. Two days after the Panay incident, Japanese troops marched into the city of Nanking. It would become a precursor to the enormous cost civilians would pay in a global war where civilians would be specifically targeted by militaries across Europe, Asia, and the Pacific.

**Interactive 7.9 Bombing of USS Panay**

For a newsreel on the invasion of Nanking and the attack on the Panay, click here

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**Roosevelt’s Quarantine Speech**

*It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.*

*War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.*

Adolf Hitler, beginning a list of the reasons for his Declaration of War against the United States, December 11, 1941
Over the next six weeks, Japanese troops committed mass atrocities against the Chinese civilians in Nanking, involving systematic murder, rape, mutilation, beheadings and torture. Between 260,000 and 350,000 Chinese were slaughtered in what became known as the **Rape of Nanking**. While limited by the Neutrality Acts, the United States made efforts to support the Chinese indirectly with supplies through neighboring countries, while putting diplomatic pressure on the Japanese to withdraw from China. Japan refused, instead beginning an extensive push to eliminate Western influence from the region, thereby creating an “Asia for Asians,” or what the Japanese would refer to as the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.” With a strong U.S.

presence in the Philippines, Japan and the United States were on a collision course.

**Interactive 7.10** The Rape of Nanking

*To read of an account of a witness in Nanking, click here*

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*My good friends, for the second time in our history, a British Prime Minister has returned from Germany bringing peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time. Go home and get a nice quiet sleep.*

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, announcing the results of the Munich Agreement after returning from Berlin on September 30, 1938.
The Allies Seek to Appease Hitler

In Europe, Hitler had been carefully monitoring the reactions of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the League of Nations to Axis territorial aggressions unfolding in Africa, Spain, and China. With both the Western powers and the League of Nations refusing to take a stand, Hitler began his pursuit of reuniting German-speaking peoples by regaining German lands held before World War I. In March of 1938, Hitler marched troops into Austria and announced that his native land had formed an Anschluss, or “union”, with Germany. Britain and France protested, but failed to act. In September, Hitler zeroed in on annexing the German-speaking population that occupied the Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia. In the hopes of avoiding the tragedy of another bloody war, French and British officials met with Hitler in Munich (with Italy’s Mussolini acting as a mediator). In exchange for Hitler’s promise not to seek any further territory, the British and French agreed to allow Hitler to take the Sudetenland. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned to London and declared there would be “peace for our time.” The policy of giving up territory in exchange for promises to avoid war became known as appeasement. In March of 1939, a mere six months after the Munich Agreement, Hitler seized the rest of Czechoslovakia. Italy took advantage of the situation and invaded Albania. For many, appeasement was viewed as cowardly and destined to fail. Winston Churchill commented, “Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonor. They chose dishonor. They will have war.”
Stalin and Hitler Sign a Nonaggression Pact. While appeasement did not ultimately prevent war, what appeasement did do was buy Great Britain and France time to prepare for war. They did not have to wait much longer. For Hitler, the time was ripe for entering the next phase of his master plan, living space in Eastern Europe for his “master race”. To eliminate the threat of a two-front war involving the Soviet Union during Germany's invasion of Eastern Europe, Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with Joseph Stalin in August, which included promises to avoid war with each other for ten years, in addition to a plan to secretly divide Poland between the two powers. The pact was a shock to the world, since fascism’s primary goal had been the elimination of communism. However, Stalin was also attempting to buy time before an inevitable confrontation with Hitler.
Germany Invades Poland

On September 1, 1939, German troops launched a massive invasion of Poland, demonstrating the damage that a rapid-strike, industrialized-warfare using tanks, planes, and troops could inflict on those who were in the way. While Britain and
France declared war two days after the start of the invasion, President Roosevelt affirmed the neutrality of the United States. Poland fell in less than five weeks, victims of the lethal Nazi strategy known as **Blitzkrieg**, or “lightning war.” In November, the Neutrality Acts were modified by the U.S. Congress to allow Great Britain and France to purchase weapons on a “cash and carry basis.” They would need them: Within the next six months, the fascist war machines rolled over the European continent until only Britain remained. In fact, between 1939 and 1942, it appeared as if the successful military campaigns of the totalitarian dictatorships would indeed swallow up the world.

**Europe Falls to the Nazis**

The start of the intense Nazi push into Western Europe appeared deceptively uneventful: From the invasion of Poland until April of 1940, the continent saw little conflict on the Western Front. The period was dubbed the “Sitzkrieg”, or “sitting war”, while others called it the “Phony War”. Expected Nazi attacks on British cities and the French countryside were non-existent. However, the relatively quiet winter ended with a surprise invasion in April of Denmark and Norway, the next two countries to fall to the Nazis. An invasion of the Lowland countries of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg followed, despite efforts by French and British
troops to resist. In June, France surrendered when German troops marched into Paris while Italian troops invaded from the south of France. After forcing the French to sign surrender terms in the same railroad car that saw the Germans sign the armistice to end World War I, Hitler had France divided into two: Northern France was occupied by the Germans, while a puppet government controlled by Germany was established in southern France (Vichy France). In London, a Free French government was established by Charles de Gaulle. Over the same time frame, protected by the nonaggression pact with Hitler, the Soviets invaded Eastern Poland and Finland, then took over the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, seeking to expand Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and to regain much of the land that Russia had lost as a result of World War I.

**Interactive 7.12 The Fall of France**

Click here for an interactive media timeline that includes radio news, speeches and broadcasts for significant events from World War II (Requires Flash - May not work on an iPad)

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**The Battle of Britain**

With the French defeated, Hitler was now able to turn his attention across the English Channel, attempting to accomplish what no other army had been able to do since 1066—successfully invade Britain. German troops began to amass in France, but first Hitler had to gain military dominance in the skies over Britain by defeating the Royal Air Force. In what became known as the Battle of Britain, the German Luftwaffe began attacking the island in earnest throughout the summer and fall of 1940, bombing British airfields and cities. British pilots, spurred on by Britain’s Prime Minister Winston Churchill and assisted by Britain’s development of radar, fought valiantly in defense of the country, ultimately defeating the German Luftwaffe and forcing Hitler to abandon his plans for invading Great Britain.

**Roosevelt Moves America Towards War**

Britain’s resistance against the Nazi war machine soon began to take a toll on its finances. The shortage of cash in the treasury made it difficult for the country to continue to gain war materials under the United States’ policy of “cash and carry.” In September, Roosevelt responded by trading 50 World War I destroyers to Great Britain in return for leases of British military bases in the Caribbean and the Atlantic. By the end of the month, though, the situation changed further: News broke that Germany, Italy and Japan signed a mutual defense agreement, the Tripartite Pact, designed to keep the United States out of the
war. Not only did it agree to respect the “new order” created by the Axis powers on their respective continents, but it also guaranteed assistance if any of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis were attacked by the United States. The pact guaranteed America would find herself in a two-ocean war if she declared war. Further compounding the situation in Europe, Italy had entered the war and had invaded Greece. For Roosevelt, the intent of the Axis powers was clear and, coming off a fresh election victory in 1940 for an unprecedented third term, it was time to take a decisive stand, declaring in December of 1940 that America “must be the great arsenal of democracy.”

He took advantage of his annual address to Congress a week later, the first week of January, 1941, to lay out America’s policy toward the events unfolding in Europe, including the request for funds necessary to supply cash-strapped European countries with the weapons and supplies necessary to carry on the fight against the fascist countries. In what became known as the “Four Freedoms” speech, Roosevelt also laid out his vision of the post-war world:

**Interactive 7.13 The Arsenal of Democracy**

**Interactive 7.14 Detroit**

**Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms Speech**

“In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.
Despite opposition to intervention from groups like the America First Committee, Roosevelt was able to promote the passage through Congress of the **Lend-Lease Act**, which loaned war supplies to Britain and other countries considered vital to U.S. security, in exchange for future repayment. With Britain fighting to fend off the Nazis, the act passed Congress in March of 1941. While officially remaining neutral, the United States was preparing for war.

**Political Cartoon Analysis**

Ho Hum! No chance of contagion. (appeared in May 1941)

1. What is the subject of the political cartoon?

2. What are the circumstances that would have led to the creation of the cartoon?

3. For whom would the cartoon have been created?

4. What is the message that Dr. Seuss is attempting to get across to the audience?

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**Roosevelt Explains the Lend-Lease Act**

“Well, let me give you an illustration: Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his fire. Now, what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, "Neighbor, my garden hose cost me $15; you have to pay me $15 for it." What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want $15--I want my garden hose back after the fire is over. All right. If it goes through the fire all right, intact, without any damage to it, he gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it. But suppose it gets smashed up--holes in it--during the fire; we don't have to have too much formality about it, but I say to him, "I was glad to lend you that hose; I see I can't use it any more, it's all smashed up." He says, "How many feet of it were there?" I tell him, "There were 150 feet of it." He says, "All right, I will replace it." Now, if I get a nice garden hose back, I am in pretty good shape."

--FDR's Fire Hose Lend-Lease Press Conference

http://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/dswenttoward/index.html#ark:bb38916372
Hitler Invades the Soviet Union

As Britain’s pilots began to defeat wave after wave of German planes over Britain, Hitler abandoned his plan to conquer Britain and turned his attention instead to Eastern Europe. Driven by his pursuit of raw materials, lebensraum, and a desire to eliminate Europe of Jews and communists, Hitler broke his nonaggression pact with Stalin. After Axis powers took over Greece and Yugoslavia, Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in June of 1941. The massive assault into Soviet territory was composed of the largest military force ever assembled: 3 million troops, 625,000 horses, 3350 tanks, and 2,270 aircraft. Despite Allied warnings, the Soviets were caught unprepared. The seemingly unstoppable German troops blitzkreiged their way into heart of the Soviet Union throughout the summer of 1941.

Churchill and Roosevelt Establish Allied War Goals

Meanwhile, in preparation for war, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill gathered for a secret meeting aboard the USS Augusta off the coast of Newfoundland. There, the two leaders forged the Atlantic Charter, a document that contained the major goals that would govern Allied aims throughout the war. The document, which echoed many of Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points from World War I, proclaimed that the Allies would seek no territorial gains and would promote principles that would reflect their “hopes for a better world.” The Atlantic Charter would serve as the foundation upon which the United Nations would be constructed at the end of the war, replacing the broken and ineffective League of Nations.

Primary Source Analysis: The Atlantic Charter

1. Do a close reading of the Atlantic Charter.

2. What are the principles of the Charter that Churchill and Wilson thought would bring about “a better world”?

3. What principals are similar to Wilson’s Fourteen Points?

4. As you read the rest of the chapter, rate the British and the United States in terms of how well they achieved their goals throughout the war and during the postwar settlement.
Six weeks before the Japanese attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, the U.S.S. Reuben James was sunk by a German U-boat in the North Atlantic on October 31, 1941, claiming the lives of 115 sailors. The destroyer, which was on convoy duty protecting lend-lease shipments at the time, was forever immortalized by the Woody Guthrie song, The Sinking of the Reuben James.

**America’s Undeclared Naval War with Germany**

With the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, Roosevelt began widening the Lend-Lease program to include shipments of supplies to the Soviets. However, as American shipments of supplies increased across the Atlantic, the expanded traffic and lengthy supply lines attracted the attention of German submarines (U-boats). In order to cut Britain and Russia’s Lend-Lease lifelines to the United States, hundreds of German U-boats relentlessly preyed upon Allied shipping. As Allied losses mounted throughout the spring and fall of 1941, confrontations between the Germany and the United States increased. In September, a German U-boat fired on a U.S. destroyer in the Atlantic. Despite neutrality with Germany, Roosevelt ordered the Navy to shoot U-boats “on sight.” In October, U-boats torpedoed two American destroyers on convoy duty within a week of each other, including the U.S.S. Reuben James, which sank with 115 lives lost. This undeclared naval war in the Atlantic led Congress to pass legislation allowing the arming of merchant ships, in addition to permitting U.S. vessels to sail into belligerent ports. Hitler had initially hoped to avoid war with the United States, which would create a two-front war for Germany. Yet, Germany and the United States remained on a collision course. Events in December of 1941 changed everything.
The United States Enters the War

Shortly before 8 am Hawaiian time on Sunday morning, December 7, the Japanese navy launched a surprise air attack on America’s main naval base in the Pacific, Pearl Harbor. Using waves of over 350 planes from six aircraft carriers located north of the Hawaiian island of Oahu, the Japanese assault killed 2,403 Americans and wounded another 1,178.[2] In just under two hours, the attack damaged or sunk 21 ships, including eight battleships, and destroyed 188 U.S. planes. Another 150 planes received damage. Fortunately, the U.S. fleet’s three main aircraft carriers in the Pacific were out at sea. Also, the Japanese attack missed submarine pens, oil storage facilities, and the dockyard, allowing the United States to sufficiently recover from the initial shock within a relatively short period of time.

The Japanese had sought to deal a surprise death blow to the United States Navy in the hopes of keeping the United States from interfering with the expansion of their empire in Asia. When Hitler had rolled over France and the Netherlands in 1940, it left those colonial empires in Southeast Asia defenseless. Japan’s conquest of French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies would add much-needed deposits of rubber, oil and tin to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. By crippling the U.S. fleet in Hawaii while simultaneously attacking the Philippines, Guam, Wake Island, Midway Island, and British bases in Singapore and Hong Kong, the Japanese hoped to buy

Interactive 7.17
Eyewitness Pearl Harbor

Interactive 7.18
Eyewitness Pearl Harbor 2

To read an eyewitness account of Pearl Harbor, click here

Japanese Account of Pearl Harbor

Ammunition aboard the USS Shaw explodes during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Image source: Shutterstock
time and create an impenetrable line of defenses around their newly acquired territories. The Japanese military leaders assumed Americans lacked the will to fight back, believing the United States to be too decadent and materialistic. However, the only thing Americans lost was their desire for maintaining the policy of isolationism.

**Congress Declares War**

On December 8, President Roosevelt sought a declaration of war from Congress, calling December 7 “a date which will live in infamy.” Congress obliged, passing declarations in both the House and Senate by a margin of 388-1. Only pacifist Jeanette Rankin, the first woman elected to the House, voted against going to war. With America’s proclamation of war against Japan, Germany and Italy followed three days later with declarations of war against the United States. The decision would ultimately be a foolish one for Hitler and Germany. Two weeks after the U.S. entered the war, Churchill and Roosevelt met at the White House to discuss how the war would be fought. The meeting would be the beginning of tight-knit cooperation between the two countries. It was decided among the two leaders that Hitler posed the largest threat in Europe, so resources would be directed toward the European theatre of war until the defeat of Hitler. Then, resources would be directed toward the war in the Pacific.

[Image: Attack_on_Pearl_Harbor_Japanese_planes_view.jpg]

To hear and see President Roosevelt’s speech to Congress on December 8, 1941, click here.
Germany Gains Ground in Russia, North Africa

For America and her Allies, the early years of the war through the first half of 1942 proved to be difficult ones characterized by continuous setbacks. There appeared to be no stopping the battle-hardened German and Japanese militaries, as they advanced through Europe and the Pacific. The times, indeed, seemed dark. After conquering Western Europe, the German Army continued to make significant inroads into Eastern Europe and Russia, having reached the front door of Moscow and Leningrad. In the southeast region of the Soviet Union known as Ukraine, the Germans had begun an offensive to capture the rich oil reserves in the Caucasus region. General Erwin Rommel’s Afrika Korps of tanks had made a significant push across the desert sands of North Africa, trapping British forces in Egypt and threatening the Suez Canal, Britain’s major supply line.

Japanese Control the Western Pacific

After Pearl Harbor, Japan continued to expand its empire. With complete dominance of air and sea, by mid-1942, the Japanese had invaded Southeast Asia and taken control of Singapore, the oil-rich Dutch East.

Interactive 7.20
Declaration of War Against the US

To read Hitler’s speech declaring war on the United States, click here.

Interactive 7.21 State of the World Pre-WW2

How powerful were the military powers of the US, Nazi Germany, and Japan prior to Pearl Harbor?
Indies, and the Philippines. There, American and Filipino forces, led by General Douglas MacArthur, put up stiff resistance, but were unable to halt the Japanese advance. MacArthur was ordered to evacuate to Australia, where he would assume command of all Allied forces in the Pacific. Vowing “I shall return,” he left the Philippines a month before the last holdout of 78,000 U.S. and Filipino troops were forced to surrender on the Bataan Peninsula. It was the largest surrender in U.S. Army history. Tragically, over 10,000 prisoners would die on the grueling, sixty-five mile-long Bataan Death March, the victims of Japanese guards who bayoneted, beheaded, starved, beat, and tortured their captives.

**Primary Source Analysis—Propaganda**

1. What is the subject of the poster?
2. How is the subject of the poster being used to promote the war effort?
3. What techniques are being used in the poster to create a response in the reader?
4. Does the poster appeal more to reason or to emotions? Why do you believe this is so?
5. How are the techniques used in this poster similar to techniques used today? Explain.
With the capture of the Philippines, Japan gained control of the Western Pacific and began fortifying its holdings.

In the shipping lanes of the North Atlantic, groups of German U-boats known as wolf packs were devastating Allied shipping and threatening to choke off food and supplies to Britain and the Soviet Union. In the first seven months of 1942 alone, the wolf packs had sunk close to 700 Allied ships in the Atlantic. Off the east coast of the United States, wolf packs sunk close to 90 ships in just the first four months of American involvement in the war against Germany.

German U-Boats Dominate the Atlantic

The American tanker “Dixie Arrow” burns off the coast of North Carolina after being hit by a German U-boat in 1942.
During World War II, 16 million American men and women served in the armed forces. This number made up 10% of the total population in the country. Giving their lives for a cause they believed in, 400,000 did not return home from the war. Aware of the dangers their family members, friends and neighbors faced fighting overseas, the civilians that remained at home were deeply affected in all realms of their lives. They became “citizen soldiers” in a variety of ways. Day to day activities resulting in what to purchase, what to make and what to eat became part of the war effort. People boosted production in the workplace and at home. The war influenced American government, economics and society.

To coordinate the war effort, at home and abroad, the US government created new government agencies such as the National Defense Research Committee, Office of Censorship, Office of Civil Defense, Aircraft Warning Corps and the National War Labor Board. The government also set prices on many products and capped wages in many sectors to help control spending to help with the war effort.

**QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY**

1. What were the causes of World War II?
2. How did the civic values of the Axis powers differ from the core democratic values of the United States?
3. Would the alliance of Axis powers have happened if the U.S. had not adopted a policy of Isolationism?
4. How did American civic values contribute to the role the U.S. home front played during WWII?
5. Could steps have been taken by the Allies that would have prevented or greatly reduced the impact of the Holocaust?
6. What were the major turning points of the war in each theater of war?
7. How did the role of technology affect the outcome of World War II?
8. How did World War II change the foreign policy of the United States?

**TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE**

Rationing
Propaganda
Homefront
Black-Out Drills
War bonds
Internment camps

**Work-Labor-Business**

How would setting prices and capping wages help with government spending?
As you have already read, prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt vowed that the US would become the world’s “arsenal of democracy.” The United States was true to FDR’s word and became the hub of weapons and military manufacturing. The dramatic increase in sales of US production towards the war lifts America out of the Great Depression. Factories that once made goods for consumers (like cars and household appliances) converted to factories that made goods for the war (like planes, Jeeps and tanks). At its height of production, Ford Motor Company was producing a B-25 bomber every hour. By the end of the war the United States was manufacturing 50% of all manufactured goods globally, and made up only 5% of the world’s population.

The government encouraged and trained people to work towards the war effort. People who were working in other fields of service were encouraged to leave their jobs to take jobs that would help in the war effort. The US Office of War Information put together the following “newsreel” (video) to encourage people to become better “citizen soldiers.”

**Propaganda**

To encourage a voluntary spirit amongst its citizens, the US government launched the biggest advertising and public relations campaign in history. Many forms of media were used to encourage people to become “citizen soldiers”. Technology had changed significantly since the first world war and so had war propaganda. Radios were popular in American homes and movies were no longer silent! 80% of American households had a radio and families were listening to newscasts, messages from the president, broadcasts...
from the front, and patriotic music. It was a common occurrence to learn about the war before watching a movie in a theatre during this time in history. Even in kids’ films, cartoons were created depicting the enemy in caricature. (Imagine sitting in a movie theatre and watching the news instead of promotional movie trailers before your show!) Newspapers, of course, still remained popular and were an important means of getting information out to the masses. The media acted as an outlet to escape the worries of war and demonize the enemy.

Posters were incredibly popular. They encouraged production, investment, and civilian responsibility. Inside factories, posters reminded workers that every error or tardy was helping the enemy. For the young woman, posters reminded her of the sacrifice being made for her safety. For the homemaker, posters reminded her of her duties - both financially and in homemade production.

In the Home

During World War II people boosted production not only in the workplace but at home as well. People conserved whenever possible and participated in mandatory rationing programs. When products were rationed, people were only allowed to buy a fixed amount of particular products. The government controlled the purchasing of certain products like gasoline, food items and clothing. The military needed the gasoline to keep the ships, planes and tanks moving and certain food items were packaged as MREs (Meals Ready to Eat) for the soldiers on the front. Manufactured fabric was needed for military uniforms, not the latest ball gown or other trendy item. There was a nylon shortage for civilians as well, so women went without nylon hosiery, drawing seams on their legs with dark pencils to keep up appearances. Americans also took it upon themselves to host collection drives to acquire used items like cans, scrap metal, and rubber which were then recycled into different types of munitions for the war.

People were also encouraged to grow their own “Victory Gardens” instead of buying their produce from the market. By
1945 there were roughly 20 million gardens that produced 40% of the vegetables consumed in America.

**Blackout Drills**

The Office of Civilian Defense helped people at the state and local levels establish emergency protocol in the event of an invasion on US soil. People all over the country, especially on the coastal regions, were required to “blackout” any light that might be seen by the enemy at night. This included covering windows with paint, wood or heavy draperies as well as turning off street lights at night and not permitting cars to drive at night during a blackout drill. These drills, also called air raid drills, were scheduled and supervised by a local air raid warden. (By 1943 there were about 6 million volunteers in roles like that of an air raid warden.) During a drill, one would first hear the warning siren (see below) and an air raid warden would patrol the streets making sure that the people were safely hiding and covering up any light that might help an enemy aircraft target civilian populations.

**Buying War Bonds**

War is an expensive endeavor for a country to undertake and World War II was no exception. The United States spent roughly $300 billion on World War II, which is roughly $4 trillion in today’s money. Another way for civilians to contribute to the war effort was to buy War Bonds. A War bond allowed people to invest financially in the war while investing in their own futures.

[Interactive 7.27 What to do during a gas attack](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/72/Victory-garden.jpg)

[Interactive 7.28 Buying War Bonds](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/72/Victory-garden.jpg)

*Learn more about war bonds here!*
POW Camps in America

When we think of Prisoner of War (POW) Camps we often think of American soldiers overseas, but the US also had POW Camps for the captured enemy and most of these camps were located on American soil, near civilians. Approximately 425,000 prisoners were housed in the United States, most of which were in the South. However, there were about 6,000 POWs in Michigan camps.

Most of these prisoners were captured out of North Africa and were part of “Rommel’s Army” before they came to America as prisoners of war. These camps gave the prisoners food, clothing and a place to sleep. And according to the Geneva Conventions guidelines prisoners were not allowed to be forced into labor, so many men were hired to do tasks that were in demand, like farming and forestry work. They were paid a small sum of money and worked alongside civilian laborers.

“\textit{I kind of questioned going up and guarding these guys. I wasn't too happy about that. But after I was there for a while, I kind of enjoyed it. I didn't hold anything against them. I mean they were doing their job, we were doing ours. War is kind of a senseless thing. You're both in it.}” - Gilbert Hart, US Army, guard who was stationed in AuTrain, Michigan

Most camps were minimum security camps and the prisoners at many of these camps even developed relationships with the locals in the area. It has even been reported that some of the prisoners wanted to stay in the US after the war was over; however, rules established at the Geneva Convention required all foreign POWs to be returned to their own country.

Some prisoners took to studying, while others had agricultural jobs - photo, National Archives
Entertainment

During the war, entertainment changed for people as well. Baseball was known as “America’s Pastime” and was full of able-bodied men that wanted to fight for their country. During the war, 95% of professional baseball players enlisted in the armed services and while they were serving, a women’s league was formed. Famous actors like Clark Gable and Jimmy Stewart also joined the war effort and joined the military. Hollywood was still producing films, but footage updating people on the war was almost always shown first.

A Changing Role for Women

Women were vital to the war effort. Factory orders for war materials continued to grow and the jobs that were only available to men prior to the war were now open to women. Over 6 million women took on factory jobs during World War II. Women found employment as electricians, welders and as riveters in defense plants. The most famous face of female patriotism during the war was Rosie the Riveter. (A “riveter” was someone who rivets and a rivet is a metal object that fastens two pieces of metal together.) Rosie wasn’t really about one woman but represented a group of millions.

Contributions of Minorities in the Armed Services

Many minority groups faced new dilemmas once the U.S. entered the war. Restricted to racially segregated sections of society such as neighborhoods, schools, and places of work and business, African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans similarly questioned whether this was their war to fight. Still, many minorities set aside those sentiments because they ultimately believed that their situation would be much worse under the control of Axis powers if the victors of the war were Germany, Italy, and Japan.

African American contributions

In the beginning of the war, fewer than 4,000 African Americans were serving in the military—many had been frequently passed over for service from all-white draft boards. After receiving pressure from the NAACP, President Roosevelt pledged to enlist more African Americans into the armed services. By 1945 over 1.2 million African American men and women were serving. In the beginning, these soldiers were assigned to non-combat service units like supply, maintenance and transportation. As the war raged on, more were assigned to positions like infantryman, pilots, tankers and medics.
One of the most influential groups of African Americans during this time was the Tuskegee Airmen. These pilots began training with the Army’s PT-17 Stearman ii-plane in Tuskegee, Alabama as an Army Air Corps “experiment” to see if African Americans could be trained as combat pilots. These men did not disappoint. They proved that they had the mental and physical abilities to be successful leaders and pilots….and radio operators, technicians, supply personnel, medical personnel, meteorologists and much more. There were 996 pilots and over 150,000 ground personnel that made up the Tuskegee group. These groundbreaking soldiers paved the way for other African Americans to experience opportunities that had once been closed. In 1948, President Truman officially integrated the armed forces.

During the war, the “Double V” campaign was established by African American leaders. This campaign called for victory against our enemies overseas and victory against racism at home. It was this defiant rejection of unjustified racism and the push for desegregation that planted the important seeds for the Civil Rights Movement.

Native American Contributions

Similar to African Americans, Native Americans answered the call for war service with some 25,000 enlistments, 800 of which were women. For many, this was their first opportunity to meet non-Indians as they left their reservations for the first time. In 1941, the Marine Corps began actively recruiting Native Americans,

Thinking Like A Historian:
In a racially divided America, what did the Tuskegee airmen prove? In what ways would this event give hope to minority groups?

“The world’s greatest democracy fought the world’s greatest racist with a segregated army.”

Stephen Ambrose, Citizen Soldier
specifically Navajo code talkers. Based on the recollection of some WWI soldiers who experienced firsthand, the effectiveness of secretly transmitted battle messages by American Indians of the Choctaw tribe and combined with demonstrations by the Navajo, over 400 Navajo Indians were recruited and trained as code talkers.

Often lying about their age in order to be recruited (some were as young as 15), the Navajo code talkers endured intense training under physical harsh conditions to simulate battlefield training. The American Indian tradition of handing down stories, songs and prayers through memory served these soldiers well when having to memorize, interpret and pass on accurate messages without writing anything down. Required to memorize up to 17 pages of codes at times as part of their training, the intelligence, dedication, and bravery of the Navajo code talkers paid off significantly. Throughout the Pacific campaign the Navajo code talkers were considered indispensible to the war effort. Other Native American tribes also contributed greatly to the war effort. The Comanches fought against German forces in Europe; the Meskwakis fought against German forces in N. Africa.

Contributions of Latinos to the war effort

It is estimated that over 500,000 Latinos (including 350,000 Mexican Americans and 53,000 Puerto Ricans) served in WWII. Exact numbers are difficult to obtain because Latinos were not segregated in the war effort in the way that African Americans originally had been. Latinos served in various regiments throughout Europe as well as in the Pacific Theater, North Africa, the Aleutian Islands, and in the Mediterranean. Of particular note, was the service of the 158th Regimental Combat Team (comprised of a large percentage of Latinos) who fought in New Guinea and the Philippines. General MacArthur was so
impressed he referred to them as, “the greatest fighting combat team ever deployed in battle.” In the European Theater, Latino soldiers from Texas as part of the 36th Infantry team were some of the first to land on Italian soil at Cassino. And the 88th Infantry Division (comprised of a large percentage of Latino soldiers) was ranked in the top 10 for combat effectiveness.

**Asian Americans also contribute**

Similar to the contributions of African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans, contributions by Asian Americans were also impressive and significant. The 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team were segregated Army units who fought in both Germany and Italy. Known as the most decorated unit in US military history for their size and length of service, these teams were among some of the best infantrymen in the U.S. Army. Also of noteworthy importance were contributions of Japanese Americans who served in the Pacific Theater against Japan. Their knowledge of Japanese language and culture were put to use in the Military Intelligence Service, earning praise from General Douglas MacArthur when he claimed that never, in the history of U.S. combat, has one side known so much about an enemy prior to actual combat. Their “eyes and ears of the Allies” proved critical in many U.S. and Allied Forces victories in the Pacific Theater.

**Japanese Internment Camps**

Historically, there had been tension between Asian immigrants and Americans starting the 19th century. At the turn of the last century laws were passed making it difficult for Asians to migrate, become citizens and to own land. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, the tension between mainstream America and citizens of Japanese descent skyrocketed, especially on the west coast. Many Americans were concerned that Japan was going to attack the US via the west coast and that Japanese Americans were loyal to Japan and would be willing to aid them in their quest. In 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 which gave military leaders the authority to create areas where certain groups could be contained and excluded from daily American life. The War Relocation Authority was created to see this order out and over 110,000 people of Japanese descent were removed from their homes and relocated to internment camps. Half of these people were children and two-thirds were American citizens. None of these citizens had ever shown disloyalty to America. Internment camps were sprinkled throughout the western interior of the US in areas of Arizona, California, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming.

In most cases, families were given a week to evacuate their homes, close up businesses and say goodbye to friends and neighbors. In other cases they had only 48 hours. Internees could only take with them what they could carry and before
leaving many tried to sell off their goods, only to be swindled by people who offered far less than market value of their possessions. While in these internment camps, families were housed in small barracks and had community areas for bathing, laundry, and eating. Internment camps were guarded by US military personnel. There was inadequate medical care, increasing emotional stress and coping with extreme temperatures for those placed in desert areas.

During the war only ten people were convicted of spying for Japan. All of the ten were white. The camps were eventually closed down in January of 1945 and allowed internees to return to their homes. Some of them did but others were unforgiving of the US government and returned to Japan. Some people saw these internment camps as a necessary evil after Pearl Harbor, but many others looked as these internment camps like concentration camps and a violation of Habeas Corpus (unlawful imprisonment). What do you think? Was this a necessary evil or a violation of human rights?

Interactive 7.30 A Japanese Internment Story

Local San Diego born and raised, Japanese Internment survivor Ruth Voorhies tells her experience during World War 2 when her family was placed in the Poston Arizona Japanese Internment camp. The experience was a tragic event that never should have happened and was a violation of American rights.

STOP And Think...

Was the conduct of the United States during WWII consistent with its values?
Despite the early Axis military victories and territorial advancements that occurred in the early war period, several critical developments turned the tide of victory away from the Axis Powers and in favor of the Allied forces throughout 1942 and 1943.

**Technology Gives Allies the Upper Hand in the Battle of the Atlantic**

In the North Atlantic, technological advancements helped to counter the German U-Boat threat to Allied supply lines. Radar, which had been used so effectively to intercept German planes over Great Britain in 1940, was now used in planes to detect German U-Boats on the surface of the Atlantic. For U-Boats patrolling below
the icy waters of the North Atlantic, naval destroyers equipped with sonar proved to be devastating to the German wolf packs. While the Battle of the Atlantic would continue until the end of the war, the Allies used the combination of technology and industrial might to gain a significant advantage by the end of 1943. By that time, the Allies were building more ships than the Germans could sink and were destroying more U-Boats than the Germans could build.

German Army Defeated at Stalingrad

Arguably the greatest turning point of the entire war occurred at the Battle of Stalingrad in the fall of 1942. After a particularly nasty Russian winter and ferocious Soviet resistance had prevented Hitler’s armies from capturing the Russian cities of Moscow and Leningrad in late 1941, Hitler had turned his armies towards southern Russia in the hopes of capturing oilfields and the industrial city of Stalingrad. The decision would prove to be disastrous for Germany, as another Russian winter and the persistence of the Soviets would once again slow down German troops. After a bitter 199-day battle involving the complete devastation of Stalingrad and intense block-to-block fighting amidst its ruins, the German army was forced to surrender 108,000 troops to the Soviets. Only 5,000 of those troops would see the end of the war. At a cost of 2 million casualties on both sides, the Battle for Stalingrad was the first significant loss for the German army and would be the beginning of the Soviet drive on the Eastern Front to push the Germans all the way back to Berlin. Hitler’s decision to invade the Soviet Union ultimately led to his downfall.

Allied Tanks Push Germany Out of North Africa

Allied forces also made significant gains in North Africa. While German and Soviet armies were locked up over Stalingrad, Roosevelt and Churchill made the decision to invade North Africa, in preparation for an invasion of Southern Europe. The decision was not an easy one, revealing divisions among the Allies. Stalin, whose army and civilians were being decimated by the full force of the Nazi war machine, sought an immediate second front in Western Europe to reduce the pressure on the Eastern Front. Army chief of staff George C. Marshall had proposed opening a two-front war for Germany by invading France by spring of 1943, but Churchill and Roosevelt feared more troops were needed to
guarantee Allied success. If they were going to invade northern France, they needed to do so with overwhelming force. A build-up of American and Allied troops in Britain would take time. Instead, Britain advocated attacking the “soft underbelly” of Europe while the buildup continued. Roosevelt agreed.

Throughout late October and early November of 1942, British General Bernard Montgomery kicked the Germans out of Egypt after a victory at El Alamein and began pushing Rommel’s Afrika Korps westward across North Africa’s vast deserts. Meanwhile, Operation Torch, headed by General Dwight Eisenhower, landed American and Allied tanks and troops at points in Morocco and Algeria, which then fought east across North Africa, eventually meeting up with Montgomery’s British forces in Tunisia. There, Rommel’s forces surrendered to the Allies in May of 1943.

Casablanca Conference

During the North African campaign, President Roosevelt met with Churchill in the city of Casablanca to begin hammering out the next step towards peace. Stalin had been invited, but declined while the Russians were desperately defending Stalingrad. To Stalin’s dismay, Churchill convinced Roosevelt to postpone the opening of a western front until 1944, while announcing that only the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers would bring an end to the war. The Allies also agreed that they would begin bombing German cities from the air.

Allies Invade Southern Europe Following the German defeat in North Africa, Allied forces began their invasion of Italy to knock the Italians out of the war and to encourage Germany to shift troops from France to southern Europe. Despite initial successes in Sicily, which fell after 38 days, the Allied attempt to advance up
the Italian peninsula stalled south of Rome and bogged down significantly. The intended consequence of knocking Italy out of the war somewhat succeeded when Mussolini’s government collapsed and he attempted to flee to Germany. Italy’s replacement government then joined the Allied side, only to see German troops pour into Italy and effectively halt American advance south of Rome throughout the rest of 1943 and into 1944. Rome finally fell on June 4, 1944, two days before Allied forces opened up a western front in Europe by invading the beaches of France. Unfortunately, some historians argue that the invasion of Italy postponed the opening of a western front by as much as a year, a delay which Stalin and the Soviets would bitterly remember at the peace table at the war’s end.

**Pacific Aircraft Carriers Turn the Tide at Midway**

The Allied gains against Axis powers in 1942 and 1943 were not limited to Southern and Eastern Europe. The Pacific Theatre had its fair share of turning points in those years, as well, which highlighted the importance of aircraft carriers and airplanes to the war’s conduct in the Pacific. On April 18, 1942, 16 bombers under the command of Colonel James Doolittle left the carrier USS Hornet and flew a bombing mission over Tokyo and several other Japanese cities in retaliation for the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The Hornet had been stationed in the Pacific, north of Midway Island, about 650 miles from Japan. While all sixteen bombers ran out of fuel after dropping their bombs and were forced to crash land in China (with one making it to the Soviet Union), the Doolittle Raid was the first successful bombing raid over the islands of Japan and served as a significant morale boost for the United States. However, it also revealed a critical security hole in Japanese defenses around the Pacific, namely around Midway Island. To fix the flaw the Japanese would have to destroy the remnants of the US fleet in the Pacific and capture Midway Island. Since Australia was a major United States ally, the Japanese Navy also sought to cut off the Australians and
isolate them by taking over their northern neighbors, the Solomon Islands and New Guinea. The plan failed when US Pacific Forces led by Admiral Chester Nimitz clashed with the Japanese Navy in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May of 1942, despite the fact that no surface ships exchanged any shots. Instead, all of the fighting was conducted 200 miles apart from the fleets by carrier-launched planes. The United States successfully turned back the Japanese assault on New Guinea, then scored a major victory in June when US planes from three aircraft carriers near Midway Island sank four of Japan’s ten aircraft carriers at the Battle of Midway, while the United States lost only one. The battle turned out to be the turning point in the Pacific campaign, as the Japanese navy lost its offensive power and was unable to recover the devastating loss of carriers, planes, and pilots. Now, the United States launched its program to take the war back to Japan.

The Allied Offensive in the Pacific Begins

The plan for defeating Japan involved a two-fold offensive: General MacArthur would lead a campaign from Australia towards the Philippines. Admiral Nimitz would lead another campaign from Hawaii to capture strategic islands for air and military bases in the Central Pacific, a process called “island-hopping.” The two forces would then meet up for a final offensive against Japan’s home islands. The American offensive in the Pacific towards Japan began in August of 1942 at Guadalcanal, and the fighting was savage and intense, revealing a glimpse of what was to come throughout the Pacific campaign—the painfully tragic sacrifices that would be necessary throughout the island-hopping campaign to close out the war in victory. By the end of 1943, the Japanese advance had been halted, as had the Axis advance across all fronts of the war. After initial setbacks, the Allies now had experienced a series of turning points that significantly altered the direction of the war and pointed the Allies down the road towards victory. That road would be a tough one to travel.

Report to the President: Course of the War, 1942-43

You are responsible for advising President Roosevelt on military matters related to the course of the war across all theaters of the war (Europe and the Atlantic, North Africa, and Asia and the Pacific) between 1942 and 1943. Write a briefing for the President that summarizes the overall direction of the war for the Allies during this period in each of the theaters, providing specific campaigns and their results to support your assessment of the time period. Again, consider the geographical problems that each theater poses for the Allies in your assessment.
The wave of successes experienced by the Allies on all fronts of the war by the end of 1943 reversed the course of the war decisively in favor of the Allies. In the Pacific, the US Navy’s victory at Midway had put the Japanese Empire on the defensive and, despite the “Germany First” approach by the Allies, had overcome a shortage of resources to begin the arduous campaign of island-hopping towards the Japanese mainland. In Europe, the Russians had the German army retreating on the Eastern Front, while the Allies had kicked Germany out of North Africa and were pushing up the Italian Peninsula. Mussolini’s government had fallen, and a new government had sided with the Allies and declared war on Germany. German
U-boats had been significantly withdrawn from the North Atlantic due to tremendous losses at the hands of Allied planes and ships equipped with radar and sonar, and preparations were being made to open up a western front in France.

**Allies Target German Cities**

As part of the preparation for invasion, Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed at Casablanca to begin the strategic bombing of German cities from the air, hitting Germany’s ability to make war through the targeting of factories and transportation lines. By June of 1943, the two countries had agreed that the United States would precision bomb industrial and military targets during the day, and British bombers would area bomb cities by night. The British had hoped that targeting cities would destroy the morale of the citizens of Germany.

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**Interactive 7.32 DDay**

Soldiers Account

*To read a soldier’s account of landing on Omaha Beach on D-Day, click here*

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**D-Day Opens Up a Second European Front**

Meanwhile, Allied troop buildup in Britain continued until early June of 1944. On the night of June 5, 1944, British radio stations began broadcasting coded messages to the French resistance that the invasion was on. This was their cue to sabotage German railway and transportation routes in France. Allied planes dropped tinfoil from the air to confuse German radar stations as to where the location of the invasion would actually be. Shortly after midnight, two American airborne divisions landed behind
enemy lines to protect the flanks of the troops who would hit the beaches just before dawn. On the morning of June 6, 1944, D-Day, the invasion of France began. Under the direction of General Eisenhower, who was promoted to the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, 156,000 American, British and Canadian troops landed amidst stiff German resistance across five beaches in Normandy, codenamed Sword, Juno, Gold, Omaha, and Utah. The landings would become the largest amphibious invasion the world had ever seen, as another 5,000 ships, 11,000 aircraft, and 50,000 vehicles assisted the invasion force. Because the weather had been poor, the Germans were caught off guard, especially since they were expecting the invasion to occur at the shortest point across the English Channel. Following five days of intense fighting, Allied troops were able to unite all five beachheads and begin the advance across northern France. By the end of August, Paris had been liberated; by the end of September, France and Belgium. In October, American troops captured their first German town. Progress, however, was much slower than originally planned. By winter, the Allied offensive ground to a halt. Bad weather, overstretched supply lines, and strong German defenses hampered Allied efforts to force a German surrender by the end of 1944.

**Allied Armies March towards Berlin**

In December, the Germans began one last counteroffensive to offset Allied gains in Western Europe by capturing the port city of Antwerp, Belgium, thereby effectively splitting Allied lines in two. It would be their last offensive in the West. Sensing a weakness in Allied lines, the Germans launched a blitzkrieg attack and pushed the Allies back towards the Ardennes Forest, creating a 60 mile bulge in the center of Allied lines. During the so-named, month-long “**Battle of the Bulge**,” U.S. troops resisted a strong German tank attack despite bitter cold, a lack of winter clothing, and a serious shortage of supplies and ammunition. With the arrival of General George Patton’s Third Army, Allied troops held their lines and forced enough losses on Hitler’s army in the West to eliminate its ability to launch further offensives. On the Eastern front, the Soviets had also launched major offensives throughout the summer of 1944 and, by the end of the year, had made their way through Poland, Eastern Europe, and the Balkan Peninsula.

**Interactive 7.33 42 Maps**

![Gross Domestic Product of Major Powers in 1939](image)

**For 42 maps that explain World War II, click here**

**Interactive 7.34 DDay By the Numbers**

![Interactive D-Day Infographic](image)

**For an infographic of D-Day: By the Numbers, click here**
The War in Europe Ends

The arrival of April in 1945 saw events unfold dramatically. In the United States, the country went into mourning as it was announced that President Roosevelt had died of a stroke on April 12 while sitting for the presidential portrait in Warm Springs, Georgia. Vice President Harry S Truman inherited the presidency just as the Allies were moving toward the final defeat of the Third Reich: While U.S. and British forces raced forward to Berlin from the West, the Soviets rolled towards Berlin on the East. On April 25, the Soviet army reached Berlin. Within the next five days, with the city above him under constant bombardment, Adolf Hitler would marry his mistress Eva Braun in an underground bunker, write his final “Political Testament” to the German people, and commit suicide alongside his new wife. Nazi officials took the bodies outside, doused them with gasoline, and burned them before the Soviets could recover them. Mussolini and other Italian fascist leaders would be executed by their fellow countrymen in Italy during the same span of time. Finally, on May 8, 1945, the remaining German armies surrendered unconditionally, and the day became known as V-E Day—Victory in Europe Day. The war in Europe had been won.

All eyes now turned toward the grueling, savage battles being fought in the Pacific as the U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps battled its way toward the Japanese mainland, with the full industrial might of the American home front behind them.

The Soldier's Life

Few people captured the difficult life of an American soldier quite like Bill Mauldin. Mauldin served in the 45th Infantry Division of the U.S. Army, drawing cartoons from the front of “Willie and Joe”, two American soldiers who came to symbolize the combat experience of American soldiers in Europe.

Here, he discusses the life of a soldier on the front lines.

The life of the World War 2 soldier was often captured in the letters they wrote to loved ones during the war.

Interactive 7.35 WW2 in Pictures

For more photos on the fall of Germany, click here
How the War Impacted High School Life

For a glimpse of how the war impacted high schools back home, visit the yearbook of Grand Rapids Union High School here.

Island Hopping Towards Tokyo

Shortly after the D-Day invasion in Europe, the US Navy was continuing its strategy of island-hopping by attacking the heavily-fortified Mariana Islands. The battles were fierce and bloody, as the Japanese demonstrated their willingness to fight to the death rather than surrender. The battles resulted in the capture of Tinian, Guam and Saipan, all of which were used for airfields. At Tinian, US Forces captured the island that would serve as the air base from which long-range bombing missions to the Japanese mainland would be conducted, including the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The victory at Saipan provided an airbase, but it also revealed the commitment of Japanese soldiers and civilians alike to face death at the hands of suicide rather than surrender: 30,000 Japanese troops fought to the bitter end and, as horrified Marines looked on, another estimated 1000 Japanese civilians leapt to their deaths off Saipan's “suicide cliffs”. Many were entire families consisting men, women and children.

Japanese Begin Using Kamikazes in the Philippines

The willingness of the Japanese to sacrifice everything continued at the Battle of the Leyte Gulf in the Philippines in October of 1945, where the Japanese fleet threw everything it had against the United States in what became the largest naval battle in history, as well as the last fleet-versus-fleet engagement in the Pacific. During the battle, American forces sunk the last four major Japanese aircraft carriers. During the battle, the Japanese began employing the use of the kamikaze, a suicide plane loaded with explosives that would fly into a ship in order to destroy it. Japanese kamikaze pilots flew over 400 suicide missions against U.S. ships in the Leyte Gulf, sinking or damaging close to 100 ships. Despite the attacks, the United States scored a decisive victory in the encounter, and the Japanese fleet would not pose a serious threat to the United States.
States for the duration of the war. Japanese resistance to U.S. island landings, however, remained fierce. After the Battle of the Leyte Gulf, General MacArthur landed in the Philippines and began the long process of retaking the island chain. It would take another year before the city of Manila fell to American forces.

Interactive 7.36
Eyewitness Kamikaze

For an eyewitness account of kamikaze attacks, click here

Allies Experience High Casualties at Iwo Jima and Okinawa

Meanwhile, in February of 1945, American marines landed on the small volcanic island of **Iwo Jima**, which was located about 750 miles from Tokyo. US commanders believed the island could be captured in four days, but the Japanese on the island had created tunnels and strongholds deep beneath the black sands and underlying rock of the island. Marines had to go tunnel by tunnel using grenades and flamethrowers to flush out the Japanese strongholds. The island finally fell at the end of March. In the end, one in every three U.S. marines fighting on the island were either killed (5,885) or wounded (23,573), making it the costliest single battle in Marine Corps history. Over 23,000 Japanese fought to the death or committed suicide by the time the battle was over a month after the initial invasion. Less than 220 Japanese surrendered.

The fierce Japanese resistance intensified on the island of Okinawa less than a week after the fall of Iwo Jima. Located less than 350 miles from the Japanese islands, the strategic location of Okinawa made it an ideal base for the Allied invasion of Japan. In the largest amphibious assault in the Pacific, over 180,000 U.S. Army soldiers and Marines battled a well-entrenched Japanese army for a span of two and a half months. The intense combat and heavy losses on the American side were further compounded by week after week of kamikaze attacks on
American support ships off the coast. Caught in the middle were the citizens of Okinawa, many of whom were forced to assist the Japanese in the fighting. Often, American troops faced the terrible challenge of being unable to distinguish soldier from civilian as fighting raged across the island’s maze of caves. By the time the island was secured in June, the United States had experienced another 50,000 casualties, including the deaths of 12,500 sailors and soldiers. [Box of battle casualties in the Pacific] Over 110,000 Japanese were killed, in addition to another 100,000 civilians, many of whom committed suicide. The tenacious Japanese defense at the Battle of Okinawa, combined with the tremendous loss of troops, materials, ships, and tanks by American and Allied forces assisting in the invasion, convinced many high ranking commanders that a full-scale invasion of the Japanese homeland would yield an extremely high number of casualties on all sides. For this reason, many began to embrace an alternative that would bring a quick end to the war by forcing a Japanese surrender. That alternative was the atomic bomb.

Interactive 7.37 WW2 in Pictures

Workers prepare for the first test of an atomic bomb, codenamed Trinity, which was successfully denoted on July 16, 1945.

Development of the Atomic Bomb

The roots of America’s development of the atomic bomb began with a letter from a Jewish refugee who left Hitler’s Germany in 1933 for the United States. Albert Einstein, a prominent physicist, wrote a letter to President Roosevelt informing him that scientists in Europe and America had recently come to believe
that nuclear chain reactions could be set up inside uranium to unleash “vast amounts of power.” Furthermore, he warned, “extremely powerful bombs of this type” had the potential “if carried by boat and exploded in a port” to “very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory.” German scientists, noted Einstein, were already working to develop such a weapon, and he believed that it would be in the best interests of the United States to lend its weight to atomic weapon research and development.

Over the next several years, the United States worked in partnership with Great Britain to begin to research and develop atomic weapons in a top secret program known as the Manhattan Project. Led by J. Robert Oppenheimer, the $2 billion program would ultimately produce three working atomic bombs by July of 1945 and usher the world into the atomic age. Scientists, many of whom were refugees from Europe, worked in a variety of sites spread out across the United States, places as diverse as laboratories underneath the football stadium of the University of Chicago, in the deserts of Los Alamos, New Mexico,
nestled within the ridges and valleys of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and along the river and streams of Hanford, Washington. Components for the bomb ultimately made their way to Los Alamos, where they were assembled for the first test, code-named Trinity. On July 16, 1945, the first atomic explosion illuminated the Alamogordo Bombing Range with a brilliant flash, followed by the full impact of the blast. President Truman, who was meeting with Stalin and Churchill in the Berlin suburb of Potsdam, was immediately notified of the results. Stalin, who had spies at Los Alamos, had already been informed of the bomb’s existence when Truman passed on the information “of a new weapon of unusual destructive force” to him a week later. According to Truman, Stalin showed relatively little interest in the development, replying that he hoped the Americans would make “good use of it against the Japanese.”

Debate Over the Morality of Bombing Civilians

The decision to use the bomb against Japanese cities raised the question of the morality of bombing cities not just for their military targets, but with the intent purpose of destroying civilian morale. In the minds of the British, civilians were producing the weapons and materials being used against troops on the battlefield. Therefore, cities were reasonable targets for area bombing, or bombing with the intended purpose of demoralizing the enemy. Throughout the early stages of the war, it had been the policy of the United States Army Air Force not to bomb civilian targets, but instead to use precision-bombing to destroy specific military and industrial targets. However, due to the weather of northern Europe, this was not always possible, and civilians often perished at the hands of errant bombs. However, by 1945, the British had encouraged Americans to begin carpet-bombing cities. In February of 1945, British and American commanders made the controversial decision to target the German cultural center of Dresden as part of their bombing campaign to devastate German
morale. In the attack, waves of British and American bombers dropped incendiary bombs on the population, causing a firestorm that killed anywhere from 25,000 to 100,000 people. Incendiary bombs are those that use fire and the spread of fire to inflict heavy damage. In March, the United States began the regular fire-bombing of Japanese cities, beginning with Tokyo, which had a large number of wooden buildings. In two days of bombing, over 100,000 Japanese perished in the attacks. A quarter of the city had disappeared in ashes. More Japanese cities suffered the same fate.

Debating the Real World Implications of Science and Technology

The National World War II Museum recently asked some very challenging questions for people to consider regarding the application and use of science and technology during wartime:

1. What kinds of technological weapons are morally acceptable and what kinds are not?

2. Under what circumstances is it morally acceptable to bomb civilians during a war?

3. Was it the right decision for the U.S. Government to bring Nazi rocket scientists to the U.S. to help develop the American space program?

4. If the Nazi medical experiments produced medical data that would be useful for today’s researchers, would it be ethical to use that data?

5. Should a doctor use his or her medical knowledge to assist the military or government design physical or mental techniques for interrogating prisoners of war?

6. Is it heroic to use new weapons technologies that allow people to kill from a distance, without ever seeing their enemies?
You are an advisor to President Truman who must brief the president on whether or not to use atomic weapons.

Review the various arguments here.

Arguments in Favor of Dropping the Atomic Bomb

Arguments Against Dropping the Atomic Bomb

For official documents relating to the dropping of the bomb, click here

For select portions of International Law, you may wish to consider these

How would you advise the President?
Truman’s Decision to Use the Bomb

For Truman, the decision to use atomic weapons was clear. The atomic bomb clearly would be an instrument of war that could bring an immediate end to the tragedy, as opposed to a full-scale invasion of Japan that would cost even more Allied lives would take at least another year to conclude. Others were not so sure. Some military leaders argued that the Japanese, who were already underneath a significant naval blockade that had stopped supplies from reaching the islands, were on the verge of surrender, especially in light of the regularity in which U.S. air forces were able to fire-bomb Japanese cities unopposed. Using such a powerful weapon would not be necessary, especially if the United States accepted surrender terms that allowed the Japanese to keep their emperor, as opposed to unconditional surrender. Others, however, felt that the intensity of the Japanese spirit in defending the islands closest to the mainland had proved that they were willing to fight to the last man, woman and child in defense of their homeland. Furthermore, it was the Japanese who had started the war at Pearl Harbor, and the atrocities in Nanjing and at Bataan only reinforced their belief that the Japanese had it coming. Because of concerns of the morality of bombing civilian populations, some scientists promoted the idea of conducting a demonstration of the power of the atomic bomb on an uninhabited area first, which might then encourage the Japanese to end the war. Truman decided to go ahead with the weapon with the blessings of Churchill, who had been replaced by Britain’s new
prime minister (Clement Attlee) before the conference ended. At Potsdam, the three Allied leaders issued an ultimatum to the Japanese to surrender or “face complete and utter destruction.” Japan refused.

**Hiroshima and Nagasaki**

On August 6, the B-29 Enola Gay left from the airbase on Tinian Island in the Pacific carrying an atomic bomb known as Little Boy. The target was Hiroshima, a city that had experienced very little wartime damage from U.S. bombing missions. Two days before the bombings, American planes dropped hundreds of thousands of leaflets in Hiroshima, warning citizens to evacuate immediately. At 8:16 am local time, a brilliant flash appeared 1,850 feet above Hiroshima. Survivors would later call it “pika-don,” literally “flash-boom”. In that instant, an estimated 80,000 Japanese were killed, and the death toll would later rise to around 140,000 from radiation poisoning, burns and other bomb-related injuries. Despite the devastation, there was no response to U.S. calls for surrender. On August 9, three days after the attack on Hiroshima, a second atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki. The rolling hills and topography of the city limited the extent of damage caused by the blast in comparison to the bomb over Hiroshima, but another 70,000 people perished. Meanwhile, the Soviets declared war on Japan and invaded Manchuria on the same day.
V-J Day

Finally, August 14, 1945, became known as V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day), as Emperor Hirohito announced the Japanese surrender. On September 2, aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, the formal surrender was presided over by General Douglas MacArthur. While the global fight against fascism was finally over, the bloodiest war the world had ever known would soon launch another, this time between the totalitarian state of the Soviet Union and the democracies of the West, using weapons capable of unimagined destruction harnessed from the power of the atom.

Interactive 7.41
Infographic

Analyzing Graphics: Not All is What It Appears

Infographics are very popular and quite eye-catching. However, not all infographics are created equal.

Study the infographic here and answer the following questions:

1. What is the subject of the infographic?
2. Who created it and why?
3. What are the strengths of the infographic?
4. What are its weaknesses?
5. What are the sources for the infographic? Do they seem reliable?
6. Are there any errors in the infographic?

Report to the President: The Road to Victory, 1944-45

You are responsible for advising President Truman on military matters related to the end of World War II across all theaters of the war (Europe and the Atlantic, North Africa, and Asia and the Pacific) between 1944 and 1945. Write a briefing for the President that summarizes the winding up of the war for the Allies during this period in each of the theaters, providing specific campaigns and their results to support your assessment of the time period. In your assessment, consider the role that technology played for the Allies in each of the war’s theaters. Finally, assess how well the United States lived up to its democratic principles and its war aims as set forth in the Atlantic Charter.
The Holocaust was a systematic, government organized persecution and murder of 6 million Jews and other targeted groups by Nazi Germany and her collaborators. After the Holocaust was brought out into the open for the world to see, the world said, “Never again.” Yet, here we are. Again. Genocides did not start with the Holocaust and there have been more since… Armenia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Cambodia and as recently as 2016 between IS and their targeted groups in Syria. So, the question to be asked, as global citizens is, “How do genocides start--specifically the Holocaust?”

The Holocaust was not an idea that materialized instantaneously. The stereotypes that were accepted and mainstreamed into the culture at the time assisted with the normalization of this behavior. It began with the elimination of individual rights of select groups--mainly because certain groups were feared due to differences in religious and political beliefs. By the end of World War II, negative stereotypes that had turned into fear and hatred by those in power led to the extermination of over 6 million men, women and children in Europe.

The largest group targeted in Europe were those of the Jewish faith. Others that were targeted were homosexuals, gypsies, people with physical and mental disabilities and other political and religious dissidents. Jews had been made to be scapegoats many times in history, dating back hundreds of years.
Over the last several centuries, anti-semitism has occurred in the form of political, economic, social, religious and racial prejudices. All of these forms of anti-semitic hatred played a key role in creating the Holocaust, particularly in the form of racism. Without the practice of anti-semitic behaviors, many historians argue the Holocaust would not have happened.

After World War I ended (1918) and the Treaty of Versailles was in place, Germany found itself saddled with the blame for the war as war reparations to the Allies were being paid. Germany’s territories were smaller and its military was nothing more than a glorified police force. The democratic Weimar government struggled with unemployment, and inflation was so bad that the currency in Germany was worthless. Additionally, a huge national debt loomed over Germany’s government and a depressed population was growing restless.

In 1921, Adolf Hitler was in charge of the Nationalist Socialist People’s Party. Hitler promised full employment and to make Germany great once again. He spoke of a superior race and was outspoken at blaming the Jews for Germany’s then current state.

German citizens responded positively to his promises. By 1933, Hitler had manipulated the democratic process through bully-like tactics to become chancellor. Within a year his chancellorship become an absolute dictatorship and he had complete control over all aspects of the German government.

Timeline of Loss of Liberties

Between 1933-1936 over 1400 anti-Jewish laws were passed in Germany. Using the information on the timeline below, organize the events into the following categories: Economic, Social, Political or Religious. Once you have done this, choose the three events that would have had the most impact on your life and describe why.

3/22/33 The first concentration camps, Dachau, is established. By 1945 the Nazis will have built over 1000 camps.

4/1/33 German government creates an official boycott and Jewish lawyers, doctors and merchants

4/4/33 Jews are required to wear a yellow Star of David to display their identification in public

4/7/33 Jews are banned from practicing law and from civil service jobs. Jewish government workers are forced to retire.
4/11/33 Racially biased employment and economic sanctions are instituted

4/25/33 Jewish students are not allowed to attend German public schools

4/27/33 The German government prohibits the kosher (ritual) slaughter of animals for meat.

5/10/33 Books that were seen as “un-German” were burned. Over 20,000 books were destroyed including books by John DosPassos, Thomas Mann, Karl Marx, Ernest Hemingway, HG Wells, Helen Keller, Erich Maria Remarque and others.

6/28/33 Hitler begins to regulate the German press and publishing

7/14/33 German citizenship rights were stripped away from Eastern European Jews living in Germany. The Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases is enacted and provides sterilization of “unfit” parents and potential parents as well as euthanasia of handicapped people who were seen by the government as defective.

9/22/33 Jews are banned from cultural activities like journalism, music, broadcasting and theatre

9/29/33 Jews were forbidden to farm

4/30/35 Jews were no longer allowed to display the German flag

5/31/35 Jews were banned from the armed forces

9/15/35 The Nuremberg Laws are established. All remaining rights are taken away. Jews are no longer considered citizens. Jews and non-Jews are not allowed to marry. The black swastika in a white circle on a red background became the official flag of Germany.

1935-1936 Jews were banned from parks, restaurants, and swimming pools. Jews were forbidden to use the German greeting “Heil Hitler.” Jews were no longer allowed to use electrical equipment, bikes, typewriters or records. Passports to travel abroad for Jews was restricted. Many Jewish students were removed from German universities.

Of these bans, which three would be the most impactful on YOUR life? Why?

Which three do you think were the most important towards Hitler’s Final Solution?

Click on each event and label it as political, social, economic or religious.
The Final Solution and Events of the Holocaust

Hitler and the Nazi party coined the phrase “Final Solution” to describe the calculated plan to wipe out the Jewish population, starting in Europe. This plan would lead to the death of millions by shooting, gas chamber, and other methods. During this horrific period in history two thirds of the Jewish population in Europe was killed.

Major events of the Holocaust:

Kristallnacht

Translated Kristallnacht means “Crystal Night” but has become known as the “Night of Broken Glass” because of the piles of shattered glass from Jewish homes, businesses and synagogues after a night of plundering and destruction. This night of anti-Jewish violence took place on November 9-10, 1938 in Germany, Austria and occupied Czechoslovakia. Instigated by Nazi Party officials and Hitler Youth, they were instructed to remove synagogue archives and deliver them to the government before vandalizing. They were also ordered to jail as many Jews as local jails could hold, targeting young, healthy men first.

A private Jewish home vandalized during Kristallnacht, Austria, November 10, 1938.(USHMM)
German children, behind an SS man, watch as religious objects from the Zeven synagogue are set on fire during Kristallnacht. Zeven, Germany, November 10, 1938. (Leo Baeck Institute, USHMM)

Local residents watch the burning of the ceremonial hall at the Jewish cemetery in Graz during Kristallnacht, Graz, Austria, November 9-10, 1938. (USHMM)

Ghettos

Ghettos were set up in cities to segregate Jews from the rest of the population. These were often enclosed and guarded. They were designed to be temporary and some lived there for only days, while others stayed for years. The majority of people sent to live in ghettos died of disease, starvation or were shot by the SS. Others were eventually deported to killing centers.

“The Little Boy with His Hands in the Air” - Tsvi Nussbaum, age 7, 1943, Warsaw, Poland

Pedestrians in the Warsaw Ghetto walk past corpses lying on the street. (Holocaust Research Project)
SS Troops & Einsatzgruppen

The SS (Schutzstaffel) was an instrument of Nazi Terror. This group was responsible for the Final Solution. Membership was selective and based on racial purity. It started as a small group of bodyguards for Hitler and grew into a group that controlled all other policing agencies.

The Einsatzgruppen were mobile killing squads that specialized in the mass murder of Jews. They would round up the Jewish populations (in many cases, entire families) in a particular place, take them to a secluded areas, force them to give up valuables and take off all of their clothes. They would then shoot them at the edges of a ravine or of a mass grave that was often dug by the victims first.

Concentration Camps

A concentration camp is a place where a person or group is detained or confined. Under Nazi Germany these were unsanitary and inadequate and controlled by the SS. Sometimes the prisoners were made to provide forced labor or to wait for mass execution. Nazi Germany established several hundred of these between 1933-1945. Some camps were near factories or places where raw materials were extracted and the prisoners were used as forced labor. Prisoners were used ruthlessly and without regard to safety at forced labor camps, resulting in high mortality rates. Gas chambers were used as the SS began to use the camps to kill their targeted groups.

In Poland a concentration camp complex was developed called Auschwitz. Created by the Nazi leaders, Auschwitz became the largest camp of its kind. It was equipped with multiple gas chambers, a crematorium and places for medical experiments.
Zyklon B, the chemical used to kill people in the gas chambers was first tested and used here. It is estimated that 1.3 million people were deported to Auschwitz and 1.1 million were murdered there.

Auschwitz, crematorium

Auschwitz, today

Zyklon B canisters
Medical Experiments

At least 70 research projects were conducted between 1939-1945 on human subjects. These projects fell into three general categories: research to improve survival and rescue of military personnel, testing medical procedures and pharmaceutical drugs, and experiments attempting to confirm Nazi racial ideology.

Many of these experiments were barbaric and performed on sick people as well as healthy. Some had surgeries performed on them. Some were exposed to various diseases like typhus, malaria, and tuberculosis. Some were subjected to chemicals.
Others were robbed of their sexual organs. Humans had replaced animals in research for Nazi Germany.

A victim of a Nazi medical experiment is immersed in icy water at the Dachau concentration camp. SS doctor Sigmund Rascher oversees the experiment. Germany, 1942. (USHMM)

A war crimes investigation photo of the disfigured leg of a survivor from Ravensbrueck, Polish political prisoner Helena Hegier (Rafalska), who was subjected to medical experiments in 1942. This photograph was entered as evidence for the prosecution at the Medical Trial in Nuremberg. The disfiguring scars resulted from incisions made by medical personnel that were purposely infected with bacteria, dirt, and slivers of glass. (USHMM)

Resistance Movements

Despite the horrors being inflicted upon them, many Jews resisted Germany and her collaborators. Underground resistance movements grew in over 100 ghettos. Concentration camp prisoners led uprisings against their captors. And small militant groups operated against the Nazis in France, Belgium, Ukraine, Belarussia, Lithuania and Poland. Resistance included escaping, hiding, cultural activities and acts of spiritual preservation. (“Spiritual resistance refers to attempts by individuals to maintain their humanity, personal integrity, dignity, and sense of civilization in the face of Nazi attempts to dehumanize and degrade them. Most generally, spiritual resistance may refer to the refusal to have one's spirit broken in the midst of the most horrible degradation. Cultural and educational activities, maintenance of community documentation, and clandestine religious observances are three examples of spiritual resistance.”)
Liberation

In the summer of 1944 as Allied troops started offensives against Nazi Germany across Europe, concentration camps and mass graves were discovered and camps were liberated to the shock and horror of people around the world. And although liberation was not a priority to fighting troops, prisoners were freed, given food, and medical care. The liberators also collected evidence to be used at trials later.

Nuremberg Trials

In October of 1945, 22 Nazi leaders were brought to trial for crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity and conspiracy to commit these crimes. This was the first international trial of its time. The International Military Tribunal delivered its verdicts almost a year later. Twelve defendants were sentenced to death, 3 were imprisoned for life, 4 received 10-20 years in prison, and 3 were acquitted.

International and American response to the Holocaust

During World War II the rescue of Jews and other targeted groups was not a priority for the United States government. It was also unclear how a large scale rescue mission in Europe could happen while the war was being fought. During the 1930s, the US State Department made it difficult for refugees to obtain entry visas into the United States. The government was influenced by the Great Depression’s economic hardships which encouraged some citizens to be swayed by anti semitism, isolation, and xenophobia making it easier to discourage immigration into the US. Aside from the immigration decline of the 1930s, slightly more than half of refugees were of Jewish descent. In 1941, 45% were Jewish. But, when the US entered the war in December of that year immigration into the US was virtually non-existent. As immigration into the US came to a halt, Nazi Germany began to systematically murder the Jews and other “undesirables” of Europe. In 1942 the mainstream American press reported on the
Holocaust but it failed to have extensive coverage or prominent display in the media. People were more focused on the war itself and not the plight of the men, women and children in the grips of the Holocaust.

In 1944 the War Refugee Board was established by President Roosevelt for the “immediate rescue and relief of the Jews and other victims of enemy persecution.” The War Refugee Board was an independent government agency. John Pehle was the first director of this agency and has said that the agency was established “too little, too late” and is only credited with saving 200,000 lives during the Holocaust. The War Refugee Board was dissolved under President Truman in 1945.

**Primary Source Analysis:**

Using the Photo Analysis chart from the National Archives (https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/photo_analysis_worksheet.pdf) observe some of the photos from this period in history. You can find many sources online, but one of the most comprehensive is from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (www.ushmm.org).

Documenting the number of lives lost during the Holocaust is challenging because there is no one document with these numbers. It is estimated that around 11 million people were killed, including the 6 million Jews.
On May 7, 1945 it was announced that Germany had unconditionally surrendered to the Allies.

Interactive 7.47 Germany Surrender’s NewsReel

Use this video to answer the questions below.

After watching this video, answer the following questions:

1. What does the newscaster explain to calm the public’s fears?
2. What was Eisenhower’s role?
What was to become of Germany?

In February of 1945, the “Big Three” (leaders of the United Kingdom-Churchill, United States-Roosevelt and the Soviet Union-Stalin) met in Yalta to demand Germany’s unconditional surrender and create plans for a post war world. During the Yalta Conference Stalin agreed to allow free elections in Eastern European nations (which he later retracted, thus contributing to the increased tensions between several of the Allied countries and Russia during the Cold War) and to help fight the Japanese in the Pacific in return for lands lost during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905). The group also decided to divide Germany into 4 sections with each section being supervised by a leader of the largest countries of the Allied Powers--Great Britain, Russia, France, and the U.S.

At the time Germany had surrendered, the country was in a humanitarian and economic crisis. Plagued with a rapidly sinking economy, a lack of public services, and widespread hunger and homelessness, the Allied Forces knew that the restoration of order and establishment of new economic and public services would be critical. The Allies took steps to remove the elements of Nazism from all aspects of life and collaboratively worked to persecute the men responsible for the horrors of Hitler’s Third Reich.

On June 5, 1945 the Berlin Declaration split Germany into four occupation zones. Eventually, the democratic nations of France, Great Britain and the United States were at odds with communist Soviet Union. There were disagreements over the type of governments in the occupied territories and how to best encourage economic growth in Germany. Eventually these arguments lead to the establishment of two German nations.

Refugee Crisis in Europe

After Germany's surrender the Allies sent (repatriate) over 6 million displaced persons back to their home countries. As people were liberated by the Allies many were housed in displaced person camps and centers until arrangements could be made to get them home. Despite the large numbers of refugees making their way back to their homelands some 1.5-2 million would not or could not return home. Destruction of homes and entire communities made it impossible for some to return home and in other places pogroms were initiated to keep Jews from resettling in Eastern Europe. Because of this many Jewish refugees moved from Poland to the Western European countries. There were also committees established at this time that were promoting the idea of creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Interactive 7.48 The Refugee Problem of Germany

Read page of one the document below written in 1950. Answer the following:

1. How many people were displaced? Where have most displaced persons resettled?

2. Create a chart comparing the differences and similarities of the post World War II refugee crisis to the current Syrian refugee crisis. Some independent research may be needed.
The Creation of the United Nations

In 1945 fifty countries met in San Francisco, California to draw up the United Nations (UN) charter which was ratified on October 24, 1945. The United Nations also created the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Today, the UN has goals of maintaining international peace and security, promoting sustainable development, protecting human rights, upholding international law and delivering humanitarian aid.

Interactive 7.49 The UN Charter Preamble

Click on the image to hear actor Laurence Olivier read the preamble of the UN Charter.

United Nations www.un.org Eleanor Roosevelt was a driving force behind human rights. He is pictured here holding a copy of the UDHR.

US occupation and Demilitarization of Japan
George MacArthur led the American military in occupying Japan and supervising the creation of a new Japanese constitution. America’s theory of establishing democracy in all areas of Japanese society in order to create a stable country to head into the future with. The US feared that oppressing Japan would backfire on the world as the Versailles treaty had backfired on the world after World War I. The Japanese military was limited to defensive purposes, women were given the right to vote and other democratic reforms were established in order for Japan to reach a full economic recovery. The US occupation of Japan lasted seven years and as Japan succeeds in the world today and acts as an ally to the US, it is obvious that this plan was a success.

Celebrating Victory

As the Axis Powers surrendered countries and peoples around the world rebuilt, restructured and celebrated. How are celebrations the same and different based on the pictures below?
“The nation could feel proud of itself for the way it acted when the big news came on Monday, May 7. There was a little cheering, a little drinking and a few prayers. There was a great sense of relief and of a dedication to the job ahead. Only in New York was there a real hullabaloo. There wild street celebrations were whitened by snowstorms of paper cascading from buildings in Times Square, Wall Street and Rockefeller Center. Ships on the rivers let go with their sirens. Workers in the garment center threw bales of rayons, silks and woolens into the streets to drape passing cars with bright-colored cloth. Then the workers swarmed out of their shops, singing and dancing, drinking whisky out of bottles, wading in their own weird confetti.” (TIME article, http://time.com/3839303/v-e-day-celebrations/)

Interactive 7.51 The Costs of War

Based on your knowledge of World War II, create an editorial or a political cartoon to describe the pros and cons of this conflict. Be sure to include factual information, images and description.

Review the cost of the war in this interactive.

VE Parade, United Kingdom, Photo from the Imperial War Museums (IWM HU 49414)

VE Parade, Red Square, Moscow (Photo from the Moscow Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War http://www.poklonnayagora.ru/)

Interactive 7.51 The Costs of War

Based on your knowledge of World War II, create an editorial or a political cartoon to describe the pros and cons of this conflict. Be sure to include factual information, images and description.

Review the cost of the war in this interactive.
Chapter 8

Did America’s search for a “new normal” strike a balance between individual (freedoms and) opportunities and national security in the postwar years?

1. What factors contributed to the Cold War?

2. What were the causes of the American policy of containment?
As Soviet and U.S. soldiers worked together to liberate Germany at the end of World War II in Europe, many on both sides hoped for continued friendship between the two countries. However, problems had been building between the two nations both before and during the war. Combined with the incompatibility of the economic and political systems that drove both countries, significant foreign policy clashes were imminent.

The United States had supported anti-Communist resistance during the Russian Revolution in 1917 and refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. The Soviets had also disagreed bitterly with the United States and Britain about tactics...
and postwar plans during World War II. Mutual interest and a common enemy was all that had held the Allies together and, with Germany defeated, the differences between the United States and Soviet Union would soon resurface.

Postwar Plans

In February of 1945, Roosevelt met with Churchill and Stalin in the Soviet city of Yalta for the Yalta Conference. The goal was to work out a plan for a postwar Europe, and the nations agreed on the division of Germany into American, British, French, and Soviet occupation zones. Poland proved to be a more difficult issue to address. The Soviets had occupied the country and supported a Communist-dominated government. Stalin opposed the return of the pre-war government, believing that a government sympathetic to the Soviets would be necessary to their security needs since Poland had historically served as an invasion route into Russia. The United States and Britain pushed for self-government and free elections in Eastern Europe, and Stalin agreed to let the Poles hold elections and choose their own type of government. Stalin also pressed for Germany to pay the Soviet Union $10 billion in war damages, which Churchill and Roosevelt rejected. These disputes would continue to strain American-Soviet relations.
One area in which the Allies would agree, however, was on the creation of a new international peacekeeping organization called the United Nations (UN). The United States had refused to join the League of Nations after World War I, and the organization had largely been a failure. This time, policymakers obtained congressional support for the UN. A charter was adopted stating that members would try to settle their differences peacefully. All member nations would receive representation in the UN’s General Assembly. Representatives of eleven countries would sit on a Security Council. Permanent members of the Security Council included the United States, Soviet Union, France, Britain, and China. These nations would have veto power over proposed policies.

Roosevelt would never live to see his dream of the United Nations fulfilled. Just two weeks before the UN’s first meeting in April of 1945, President Roosevelt died unexpectedly. The Vice President of the United States, Harry Truman, now found himself leading the nation.

**Division of Germany, 1945**

Truman’s first meeting with Stalin came outside of Berlin in 1945 at the Potsdam Conference. By this time, the Germans had been defeated and the Allies were finalizing their postwar plans for Germany. The Allies continued to debate the issues that had divided them at Yalta, and Stalin continued to demand that Germany pay reparations. During the conference, Truman received word that the United States had successfully tested its first atomic bomb. He hinted to Stalin that the U.S. had a powerful new weapon, which only fueled Stalin’s distrust of the Americans. There was also distrust on the American side since the Soviet Army still occupied much of Eastern Europe, and Truman was unsure of Stalin’s intentions. Although Stalin had promised free elections in Eastern Europe, he had not yet kept his promise. Elections had happened in Poland, but the Soviets had rigged them to ensure a communist win.
Tensions over Poland demonstrated the differing views of the American and Soviet leaders. Americans had fought for democracy and economic opportunity for the nations of Europe and Asia. Seeing these goals achieved would mean an economically strong and politically open world. The United States supported a system of capitalism in which private individuals and businesses would make most economic decisions. The Soviets, on the other hand, regarded capitalism as an unjust system with great inequalities between the working and upper classes. The Soviets had also lost 20 million people during the war and suffered significant destruction. They wanted to rebuild the world in a way that would offer security and protection. One way to accomplish this goal would be to create a buffer zone of friendly communist states to protect them from invasion.

Developing satellite nations, or nations subject to Soviet domination, would create a group of nations friendly to communist goals.

**Tensions Among Superpowers**

The Postwar World. The Soviets quickly gained control over Eastern Europe in areas that had been freed from the Nazis. In many cases, the Soviets silenced anti-communist opposition to ensure the rise of communist governments. For example, in Hungary, Soviet troops remained in the country and demanded Communist control of the police. The arrest of anti-communist leaders allowed Communists to win the elections. In East Germany, Stalin established national control of all resources and installed a totalitarian government.

In February 1946, Stalin delivered a speech attacking capitalism. He declared that peace was impossible so long as capitalism continued to exist. He predicted the ultimate triumph of communism over capitalism. A month later, Winston Churchill responded in a speech calling on Americans to help keep Stalin from closing the iron curtain of Communist domination. This term came to refer to the growing barrier dividing Eastern and Western Europe into two separate regions.

**The Iron Curtain**

These two speeches would set the stage for the Cold War, the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for power and influence in the world. This conflict would last until the collapse of the Soviet Union nearly fifty years later. The tension between these nations would be characterized by political and
economic conflict and military tensions. The rivalry stopped just short of a direct military engagement between the two nations, although both would engage in indirect combat in other nations.

Political Cartoon Analysis:

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that lie all the capitals of ... Central and Eastern Europe ... The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to preeminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control ... This is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace."

"Iron Curtain" speech, Winston Churchill, March 5, 1946

What symbols do you see in this cartoon? What are their meanings?

Do you think the “iron curtain” is designed to keep people out or keep people in?

What message is the artist trying to communicate?
Part of the reason the conflict never developed into a “hot” war was because the threat of nuclear attacks compelled both countries to show restraint in their use of force. In the age of the atomic bomb, the effects of a superpower conflict was more frightening. However, it did fuel the race to develop nuclear weapons. The United States continued to test and improve its nuclear capabilities. Nuclear testing continued into the 1950s, and for a few years the United States was the only country with an atomic bomb. Soviet scientists, however, were working to develop their own.

Because Truman recognized the damage an atomic bomb could do, he asked the United Nations to help limit the development and use of atomic energy, or the power released from a nuclear reaction. Truman sent one of his advisors, Bernard Baruch, to the UN to explain his position to the UN Atomic Energy Commission. Baruch explained that he hoped to see controls on raw materials used in making the bomb and a ban on any future bombs. This proposal, known as the Baruch Plan, would allow the United States to retain its small nuclear stockpile. However, it would stop the Soviet Union from their development of an atomic weapon. This prompted strong opposition from the Soviets, who stated that talks about international controls on weapons could continue only if the U.S. destroyed their atomic weapons. The Soviet Union refused to discuss the terms of the Baruch Plan and this effort at nuclear arms control came to an end.

Confronting the Communist Threat

In 1946, an American diplomat named George Kennan analyzed Soviet behavior and policy. He sent what became known as the “Long Telegram” to the U.S. Secretary of State, which would become the basis of American foreign policy for decades. Kennan pointed out that the Soviets were committed to the belief that the American way of life must be destroyed if their power were to ever be secure. He indicated that the Soviets would be cautious yet persistent in their goal to defeat capitalism and expand their sphere of influence. From Kennan’s analysis, the policy of containment emerged. Kennan believed that Soviet expansion should be restricted, although he viewed this as more of a political strategy than a military one. By containing the Soviets within their present borders, Kennan believed that communism would eventually crumble and collapse on its own.
Concerns about Soviet expansion were not limited to Eastern Europe. Both Greece and Turkey faced communist takeovers. When communist rebels attempted to gain control of the Greek government, civil war erupted. Britain began sending troops and money to assist the government forces. Britain also tried to assist Turkey, who was experiencing pressure from the Soviets. The Soviet Union was interested in controlling the Dardanelles, a strait in Turkey that would give Soviet ports on the Black Sea access to the Mediterranean. Facing severe economic problems in the aftermath of World War II, Britain announced that they could no longer afford to help Greece and Turkey. In 1947, Truman addressed Congress and called on the United States to take a leadership role. In that speech, he outlined a policy that would become known as the Truman Doctrine. Truman stated, “It

The Long Telegram, 1946

“The Soviet Union cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents ... but only by intelligent long-range policies ... no less steady in their purpose ... than those of the Soviet Union itself. In these circumstances, it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.”

George Kennan, Sources of Soviet Conduct, July 1947

Document Analysis. Read “Sources of Soviet Conduct” and address the following elements:

To whom is it addressed?
Reason for the source
Who is the author
Immediate impact
Time period
Subsequent impact

http://www.history.com/s3static/video-thumbnails/AETN-History_Prod/74/943/History_Speeches_1144_The_Truman_Doctrine_still_624x352.jpg
must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquest] by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” Responding to Truman’s plea, Congress dedicated $400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. With U.S. aid and military equipment, the Greek government was able to defeat the communist rebels. Turkey was also able to resist communist pressure and maintain control of the Dardanelles. The Truman Doctrine committed the United States to Kennan’s policy of containment, and demonstrated the American desire to limit communism to the countries in which it already existed.

The United States also hoped to create stable democracies and achieve economic recovery in Europe. By helping to restore war-torn nations, Americans hoped that they would be better able to resist communist threats. The Marshall Plan was a recovery plan that offered generous funding to European nations, including the Soviet Union, to rebuild their economies as long as the money was spent on goods made in the United States. This policy would reinforce the Truman Doctrine in its policy of containment, and further boost the economy of the United States. The Soviet Union questioned the motives of the Marshall plan and refused, pressuring its satellite nations to do so as well. They believed the real purpose of the plan was to create an American sphere of influence in Europe. To compete with their rival, the Soviets created the Molotov Plan which was designed to aid the economy recovery in Eastern Europe.
By 1949, the alliance between the Soviet Union and United States had turned into one of suspicion. Both nations held different visions for the world. Although hostilities between the nations often heated up, it never led to direct armed conflict between them. It was for that reason that the rivalry between the Soviet Union and United States became known as the Cold War. Both sides knew that if the growing hostility between them were to turn hot, it could result in another world war.
**Section 2**

**The Cold War Abroad**

**QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY**

1. What factors contributed to the Cold War?

2. What were the causes of the American policy of containment?

**TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE**

- 38th Parallel
- Arms Race
- Berlin Airlift
- Demilitarized Zone
- Douglas MacArthur
- Korean War
- Mao Zedong
- NATO
- Warsaw Pact

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**East and West Germany Formed**

By 1948, American, French, and British leaders were confident that Stalin was not going to allow the reunification of Germany. They decided to combine their zones to create the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany. The western part of Berlin, which was located within the Soviet zone, was to also become a part of West Germany. The Soviets responded by creating the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany. Capitalist West Berlin and Communist East Berlin would become a symbol of the struggle between the Soviet Union and Western powers. On June 24, the Soviets implemented a blockade on Berlin that would stop all land travel and shipments into the city from Allied occupation zones. This became known as the Berlin Blockade, and threatened to create severe shortages of food and other supplies needed by the people of West Berlin. The Soviets hoped this would force the Allies to either give up Berlin or their plans for a West German state.
Truman did not want to risk war by using the military to force open the transportation routes, but he was also not willing to lose West Berlin to the Soviets. Instead he began the Berlin Airlift, moving supplies into West Berlin by plane. Over the next ten months, pilots made more than 270,000 flights into West Berlin carrying nearly 2.5 million tons of supplies. The Soviets finally gave up the blockade in May of 1949, and Germany officially became two countries. Berlin also remained divided between East and West.

As divisions increased in Europe, the superpowers began to form new military alliances as well. With the Soviet Union’s use of its veto power in the Security Council of the UN, it became clear to Western Europe that they would have to look for another means by which to protect itself from Soviet aggression. In April 1949, several nations joined to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This organization included the United States, Canada, and ten Western European nations. The founders included nations such as Britain and France, with Greece, Turkey, and West Germany following a few years later. Member nations agreed that an armed attack on one of them would be considered an attack against them all. This plan for collective security meant that they would commit to mutual military assistance, and the nations formed a standing army to defend Western Europe in the event of a Soviet invasion. The creation of NATO prompted the Soviet Union to form their own security alliance called the Warsaw Pact. This organization was comprised mostly by the Soviet satellite nations in Eastern Europe.

STOP
And Think…

Digging Deeper. Complete an Episodic Summary of the Berlin Airlift using the Office of the Historian. Use the model Graphic Organizer below by recreating it on a separate sheet of paper or in Google Docs.

Interactive 8.6 What is NATO?

Use this interactive map to answer questions about NATO’s activities today. Describe one of NATO’s current missions. How does it support NATO’s purpose?

Identify five troop contributing partners.

Where are three command and control stations? What are their responsibilities?
The Cold War Heats Up

In 1949, Truman made an announcement that the Soviets had tested their first atomic bomb. His response was to forge ahead with the creation of a new weapon that would give the United States the upper hand in nuclear development. In 1950, Truman approved the development of a hydrogen bomb which would be much more destructive than the atomic bomb. The first successful test occurred in 1952, instantly vaporizing an entire island and leaving behind a crater more than a mile wide. The Soviets would follow three years later with their first hydrogen bomb, leaving both superpowers in possession of thermonuclear weapons. One American test called Castle Bravo in 1954 at Bikini Island in the Pacific contaminated Japanese fishermen some 90 miles from the blast, causing severe radiation burns. As the United States continued to test the hydrogen bomb, it became clear that nuclear war could threaten the world with radioactive contamination. This struggle between the United States and Soviet Union to gain weapons superiority was called the arms race.

Hungary Tests Containment

Not long after the creation of the Warsaw Pact, upheaval in Hungary tested the policy of containment. In 1956, thousands of Hungarians revolted against the communist government and demanded a democratic political system with freedom from Soviet oppression. The leader of the rebellion, Imre Nagy, boldly declared that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and become a neutral country. He also appealed to Western nations to help protect them from Soviet aggression. Soviet leaders responded quickly by sending tanks and Red Army troops. After killing thousands of protesters, the Soviets placed Soviet-backed leaders into power and put Nagy to death. The event stunned many people, including Hungarians who were shocked when American forces failed to help them. The United States, however, was
unwilling to risk war with the Soviet Union to free a satellite nation.

**China Falls to Communism**

During World War II, Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong and Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-Shek had joined forces to fight Japan. With the defeat of Japan, the two groups turned on one another once again in a civil war for control of China. The United States provided economic and military assistance to Chiang Kai-Shek even though he was viewed by many as corrupt and inefficient. Despite the aid, the Nationalists were defeated by Mao's forces. Mao declared the creation of the People's Republic of China and the Nationalists fled to Taiwan, an island off the coast of China. Many Americans criticized Truman for the “loss of China”, fearing they would form an alliance with the Soviet Union that would threaten U.S. interests across the globe. Although China remained a key ally of the USSR, they pursued their own interests and rejected Soviet control. The United States cut off all trade with China and refused to recognize the new state. The U.S. continued to refer to the Nationalists in Taiwan as the legitimate government until the 1970s. The United States also opposed China’s admission to the United Nations.

**Interactive 8.8**

**Interpretation Match**

Karl Marx developed the original theory of communism, but the Soviet Union and China each developed their own interpretations. Read the resource and match the interpretations below with the correct theory of communism.
The Korean War

Similar to China, Korea was freed from Japanese control at the end of World War II. At that time, Soviet troops occupied the Korean Peninsula north of the 38th parallel, a latitude line that crosses the center of Korea. The United States occupied the southern part of the peninsula. The Soviets established a pro-Soviet, communist government in the north while the U.S. backed a non-communist regime in the south led by Kim Il-Sung. This arrangement would eventually erupt in the Korean War in 1950.

The war began when North Korean troops invaded the south. Their goal was to reunite Korea under communist rule. Truman responded by ordering U.S. forces to repel the invaders and turning to the UN for help. The UN condemned the invasion and called on its members to help South Korea. A joint force of troops from fifteen nations was created and placed under the command of Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur had led troops in the island-hopping campaign in the Pacific against the Japanese in World War II, and had established a democracy in Japan during the postwar occupation period. He was a brilliant military strategist that developed a bold plan to drive the invaders from South Korea.

With Soviet tanks and airpower, the North Koreans had conquered most of South Korea in a matter of weeks. Only one port city, called Pusan, remained unconquered. MacArthur decided to first send forces to defend the city and then to attack enemy supply lines from behind by landing at Inchon. The North Korean forces found themselves caught between UN forces in the north and the south, and with their supply lines cut off, they began to flee back across the 38th parallel. UN troops pursued them northward, nearly reaching the Chinese border. As the troops approached the border with China, the Chinese warned them not to advance any further. MacArthur ignored the warning, and Chinese troops took the offensive with tens of thousands streaming over the border into North Korea. An army of North Korean and Chinese troops pushed the UN forces back to the 38th parallel where a stalemate developed.

Interactive 8.9 Korean War

Use the interactive website to learn more about the Korean War (Requires flash, may not work on an iPad - use a desktop for best experience)
MacArthur wanted to break the stalemate by calling for an expansion of the conflict into China. He proposed blockading China’s ports and bombing their major industrial centers. President Truman rejected this plan, fearing that a war with China would be the onset of another global war. MacArthur would not back down and publicly questioned the president’s decision. Truman fired him for insubordination. MacArthur returned home and made an emotional farewell, saying that “old soldiers never die, they just fade away.” Truman maintained his limited war, which would drag on for two more years.

Dueling Documents: Partner up with a classmate who read the other document.

- Share the conclusions that you drew from the document.
- These documents are competing for the best perspective about how the United States should have handled the Korean War. Who should win the duel?
- Come to a consensus and be prepared to share which document won the duel and why. Which would have been the more effective application of the policy of containment?

The final years of the war remained a stalemate with most of the fighting occurring around the 38th parallel. In 1953, the two sides signed an armistice to end the conflict. The agreement left the peninsula divided along the 38th parallel and created a buffer zone called the demilitarized zone (DMZ). No military force from either side would be allowed to enter the DMZ. The Korean War caused much frustration for Americans, who had lost 54,000 soldiers with limited results. At the end of the war, North Koreans
became increasingly isolated from the rest of the world while South Korea continued its economic and political ties to the United States. The hopes for a unified and democratic Korea faded away, and many wondered if the American government was serious about stopping the spread of communism.

What If? Imagine that the United States had followed the suggestions of Douglas MacArthur and expanded the war into China. How might the outcomes of the Korean War have been different?
Fear of Communist Influence Runs Rampant

While the latest conflict abroad was seen as a stalemate, the concern by many Americans back home was an increased fear of communist aggression in the U.S. As several incidents came to light, strong anti-Communist Republicans were quick to accuse those in the Truman administration of being soft on communism. In March of 1947, President Truman issued an executive order establishing the Federal Employees Loyalty and Security Program. Included in this order was the establishment of the Loyalty Review Board whose purpose was to investigate government employees and dismiss those found to be disloyal to the U.S. government. Although “disloyalty” was never clearly defined, between 1947 and 1951, government loyalty boards investigated over 3 million employees, dismissing 212 of them as security risks. Individuals under investigation were not allowed to see the evidence against them or even to know who had accused them of being disloyal.

In addition to agencies investigating government employees, other agencies were established to investigate possible Communist influence inside and outside the government. The most well known was the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), developed from a congressional committee originally created prior to WWII to search out disloyalty. HUAC first made headlines in 1947, as it began to investigate Communist influence in the movie industry.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What factors contributed to the Cold War?
2. What were the causes of the American policy of containment?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Federal Employees Loyalty and Security Program
Loyalty Review Board
House Committee on Un-American Activities
Blacklist
McCarran Internal Security Act
McCarthyism
The city of Hollywood had a substantial number of Communists, former Communists, and socialists. Combined with the production of several pro-Soviet films during the war, after 1945, some argued that subversives were promoting Soviet propaganda; HUAC wanted to get rid of Communist influences in the film industry. In September of 1947, 43 subpoenas were issued to witnesses from the Hollywood film industry. Ten witnesses deemed to be “unfriendly” decided not to cooperate and refused to answer the committee’s questions thus being sent to prison. Hollywood executives responded to the hearings by instituting a blacklist. Those possessing a Communist background who were blacklisted (approximately 500 actors, writers, producers, and directors) were no longer allowed to work in the film industry.

While HUAC hearings were occurring in Hollywood, Congress had decided that the Loyalty Review Board had not gone far enough to protect the nation’s security and in 1950 passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, making it illegal to plan any action that might lead to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the U.S. President Truman vetoed the bill because he felt that the bill went too far in stripping individuals of their civil liberties. Congress enacted the law over his veto.

**Point/Counterpoint: Thinking with a Civics Lens**

As you think about the government’s role in eliminating Communist fears during this time period, consider the question in the stop and think box below.

**Did Anti-Communist Measures at the Onset of the Cold War Threaten Civil Liberties and Domestic Freedoms in the United States?** This website provides excellent arguments on both sides of the compelling question:
Stunning Spy Cases Validate Communist Fears

The first spy case that occurred in 1948 involved a former State Department official named Alger Hiss. A former communist spy named Whittaker Chambers had accused Hiss of spying for the Soviet Union. Chambers claimed that Hiss had typed government documents on his personal typewriter which he produced on microfilm. Although too many years had passed for prosecutors to charge Hiss with espionage, he was convicted of lying about passing the documents and was sent to jail. Even though Hiss continued to claim his innocence, Soviets released cables in 1990 which appeared to confirm that Hiss had been guilty of espionage.

The Case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

The case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg was even more impactful than the Hiss case—not because it involved two individuals but because of the international events that played a part in the case. After the war had ended with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, most American experts had predicted that it would take the Soviets three to five years to figure out how to construct an atomic bomb of their own. On September 23, 1949, Americans had learned that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. This caused people to wonder whether or not the Soviets had stolen the secret of the bomb.

In 1950, Klaus Fuchs, a British physicist, admitted to giving information about America’s atomic bomb to the Soviets. It was predicted that because of the sharing of this information that the Soviets had been able to construct their own atomic bomb about eighteen months earlier than they would have otherwise. The arrest of Fuchs in England set off a chain of arrests in the U.S. Fuchs first implicated Harry Gold as the middleman between himself and the Soviets. Gold then implicated David Greenglass, one of Fuch’s co-workers on the Manhattan Project. Greenglass then implicated his sister-in-law Ethel Rosenberg along with her husband Julius Rosenberg. By the summer of 1950, the Rosenbergs were arrested in New York City. They were both
found guilty and sentenced to death. The Rosenbergs were executed at Sing Sing prison in June of 1953 despite multiple appeals for clemency from around the world.

Interactive 8.11 The Rosenbergs

To view some footage of their arrest and trial, watch this short video

McCarthy Goes on a “Witch Hunt”

Joseph McCarthy, a Republican senator from Wisconsin, felt he was going to need a winning issue in order to be re-elected in 1952. McCarthy found this winning issue by charging that Communists were taking over the government. McCarthy’s series of unsupported acquisitions in the early 1950s became known as McCarthyism—using unfair tactics to accuse people of disloyalty without providing evidence. At various times, McCarthy claimed to have the names of 57, 81, at one point 205 Communists in the State Department, although he never produced a single name. Additionally, McCarthy charged that the Democratic Party was guilty of treason because leading Democrats allowed Communists to infiltrate the federal government. Some tried to challenge McCarthy but the end result was always the same—more accusations. The Republican Party did little to challenge McCarthy because they thought the American public would see Republican efforts to rid the country of communism as honorable, thus proving advantageous at the polls in the 1952 election. However, in the Senate, a few members did speak out.

Interactive 8.12 White Out

After reading the excerpts from the speech, determine who said it and complete the Write Around activity that follows.

Effects of McCarthyism

As quickly as McCarthy gained power and authority in the Senate, he lost it in 1954 when he made accusations against the U.S. Army. In a nationally televised debate, McCarthy bullied witnesses, thus alienating the audience, ultimately costing him public support. The Senate condemned him for improper conduct. Three years later, Senator McCarthy died.

McCarthy wasn’t the only person who had an impact on attempts to root communism from American society. Due to the efforts of many, by 1953, it was illegal in 39 states to advocate the violent
overthrow of the government, even though the constitutionality of such legislation was in question. The result was that many were hesitant to speak out on any public issue for fear of being accused of having Communist undertones in their words. Additionally, millions of Americans in many professions were forced to take loyalty oaths or undergo investigations. Activism in labor unions also went into decline. And from a foreign policy standpoint, anticommunist sentiment continued to drive stringent stipulations. Ultimately, because many Americans tried very hard to root out any communist tendencies, they were willing to sacrifice basic civil liberties. Despite their efforts, the Cold War continued to escalate.
When Republican and World War II hero Dwight Eisenhower succeeded Truman as president in 1953, Cold War policy entered a new phase. Eisenhower’s Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, believed that the containment policy was too cautious and that Americans should begin rolling communism back from where it existed. Eisenhower, however, recognized the risks of confronting the Soviets and hoped to avoid war. The threat of nuclear war carried the prospect of complete destruction, but this became a threat the United States would use to its advantage. During the 1950s, the government developed a policy called **brinkmanship**, a willingness to go to the brink or edge of war. Dulles felt that the Soviets needed to believe the United States would use its nuclear weapons if pushed too far. According to brinkmanship, the United States would have to be ready to go to war in order to maintain peace.

**The Arms Race**

As the threat of nuclear warfare continued, a new strategy was developed by Dulles to reinforce brinkmanship and ensure American superiority. The policy of **deterrence** meant having a weapons arsenal so deadly that the Soviets would not dare attack the United States. After both the United States and Soviet Union successfully tested their hydrogen bombs, both continued to step up their weapons development programs. By 1960, the arms race would also lead to the development of nuclear missiles and submarines. Both the United States and...
Soviet Union built ICBMs, or *intercontinental ballistic missiles*. These missiles would be able to deliver nuclear warheads to distant countries. The combination of deterrence and brinkmanship came to be known as Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), meaning that either side would respond to a nuclear attack by launching its own missiles. Fear of these devastating results would hopefully make the United States and Soviet Union more likely to step back from all-out war.

**Kitchen Debates**

The sudden death of Stalin brought about the rise of a more moderate Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, and the hopes of improved American-USSR relations. In 1958, the two nations set up national exhibitions in each other’s countries as part of an emphasis on cultural exchange. Vice President Richard Nixon served as host for the visiting Soviet leader. As Khrushchev was led through an exhibit of American technology, he began to scoff at the display and proclaim that the Soviets would have the same gadgets within a few years. Nixon countered by stating that the Soviet leader should not be afraid of new ideas, saying “After all, you don’t know everything.” Khrushchev responded to Nixon saying, “You don’t know anything about communism - except the fear of it.” Nixon and Khrushchev continued their debate through the kitchen of a model home, verbally sparring over which system was superior - communism or capitalism. The “kitchen debate” proved to be an example of the competitive spirit of the Cold War.

**The U-2 Affair**

Although relations seemed to be improving, by the late 1950s the United States and Soviet Union were still deeply involved in the Cold War. A key tactic for both superpowers was espionage, or the use of spies and secret agents. Both sides sought to gain information about the enemy through the use of listening devices and hidden cameras. In May of 1960, the Soviets shot down a U.S. spy plane flying over the Soviet Union (USSR). The plane was a U-2 plane, one that could fly at high altitudes and served the purpose of exploring an area to gain military information. The
plane carried a variety of spying equipment including special cameras to photograph military installations. The pilot carried a deadly poison that he could take if the enemy captured him. After the Soviets hit the plane, the pilot parachuted to safety and was captured before he could take the poison. Nikita Khrushchev was outraged and accused the United States of spying. President Eisenhower denied the charge. He first claimed the U-2 was just an off-course weather plane, but later confirmed that it was on an intelligence-gathering mission. Khrushchev demanded that the United States stop its flights and apologize. Although Eisenhower agreed to end the flights, he refused to apologize for defending American interests. The incident, known as the U-2 Affair, was a major setback to U.S.-Soviet relations.

**The Space Race**

Space exploration quickly became another arena for U.S. and Soviet competition. Eisenhower's advisors encouraged the development of satellites, which would be able to travel over Soviet territory without the threat of being shot down. The Soviets also recognized this new potential for reconnaissance and launched their first satellite, Sputnik, in October of 1957. This was the first man-made object to be launched into space and came as an unpleasant surprise to most Americans. Just one month later, the Soviets made headlines again when they launched the first animal into orbit. With a new sense of urgency, the United States launched their first satellite, Explorer I, in 1958. That same year, Eisenhower announced the creation of NASA, a federal agency devoted to exploring space.

STOP
And Think...

After the U-2 Affair, Eisenhower refused to apologize which cooled relations between the United States and Soviet Union. Take a position on the statement above and prepare an explanation. Try to convince others who disagree with you or are undecided to come to your side.

Take a Stand: Eisenhower should have apologized to the Soviet Union.
Central Intelligence Agency

In 1947, President Truman had asked Congress to respond to the Soviet threat by reorganizing the government’s security agencies. Congress passed the National Security Act, which created a National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The NSC would advise the president on security issues and oversee the CIA. The CIA would be responsible for collecting and analyzing intelligence gathered by agents in foreign countries. Throughout the 1950s, the CIA played a growing role in the Cold War. It expanded its role from intelligence collection to covert action, a secret political, economic, or military operation that supports foreign policy. The United States often used covert action to overthrow leftist or unfriendly governments.

In 1953 the United States helped to topple the Iranian premier, Mohammad Mossadegh. He had nationalized a British oil company, meaning that he placed the formerly private company under government control. In Operation Ajax, the CIA overthrew the democratic government and reinstated the Iranian monarch, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The Shah maintained a 25-year dictatorship supported by the United States, ruling with a brutal police force that angered many Iranians.

The United States also used covert action in Central America. In 1954 in Guatemala, CIA agents helped to overthrow the democratically elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. The United Fruit Company was an American business with operations in Guatemala. They opposed certain social reforms proposed by the Guatemalan government, specifically the government plan to hand over thousands of acres of company land to the nation’s landless peasants. The United States ordered the CIA to support a military coup in with Arbenz was overthrown. Lands were returned to the United Fruit Company and a military government took charge.

Foreign Aid

Nations also used foreign aid as a weapon during the Cold War. Both the United States and Soviet Union used money and assistance to help countries and gain new allies. Some aid helped the poor by providing funds for social and economic programs, while others forms of aid were delivered in terms of military assistance. The United States would sometimes withhold aid as punishment for nations that failed to support its policies. In the 1950s, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser began establishing trade ties with communist nations. For example, Egypt purchased tanks from Czechoslovakia against American wishes. When the United States and Britain withdrew their offer to help finance the building of the much-needed Aswan Dam on the Nile River, Nasser responded by seizing control of the Suez Canal from Britain. The Suez Canal was an important waterway that allowed for Middle East oil to efficiently reach Europe via the Mediterranean. In the Suez Crisis of 1956, the nations of France, Britain, and Israel invaded Egypt to regain control of the canal.
The Soviet Union threatened to back up Egypt with military force, causing the United States to step in and persuade all sides to withdraw in order to end the crisis.

The Cold War may have been a struggle between two superpowers, but it had global implications. As the United States and the Soviet Union competed for supremacy and allies, many nations were impacted or drawn into the conflict. Due to the threat of nuclear destruction, the hostilities never evolved into a “hot” war. The dependence on nuclear weapons as a form of foreign policy, however, had a far-reaching impact. Even Eisenhower feared that nuclear weapons might become more of a threat to security than a stabilizer. Eisenhower warned in his farewell address that “the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist”. He feared that the “military-industrial complex” created out of need to keep Americans safe could potentially weaken or destroy the very principles and institutions it was designed to protect.

Interactive 8.14 Analyzing Cold War Strategies

The United States utilized a variety of strategies to contain communism and advance their interests during the Cold War. Can you match the event with the strategy?

Interactive 8.15 Crash Course - the Cold War

For a review of the Cold War click on the video above.
Chapter 9

Were the social, political, economic, and cultural issues and events of the 1950s more representative of a decade of progress and prosperity or one of stagnation and poverty?

What were the significant social, political, economic, and cultural readjustments that occurred in the U.S. after WWII and the 1950s?

Could the 1950s be considered a time of social, political, economic, and cultural prosperity and challenge simultaneously?

Did every American have equal access to the attainment of the “American Dream” of the 1950s?

How did the emergence of suburbia and the automobile culture impact lives of Americans in different ways?

How significant was the new era of mass media on American life in the 1950s?

Why did the emergence of “subcultures” occur when they did? What new characteristics were present in 1950s society that led to the emergence of subcultures?

How did the birth of rock and roll blur racial lines and lead to advancements in ending certain types of segregation across the nation?

What social, political, economic, and cultural factors led to the increasingly wide gap between white, middle class Americans and those living in the “other America?”
The Cold War had a significant impact on domestic life in the decade after the WWII; however, for most Americans, economic prosperity and social aspects such as pop culture and the building of suburban lifestyles by the middle class dominated thoughts of anti-Communist fear. Even though the 1950s were known as a time of unprecedented prosperity, not every subgroup of American society benefitted. The urban poor, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans were left untouched by the economic boom, living in poverty.

**Readjustment and Recovery in Postwar America**

Within a year after the surrender of Axis forces bringing an end to WWII, approximately 10 million men and women had been released from the U.S. armed forces. To assist with the transition of veterans into civilian life, Congress passed the **GI Bill of Rights**—legislation that paid for college tuition, guaranteed unemployment benefits during job searches, and offered low-interest federally guaranteed loans for veterans. The short-term gains of the GI Bill were immediately evident—millions of men and women received financial support while fulfilling a sense of purpose by either receiving training as they entered the workforce or studying at college in pursuit of a career. One of the long-term impacts was a substantial increase in the middle class of American society that would last for at least 50 years. Historian Milton Greenberg estimated that the GI Bill enriched U.S. society by producing 450,000 engineers, 240,000 accountants,
238,000 teachers, 91,000 scientists, 67,000 doctors and 22,000 dentists. This feat led these men and women to earn the moniker of the “Greatest Generation”—with their legacy returning $7 to the American economy for every $1 invested in the GI Bill. This was a serious return on investment.

Additionally with the assistance provided by the GI Bill, many veterans were able to purchase homes in the suburbs—small residential communities outside of surrounding cities, to help alleviate the effects of a severe housing shortage that occurred shortly after the war had ended. One of the first suburbs was created by William Levitt. Contracted by the federal government during the war to quickly build housing for military personnel, Levitt applied the techniques of mass production to construction after the war. In 1947, Levitt set out to build the largest planned-living community in the U.S. on farmland he had purchased on Long Island, New York. Levitt identified 27 different steps to build a house. Therefore, 27 different teams of builders were hired to construct the homes. Levitt boasted that his teams could build a house in sixteen minutes—each house had two bedrooms, one bathroom, and no basement. The kitchen was situated near the back of the house so mothers could keep an eye on their children in the backyard. Within one year, Levitt was building 36 houses in a day. His assembly-line approach made the houses extremely affordable. At first, Levitt’s home could only be purchased by veterans. Eventually, though, Levitttown was opened to others as well.
Additional Postwar SPECtacles

No matter which historical time period is under investigation, using the SPEC strategy is a terrific way to organize information and analyze multiple causes and effects of events across sometimes broader historical contexts. Here are the basics behind the SPEC strategy:

S=SOCIAL

Having to do with people in groups. Social includes issues such as gender, economic status, and ethnicity. An example of a social aspect of life in postwar America would be the birth of suburbia in hundreds of cities across the country.

P=POLITICAL

Having to do with gaining, seeking, and organizing power, events related to the function of government including making laws, enforcing laws, and interpreting laws. A political example in postwar America is the passage of the GI Bill. It should be noted that some of the impacts of the bill could also be economic, social, and cultural.

E=ECONOMIC

Having to do with how people meet their basic material needs; the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services; includes such issues as domestic and international trade, monetary policies, and taxation. An example of an economic aspect of postwar America would be the booming economy that occurred as demands for goods outstripped supply and production was increased thus creating additional new jobs.

C=CULTURAL

Having to do with the technology, arts, and institutions of a given group of people at a given time. It is a tangible representation of interactions. Examples of cultural characteristics might include: literature, music, poetry, art, food, dialects, and slang. An example in the postwar time period would be the role of advertising in creating demand for new products as suburbanites wanted to “keep up with the Jones’s.”

Create a SPEC graphic organizer, record additional examples of SPEC characteristics as you continue to read this chapter.

Economic Challenges Faced by President Truman

When Harry S. Truman inherited the Presidency after the death of FDR in April of 1945, he faced two significant challenges: dealing with the rising threat of communism and restoring the economy. By 1946, with higher prices and lower wages, at least 4.5 million workers went on strike. Steelworkers, coal miners, and railroad workers significantly impacted many facets of economic activity. President Truman, refusing to allow the nation to be crippled by the many strikes, appeared before a special session of Congress to request authority to draft striking workers into the army where
as soldiers they wouldn’t be allowed to strike. Before the President could finish his speech, unions gave in and ended their strikes but the damage was done. The American public had had enough and made this point during the 1946 elections. For the first time since 1928, Republicans had won control of both houses of Congress. The new 80th Congress ignored President Truman’s domestic economic proposals, in 1947, passing the Taft-Hartley Act over the President’s veto. The main purpose of the act was to restrict power of labor unions.

**Persisting Social Unrest and Political Ramifications**

In addition to a problematic economy, President Truman also had to address a wave of racial violence in the South after the war had ended. After meeting with African American leaders and seeking their top priorities, Truman took their requests to Congress. When members of Congress failed to cooperate, Truman appointed a biracial Committee on Civil Rights to investigate race relations. When Congress failed to act a second time upon recommendations including anti-lynching, poll-tax, and other anti-discriminatory measures, Truman issued an executive order in 1948 integrating the armed forces and ending discrimination in the hiring of government employees.

As the 1948 election drew closer, Democrats again nominated Truman. However, Truman’s insistence upon a strong civil rights platform cost him the unanimous support of the Democratic Party. Dixiecrats--Southern delegates to the national convention who opposed civil rights formed their own party, the States’ Rights Democratic Party, nominating South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond. Additionally on the far left of the party, there was also dissent resulting in the nomination of Henry A. Wallace to represent the more liberal Progressive Party. Although the election was close, Truman ultimately won re-election and began to try to implement his Fair Deal program. Despite the defeat of some of Truman’s proposed programs, in other instances the President was successful. Congress raised the minimum wage, extended social security coverage to more Americans, initiated flood control and irrigation projects, and provided financial support to cities to build low-income family housing units.

Despite some social and economic victories for the Truman administration, the President’s approval rating sank to an all-time low by 1951. As the President decided not to run for re-election, the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson from Illinois to run against General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican Party’s nominee. A respected war hero, Eisenhower was no match for Truman who had accumulated too much negativity from a failed attempt at peace during the beginning of the Korean War from 1950-1951. Combined with Truman’s inability to calm anti-Communist fears and a resurgence of disputes between labor unions and the corporate world, Eisenhower easily won the election with his calm and steady demeanor, his easy smile and his straight talk. For the first time since 1932, a Republican
President would have a chance at trying to secure both domestic stability and foreign diplomacy.
The emergence of the suburbs wasn't the only rapid expansion in the 1950s. By the mid 50s, the majority of Americans no longer held industrial or blue-collar jobs. The American workforce was changing as more people worked in white-collar positions such as clerical, managerial, or professional occupations. As the shift from an industrial-based to a service-based economy took place, numbers of workers in fields like sales, advertising, insurance, and communications rose rapidly.

American Dream in the 1950s - The Organization and the Organization Man

As white-collar workers dominated a new corporate America, the conglomerate was born. A conglomerate is a major corporation that includes a number of smaller companies in unrelated industries.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What were the significant social, political, economic, and cultural readjustments that occurred in the U.S. after WWII and the 1950s?

2. Could the 1950s be considered a time of social, political, economic, and cultural prosperity and challenge simultaneously?

3. Did every American have equal access to the attainment of the "American Dream" of the 1950s?

4. How did the emergence of suburbia and the automobile culture impact lives of Americans in different ways?

5. How significant was the new era of mass media on American life in the 1950s?

6. Why did the emergence of “subcultures” occur when they did? What new characteristics were present in 1950s society that led to the emergence of subcultures?

7. How did the birth of rock and roll blur racial lines and lead to advancements in ending certain types of segregation across the nation?

8. What social, political, economic, and cultural factors led to the increasingly wide gap between white, middle class Americans and those living in the “other America?”

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Conglomerate  Franchise
Baby Boom  Interstate highway system
Consumerism  Planned obsolescence
During the 1950s, one example of one of the first conglomerates was International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT). Although its original business was communications, ITT purchased insurance companies, car-rental companies, and hotel chains. Other conglomerates included American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), Xerox, and General Electric. Although there were many conglomerates built in the 1950s, the ultimate goal was the same—to protect the conglomerate from decline in individual industries through diversification.

In addition to the diversification that took place under a conglomerate, another business strategy that developed during this time was the franchise. A franchise is a company that offers similar products or services in many locations. Fast food restaurants like McDonald’s were some of the first franchises to occur.

Even though the emergence of franchises and conglomerates was at first glance an advancement in what would be known as “corporate America,” franchises like McDonald’s accomplished another task—it aided in the standardization of America. While fast food franchises standardized what people ate, other franchises standardized other actions in American life. Conformity was seen as acceptable for not only advancement in the business world but in other aspects of life in America.

In the struggle between conformity and individuality, conformity was rewarded; individuality was not. This value was reflected in workplace practices as well as projected in literature, television, and other cultural aspects of society. Some Americans, however, began to feel dissatisfied, questioning whether or not the American dream could only be achieved through conformity instead of individuality.

Interactive 9.3 Large and Small Businesses in the 1950s

An example of what this looked like from the business standpoint in the 1950s is illustrated in this video.

Interactive 9.4 How do Franchises Work?

View this short video to see how franchises make profits.

Interactive 9.5 Lets Be Good Citizens at School

Other institutions followed this cue as well as you will see in this video about conformity in school.
Life in Suburbia

Suburbs grew rapidly in the 1950s. Of the 13 million homes built in the 1950s, 85% of them were built in suburbs which quickly embodied an affordable single-family home, children’s attendance in good schools, a safe, healthy living environment for the family, and congenial neighbors with extremely similar interests and desires to achieve “the American dream.”

The Baby Boom and Dr. Spock impact Women’s roles

As soldiers returned home from fighting overseas after WWII, many considered the following factors with regard to the state of the nation to which they had returned:

- Confidence in economic prosperity that was long-term
- Decreasing marriage age
- Reunion of families after the war
- Advances in medicine
- Desires to have large families

The added result of these factors was the largest generation in the nation’s history. Known as the baby boom—an unprecedented population explosion between 1946 and 1964, at the height of the baby boom in 1957, one infant was born every seven minutes in America. And thanks to Dr. Jonas Salk and his discovery of a vaccine to prevent polio, along with the development of drugs to fight and prevent typhoid fever and diphtheria, hundreds of thousands of children’s lives kept the children of the baby boom alive and well.

The babies of the baby boom continued to grow and thrive as suburban life revolved around children and the family. Many mothers turned to Dr. Spock for his advice on how to best parent. Dr. Benjamin Spock, an author and pediatrician, published his book, the Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care, offering such advice as to not spank children, to hold family meetings where children could express themselves, and for mothers to stay at home with their children as opposed to working outside the home.

Combined with other influences (values of conformity, media, advertising, and other well-noted experts) the message for women to focus on the family and the creation of a loving...
home was a consistent reminder as to how the ideal women of the 1950s was to spend her time.

**Fantasy vs Reality: The Inner Conflict Many Women Faced**

Though millions of Americans did not have the lifestyle portrayed in popular magazines, movies, and television shows, the role of women in the 1950s was often depicted as that of a satisfied homemaker and mother. Although TV programs such as Father Knows Best and Leave it to Beaver showed the 1950s mom as the key figure to maintaining the ideal image of life in suburbia, some women did find themselves unhappy in what was supposed to be the aspirational norm. Subjected to extremely idealized gender roles combined with expectations of conformity, many women felt isolated, bored, and unfulfilled. One person whose experiences mirrored those feelings was Betty Friedan. A reporter in New York City who lost her job because of a second pregnancy, Friedan stayed at home to raise three children in the early 1950s. As she became restless as a homemaker she began to wonder if other women felt the same way. To answer this question, Friedan surveyed other graduates of Smith College, her almamateur. The results of this research formed the basis of The Feminine Mystique. The book became a sensation and created a social revolution by dispelling the myth that all women aspired only to be happy homemakers. Friedan encouraged women to seek new opportunities for themselves.

Despite the consistent pressure for women to not work outside the home, some women did work outside the home, the number of which, rose steadily throughout the decade. By 1960, almost 40% of women with children between the ages of 6 and 17 held jobs outside of the home. Disparities did continue to exist, however with regard to gender. Career opportunities for women tended to be limited to certain fields--teaching, nursing, and clerical office positions. And despite the fact that women earned less than men for comparable work, women continued to move their gender forward in the workplace as numbers of women attending four-year colleges increased steadily throughout the decade.

**Changes in Leisure in the 50s**

Another substantial change in the 1950s was the amount of leisure time Americans had. The 40-hour work week was a norm along with earned vacation time. Additionally, households
consisted of more labor-saving devices than ever before resulting in increased time spent on both active and passive leisure activities. Millions of Americans participated in sports such as bowling, hunting, fishing, boating, and golf. Attendance at team sports such as baseball, basketball, and football increased while hundreds of thousands started to watch professional sports on TV. Another leisure activity to experience a substantial increase was reading. Due to a thriving paperback market, mysteries, romance novels, and fiction by popular authors such as John Steinbeck, J.D. Salinger, and Ernest Hemingway along with the circulation of popular magazines and comic book sales reached a peak in the mid-1950s. And in most suburban communities activities toward youth such as scouting and little league became commonplace.

The Automobile Culture Grabs Hold of America

Living in suburbia made owning a car a necessity since many who lived in suburbia worked in cities and had to commute daily. And as many other necessary services (schools, churches, doctors’ offices, etc.) were not within walking distance of suburbs, a family vehicle was a must.

As more and more cars came into existence, more roads were needed which spurred substantial construction of local, state, and eventually an interstate highway system.

The result of the combination of the need for more travel by automobile and the need for additional roads was the birth of the automobile culture--a culture that would pervade American culture for decades. To grasp an idea of how dominant the automobile culture became in the 1950s, view the following video:

Unbound Consumerism

By the mid-1950s, almost 60% of Americans were members of the middle class who wanted increasing numbers of products and had the money to buy those products. Consumerism, the preoccupation with the purchasing of material goods, knew no limits in the 1950s. Equated with social and economic success, the combination of new products in response to consumer demand along with planned obsolescence, designing products to wear out or to become quickly outdated so that people will feel a need to replace their possessions, helped fuel the shift from spending earned income mostly on needs to those of wants. Advances in credit (the birth of the credit card and installment plans) was additionally another reason that instead of saving their money, Americans, especially those in the middle class, were spending it confidently with the expectation that times of
prosperity would continue for decades to come. Not to be left out, the advertising industry capitalized on this decade of unbounded consumerism by encouraging even more spending by inundating the American consumer with ads to be found everywhere. Endless advertising in newspapers, magazines, and billboards prompted people to buy everything from food to cigarettes to cars and appliances. Television along with radio became a powerful advertising tool, dominating the new industry of advertising. Not only did TV transmit cultural values through advertising, it became a symbol of popular culture itself. You’ll learn more about this in the next section.
Mass Media in a New Era

First available in 1948, television developed in the 1950s with lightning speed. Compared to other forms of mass media--means of communication reaching large audiences, television was in 55% of American homes by 1954--a number that would soar to 90% by 1960. Although tv sets were small boxes that only broadcast in black and white and only reached a small part of the East Coast at first, once microwave relays were developed, the tv industry boomed.

The Golden Age of Television

Although originally founded in 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which was created to regulate all interstate communications (i.e., wire, satellite, cable, telephone, radio,etc.) and international communications originating or terminating in the United States, experienced a huge surge in activity with requests nationwide to launch tv stations. By 1956, there were almost 500 stations across the U.S. The “golden age” of television had begun.
What was on TV in the 1950s?

At the time, television broadcasting was seen as a somewhat risky business because programs usually had to be broadcast live with mistakes and bloopers intact. Despite this, many shows still attracted wide audiences. In 1955, the top 10 television shows were:

1. The $64,000 Question (CBS)
2. I Love Lucy (CBS)
3. The Ed Sullivan Show (CBS)
4. Disneyland (ABC)
5. The Jack Benny Show (CBS)
6. December Bride (CBS)
7. You Bet Your Life (NBC)
8. Dragnet (NBC)
9. The Millionaire (CBS)
10. I’ve Got a Secret (CBS)

By 1956, the introduction of videotape eliminated some of the risks of the practice of broadcasting. Prerecording and editing yielded greater flexibility but spontaneity was diminished. Additional changes in the television industry included mass advertising on a whole new scale (from $170 million in 1950 to nearly $2 billion by the beginning of the next decade) which resulted in the emergence of children’s programs such as The Mickey Mouse Club and The Howdy Doody Show as children were glued to advertisements for their kind of products like Silly Putty, Hula-Hoops, and coonskin caps. Product-wise, TV Guide
was introduced in 1953 and quickly outsold any other magazine on the market. Even the food industry was impacted, especially with the introduction of the TV dinner.

**Television’s Idealized White America**

Although the television industry soared during the decade, not everyone in America was thrilled with stereotypes that were portrayed. Some critics objected to the effects of tv viewing on children’s behavior; others objected to the stereotypical portrayal of women and minorities. Male characters in television shows outnumbered female characters by a 3-1 ratio and African American and Latino minorities rarely appeared at all. Additionally, plots were absent of references to diversity, poverty, contemporary and/or controversial issues. Safe topics such as the glorification of historical events led to a strong focus on the historical conflicts of the Western frontier. Shows like Gunsmoke and Have Gun, Will Travel were hugely popular, so much so, that by 1959, the top three television shows were westerns.

**The Emergence of a Subculture**

Even though mass media appealed to a majority of white popular culture, messages of the beat movement in both literature and music clashed with the squeaky...
clean, materialistic image of suburban life. Born in 1955, as Allen Ginsberg read his lengthy, free-verse poem, Howl, at a cafe in San Francisco, the Beat Generation quickly emerged as a reaction against the conformity and materialism of the 1950’s. Rejecting the so-called security of Cold War America, the Beats embraced gritty reality, Eastern traditions, non-materialistic things, and altered states of consciousness.

Beat literature was more bold, straightforward, and expressive than anything that had come before and because of that, it was widely criticized as a fleeting, unintelligent, superficial movement. Criticism of the Beat Generation’s aesthetics and behavior came from many corners of society. Academics labeled the Beats as anti-intellectual and unrefined. Mainstream America was horrified by their supposed illicit drug use. Established poets and novelists looked down upon the freewheeling abandon of Beat literature. Politicians such as Joseph McCarthy identified elements of Beat ideology as Communist and a threat to the nation’s security. The Beat Generation effectively absorbed all of these criticisms without disintegrating. However, their relatively short time in the spotlight of literature and culture could be attributed to the amount of negativity tossed their way.

**Rock ‘N’ Roll**

While the Beats were expressing themselves through literature, musicians were experimenting with a new sound. First made popular in 1951 by Alan Freed, a Cleveland radio disc jockey, the combination of electric instruments with the sounds of gospel, blues, country, jazz and R&B gave birth to the new sound of rock and roll. The newest musical genre was an instant success—the music’s heavy rhythm combined with simple lyrics and melodies captivated teenagers from one coast to another.

Within a few short years, some of the musical genre’s first singers such as Little Richard, Bill Haley, Chuck Berry, Fats Domino and Buddy Holly brought rock and roll to an unimaginable level of popularity not to mention a hugely lucrative component of the entertainment industry. However, while television mostly appealed to adults and children, the stars of rock and roll mesmerized teens across the country—at first through the medium of radio and eventually through television.
No surprise to anyone, adults (many of whom were parents of teens) condemned rock and roll, believing that the music would most certainly lead to widespread juvenile delinquency and immorality. And to most adults who condemned rock and roll, a young singer by the name of Elvis Presley quickly became “Public Enemy Number One.” By the spring of 1956, Presley’s “Heartbreak Hotel” was number one on the rock and roll charts and a movie debut was imminent. Everywhere Presley performed, his sultry looks, swinging hips, and dynamic vocal style drove teenage listeners from around the nation wild. Even though Presley had already performed in front of a national audience six times previously, it was his appearance on The Milton Berle Show in June of 1956 that triggered huge controversy.

Even though a large adult population condemned rock and roll (parents were appalled by the dance moves associated with the music, some churches referred to it as Satan’s music, and members of the middle class didn’t approve of its creation by the lower class), exposure by the mass media brought rock and roll into the mainstream with record sales reaching 600 million in 1960.

Culturally and socially, rock and roll was responsible for blurring racial lines. It had an overwhelming influence on social interactions and intermingling of black and white teenagers in the 1950s. Even record companies who were reticent to sign black musicians at first, succumbed to economic demand because the music was so popular and profitable. And with a giant step in ending segregation in 1954 with the Brown v. Bd. of Education of Topeka Kansas Supreme Court’s ruling that separate was not equal, records from both black and white artists were sold in the same record stores and black and white artists were signed to the same record labels. And thanks to television, specifically shows like the Ed Sullivan Show and American Bandstand, black and white teenagers interacted socially increasing the chances that their generation would break barriers of prejudice as they ascended into adulthood. Rock and Roll also brought people together,
from across regions, across race and class lines, and, finally, across oceans. It was the beginning of a historical turn that would change daily life in the modern world.
While teens in the 1950s were rocking around the clock, life in postwar America did not exemplify the “nifty fifties” for all Americans. Despite the emerging affluence of the new American middle class, challenges of poverty, racism, and alienation were in full abundance. The “other America” that was comprised of the poor in the inner cities, disenfranchised Mexican Americans (some of whom were in the U.S. illegally), and Native Americans who had been forced to assimilate for the past 100 years. The immense hardships that each of these minority groups faced were rarely depicted on TV.

The Issei and the Nisei

After WWII ended, Japanese internees were freed and left to rebuild their lives as best they could. Although the Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants) and Nisei (second generation Japanese immigrants) attempted to return to their pre-WWII lives, both generations experienced two significant challenges. The first was impoverishment as many Issei had lost their businesses, occupations and property. Most were too old to restart their careers and were forced to depend on their children, the Nisei. The second challenge that young and old faced was prejudice that lingered long after the war had ended. Although the biggest challenge for the older generation of Japanese that were interned was that of financial security, the second challenge of assimilation back into society was the most difficult for the Nisei. Thanks to various religious and civic organizations who
helped welcome many internees back to their homes, the challenge of acceptance and eventually assimilation was a bit easier.

**The Urban Poor Struggle**

With the birth and rapid growth of the suburbs in the early 1950s, millions of white, middle-class Americans left the cities for life in the suburbs and along with them went economic resources. Further isolated from middle-class white Americans, the rural poor migrated to the inner cities. This “white flight” as it was sometimes called, directly impacted the poor whites and nonwhites now living in the cities. Business was lost along with property and income taxes which greatly diminished the city governments’ abilities to maintain public transportation including roads, police and fire departments, and public schools.

While poverty continued to grow as inner cities decayed, those living in suburbia became increasingly unaware of what was happening. The urban poor lacked advocacy to call attention to the segregated ghettos that were now the result of the migration of suburbanites. Even most journalists focused on writing about the highest standard of middle class living the nation had ever seen failed to bring the plight of the urban poor to the white, middle class living room televisions across the nation’s suburbs.

Although millions of suburban homes had been built in the 1950s, the fact was that most African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos couldn’t afford to live in them nor would they have been welcomed into suburbia if they could afford to do so. This type of segregation that happened by fact (in this case due to economic factors) is known as de facto segregation and it increased rapidly during the 1950s.

One proposed solution to the ever-growing problem of dilapidated inner cities was urban renewal—the redevelopment of areas within a large city, typically involving the clearance of slums. Passed in 1949, the National Housing Act was to provide a “decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.” Although the most dilapidated areas were razed, new homes were not built in newly vacant lots. Instead parking lots, highways, parks, factories, and shopping centers were built instead, resulting in a huge shortage of new housing to accommodate those who had been displaced. Many of those critical of the idea of urban renewal saw it as merely removing the ugliest eyesores of poverty without solving the original problem.

**The Plight of Mexican Americans and Native Americans**

Despite the plight of poverty that African Americans faced (In 1959, 55.1% of African Americans were living below the poverty line), they were able to make significant strides in reducing racial discrimination and segregation. Mexican Americans, inspired by
these gains, also developed a deeper level of political awareness and activism as did Native Americans during this decade.

A shortage of agricultural laborers during WWII initiated a program by the U.S. government to allow Mexican braceros, or hired hands to harvest crops. Many of these workers remained in the U.S. illegally after the war had ended. Additionally, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans also entered the country illegally during the post war period. Launched in 1954, Operation Wetback (named after the term wetback, used to label those Mexicans who swam across the Rio Grande River to reach the U.S. by illegal means), was designed to find illegal aliens and return them to Mexico. Many who remained in the U.S. legally faced prejudice and discrimination. After the war had ended in which almost 350,000 Mexican Americans fought in the armed forces, change did occur as these war veterans, determined to fight for democracy at home, fought to end wage discrimination and poor living conditions. Some were even shocked into organized action by the Longoria Incident, in which a decorated Mexican American soldier killed in battle during WWII couldn’t be waked in the only funeral home in his hometown of Three Rivers, Texas. The owner of the funeral home had told Longoria’s widow “the whites wouldn’t like it.” As those words became front page news across the country the outrage that was produced across the nation came to be known as The Longoria Affair.

**UPDATE:**

Today, 60 years after the Longoria Affair, Three Rivers continues to struggle with its past. Santiago Hernandez, a local musician and member of the American GI Forum, has proposed honoring Felix Longoria by naming the local post office after him.

Many Anglo residents are angered by the proposal. They believe discrimination against Mexican Americans never existed in their town and that the Longoria Affair never happened.

The past and present have collided as Three Rivers continues to struggle to come to terms with a brutal history of segregation that has long haunted South Texas.

Soon after the Longoria incident, a man by the name of Ignacio Lopez founded the Unity League of California. It’s mission was to register Mexican American voters and to promote candidates who would represent them at local and state levels of government. Because of the actions of this league, California outlawed segregated classrooms for Mexican Americans. Similar groups were started in Arizona and Texas as efforts to end discrimination continued creating for Mexican Americans a nationwide voice in politics.
Similarly, Native Americans continued to fight for their identity and rights. Even though in 1924, all Native Americans were granted citizenship, the policy of the federal government had mostly been one of assimilation—a minority group’s adoption of the beliefs and way of life of the dominant culture as opposed to autonomy by Native American peoples. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act moved away official government policies regarding assimilation to one of autonomy. The Act was important because it mandated change in economic, cultural, and political areas. From an economic standpoint, Native American lands would no longer be divided into individual farms and would belong to a tribe collectively. Culturally, the number of boarding schools for Native American children was greatly reduced and children could attend schools during the day on their reservation as opposed to being sent away from family and tribal members to attend boarding schools far from home. Politically, tribes were granted permission to elect tribal councils to govern their reservations.

Native Americans took the initiative to improve their situation as a minority group as well. In 1944, they established the National Congress of American Indians, an organization that worked to ensure for Native Americans the same civil rights that whites had and to enable Native Americans on reservations to retain their own customs and traditions. By 1953, with the government’s new approach known as the termination policy where the federal government eliminated all economic support and discontinued the reservation system resulting in tribal lands being sold to private developers by state government actions, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began a voluntary relocation program. Helping Native Americans resettle in cities, the bureau helped them find jobs and adjust to their new communities. You will learn more about this in the next chapter.

Although the termination policy was a massive failure, the bureau did help relocate 35,000 Native Americans to urban areas during the decade of the 1950s. However, Native Americans were often unable to find or keep jobs due to poor training and racial prejudice. Without access to medical care once federal programs had been abolished, the number of Native Americans on state welfare rolls greatly increased. In 1963, the termination policy was abandoned but great damage had been done to the future of many Native Americans.
Chapter 10

How successful was the US in expanding opportunities for all Americans?

1. What were some of the “firsts” that occurred during the 1960 election? Why were those “firsts” significant?

2. Did President Kennedy’s actions in dealing with leaders of Cuba, U.S.S.R. and Germany reinforce public criticism that he was too inexperienced in foreign affairs or did his actions prove them wrong? What evidence proves your position?

3. To what extent did the Kennedy mystique contribute to the President’s approval rating?

4. What programs did John F. Kennedy create that helped various groups of Americans?

5. How did Kennedy’s foreign policy philosophy impact his domestic agenda?

6. How did Kennedy’s New Frontier create opportunities for all Americans?

7. What programs of President Johnson’s Great Society assisted certain groups of Americans?

8. How did Johnson’s Great Society create opportunities for all Americans?

9. How were the decisions of the Warren Court reflective of the dominant political climate during the Johnson administration?

10. To what extent did the government-sponsored programs of Johnson’s Great Society prompt far-reaching and long-lasting social change?
The 1960 Election

In 1960, as President Eisenhower’s second term was drawing to a close, the mood of American voters reflected one of restlessness. Between the U.S. economy experiencing a recession and recent Cold War achievements by the Soviets including the successful launch of Sputnik 1 in 1957 and the development of long-range missiles, Americans were feeling vulnerable. Along with U.S. foreign powers setbacks in 1960 (the U-2 incident and the alignment of Cuba with the Soviet Union) many Americans were beginning to question whether the U.S. might be losing the Cold War. Therefore, as two very different personalities campaigned for the Presidency, the role of the media took center
stage as Americans across the country watched the 1960 usher in “the age of television” in American politics.

The Candidates

“Kennedy: Leadership for the ’60s”

Young and charismatic, the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy at age 43, was one of the youngest candidates to have ever run for the office. What he lacked in years of experience as a politician in Washington D.C., he made up for in charm and personality. Combined with a well-organized campaign, the backing of a large and wealthy family, and the image of a well-educated scholar and war hero, Kennedy exuded confidence. Despite his many assets, Kennedy did face obstacles. First, many saw him as too inexperienced at age 43 to lead the most powerful nation on Earth. Second, some viewed his Roman Catholic religious background as a huge detriment to the office of President of the U.S.

Kennedy promised “active leadership” to get the country moving again not just economically through a progressive labor policy, fair prices for farmers, and increased fiscal responsibility by the federal government, but socially as well with specific efforts to improve civil rights with regard to education, housing, and economic opportunities for all Americans. Additionally, Kennedy’s platform called for increased military preparedness around the world along with the development of a national organization to work toward enduring peace around the world.

View the following commercials from JFK’s 1960 Presidential campaign. While viewing, think about how you would describe the assets the commercials are trying to promote about the young candidate.
“Nixon-Lodge: They Understand what Peace Demands”

Richard Nixon, the Republican from California was a seasoned lawmaker who was already serving as vice-president. He emphasized his extensive foreign policy experience as well as his eight years as the country’s second-in-command after an illustrious career in Congress where he cast crucial votes on a variety of domestic issues. Combined with both his extensive experience with foreign and domestic issues, Nixon firmly believed that he was one of the most experienced presidential candidates to have run for the Presidency. Like Kennedy, as a candidate, Nixon faced challenges as well. Believing that his boss, the current President, Dwight Eisenhower was still very popular with the American public, Nixon overestimated the level of transfer that would take place between he and President Eisenhower come election night in November. Nixon also embarked on a grueling, non-stop campaign tour that left him looking frail and extremely fatigued by the time the televised debates took place in September and October.

Nixon’s platform emphasized the creation of greater opportunities for the individual in the free enterprise system. Nixon also urged the power of the states to take on greater responsibilities for matters entrusted to them by the Constitution. From the foreign policy standpoint, Nixon indicated that he would continue the policy not to recognize Red China as long as it continued its aggressive communist policies. Nixon also promised to continue every effort at disarmament with inspection of other countries.

View the following commercials from Nixon’s 1960 Presidential campaign. While viewing, think about how you would describe the assets the commercials are trying to promote about the vice-president.

**Interactive 10.3** Nixon Campaign Ad

**Interactive 10.4** Nixon on Civil Rights
The Role of Television in Presidential Politics

The first ever televised presidential debate took place on September 26, 1960, at the CBS studios in downtown Chicago. Not only was it significant because it was the first televised debate, it was the beginning of the significant role that television would play on image—a quality that would prove to be just as significant as experience, party affiliation, and platform.

Kennedy showed up to the studio tan and looking rested. During the debate, he appeared calm and cool but also quick to answer questions tackling issues aggressively. Anticipating close-up shots from the cameras, Kennedy looked directly into the lens, captivating the attention of the American audience with his natural charisma. Nixon on the other hand, lost the image battle as soon as the debate went live. Exhausted, sick and in pain from a knee injury, Nixon refused makeup to cover up his pale and sallow image. During the debate, instead of looking directly into the camera, Nixon looked off to the side to address reporters which appeared as if he was shifting his eyes to avoid eye contact with the public. Don Hewitt, the founder of the program, 60 Minutes, was the producer and director of those presidential debates. Listen to him recall how important makeup was to the image of both candidates on the evening of the first debate:

Interactive 10.5 The Great Debates

What observations can you make from the demeanor and responses of both Kennedy and Nixon?
The Kennedy Brothers and King

In October, a second event occurred that would further the divide between the two candidates. Police in Atlanta had arrested Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. along with 52 other African-Americans for sitting at a segregated lunch counter. King had been sentenced to four months of hard labor (officially for a traffic violation). While some saw the sentence as questionable, the Eisenhower administration refused to intervene in the situation and Nixon, the candidate, did not take a position on the situation.

The Kennedy brothers did take a position. Kennedy the candidate, phoned King's wife Coretta, to express his sympathy while his brother and campaign manager Robert, was able to persuade the judge who had sentenced King to release him on bail. It was this news that spread across the African-American community and helped carry key states for Kennedy in the Midwest and South.

Election Day Finally Arrives

The 1960 election was predicted to be a toss up as the candidates targeted growing suburban population. On November 8, 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected president in one of the closest elections in history. The youngest man to have ever been elected, Kennedy barely triumphed over Nixon by 118,550 popular votes. With major support from urban centers, Kennedy held a greater lead in the electoral college by winning 303-219 votes.
On January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic ever to be elected President of the U.S. took the oath of office.

Kennedy promised to reinvigorate America’s foreign policy, by using a flexible response approach to changing situations regarding foreign policy. He promised to seek and explore options that he claimed had been ignored by the staid and conservative Eisenhower administration. He wouldn’t have long to wait until the tenants of his foreign policy approach would be tested.

**Flexible Response becomes “a thing”**

Once in office, President Kennedy immediately set out to take a hard line on the Soviets, claiming that they were winning the race for allies in the economically less-developed countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Believing that the most urgent of tasks was to focus on revamping the nation’s nuclear policy, the President, along with his advisors developed a new policy. They believed that during the Eisenhower administration, the conventional forces of the U.S. had been neglected while the buildup of nuclear arms had been occurring. The policy of **flexible response** called for the nonnuclear forces of defense to be strengthened thus allowing the President more options in international crises.

The policy of flexible response called for an increase in defense spending. Military branches were boosted and some special forces such as the Green Berets and the Navy Seals were established. Additionally, nuclear capabilities were tripled which allowed the U.S. to fight limited wars around the world while also maintaining a nuclear balance of power with the Soviet Union. But even though President Kennedy’s goal was to reduce the risk of nuclear war, the reverse happened under his watch, in the country of Cuba—referred to by many as “America’s doorstep.”

**Crisis in Cuba**

Early in January, 1961, then President Eisenhower had abruptly ended diplomatic relations when the revolutionary leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro, declared himself a Communist and began welcoming aid from the Soviet Union. Castro rose to power on the promise of democratic leadership after leading a guerilla movement to topple Cuba’s dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. When Castro took control of three oil refineries on the island that had been owned by American and British firms, relations worsened between the U.S. and Cuba. Furthermore, when American sugar companies appealed to the U.S. for help when Castro broke up commercial farms into communes, the U.S. Congress responded by initiating trade barriers against Cuban sugar. As Castro’s reliance on Soviet aid increased, many
Cubans felt betrayed. Approximately 10% of Cubans went into exile. Prior to the Election of 1960, then President Eisenhower granted permission to the CIA to secretly train hundreds of Cuban exiles for an invasion in Cuba, hoping that an invasion would lead to the overthrow of Castro.

The Bay of Pigs

President Kennedy’s first test came in 1961 when he attempted to overthrow the communist dictator, Fidel Castro in the Bay of Pigs Invasion. Originally Dwight D. Eisenhower’s plan, the invasion called for the use of CIA trained Cuban exiles to lead the way to a revolution in Cuba, resulting in the overthrow of Castro. The new President learned about the Eisenhower-approved operation within the first few weeks of winning the election. Having doubts about the plan, Kennedy approved its execution anyway and promised air support to the Cuban exiles. On April 16, 1961, the exiles took off from Nicaragua and led an air strike the next day. Upon landing at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, a radio broadcast aired every move of some 1,400 Cuban exiles. Combined with a failed air strike designed to knock out the Cuban air force two days earlier and the failure of a small advance group sent to distract Castro’s forces that never reached shore, the entire operation was a catastrophic failure. Once the commando unit finally landed, 20,000 Cuban troops along with Soviet tank and air support surrounded and killed some of the exiles, and took others prisoner. As Castro triumphed publicly, President Kennedy privately asked how the CIA and the Pentagon could have been so misinformed. Kennedy publicly accepted the blame for the failed mission while negotiating with Castro for the release of the surviving commandos. While President Kennedy made it clear that he would resist further Communist expansion in

Bay of Pigs. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/78/BayofPigs.jpg
the Western Hemisphere, Castro proceeded in accepting additional foreign aid for Cuba.

**Backlash in Berlin**

Shortly after the humbling fiasco in Cuba, President Kennedy was forced to turn his attention to a European crisis at hand in Berlin. By 1961, the prosperous economy of West Berlin had drawn approximately 20% of the country’s population to flee East Berlin. The huge number of refugees into West Berlin was a vivid testament to the failure of the communist government of East Germany. In June of 1961, President Kennedy met with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna. The two leaders left the meeting with greater distrust as Khrushchev threatened to cut West Berlin off from the west. But Khrushchev realized that between Kennedy’s determination and the superior nuclear power of the U.S. it was not in the Soviet Union’s best interest to close the routes between West Berlin and West Germany. Instead, Khrushchev shocked everyone with the construction of the Berlin Wall, dividing the city in two. Constructed almost overnight on August 13, 1961, the wall was not just seen as a physical barrier ending the flood of refugees into the western half of the city, but further aggravated Cold War tensions. President Kennedy did not respond directly to the Soviet’s construction of the wall but did visit Berlin in 1963 and delivered his famous “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech.

While the Cold War remained heated in Europe, events flared up again in Cuba. After the failure of the Bay of Pigs Invasion, Cuban President Fidel Castro had struck a deal with the Soviets to place nuclear missiles on the island in case of another invasion and during the summer of 1962, Soviet weapons (including nuclear missiles) flowed into Cuba. On October 14, 1962, American intelligence discovered the activity which sparked the Cuban Missile Crisis. Aerial photographs showed that intermediate-range and mediate-range ballistic nuclear missiles...
(some of which were in “ready to launch” mode) had been installed throughout the island. On October 22nd, President Kennedy delivered a message to the American people. You can see it in Interactive 10.8

For the next six days the world watched with fear as the situation continued to play out. The U.S. watched intensely as Soviet ships headed toward Cuba with what many believed to contain additional nuclear missiles while the U.S. Navy began to plan to execute a quarantine of Cuba in order to prevent Soviet cargo from reaching the island. Finally, a break occurred when Soviet premier Khrushchev agreed to remove all missiles from Cuba and Kennedy agreed not to invade the island. Kennedy also secretly removed missiles from Turkey as part of the agreement. Nuclear war between the three countries had been averted but the effects of the crisis lasted long after the missiles had been removed. Both Kennedy and Khrushchev were criticised harshly for their actions during the crisis. Castro closed Cuba’s doors by 1973, sharply reducing exit permits from Cuba, separating generations of Cubans from their Cuban-American relatives.

After the close call with potential nuclear warfare and the realization of the gravity of split-second decisions, the president worked to tone down his hard-line stance. In the spring of 1963, he established a hot line between the Kremlin and the White House which enabled both leaders to communicate immediately should another crisis occur. Kennedy worked towards limiting the number nuclear bombs being tested. Intelligence provided both Americans and Soviets that the testing of these weapons proved harmful to the environment. On August 5, 1963, President Kennedy signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. Although testing was not entirely eliminated, it was a small step as both superpowers agreed to limit the amount of nuclear testing.

Questions for Reflection:

1. In what ways were Kennedy’s foreign policy strategies similar to and different from those of his predecessor, President Eisenhower?
2. Was President Kennedy’s philosophy on how to “win” the Cold War in sync with the American public?
The Years of Camelot

On a crisp winter day on January 20th, 1961, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was sworn in as the 35th President of the United States. It was not the official ceremony of the swearing in of the first Catholic president that was the most memorable event of that day—it was the President’s inaugural address. “We stand today on the edge of a New Frontier,” were the words the president used to describe his
domestic agenda—one that would ask Americans what they had to give to their country as he proceeded to describe the domestic challenges of the nation.

The President’s inauguration ushered in a new tone for a new era at the White House. On the podium sat numerous writers, artists, and scientists that the Kennedy family had invited to give birth to an era of grace, elegance, intelligence, and wit. These qualities would continue throughout the remaining days of the young, charismatic, charming president’s tenure in the White House.

**The Kennedy Mystique**

There is no question that the American public was fascinated with the first family and both President Kennedy and his beautiful, classy, elegant wife, Jackie were masters of image-shaping public relations events. Along with their young daughter Caroline and infant son John F. Kennedy, Jr., America watched as the youthful and glamorous first family vacationed at the Kennedy Compound in Hyannisport, Massachusetts and lived vicariously at the White House. To many, the first family’s daily life was seen as a fairy tale.

In addition to promoting the young president’s image as a family man, JFK received praise for surrounding himself with young businesspeople and intellectuals as his advisors in the west wing. Those most notable who the president turned to regularly included McGeorge Bundy as a national security adviser, Robert McNamara as secretary of defense, Dean Rusk as secretary of state along with the two individuals he relied most heavily upon for counsel in all matters: Kenneth O’Donnell, a close college friend to both Jack and Bobby Kennedy, and JFK’s younger brother, Robert, known as Bobby whom he appointed as Attorney General shortly after he took office. It was Kennedy’s inner circle of what became known as the “best and brightest” that was responsible for the success of Kennedy’s embodiment of a politics of idealism and aspiration.

**“The New Frontier”**

President Kennedy had campaigned on a broad vision of progress for the country, calling on Americans to be “new pioneers” and to embrace exploration as a way of finding solutions to both foreign and domestic challenges. Once
president, Kennedy’s goal was to transform what had been seen as a broad political agenda into a legislative agenda. Kennedy’s domestic program, the New Frontier, was filled with hope for Americans. The domestic program called for the increase of federal funds to education, the raising of the minimum wage, the increase of social security payout, the increase of medical assistance for the elderly, the creation of a department to help urban affairs, and the passage of civil rights legislation. Since Kennedy had won the 1960 by a slim margin he lacked a popular mandate—a concrete indication that the voters approved of his political agenda. His education and medical programs were stalled greatly by a conservative Congress. However, Kennedy had successes with some New Frontier legislation proposals which resulted in a 20% increase in spending for the Department of Defense. Congress also approved an increase in the minimum wage ($1.25/hour), extended unemployment insurance, and provided financial assistance to cities that reported high rates of unemployment.

The New Frontier also launched the **Peace Corps**. This program involved idealistic Americans providing services to third world countries. Thousands of Americans including teachers, agricultural workers, health care workers, and others answered Kennedy’s call in aiding other nations. In the time of the Cold War, this project’s underlying goal was to increase the United States’ relations with underdeveloped nations. Kennedy also hoped to increase relations and push for democracy in Latin America through a foreign aid program known as the **Alliance for Progress**. Money was spent to build schools, houses, and sanitation facilities to help increase the standard of living in many Latin American countries.

Kennedy also pushed for the United States to take lead in the space race. After the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in 1957, Kennedy vowed that the United States would land a man on the moon before the end of the decade in 1961. Congress agreed with Kennedy about the importance of winning the space race and within a few weeks after his address to Congress, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) began constructing launch facilities in Cape Canaveral, Florida along with a mission control center located in Houston, Texas. The first success came on May 5, 1961 when Mercury Freedom 7 launched the first American, Alan B. Shepard Jr., into space. Less than a year later, on February 20, 1962, Colonel John Glenn orbited the earth three times. New advancements in space flight continued throughout the decade and on July 20, 1969, President Kennedy’s goal to land a man on the moon was achieved when Eagle’s astronauts Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Alan Shepherd took the first steps on the moon.
The accomplishments of the space program had a substantial impact on other initiatives throughout American society. Science programs were ramped up at all levels of education, federal funding for research and development increased which gave rise to new industries, many of which resulted in the development and rapid advancement of consumer products. Many space and defense-related industries sprang up in many western and southern states.

While many sectors of the American economy benefitted from the economic boom largely brought about by the race for space, there were other places throughout the country where the only increases that were occurring were the numbers of people living in poverty. Published in 1962, Michael Harrington’s book, The Other America, profiled the 42 million people who lived at or below the poverty line, shocking millions of Americans. Combined with the growing mass movement against segregation, in 1963, President Kennedy called for a “national assault on the causes of poverty.” Included in this initiative was the directive to his brother Bobby for the Justice Department, under his leadership, to investigate the racial injustices in the South.
The End of Camelot

While not formally announced, President Kennedy was looking forward to what he hoped would be an overwhelming victory in his bid for reelection in the fall of 1963. With an approval rating of approximately 60%, the President and Mrs. Kennedy believed their visit to Dallas would be successful in mending political fences with some of the state’s Democratic party members. On November 22nd, as the Kennedy’s rode in the backseat of Texas Governor John Connally’s open-air limousine with the governor and his wife, President Kennedy was fatally shot by Lee Harvey Oswald. The limousine rushed to Parkland Hospital where doctors tried to revive the fallen president but it was too late. President Kennedy died less than an hour after he had been shot.
This brief video clip illustrates the immediate tone of macabre as the nation learned from CBS’s Walter Cronkite that President Kennedy had died from his wounds.

**Interactive 10.11 JFK Assassination**


John F. Kennedy Jr. Salutes his father’s casket: Source: http://static01.nyt.com/images/2012/03/05/obituaries/05stearns1/05stearns1-articleLarge.jpg
Lyndon B. Johnson had been on the national stage since 1937. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1937 and the Senate in 1948. Known as having limitless ambition and drive, the legendary Texan had been selected as John F. Kennedy’s vice presidential nominee to help bring the southern Democrat vote in the 1960 election. After being sworn in as the thirty-sixth president after the assassination of Kennedy, Johnson stayed true to Kennedy’s plan. As a master of politics and political party maneuvering which usually took place behind the scenes, Johnson was the key figure in helping Congress draft and pass an $11 billion tax cut in February of 1964. In July of 1964, Johnson was again successful in persuading Southern democrats to stop blocking the passage of the Civil Rights legislation and on July 2nd, signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. Viewed by many as one of the most important achievements of the civil rights era, the act prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, housing, and jobs based on race, religion, national origin, and gender. Additionally, the act granted new power to the federal government to enforce the act’s provisions.

As President Johnson was well aware of the many other types of discrimination that plagued the country during this decade, he was a great supporter of the passage of the 24th Amendment to the Constitution which prohibited the use of a poll tax in federal elections.
Like his predecessor, Johnson too had been greatly impacted by the depth of poverty that Harrington’s The Other America had revealed. In August of 1964, Johnson’s declaration of an “unconditional war on poverty in America” had paid off.

Congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA), which dedicated almost $1 billion for antipoverty measures, small business loans, youth programs, and job training. Additionally the legislation created the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program, the Job Corps youth training program, and Project Head Start—an education program for underprivileged preschool students.

The 1964 Presidential Election

By the fall of 1964, President Johnson had a wide appeal and a favorable approval rating. The Republicans knew it would be an uphill battle to win the presidential election even if they nominated the most appealing candidate possible. The Republicans chose Senator Barry Goldwater, a conservative candidate who did not believe in the government’s responsibility to play a part in fixing some of society’s ills like discrimination, poverty, and lack of opportunity. As most Americans were more in sync with Johnson’s liberal goals than Goldwater’s conservative ones, and agreed with Johnson that the United States would stay out of Vietnam, Johnson sailed to victory by defeating Goldwater with more than 15 million popular votes and a walloping 486 to 52 electoral votes. The stage was now set for Johnson to launch his own reform program for the country.

Johnson’s Great Society

Johnson’s “war on poverty” was realized with his domestic program known as the Great Society as he demonstrated on the campaign trail. The Great Society aimed to improve the lives of Americans, specifically the poor, by improving the environment, the education system, and the urban centers. As the United States was leaning liberal in this era, Johnson was able to maintain support of the American public and used his personal
connections in Congress to push through Great Society Legislation.

Johnson passed key pieces of legislation that protected the American environment. He passed the Wilderness Preservation Act which saved 9 million acres of land from development in 1964. The following year, LBJ passed the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965 which provided funds for conservation efforts at the local, state, and federal levels. Johnson also was able to pass legislation that called for stronger restrictions on air and water pollution.

Education was a cornerstone of Johnson’s plan to uplift Americans out of poverty as approximately one fourth of all American families were living beneath the poverty line. In addition to the already existing education-based programs that Johnson had helped pass in 1964, additional programs were added. In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act directed money to schools for learning materials such as textbooks and library resources, along with materials for special education programs. Also in 1965, the Higher Education Act was put into place to fund scholarships and low-interest loans for college students. Additionally, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was founded to create financial assistance to those involved in the arts such as painters, actors, and musicians. And in 1967, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was formed to fund educational television programs. It was just two years later that one of the longest running educational programs for children, Sesame Street, aired on November 10, 1969. While no longer housed on PBS stations, the show continues in its 48th year to educate children around the world.

While President Johnson signed legislation that provided Americans with tools to lift themselves out of poverty, he also worked on laws to aid those in alleviating the current stresses of those living below the poverty line. On August 10, 1965 Johnson signed the Housing and Urban Development Act. The goal of this act was to make housing more affordable to Americans. It called for the increase of funds for public housing projects, rent subsidies for the elderly and economic redevelopment in inner cities.

Along with helping the elderly and disabled with housing, President Johnson added to New Deal Social Security legislation by expanding healthcare benefits. In 1964, roughly 44 percent of seniors did not have health coverage. By amending the Social Security Act in 1965, Johnson enabled the majority of the elderly to have health coverage via medicare. Medicare would be expanded to cover certain disabled Americans under the age of sixty-five. Johnson also amended the Social Security Act to
include medicaid which provided insurance to some individuals who lived underneath the poverty line.

**Immigration and Discrimination**

Inspired by the civil rights movement, which you’ll learn more about in the next chapter, Kennedy and Johnson looked to reform immigration laws. From the 1920s to the 1960s, the immigration plan was based on a quota system which originally targeted immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia. The **Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965** revised the quota system by allowing entire immigrant families to move to the United States and also to attract skilled labor immigrants whereas the previous quota act focused on reunited families. The United States did place caps on the number of immigrants who would be allowed to relocate to the United States from each country. From the onset, thousands of immigrants came from war torn Southeast Asia for the chance at a better life. As time progressed, more immigrants would come from Latin American nations.

[Graphs showing immigrant groups by continent and top ten countries from 1960 to 2013.]

As immigrants tended to be one minority group that often faced discrimination at the voting booth, President Johnson was extremely pleased when Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965. The act ended the practice of requiring voters to pass literacy tests and again, granted the federal government the authority to monitor the provisions of the act.

**Even the Supreme Court leans Liberal**

As Johnson’s Great Society reforms were often labeled as liberal, the period of liberal reform also characterized the actions of the Supreme Court during the Johnson administration. Often referred to as the Warren Court from 1953-1969 because of the Court’s Chief Justice, Earl Warren, the court was responsible for the expansion of civil rights and civil liberties as well as the expansion of role and power of the judiciary. For example, the Warren Court banned prayer in public schools and declared loyalty oaths by states unconstitutional. Additionally censorship power was limited by community entities and the meanings of symbolic speech, seen as expressions of free speech were extended under the Court’s decisions. Other decisions handed down by the Warren Court expanded rights of those accused of crimes. Through the Court’s expressed opinions in several cases, individual rights and protections were expanded. For example, in *Mapp v. Ohio*, evidence obtained illegally could not be used in state courts. Other extensions of individual rights included free legal counsel to be provided to those accused of a crime that could not afford representation and in another case, the justices ruled that an accused person has a right to have a lawyer present when being questioned by the police. But perhaps one of the more widely known (and some argue most important) Court decisions was that of the *Miranda v. Arizona* case that ruled that all suspects must be “read their rights” prior to being questioned by authorities. Although the liberal rulings of the Court greatly divided public opinion, one topic that was not segregated among party lines was the expansion of both the power and reach of the federal government.

President Johnson’s years in office saw the greatest expansion of government since FDR’s administration and his New Deal programs. To this day a great philosophical debate still exists as to whether or not Johnson’s 40+ “Great Society” programs have predominantly lifted Americans up from deprivation of the usual comforts or necessities of life, or worsened the situation by trapping the poor in a continuous state of dependency. While President Kennedy’s ambition and President Johnson’s determination are not the subject of such philosophical debates, Americans continue to debate whether government-sponsored programs, are in fact, the impetus for far-reaching and lasting social change.
Section Wrap-Up Questions:

1. How did domestic programs under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson benefit various groups of Americans?

2. To what extent did American foreign policy impact the domestic programs of Kennedy and Johnson?

3. To what extent were the domestic programs under Kennedy and Johnson a continuation of the New Deal programs established by President Roosevelt?
Chapter 11

How successful was the US in expanding opportunities for all Americans?

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?

2. How did the second women’s movement increase rights for women?

3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?
Taking on Segregation: Challenges and Triumphs

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women’s movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE
Plessy v. Ferguson
De facto segregation
De jure segregation
The Civil Rights Act of 1875
Jim Crow laws
Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Segregation in the South in the 1950s might not have existed if, in 1883, the Supreme Court hadn’t declared The Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. A federal law enacted during Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Act of 1857 was to guarantee African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations like hotels, restrooms, and other public spaces, and public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from serving on a jury. Additionally, the 14th Amendment declared that all races were to be granted equal treatment under the law.

However, an 1883 Supreme Court decision clarified that the law did not apply to private persons or corporations. In the decade that followed, a number of other federal court decisions and state laws severely restricted the rights of African Americans. For example, in 1890, the State of Louisiana passed a law that required railroads to provide “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races.”

Plessy Challenges Segregation

Homer Plessy challenged the Louisiana law and the legality of “separate but equal”. In the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case, the Supreme Court ruled that the concept of “separate but equal” was fair and did not violate the 14th Amendment. In other words, the decision validated the legality of “separate but equal”, turning
what had been de-facto segregation (acts of segregation “by fact” rather than by formal laws) into de jure segregation, where separate facilities for African Americans were deemed “equal” by the courts. Separate facilities, ranging from schools, churches, restaurants, and even public restrooms and drinking fountains began appearing all over the South, as well as in the North.

These segregation laws commonly known as Jim Crow laws, kept segregation at the forefront of society. Other laws like poll taxes and literacy tests prevented African Americans from voting but also made it illegal to serve on juries or run for public office.

In the post Civil War South, several confederate veterans formed a secret social fraternity in 1865 called the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). In order to achieve its primary goal of reestablishing white supremacy in the South, the KKK engaged in an underground campaign of intimidation and violence against African Americans and their white supporters. Their tactics included intimidation, destruction of property, assault, lynching and murder. In 1871 Congress authorized President Grant to use the military to suppress the KKK and during this time nine counties in South Carolina were placed under martial law and thousands were arrested.

Segregation and economic strife led to the relocation of 6 million African Americans from the rural south to the northern cities and factory opportunities. World War I created a demand for industrial workers and this urban growth lasted until the 1970s. And although segregation was illegal in the North, racism and prejudice was still a problem. For example, it was common practice for white homeowners to refuse to sell to blacks and these actions and others like it were legal until 1948. High rents, and a resurgence of KKK activity in the North in 1915 increased racial tensions and led to a wave of race riots. Chicago saw the worst one in the summer of 1919. It lasted 13 days, killed 38, injured 537 and left 1,000 black families homeless. Despite racism and unfair housing practices, African Americans were able to rise above and create their own cities within cities that fostered growth and culture and unity.
Strategy: Two-Voice Poetry

Two voice poetry is written from 2 different perspectives to represent two different angles or points of view in history. Using the information from this unit, create a two voice poem that shows how lives could have been drastically different for a variety of groups in the United States.

The poem should include the following:

- Two developed, clearly recognizable voices
- Depictions of the differences and similarities between the lives or two groups or individual people in history
- Accurate information from both sides of the story

Interactive 11.2 de facto/ de jure Segregation

Listen to each of the audio interviews in this interactive. On a separate sheet of paper determine whether each is an example of de facto or de jure segregation.

Early attempts at addressing these injustices were addressed through the formation of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Sprouting from the early efforts of The Niagara Movement, started by WEB du Bois in 1905, the NAACP was a much larger and more powerful group of both blacks and whites who were dedicated to seeking political, social, economic, and educational equality for minority groups in the United States. Early efforts of the NAACP included addressing the horrific practice of lynching in the south, as well as attacking segregationist practices nation wide that they felt were violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

World War II and its Impact on the Movement

World War II played a pivotal role in jumpstarting a more active pursuit of Civil Rights than many realize. African Americans played an important role, alongside women, in the industrial war time economy that effectively enabled the US to help the Allies win the war. Had it not been for the need for workers in these defense
industry factories, leading to the second Great Migration of African American families out of the South in pursuit of these jobs, some of the issues surrounding equal rights would have taken much longer to come out of the south and to the forefront (Learn more about what caused this poster to be created! Click here!).

Despite the continued rejection of equality, this did not stop African Americans from partaking, in many cases willingly and with great achievement, in the fight for freedom abroad. African American soldiers, despite their segregation into colored only units (typically under the command of white officers), served with bravery and honor during both World War I, World War II, and beyond.

During World War II, African Americans enlisted not only to fight oppression abroad, but at home as well, in what became known as the Double V Campaign. The Pittsburgh Courier, a widely read black newspaper developed the idea of “Victory at Home and Victory Abroad”, to fight the hypocrisy of the American war effort abroad and the unequal treatment which African Americans were subject to on the home front. In response to various protests, President Roosevelt issued a directive that federal agencies and all companies that were engaged in war work were prohibited from practicing any kind of racial discrimination. This set the stage for the actions of President Truman who in 1948 issued two executive orders: one banning segregation in the armed forces and the other guaranteeing fair employment practices in the civil service.

Meanwhile, another group of brave African Americans fought discrimination in the armed forces. Despite the strict segregationist policies of the US Army during World War II, this did not stop the Tuskegee Airmen from proving their skill and ability to be equal to that of white pilots. The Army deemed the integration of the Army Air Corps a failure before it even got off the ground, but participants in the program proved these initial assessments to be blatantly false and unfounded. The 99th Pursuit Squadron became the first unit of African American pilots to serve in the war, earning three Distinguished Unit Citations,
amongst many other recognitions for their valor in battle. The Tuskegee Airmen played an integral role in challenging the Army’s strict segregationist practices. With the efforts on the home front of people like A. Philip Randolph and the NAACP, and the continued valantry of other African American soldiers and units across the globe, lead President Truman to issue Executive Order 9981 in 1948, which effectively ended all discriminatory practices in the military.

But the fight for equality was far from over, and if anything, was just heating up.
QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women’s movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
Voting Rights Act of 1965
NAACP
Double V Campaign
Tuskegee Airmen
Executive Order 9981
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Brown v. Board of Education
Little Rock Nine
Boycott
The Civil Rights Act of 1957
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Nonviolent protest
Sit-ins
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Early Demands for Racial Equality

Rooted in religion and common sense, the earliest instances of what later became known as the Civil Rights Movement involved direct action that occurred at the local level. In Atlanta, for example, after a state law was passed in 1891 segregating streetcars, black men and women carried out a successful strike in 1892, partially because of the aid and blessings of institutions and businesses of the black community. Other instances of direct action as well as collective self-defense by united African Americans in the city was the impetus for the establishment of the Niagara Movement by an Atlanta University professor, W.E.B. DuBois. Four years later as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded, the Niagara Movement had been the forerunner.

By 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded by James Farmer and George Houser. Along with the NAACP, CORE addressed segregation on the homefront. Unlike the NAACP, CORE took a more grassroots focus to its approach of dealing with segregation. CORE’s basis of operations was in northern cities (such as Chicago,
where it was founded) and their protests were inspired by the practices of Mahatma Gandhi, who practiced civil disobedience, rather than violent protests. CORE staged sit-in protests in an attempt to draw attention to the injustices of segregated public facilities such as restaurants and theaters and was often extremely successful in the North, conveying its message of direct action to bring about social change. However, in 1955, as CORE provided its philosophical commitment to nonviolent direct action to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, CORE shifted the focus of its energy to the South.

The Color Barrier is Broken in Baseball

“A life is not important except in the impact it has on other lives.” Appropriately said by Jackie Robinson, the first African American to play in baseball’s major league in over 50+ years when selected by Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. On April 15, 1947, Robinson played his first major-league game: “It was the most eagerly anticipated debut in the annals of the national pastime,” wrote Robert Lipsyte and Pete Levine in Idols of the Game. “It represented both the dream and the fear of equal opportunity, and it would change forever the complexion of the game and the attitudes of Americans.” Robinson was subjected to endless taunts by players and fans and was a physical target to some pitchers, but was able to practice self-restraint and discipline by not lashing out or being a reckless player. He tolerated a hostile press as he finished his first season with a batting average of .296 and was voted Rookie of the Year. Because of his self-control both on and off the field along with his determination to represent baseball to the best of his capacity, by the end of his first season with the Dodgers, Robinson had successfully broken the color barrier and paved the way for other black players to integrate the National Baseball League.
The Supreme Court Takes on Segregation and Equal Rights

The 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision that “separate was equal” had set a precedent which had detrimentally impacted equality through the eyes of the law for decades. Thanks to the efforts of organizations like the NAACP and CORE, the individual contributions of minorities on the homefront working in factories and staging grassroots movements, and those fighting abroad, the Supreme Court began to take action to reverse some of the damage that had been done by the Plessy decision. In 1950, with the cases of Sweatt v. Painter and McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, the NAACP legal team led by future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, devised a plan to begin challenging and dismantling the “separate but equal” precedent established by the Plessy ruling, placing the organization’s limited resources in the direction of desegregating public education. The legal dismantling of the “separate but equal” precedent established by the Plessy decision made huge gains in 1954 with the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The case centered around Linda Brown and her family’s struggle, along with twenty other African American families, who were denied admission to the elementary school in her neighborhood because they were African American. The court ruled 9-0 in favor of the Brown family, and African American families nationwide, when Chief Justice Earl Warren stated in his majority opinion that “separate is inherently unequal.” De Jure segregation was now unconstitutional under the law, but the battle of undoing what had been established by the Plessy decision was only just beginning.

Excerpts from majority opinions Brown v. Board of Education:

“We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does....

Justice Earl Warren
To separate [children in grade school and high school] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system. [n10] Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. [n11] Any language [p495] in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Responses to Brown and Desegregation

While the Supreme Court may have unanimously ruled to reverse “separate but equal”, there were many Americans who did not share the court’s enthusiasm, and the tradition of de facto segregation was not going to go down without a fight.

A year after the initial Brown decision, a second court case, which became known as Brown II, established that school desegregation would happen with “all deliberate speed”. This rather ambiguous statement left little certainty as to what “all deliberate speed” actually meant. In response to both Brown decisions, many southern senators and representatives pledged their support to prevent the enforcement of the Brown ruling by all “lawful means”, stating that the Supreme Court had misinterpreted the 14th amendment. This “Southern Manifesto” as it became known, may have had no legal standing, but became the rallying cry of many southerners to save Jim Crow and defy the rulings of the court.

The Little Rock Nine and Public School Desegregation

The Brown decision not only placed stronger emphasis on eliminating the impacts of Plessy on the school system, but it also challenged the relationship between state governments and the federal government.
One of the more notorious confrontations pitting the demands of state and federal government against each other occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas. By the 1950s, the desegregation scene in Little Rock was beginning to change as some labor unions had quietly ended their Jim Crow practices. Additionally, two men who publicly supported desegregation had been elected to the school board, and the superintendent of the school began working on a plan in 1953 for desegregation to occur gradually within the school system. However, state politics did not mirror the “progressive view” of the Little Rock school system. In 1957, the current governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, saw himself in the middle of a tight race for reelection. The governor backed segregationists and in the fall of 1957, he ordered the National Guard to block the entry of nine African American students who had volunteered to be the first students to integrate Central High School. In response, that same afternoon, a federal judge ordered the governor to let the students into school the following day.

Eight of the nine students who had telephones received calls from local ministers volunteering to escort them to school the following day to ensure their safety. Elizabeth Eckford, however, did not have a phone and therefore, was never notified of the plan. The following day, wearing the dress she had made for her first day at Central High School, she set out alone to walk to school. Encountering an abusive crowd of students and adults, Eckford was finally able to make it to a bus stop where she waited until the bus arrived.

Until the situation in Little Rock, President Eisenhower had taken very little public stance on the matter of enforcing the Brown decision, or civil rights in general. After Governor Faubus utilized the National Guard to resist the mandate handed down by

**Interactive 11.5 Linking Past to Present**

Read the article above and write a brief paragraph explaining whether or not you agree with Carlotta Walls LaNeir’s position that the issue over transgender bathroom use marks a step backwards in history?
the federal courts, The President realized he had no choice but to take action. To ensure that the federal law was followed, President Eisenhower placed the Arkansas National Guard under his control and deployed the 101st Airborne Division to ensure that The Little Rock 9 could enter the school to attend class. Problems for the nine students continued throughout the school year by troublemakers who confronted them in the halls and stairways and in the cafeteria. At the end of the school year, Governor Faubus shut down Central High School to ensure that he would not be forced to allow further integration in the school system to continue. The situation in Little Rock demonstrated that President Eisenhower would not tolerate open defiance of federal law by state governments. But despite his firm stance, it would be many years before public schools were fully integrated.

**Montgomery Bus Boycott**

While the nation braced for the inevitable disagreements over desegregating schools, another storm had been brewing in Montgomery, Alabama. Public transportation throughout much of the south was ruled by strict de jure segregationist practices. On city buses, African Americans were required to sit near the back of the bus, and if a white passenger had nowhere to sit, African Americans were required to give up their seat to the white passenger.

Rumblings of a boycott had been brewing surrounding the arrest of African American women on city buses who refused to give up their seats to white passengers, but the arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955 set the boycott into motion.
Rosa Parks was an active member of the local chapter of the NAACP, and they quickly responded to her arrest. E.D. Nixon, a long time leader for the NAACP, was credited with helping Miss Parks secure bail and went on to seek her permission to use her case as the test case to try to end segregation on public transportation. Shortly after Parks’ arrest, a group of African American ministers met to discuss how to respond. Since African Americans made up an overwhelming majority of Montgomery’s bus riding patrons, the decision was made to boycott the Montgomery Bus System starting on December 5th. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to organize the boycott and ministers under the leadership of a young, dynamic pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spread word of the boycott during Sunday services. The following day, 90 percent of African Americans who typically rode the bus united together and refused to ride, choosing to carpool and walk instead. Inspired by the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the boycott lasted 381 days.

“As you read the following excerpt from Dr. King’s first public speech, think about:

How the structure of his speech is used to emphasize key ideas of nonviolent civil disobedience.

How the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in this speech emphasize a desire to see political justice enforced.

“And you know, my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. There comes a time, my friends, when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair. There comes a time when people get tired of being pushed out of the glittering sunlight of life’s July and left standing amid the piercing chill of an alpine November. There comes a time.

We are here, we are here this evening because we’re tired now. And I want to say that we are not here advocating violence. We have never done that. I want it to be known throughout
Montgomery and throughout this nation that we are Christian people. We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest. That's all.

And certainly, certainly, this is the glory of America, with all of its faults. This is the glory of our democracy. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a Communistic nation we couldn't do this. If we were dropped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime we couldn't do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right. My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we are to be compared in our actions with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens Council. There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out on some distant road and lynched for not cooperating. There will be nobody amid, among us who will stand up and defy the Constitution of this nation. We only assemble here because of our desire to see right exist. My friends, I want it to be known that we're going to work with grim and bold determination to gain justice on the buses in this city.”

During the 381 days of the boycott, boycotters remained nonviolent, despite some violent events that occurred. Late in 1956, in response to a lawsuit filed by the bus boycotters, the Supreme Court outlawed bus segregation. On December 21, 1956, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. sat in the front seat of a Montgomery bus, he commented that, “It was a great ride.”

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was signed into law not long after the end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the faceoff between state and federal governments over school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas. The act created the United States Civil Rights Commission, which gave power to the US Attorney General to investigate violations of civil rights protected by the 14th and 15th amendments. While it lacked some of the teeth to truly put the issue of civil rights to rest, the act was chalked up as a symbolic victory since it was the first piece of civil rights legislation passed since Reconstruction. The political and legal activism of groups like CORE and the NAACP paired with the bravery of individuals like Rosa Parks, the Little Rock Nine, and many others began to challenge the meaning of “liberty and justice for all” and draw attention to the fact that the United States was falling short of living up to the full meaning of its creed.
African American Churches and the Civil Rights Movement

The Montgomery bus boycott illustrated the power of unity as well as the impact of organized, nonviolent resistance. The success of the Montgomery bus boycott also demonstrated the important role that African American churches played in the Civil Rights movement. For centuries, the church had served as a place for African Americans to join together communally and escape the horrors and injustices of slavery. The early meetings to discuss the response to Rosa Parks’s arrest also thrust 26 year old clergyman Martin Luther King, Jr. into the spotlight as the charismatic leader of the Civil Rights movement.

King’s message of nonviolence became the focus of the newly created Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the wake of the successful Montgomery bus boycott. The practice of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience became the mainstay of the early Civil Rights Movement. King’s focus on nonviolence which King referred to as “soul force” centered around his study and admiration of the teachings and practices of Mohandas Ghandi, Henry David Thoreau, and A. Philip Randolph. King’s adoption of nonviolence would empower and inspire the next generation of Civil Rights Activists.

Nonviolence and the 1960s

The power of nonviolent protest in the Montgomery bus boycott galvanized a new group of civil rights activists: students. African American students anxious for integration were disappointed at the rate “all deliberate speed” was being carried out by southern schools moving towards integration. But the schools were not the only areas of society dragging their feet at the pace of “all deliberate speed” when it came to integration. On February 1, 1960, Four African American students enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged one of the first “sit-ins”
at a Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. On the first day of the sit-in, the “Greensboro Four” as they became known arrived and asked to receive service at the counter. When they were denied service, and asked to leave, they refused to comply with the request and sat at the counter until Woolworth’s closed. The next day they returned, and original four were joined by twenty five more supporters. By the third day of the protest, more than 300 students had joined the Greensboro Four, and the the sit-in movement was garnering national attention.

By the end of July, 1960, Woolworth’s announced that it would integrate its lunch counters serving any properly dressed and “well-behaved” individual. The 6 month long nonviolent sit-in movement had been a success.

The Evolution of the Movement

The Greensboro sit-in protest sparked a surge of sit-in protests around the country protesting segregation at a variety of public places ranging from beaches to libraries and involved over 71,000 sit-in protesters and resulting in over 3,000 arrests. The overwhelming success of many of these protests led to the a meeting amongst student organizers in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1960. The result of the meeting was the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Civil Rights movement was evolving and with it so too were the individuals supporting it as well as the tactics they were using to promote its message.

Pressure on the federal government intensifies

In 1961, CORE’s leadership decided it was time to test the Supreme Court’s decisions on the desegregation of bus seating and bus terminal facilities. Two interracial teams of freedom riders each boarded a bus with the intent of riding throughout the South challenging segregation. The rationale was that if instances of violence occurred, President Kennedy and his administration would have no choice but to enforce desegregation laws. When the first bus reached the state line of Alabama, the violence began when six racists boarded the bus and attacked both black and white members of the interracial team violently. After the first incident, as the bus ventured further into Alabama, a hostile mob attacked the group again at the Birmingham bus terminal. One of the riders, James Peck was beaten unconscious and required fifty-three stitches to sew up

http://www.core-online.org/historyphotos/burning_bus.gif
his badly battered face and head. The ride of the first bus would end there but the second bus continued southward. When the second bus reached Anniston, Alabama, 200 angry whites attacked bus two, damaging the sides and slashing its tires. The mob continued the violence by blocking the doors and throwing a fire bomb onto the back of the bus. Barely escaping in time, the freedom riders forced open the door and ran to safety as the bus exploded into a ball of flames.

When the bus company refused to continue the trip, most riders boarded a flight to New Orleans. However, an interesting turn of events would take place. Diane Nash, a leader within the SNCC informed CORE’s director, James Farmer that a group of Nashville SNCC members wanted to continue the freedom ride. Hesitantly, Farmer agreed and the SNCC volunteers rode into Birmingham. Once there, the police commissioner and his men proceeded to pull the students off the bus, beating them before driving them across state lines into Tennessee. Not to be discouraged, the SNCC volunteers returned to the Birmingham terminal, waiting for 18 hours in the whites-only waiting room for a bus driver willing to transport them. After an angry phone call from Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the bus company convinced their driver to drive the students to Montgomery. Although Kennedy had been promised police protection for the riders, none were stationed at the Montgomery terminal when the bus arrived. Newspapers across the country denounced the violence that had occurred. This convinced President Kennedy to send U.S. marshals to protect the riders at their last stop in Jackson, Mississippi. Additionally, the Interstate Commerce Commission along with the attorney general issued an order banning all segregation in interstate travel facilities.
Many Americans wondered if President Kennedy would consistently defend endeavors aimed at increasing civil rights for African Americans. Listen to how that question was answered as President Kennedy’s brother and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addresses graduates at The University of Georgia in May of 1961.

As desegregation was slowly occurring at interstate travel facilities, civil rights workers decided to turn their attention to assisting with desegregation efforts in schools. By September of 1962, James Meredith would make history as the first black student to attend the University of Mississippi—most commonly known as Ole Miss. However, his admittance won through a federal court case was only the first step. As Meredith arrived on campus to register, Governor Ross Barnett refused to let him register as a student.

As riots broke out on campus causing two deaths and requiring more than 5,000 soldiers over fifteen hours to stop the violence, President Kennedy’s consistent use of federal troops to ensure desegregation continued to prove effective as federal officials continued to escort Meredith to class and protect his parents after their home had been shot up by nightriders.

By 1963, things were heating up in Birmingham. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth who was the head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights had decided that the strict enforcement of segregation in all aspects of public life needed to end. Additionally, he had decided that it was time to put the power of nonviolence to the test so he invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the SCLC to help desegregate the city. At the end of
several days of demonstrations, King led a march into the streets of Birmingham where the marchers were arrested, including King. While in jail, Dr. King wrote an open letter to the white religious leaders who believed that he was pushing for desegregation too quickly.

“I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society;...when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking in
On April 20th, Dr. King was able to post bail. Upon his release he began organizing more demonstrations. This time it was the children’s turn. On May 2nd, more than a thousand African American children marched in the streets of Birmingham. The infamous police commissioner, Bull Connor, arrested 959 of the children who demonstrated. The following day when more children marched, Connor had his helmeted police force sweep the children marchers off of their feet with high-pressure fire hoses, set attack dogs on them, and clubbed the children who fell down. As television cameras recorded the entire scene, millions of television viewers witnessed the brutality of the police force as well as the screams of children.

Finally, after continued protests, economic boycotts, and continued negative media coverage, officials met King’s demands to end segregation in the city of Birmingham. Considered by many as an incredible victory for civil rights, many African Americans across the country were inspired. Meanwhile, President Kennedy believed that nothing short of a new civil rights act would end the disorder and violence and ensure racial justice. Understanding that new legislation would take time, President Kennedy, in the meantime, continued to utilize federal troops to assist with desegregation of public schools. On June 11, 1963, Kennedy forced Alabama governor George Wallace to honor a court order calling for the desegregation of the University of Alabama; federal troops again had been utilized to ensure the court order had been honored. Later that evening in a nationally televised address, President Kennedy demanded that Congress pass a new civil rights bill. Listen to President Kennedy’s address on civil rights here.

Interactive 11.9 Kennedy’s Civil Rights Address
Not everyone agreed with President Kennedy's stance on the need for new civil rights legislation. Just hours after the president's public address, white supremacist Byron de la Beckwith shot and killed Medgar Evers, an NAACP field secretary, in the driveway of his home in Jackson, Mississippi. As a field worker, Evers had traveled throughout Mississippi encouraging poor African Americans to register to vote and become active in the civil rights movement. Additionally, Evers played a key role in obtaining witnesses and evidence for the Emmitt Till murder case, a case that brought attention to the nation about the plight of African Americans in the South.

A Dream of Equality

The civil rights bill that President Kennedy sent to Congress was to guarantee equal access to all public accommodations, including public schools. Additionally, the bill gave power to the U.S. Attorney General to file desegregation suits against schools. Determined to help persuade Congress to pass the bill, leaders of the SCLC worked diligently to organize a massive march on the nation's capital. On August 28 of 1963, more than 250,000 marchers (75,000 of which were white) assembled on the grounds near the Washington Monument in Washington D.C. and walked to the Lincoln Monument.

Assembled on the mall plaza, people listened to many of the movement’s leaders plead for passage of the president’s civil rights bill.
When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. took the podium, the huge crowd erupted with thunderous applause. His “I Have a Dream” speech appealed for peace and racial harmony. Listen to an excerpt of it here while paying attention to his repeated refrain and think about why it was so powerful.

More Violence Occurs

Even though King’s speech had inspired thousands on August 28th, just two weeks later racial violence erupted again in Birmingham. On Sunday morning September 15th, a bomb thrown out of a speeding car exploded inside the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four young girls and wounding several others. The church had consisted of a predominantly black congregation and had often served as a meeting place for civil rights leaders.

Two months after the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963. The succeeding president, Lyndon Baines Johnson vowed to carry on the work that President Kennedy had accomplished and on July 2, 1964, the president signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and gender. Paramount was the right of all citizens to enter parks, restrooms, libraries, restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities.

Struggles for Voting Rights Continue

Although the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was seen as a victory for ensuring certain civil rights for African Americans, members of both CORE and SNCC believed that expanding voting rights for African Americans would be critical to the election of legislators who would support civil rights. Hoping for national publicity to influence Congress to pass a voting rights act, CORE and SNCC led Freedom Summer, a voter registration project focused mainly in Mississippi. Almost immediately, the project encountered violent opposition when three civil rights workers disappeared. White volunteers from New York, Michael...
Schwerner and Andrew Goodman and James Chaney, an African American volunteer from Mississippi were beaten and then murdered by Klansmen with the support of local police.

In Mississippi, the murders shook the project as threats and violence continued. Many workers resented the lack of federal protection and the slowness of the investigation into the murders of the three SNCC volunteers. The result was mounting distrust between blacks and white workers and while fifty Freedom Schools were organized, the result was minimal--only 1200 African Americans were registered.

Another setback came in August when President Johnson’s administration pressured civil rights leaders to try and convince members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to accept a compromise of 2 of Mississippi’s 68 seats at the convention along with a promise to ban discrimination at the 1968 Democratic Convention. On the state front, members of the MFDP felt they had been betrayed by civil rights leaders, leading to conflict among various civil rights groups. Regionally, a deep division arose between those who believed in integration and nonviolence and mostly young African Americans who doubted that racial equality could be achieved through peaceful endeavors. While the movement remained active, it began to lose the component of solidarity that had been the key to success in the movement.

The Selma Campaign

Early in 1965, the SCLC decided Selma, Alabama would be the focus of a concentrated voter registration drive. Dr. King, who predicted a hostile white response, was hopeful that if would convince the president’s administration of the need to sponsor a federal voting-rights law. The month of January saw over 2,000 African Americans arrested in demonstrations, many of which had been brutally attacked by sheriff Jim Clark and his men. In February officers shot and killed a demonstrator. In response, Dr. King announced a 50 mile protest march beginning in Selma and ending at the state’s capital of Montgomery. Approximately 600 protesters gathered to begin the march on March 7, 1965 but didn’t get far until they encountered Alabama state troopers. Armed with whips, nightsticks, and tear gas, the troopers rushed the crowd at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, pushing the crowd back into the city of Selma. The nationally televised scene shocked Americans and demonstrators from around the country poured into Selma to join the march. President Johnson responded by asking Congress to quickly pass a new voting rights act. On Sunday, March 31st, 3,000 once again set out for Montgomery with federal protection. By the time the marchers reached Montgomery, some 25,000 demonstrators had joined as they all walked into Montgomery.
northern cities leading to violent disturbances in the second half of the decade.

Ten weeks after the Selma march to Montgomery, Congress passed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, eliminating literacy tests that had disqualified so many voters. Additionally, the act also allowed for federal examiners to enroll voters denied suffrage by local officials. Although seen as a major civil rights victory to many, some African Americans felt the law did not go far enough. Social and economic inequities had been the result of over two hundred years of discrimination. Anger boiled over in many
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<th>Organization</th>
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<td>Thurgood Marshall</td>
<td>Focused on legal cases to end segregation</td>
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<td>Nation of Islam</td>
<td>Malcom X</td>
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<td>CORE</td>
<td>James Farmer Greg Houser</td>
<td>Grassroots campaigns in mostly Northern cities organizing civil disobedience responses as protests</td>
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<td>At King’s urging, consistent practices of civil disobedience and nonviolent protests in response to racially segregated actions</td>
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<td>SNCC</td>
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<td>Black Panther Party</td>
<td>Huey Newton Bobby Seale</td>
<td>Grassroots “survival programs” for African Americans in cities across the country; fought against police brutality and education inequality</td>
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Continuing to Seek Greater Equality

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. How did different groups react to changes in American society?
2. How did the second women’s movement increase rights for women?
3. How did rights increase for disabled Americans?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

“White flight”
“Black Power”
Black Panther Party
Survival Programs
Kerner Commission
Civil Rights Act of 1968
Affirmative action

Northern Segregation

While most segregation in the South was de jure segregation (segregation by law), segregation problems in the North had been the result of de facto segregation (segregation that exists due to practices and social customs). Because the elimination of each type of segregation required different measures, social activists found it much more difficult to change de facto segregation in the North; convincing whites to share both economic and social power with African Americans was a monumental task.

African American migration to Northern cities after World War II which caused “white flight” in which huge numbers of whites living in cities moved to newly built suburbs. By the middle of the 1960s, most urban dwellers living in large and in many cases somewhat old cities found themselves living in slums that were not up-to-code with local housing ordinances. Not surprisingly, city schools deteriorated along side local neighborhoods and along with the mass exodus of white workers and their salaries, unemployment rates among African Americans were at least twice as high as their white working counterparts.

Urban Violence Explodes

Although gains in voting rights and the desegregation of public schools had been widely publicized, the result in northern cities was that of impatience for
discrimination in other areas such as housing, wages, job opportunities, and equal treatment by police forces that patrolled their streets. It seemed as though urban cities were powder kegs ready to explode.

On July 18th, 1964, a clash between African American teenagers and white police officers in New York City, ending in the death of a 15 year old student, ignited a race riot in central Harlem. By the time it had ended over 100 people had been injured and several hundred arrested.

This riot sparked other riots throughout the state that would occur throughout the month of July, one of which took place in Rochester, a town 330 miles northwest of New York City. The Rochester Riot occurred from July 24-26, sparked by an arrest at a street party resulting in three days of rioting. The struggle for equality that the Civil Rights movement brought to the South had taken a turn in the North.

To better understand the situation in the North, take a look at two perspectives of individuals who lived in Rochester at the time of the riots:

Roberta Abbott Buckle, a white teenager, lost her father, the head of civil defense for the city when the helicopter he was flying in crashed. She talks about her own racist feelings and how and when those feelings changed:
Similar conflicts took place between the summer of 1964 and the spring of 1968. Look at the chart below to obtain a sense of the extent of racial disturbances in a time period of less than four years during the 1960s.

![Pie chart showing monthly share of U.S. race riots]

Questions to think about with regard to race riots throughout the nation’s history:

- Is there a certain time of year where rioting has more frequently occurred?
- What role, if any, does geography play in where riots tend to occur?
- Which riots have been ranked as the most deadly?
- Which year has seen the most rioting?

Riots in Chicago after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/93/81/d7/9381d7bc0b77e3f0065af965b0d664d.jpg
Visit the site below to find answers to some of these intriguing questions:

Interactive 11.12 Brief
History of Race Riots

New Leaders on the Scene

The anger responsible for most of the riots that had occurred was rooted, in large part, from African American leaders who had revived the belief that African Americans needed to take complete control of their own communities, cultures, and livelihoods. Malcolm X was one of those leaders. Born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska, Malcolm at the age of 20 was sent to jail for burglary. It was in prison where he studied Islam through the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the head of the Nation of Islam.

By 1952, after his release from prison, Malcolm (now ridding himself of his last name and taking the name of “X”) had become a minister of Islam, quickly rising in the ranks of the religion’s hierarchy to become one of Muhammad’s most famous disciples within the Nation of Islam (NOI) organization. An engaging speaker, Malcolm X openly preached that whites were the cause of the conditions of blacks throughout the country. By 1959, Mike Wallace, a well-known new reporter featured Malcolm X in a week-long television special. Titled, The Hate That Hate Produced, the program explored the fundamental beliefs of the Nation of Islam and showed his rise as one of the NOI’s most
important leaders. Furthermore, he preached that blacks should separate from white society. By 1964, he was also advocating for armed self-defense by blacks.

In March of 1964, due to differences in beliefs about NOI strategy and doctrine, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam and formed another Muslim organization, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Shortly thereafter he embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca. While on the pilgrimage, Malcolm’s thinking was radically changed when he learned that orthodox Islam preached the equality of all races. Upon his return to the U.S. his attitudes towards whites had changed. By 1965, his new slogan was, “Ballots or bullets.” As Malcolm explained, “Well, if you and I don’t use the ballot, we’re going to be forced to use the bullet. So let us try the ballot.” For a clip from one of his press conferences after his return from Mecca, view here:

Relations between Malcolm X and his former teacher Muhammad, had grown increasingly volatile. Undercover FBI agents inside the Nation of Islam had become aware of plans to assassinate Malcolm and after repeated attempts on his life, assassins had finally succeeded. On February 21, 1965, while on stage at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, speaking to a crowd of 400, he was shot fifteen times by three men; Malcolm X was dead at age 39.

The Emergence of “Black Power”

By June of 1966, tensions between SNCC and the other civil rights groups finally exploded in Mississippi. James Meredith (the first black male to integrate the University of Mississippi in 1962) set out on a 220-mile “march against fear.” Although Meredith’s plan was to walk from the Tennessee border to Jackson, Mississippi, he was shot by a white man on the second day of the march and was too injured to continue. Dr. King leading the SCLC, Floyd McKissick of CORE, and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC decided to finish what Meredith has started with their respective marchers. Plans for a unity march between the three organizations went awry soon after it due to militant behavior from SNCC and CORE marchers. Attempts by King to de-militarize the tone by leading marchers in a refrain of “We Shall Overcome” fell short. Soon after, Carmichael was arrested for setting up a tent on the grounds of an all-black high school which prompted a hasty protest by SNCC marchers. Near the end of the rally, Carmichael, his face swollen from being beaten, emerged on the platform and spoke to the stunned crowd.
“This is the twenty-seventh time I’ve been arrested--and I ain’t going to jail no more!...We been saying freedom for six years--and we ain’t got nothin’. What we’re gonna start saying now is BLACK POWER.” --Stokely Carmichael as quoted in The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History

http://thenewliberator.files.wordpress.com/2010/04/scarmichael.jpg

Even though Carmichael’s slogan of “Black Power” electrified marchers, leaders like King urged him to stop using it because of their fears that it would provoke violence and further antagonize whites. He refused, going a step further and urging the organization to stop enlisting the assistance of whites and focus solely on developing African American pride.

A Political Party is Formed

Later the same year, the Black Panther Party was formed by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California. Formed from their relationships with other civil rights organizations, the party’s goal of fighting police brutality in the ghetto was only one part of its mission. What is often overlooked about the party is the ideological basis behind its founding. More clearly with the Panthers than with any other national civil rights organization, the party paralleled its fight against racism with the fight against capitalism. Many members of the party believed that the foundation of the country’s capitalistic success was rooted in the evils of slavery--capitalism in its most extreme form. Therefore, the mission of the Black Panther Party was to fight both racism and capitalism. Paramount to the belief in achieving its mission, the Panthers understood that blacks could not achieve socialism singlehandedly and their work to build multiracial coalitions that were anti-capitalist in nature depended on that ideological belief. The party also fought in black communities across the nation for providing for the poor the access to decent housing, health care, education, and other services.

While most Panthers wore black from head-to-toe: black berets, dark sunglasses, black leather jackets, black trousers, and shiny shoes which caused fear and distrust of the party by white leaders, the party invoked feelings of suspiciousness by the police as well as the FBI who often conducted (through illegal
means) investigations of the Panthers. However, the Panther’s activities at the grassroots level, often referred to as **Survival Programs**—the establishment of free daycare centers, free breakfast programs for children (which the federal government later adopted), Liberation schools, pocket lawyers, and medical care centers truly mirrored the progressive reforms of the early 1900s and won support in ghettos across the country.

### 1968: A Pivotal Year for the Civil Rights Movement

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., could not accept the fiery, dramatic, militaristic approach of the Black Panther Party, even though the movement was taking root in many urban cities. After the March Against Fear in Mississippi in 1966, King felt his message of nonviolence would resonate more favorably in cities in the North and planned to leave the South.

Dr. King appeared to sense that his death was imminent. While in Memphis on April 3rd, he addressed a crowd to show his support for the city’s striking garbage workers. King said to the crowd, “I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the Promised Land.” The next day, as King stepped out onto the balcony of his hotel room, he was shot in the neck by James Earl Ray with a high powered rifle. Like Malcolm X, King was dead at age 39.

The night Dr. King was assassinated, Robert F. Kennedy who was campaigning for the nomination of the Democratic National Party as the 1968 Democratic candidate, feared that news of King’s death would spark riots, made an impassioned plea for nonviolence as he spoke in an African American neighborhood in Indianapolis. To hear one of Robert Kennedy’s most eloquent and passionate speeches, the subject of which was Dr. King, click here:
Even though many leaders followed suit in calling for peace, it was not to be. At least 125 cities across the country experienced the worst rioting in the history of the United States as a result of the rage over King’s death.

Another pivotal event to the Civil Rights Movement occurred on June 5th when Robert F. Kennedy, was assassinated by Sirhan Sirhan at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles after winning the state’s Democratic primary as he sought the Democratic party’s nomination for President in the 1968 election. As the former U. S. Attorney General to during his brother’s presidential administration and later a U.S. Senator from New York, RFK advocated tirelessly for civil rights from committing federal troops to assist with desegregation at The University of Mississippi, to working closely with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to construct language for The Civil Rights Act of 1964. When President Johnson announced in the spring of 1968 that he would not seek reelection, many Americans believed that Robert Kennedy was the only candidate who could unify the fractured nation from the standpoint of civil rights. His assassination, for many, ended any hope for future progress with respect to civil rights.

Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement

During the last four years of his presidential administration, President Johnson had been made aware of countless instances of racially motivated violence. On March 2nd, 1968, the Kerner Commission reported their findings from the Johnson appointed study of the causes of urban violence. In its issuance of the 200,000 word report, the commission named the one main cause to be white racism. The report then called for the nation to construct new housing, create more jobs, and put an end to de facto segregation to eliminate ghetto environments. Many of the commission’s recommendations were ignored because of the amount of opposition to changes that were seen as too sweeping. Many Americans asked themselves how successful had the civil rights movement been.

Gains of the Civil Rights Movement

The movement was responsible for the end of de jure segregation through the passage of legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1968 which banned discrimination in housing. Additionally, graduation rates for African Americans increased significantly, as did the numbers of those who went onto college. And among college students (both black and white) many demanded Black Studies programs that highlighted history and literature.
Political gains were made as well. By the beginning of the new decade, (1970), it was estimated that two-thirds of African Americans eligible to vote were registered to do so thus increasing the number of African American elected officials. Many civil rights activists went on to seek political leadership positions such as the Reverend Jesse Jackson who ran for president in 1988 and Andrew Young who served as an ambassador to the United Nations as well as the mayor of Atlanta.

**Work that Lie Ahead**

From the standpoint of the repeal of many discriminatory laws, the civil rights movement had been quite successful. However, as the decade of the 70s emerged, the challenges for the movement that lay ahead were quite different. Overcoming housing and job discrimination, educational inequality, racism, and poverty involved the much more difficult task of changing people’s attitudes and ultimately, their behavior. It was at this point where public support for the movement declined as some whites were frightened by riots and what many saw as the militant message of the Black Panthers.

As many whites continued the trend of moving to suburbs and leaving cities behind, de facto segregation became a greater problem. By 1990, much of the progress that had been made by the elimination of de jure segregation in public schools had been undone by de facto segregation. A lack of jobs continued to remain a serious problem for African Americans whose poverty rate was three times greater than that for whites.

As education and jobs were the largest issues, in the 1960s, the government had begun to promote **affirmative action** programs--programs that required special efforts to hire or in the case of education, enroll groups that had experienced discrimination of some type in the past. Many colleges and companies seeking to do business of some sort with the federal government adopted these programs. By the late 1970s, some began criticizing these programs as they saw them as “reverse discrimination programs” asserting that hiring or enrollment quotas deprived whites of opportunities. In the 1980s, affirmative-action requirements had been eased for some government contractors and debate continues even today as the fate of affirmative action programs has yet to be determined. And while the legacy of the civil rights movement continues to be an ongoing debate, one tenant that is not debated is that in all regions of the United States today, African Americans and whites interact daily on a level that could only have been imagined or dreamed about before the civil rights movement began.
Role of Women Entering the 1960s

At the debut of the 1960s, it was conventional for women to embrace the glorification of being a housewife. Women were expected to marry in their late teens or twenties, have children, and spend their days caring for their husband and children. College educated women were said to earn their “M.R.S.” degree as they typically found a husband in college. However, thirty-eight percent of women were employed in 1960. White middle class women typically maintained standard jobs in clerical work, teaching, and nursing. They made up six percent of doctors and three percent of lawyers and were often not welcome in professional programs as these programs were often considered traditional male professions. African American women were worse off than white women. Approximately one third of African American women were domestic servants and averagely earned sixty-three cents to every dollar earned by white women.

The Feminine Mystique

In 1963, Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique, which, in her words, challenged “the problem that has no name.” Friedan noted that women were left “unfilled” with their primary role of homemaker and that “society reflected via advertisements and publications is what women wanted.” While this book
targeted college educated women on the east coast, it is said to have sparked the second wave of feminism.

Interactive 11.16 Excerpts from the Feminine Mystique

Second Wave of Women’s Rights

The second wave of The Women’s Rights Movement focused on creating equality in the workplace in regards to equal pay and anti-discrimination legislation. With a mixed group of women based on color and socio economic classes, their common goals were noticed and acted upon by the federal government. In 1961, President Kennedy created the Commission on the Status of Women to investigate women’s issues including employment and education. Results came back with no discrimination was done towards women. In 1963, the Equal Rights Act was amended to include that there should be no wage discrimination based on sex. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to ban discrimination in the workplace based on sex. However, with federal progress, women continued to face the enforcement of theses laws in the courts.

The women’s rights movement did not have a single leader or group to spearhead the movement. Women were divided between classes, ages, and races in how to handle issues that they faced. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was one major group that was founded by Betty Friedan and Pauli Murray in 1966 who were disappointed in the ineffectiveness of the Equal Opportunity Commission.

NOW put pressure on the Equal Opportunity Commission to combat inequalities commonly found in the workplace. In 1967, they endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The Equal Rights Amendment was drafted to be added to the Constitution to state that no one should be denied their rights based upon their sex. The amendment was quickly ratified in thirty states but never made it to the needed thirty-eight by the 1982 deadline.

One major opponent of ERA was Phyllis Schlafly. She maintained the view that the role women played as homemakers was of greatest importance to American society. She viewed that a woman’s job was to maintain

Phyllis Schlafly: Source: [https://www.nwhm.org/media/category/education/biography/biographies/schlafly.jpg](https://www.nwhm.org/media/category/education/biography/biographies/schlafly.jpg)
the sanctity of a household with emphasis on family life and Christian tradition. Phyllis Schlafly also argued that there were secret parts of ERA that allowed the government to support abortions through taxpayer dollars and encouraged the LGBTQ agenda. She toured around the country speaking against ERA.

**Interactive 11.17** Schlafly v Friedan: Who is right?

While the women’s movement progressed forward, there were many negative stereotypes that followed them. These stereotypes included unattractive and man hating women. Gloria Steinem was a woman who challenged those beliefs in their writings and images. Gloria Steinem wrote Ms. Magazine which focused on women’s rights including wages and reproduction rights. Steinen also helped pave the way by getting sexual harassment and abuse issues to the masses which sparked reform and an increase in shelters for women.

**Roe vs. Wade**

The privacy of a woman’s body and abortion was a major issue among the second wave of feminism. The birth control pill was approved in 1960 allowed women to take control over their reproduction. However, abortions were only permitted when it endangered the mother’s life. In 1973, the Texas case was brought to the Supreme Court arguing that a woman’s body was being unconstitutionally violated by Texas law in regards to abortion. In the highly controversial Roe v. Wade case, the Supreme Court decided 7-2 that a woman had the right to have an abortion in the first trimester. The court’s decision was a victory for the feminist movement and still remains controversial throughout the United States.

By 1980, the feminist movement died down as it was fractured and running out of steam. Throughout the sixties and seventies women achieved gains in equal opportunity for employment, contraceptive options, health clinics, rape shelters, and increased access to education. While still unequal, women’s pay increased to their male counterparts. Betty Friedan wrote “What used to be the feminist agenda is now an everyday reality...Our daughters grow up with the same possibilities as our sons.”
The LGBTQ communities began to organize and fight the notion that they were unfit for mainstream society. In 1950, Harry Hay founded the first national gay organization, the Mattachine Society. This underground society allowed gays and lesbians to discuss their experiences with others for the first time. They sent out political surveys to politicians to obtain information on their attitudes towards homosexuals. Ultimately, the original group disbanded as they were linked to communism but newer chapters would survive. The first lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), was founded in San Francisco and hosted events for lesbians in 1955. The DOB focused on feminist issues along with bringing concerns of female homosexuality to the forefront. It disbanded in 1970 as younger members and older members did not voice the same concerns.

As LGBTQ began to organize, they faced issues with the American public and police. In 1966, the New York Liquor Authority banned the serving of gays in bars as homosexuals. The New York chapter of the Mattachine Society had a “sip-in” and the New York Liquor Authority reversed its decision. Police throughout the nation often raided LGBTQ bars. On June 28th, 1969; police raided the Stonewall Inn in New York City. As employees of the bar were arrested along with patrons, other patrons threw bottles at the police. A three day riot followed when thousands of demonstrators voiced their concerns for equal rights. The Stonewall Riots sparked the beginning of the Gay Liberation Front and set the tone for pride festivals in the future.

The LGBTQ communities struggled for rights throughout the twentieth century. In 1950, “Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government,” the United States Senate noted that homosexuals were security risks. In 1952, the American Psychological Association added homosexuality to its list as a personality disorder. The following year, President Eisenhower used Executive Order 10450 to ban homosexuals from working for the federal government. As homosexual behavior was considered an illness, thousands were sent to asylums and were forced to undergo conversion therapy and/or lobotomies.

The Gay Liberation Front (GLF) represented the left wing of the LGBTQ movement. The group took on major beliefs of other movements including ending racism, ending hunger, closing the income gap between the rich and poor, and ending the war in Vietnam. The GLF faced its own divisions as the “Lavender Menace” focused on women’s rights and the transexual groups focused on their rights. All parts of the GLF would host demonstrations and protests linked to major issues of the era. In 1979, LGBTQ protestors marched on Washington to demand protective civil rights legislation. No legislation would pass at the national level.

As the LGBTQ communities were becoming more political, gains were made throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In 1956, psychologist Evelyn Hooker’s research concluded that homosexuals do not differ from heterosexuals. The American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of illnesses in 1973. The following year, Kathy Kozachenko becomes the first openly gay official as a seat on the Ann Arbor City Council. In 1982, Wisconsin becomes the first state to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Political gains were challenged by the rise of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. AIDS was often linked to the gay community, whose members were infected by the thousands. In 1987, Ronald Reagan addressed the issue as thousands of activists marched on Washington. Ryan White, a hemophiliac teenager, was diagnosed with AIDS at the age of thirteen. After being barred from attending school, he became an activist for AIDS. In 1990, just months after his death, George H. W. Bush signed the Ryan White CARE Act which provided funds for people living with AIDS.

Interactive 11.18 The Ryan White Story

With gains on the AIDS front, the LGBTQ communities still faced struggles with the federal government. In 1993, the Department of Defense adopted “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” which forbade applicants from disclosing of their sexual orientation and outlawing homosexual behavior in the armed forces. President Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act which defined marriage as a union between one man and one woman. LGBTQ activists continue to fight these laws throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s. Vermont becomes the first state to recognize civil unions between same sex partners in 2000 and Massachusetts becomes
the first state to legalize gay marriage in 2004. The Human Rights Campaign, a major activist group, encourages political discussion on LGBTQ rights. In 2010, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” is repealed. In 2015 with the Obergefell v. Hodges case, the Supreme Court declared marriage equality for all fifty states.

Americans with Disabilities

Just as other minority groups continuously struggled to find acceptance and rights in mainstream society, Americans with disabilities faced similar challenges. They were often negatively stereotyped and often placed on the outskirts of society. Disabled World War II veterans first demonstrated the challenges as they sacrificed themselves for country and returned to find challenges in the United States. It was not until the civil rights movement took off in the early 1960s when Americans with disabilities and their advocates greatly challenged the United States government for equal rights and opportunities.

Educational Opportunities

Physically and mentally disabled children faced great diversity when receiving an education. As they were viewed with negative stereotypes, they attended other institutions or asylums instead of attending public schools. Their parents became the largest advocates. They pressured local, state and federal governments for reforms. In 1965, President Johnson signed the Primary and Secondary Education Act which provided funds for public schools. While disabled students were included, they still did not receive proper education as many still did not attend public schools. In 1973, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act was passed by Congress. This act noted that all students had a right to an education. Children with disabilities were now mainstreamed with all students unless their specific disability would prevent them from reaching their educational potential in that setting. This act would be later named Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1990. The new version of the legislation allows for parent input and allows for the decision on how disabled children will receive special education services most appropriate for their education. Students received individual educational plans that provide them the maximum support for their best learning potential.

Civil Rights

Disabled Americans struggled to deal with everyday life. Those who were mentally disabled struggled to find employment. Those who were physically disabled had limited access to numerous public places as accommodations were not available to handle their disabilities. In 1970, disabled Americans and their advocates marched on Washington to pressure Congress to pass legislation to help their cause. Three years later, Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which provided equal opportunity for employment for federal government programs for physically and mentally disabled. Section 504 of this act allowed accessibility
so disabled were able to complete the demands of these jobs. While headway was made at the federal level, disabled Americans still faced challenges. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not include the protection of their rights in regards to employment and accessibility to services. They continued to confront discrimination that did not allow them to move forward in society. After years of advocating for equal protection, George H. W. Bush signed the **Americans with Disabilities Act** (ADA) into law in 1990. This act provided equal opportunity for disabled Americans in both public and private sectors. Employers needed to provide necessary accommodations to employed disabled Americans and prohibit employers from discriminating against disabled employees. The act also called for businesses to have proper services to accommodate the needs of disabled Americans.

**Section Wrap-Up Activity**

Using the timeline of civil rights for all groups from 1950 through the 1980s, answer the following questions.

1. What inferences can you make about minority movements expansion of civil rights to those of the African American Civil Rights Movement?
2. How did rights expand to the following groups in this era:
   A) Women
   B) LGBTQ
   C) Americans with disabilities
   D) Latinos
   E) Native Americans
Chapter 12

What impact did the war in Vietnam have on American politics, economics, and social issues domestically as well as abroad?

1. Under what circumstances were the French ousted from Vietnam post-WWII?

2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

3. How did the U.S. misinterpret Vietnam's civil war as a component in the global struggle between communism and democracy that defined the Cold War?

4. How were conflicting ideas between communism and democracy during the Cold War responsible for U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

5. How is the Vietnam War reflective of the issue of presidential vs. congressional authority during wartime?

6. Why was the TET Offensive in 1968 considered the turning point of the war?

7. If the U.S. was fighting for freedom and democracy in Vietnam, why did some actions by American soldiers constitute war crimes?

8. Did President Nixon genuinely fulfill his promise to the American people to end the war in Vietnam through “peace with honor?”

9. What ramifications of the Vietnam War are still evident in American society today?
Section 1

Roots of American Involvement

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Under what circumstances were the French ousted from Vietnam post-WWII?

2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

3. How did the U.S. misinterpret Vietnam’s civil war as a component in the global struggle between communism and democracy that defined the Cold War?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Ho Chi Minh
Viet Minh
Domino Theory
Geneva Accords
Gulf of Tonkin incident

The First of Many

The surrender of Imperial Japan was announced on August 15th and formally signed on September 2nd, 1945, officially ending WWII. Less than a month later, on the morning of September 26th, American Lieutenant Colonel A. Peter Dewey was shot in the head at a Vietnamese roadblock in Saigon. Serving in the Office of Strategic Services, the chief intelligence-gathering body of U.S. military, Dewey had been sent to Vietnam (recently freed from Japanese rule during WWII), as the leader of a seven person team instructed to assess what was becoming an explosive situation in Vietnam.

In accordance with the provisions of the Potsdam Conference, the British were assigned the responsibility of disarming Japanese soldiers south of the 16th parallel. When the Japanese surrendered, Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh declared themselves as the rightful government of Vietnam. French colonial officials and the remaining French soldiers who had been disarmed and imprisoned by the Japanese were angered by the declaration and urged British Maj. Gen. Douglas D. Gracey to help them regain governmental control. Gracey, who was not fond of the Viet Minh or their cause, rearmed 1,400 French soldiers
to help his British troops maintain order. The next day, French and British forces ousted the Viet Minh from the offices that they had only recently occupied. Lt. Col. Dewey’s sympathy was with the Viet Minh, many of whom were nationalists who did not want to see a return to colonial rule by the French. The American officer was an outspoken man who soon angered British Maj. Gracey, eventually resulting in the British general ordering him to leave Indochina. On the way to the airport, accompanied by another OSS officer, Capt. Henry Bluechel, Dewey refused to stop at a roadblock manned by three Viet Minh soldiers. He yelled back at them in French and they opened fire, killing Dewey instantly. Bluechel was unhurt and escaped on foot. It was later determined that the Viet Minh had fired on Dewey thinking he was French. Dewey would prove to be the first of nearly 59,000 Americans killed in Vietnam between 1945 and 1973.

Interactive 12.1 The First American Casualties

Causes of the Vietnam Conflict

The first major involvement of the United States in Vietnam was a result of Japanese expansion in Southeast Asia during World War II. Indochina, including the modern countries of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam had been under direct French rule since 1887, while French missionaries had been in the region for centuries. During World War II, the French lost control of much of the region to the Japanese. While some countries decided to end their colonial presence in the region like the British in Burma in 1948 and the United States in the Philippines in 1946, others tried to reassert their pre-war presence.

The French fought against the Vietminh to reestablish their colony in Vietnam. Led by communist Ho Chi Minh, the Vietminh’s main goal was nationalistic—-independence from the French. Between 1946 and 1954, the French and Vietminh fought over control of Vietnam and at the Dien Bien Phu valley. The French surrendered after being surrounded by Ho’s artillery where it bombarded the French base. Ironically, the ideas of US President Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points inspired Ho to fight for the independence of Vietnam under Wilson’s idea of self-determination and even quoted the US Declaration of Independence as he declared Vietnam’s independence from the French in September of 1945.
As World War II ended, a new conflict was surfacing between those that supported the ambitions of the United States and other western allies and those that supported the USSR. The United States embarked on a quest of containment to halt the spread of communism. In an address on April 7, 1954, President Eisenhower addressed the importance of “Indochina.” Answering a question asked by a reporter, he stated:

You have, of course, both the specific and the general when you talk about such things. First of all, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of materials that the world needs. Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world. Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the “falling domino” principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

Now, with respect to the first one, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important. There are others, of course, the rubber plantations and so on. Then with respect to more people passing under this domination, Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its peoples to the Communist dictatorship, and we simply can’t afford greater losses.

...So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world.

Even though Eisenhower didn’t coin the phrase “Domino Theory,” this response would influence US policy not just in Southeast Asia, but in other parts of the world during the Cold War for years to come. From Eisenhower’s perspective it seemed logical that the next domino to fall would be in Southeast Asia. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 formed a communist USSR. In 1949, the communist revolution occurred in China. In the aftermath of the Korean War between northern communist forces and the United Nations in the South, the United States believed it was the duty of the United States to aid in the suppression of communist influence in Vietnam. In order for the US to continue the policy of containment, the president believed the US may need to increase its involvement in the region. Since the Vietminh were successful in ousting the French and were supported by both the Soviets and communist China, all of Vietnam would potentially be the next country to end up under communist control.

Formally ending French colonialism in Vietnam, the main players at the Geneva Conference eventually adopted an agreement that spelled out what superficially seemed to be a sensible path to peace and independence for Vietnam. The signatories of the Geneva Accords agreed to the following provisions:
1. The French would remove themselves from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

2. Vietnam would be divided temporarily along the 17th parallel for two years into North and South thus attempting to end hostilities between pro-French forces and pro-Communist forces.

3. Elections would be held the following July in 1956 to decide the governmental system of Vietnam under the supervision of international observers.

4. Both sides of the conflict agreed not to enter any military alliances with outside powers.

Even though these accords were agreements and not treaties, most of the countries at the conference agreed to be bound by them with two major exceptions—the United States and the South Vietnamese government.

Even though the United States under President Harry Truman had been sending military aid to the French since 1950, the Eisenhower administration continued to help fund the French effort to defeat the Vietminh and then in 1955, after the Geneva Accords, sent military advisors. The United States continued to support South Vietnam and by 1956, the new President of the Republic of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem. The support of the Diem government would continue during the Eisenhower administration and the first part of the Kennedy administration even though Diem became increasingly autocratic and unpopular with the South Vietnamese. He prevented the elections that were intended to reunite the North and South of Vietnam. Diem had difficulty consolidating his control over the Buddhist majority and primarily ruled through military might and economic support from the United States. Diem was fighting a civil war between South Vietnam and the Vietcong—supporters of the North Vietnamese communist government. By September of 1963, President Kennedy firmly believed that the U.S. should only play a limited role in the country’s involvement in South Vietnam and the Diem regime. Watch the short clip below to hear President Kennedy’s stance on U.S. involvement.

**Interactive 12.2 JFK’s Stance on Vietnam**

![JFK's Stance on Vietnam](image)
As unrest grew as a result of Diem’s military, social, and political policies, the Kennedy administration began to back away from Diem. The final act of the Diem regime involved an intensified attack on Buddhism. A devout Catholic, Diem became fed up with ongoing public demonstrations by Buddhist monks and nuns, imprisoning hundreds and destroying their temples. In protest, several nuns and monks publicly burned themselves to death. This prompted American officials, horrified by what was happening, to urge Diem to stop the persecution of Buddhists. Diem refused. It was clear that Diem and his regime would have to go. On November 1, 1963, a U.S. supported military coup ended Diem’s regime. Against the wishes of President Kennedy, Diem was executed. Only a few weeks after the killing of Diem, John Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963. Vice-President Lyndon Baines Johnson succeeded Kennedy as U.S. involvement in Vietnam would reach new levels.

**Johnson and Vietnam**

Less than a month before his death, President Kennedy had announced his intent to withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam in a press conference on the last day of October, 1963. View the clip below:

**Interactive 12.3** Kennedy Announces Intent to Withdraw

By August, 1964, there were incidents that happened in the Gulf of Tonkin near the North Vietnamese coast. On August 2, the USS Maddox fired on and was attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. The second Vietnamese attack on a US ship supposedly took place on August 4, 1964. Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense at the time, later admitted that the attack on August 2nd happened but the incident on August 4th did not. Regardless of what actually occurred, the Johnson administration was able to use the Gulf of Tonkin incident to ask Congress for the funding to escalate US involvement in Southeast Asia. President Johnson
addressed the American people the evening of August 4th stating:

My fellow Americans:

As President and Commander in Chief, it is my duty to the American people to report that renewed hostile actions against United States ships on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin have today required me to order the military forces of the United States to take action in reply.

...In the larger sense this new act of aggression, aimed directly at our own forces, again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in southeast Asia. Aggression by terror against the peaceful villagers of South Viet-Nam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America.

Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on August 7, 1964 giving the Johnson administration nearly a blank check and nearly unlimited power to fight the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong.
Primary Source: The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

Eighty-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four

Joint Resolution

To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attackers are part of deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protest their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these people should be left in peace to work out their destinies in their own way: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Section 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Section 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.
Section 2

Escalation of War

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Under what circumstances were the French ousted from Vietnam post-WWII?

2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

3. How did the U.S. misinterpret Vietnam's civil war as a component in the global struggle between communism and democracy that defined the Cold War?

4. How were conflicting ideas between communism and democracy during the Cold War responsible for U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

5. How is the Vietnam War reflective of the issue of presidential vs. congressional authority during wartime?

6. Why was the TET Offensive in 1968 considered the turning point of the war?

7. If the U.S. was fighting for freedom and democracy in Vietnam, why did some actions by American soldiers constitute war crimes?

8. Did President Nixon genuinely fulfill his promise to the American people to end the war in Vietnam through “peace with honor?”

9. What ramifications of the Vietnam War are still evident in American society today?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Guerrilla warfare  Napalm
Vietcong  Credibility gap
Ho Chi Minh Trail
Search and destroy
Agent Orange

Waging the War in Vietnam

The US ramped up its military involvement in Vietnam with the passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Beginning in 1965, the Johnson administration started sending a large number of troops to Vietnam. By the end of the year there were over 184,000 US troops in Vietnam—eight times the number of troops present in 1964. The U.S. commander in South Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, continued to request more troops. The Johnson administration complied with
Westmoreland’s requests. By 1967, the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam had reached approximately 500,000.

**War in the Jungle**

Both the geography and topography of Vietnam impacted how the war was fought. The climate of Vietnam ranges from tropical in the south to more temperate in the north. Its land area is about 1.25 greater than that of Michigan. Vietnam has highlands, valleys in many areas in the north and center of the country and a massive river delta in the South. Parts of the year and depending on location, there are massive monsoon rains.

US Troops were asked to accomplish a difficult task. In a conflict where it is a challenge to tell ally from foe, how does one know who the enemy is? Guerilla warfare became the way that the Vietcong (VC) fought, often engaging US troops in a hit and run style. In many areas there were networks of tunnels where the Vietnamese could go underground and have bases for supplies and shelter. In the south, the Vietcong were supplied from a supply line running on the border with Cambodia. This route was known as the **Ho Chi Minh trail**. The supply line was vital to providing those fighting for the North Vietnamese in their fight against the United States and South Vietnamese.
In order to combat the guerrilla style warfare of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, US troops often engaged in "search and destroy" missions. During these missions the objective was to seek out and destroy the enemy and their supply lines. American troops were often dropped into an area via helicopter, and evacuated out upon completion of the mission.

Fighting in dense forest and jungle provided its own set of challenges for US forces in Vietnam. Starting in 1961, the Diem government of South Vietnam asked the United States to begin aerial spraying of a herbicide-defoliant often referred to as Agent Orange. Agent Orange was sprayed over vast swaths of territory especially near the Mekong River delta. By defoliating the trees and plants, it was harder for the Vietcong to hide from spotters in the air. The United States between 1961 and 1971 sprayed nearly 4.5 million acres of Vietnam with herbicides and defoliants.
The US also used **napalm** which was an incendiary created and first used in World War II. Napalm was originally used in flamethrowers, but as the war progressed it was later dropped by bombers. Napalm had devastating human cost. The gel-like consistency stuck to skin and continued to burn and melt flesh. In a conflict that people saw nightly on their televisions in the United States, the images of people being burned by napalm had a tremendously negative effect on how the war was viewed.

**Morale Dwindles**

The combination of **guerrilla warfare**, brutal conditions in the jungle, and one military failure after another in making substantial headway against the enemy took their toll on the morale of U.S. troops. As the war continued, morale continued to dwindle; many soldiers turned to alcohol, marijuana, and other drugs to try and cope with life as a soldier in an unpopular war. Some soldiers even resorted to the murder of their superior officers by lobbing grenades at them during battles.

Another obstacle that soldiers couldn’t overcome was the corrupt and unstable government in South Vietnam. Refusing to step down, Nguyen Cao Ky remained in power from 1965-1967, while South Vietnam continued to fight a civil war within a civil war, leaving U.S. officials angry and confused.

**Johnson’s Great Society is a Casualty of the War**

As the numbers of troops involved in Vietnam continued to mount, the war grew more costly. As a result, the national economy began to suffer as did Johnson’s Great Society Programs. By 1969, the rate of inflation which had been at 2% in the early 1960s had almost tripled. Although President Johnson was determined to pay for both his Great Society Programs and the war, the cost of financing the war became too great. In August of 1967, the President asked Congress for a tax increase to help finance the war. Conservatives in Congress agreed to the tax increase but only after insisting that $6 billion would come from money earmarked for Johnson’s domestic reforms.

As Vietnam was the first widely televised war, it was the television coverage that played a major role in heightening the nation’s growing concern about the war. Often referred to as America’s first “living-room war,” vivid images of combat and casualties brought the war in Southeast Asia into American homes and greatly contradicted the optimistic war scenario that the Johnson administration was projecting.

As US citizens watched the nightly news, they were also confronted with official government statistics, which often contradicted the brutal images of battle. **Body Count** (the number of Americans killed, compared to the number of Viet Cong killed)
statistics seemed to show that the American military was making progress against the Vietcong and lined up with what General Westmoreland and Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara were proclaiming. However as the war continued to drag on, so did the constant images of Americans dying in battle arriving home in body bags. A credibility gap developed between what the government reported and what was really happening in Vietnam. This discrepancy in information continued to cause some Americans to question America’s role in Vietnam.

Listen to the clip below of Don Hewitt, a producer at CBS talk about the extent to which tv coverage of the war impacted Americans views on U.S. involvement.

By 1967, a small percentage of people outside of mainstream America had begun actively protesting the war. As the war raged on, those voices would continue to grow louder ultimately capturing the attention of the nation.
QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Under what circumstances were the French ousted from Vietnam post-WWII?

2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Selective Service
Pardon
Draft dodgers
New Left

Students for a Democratic Society
Free Speech Movement
Doves
Hawks

The Economics of the Draft

Established in 1940 during WWII, the Selective Service System was the system that drafted men into combat for Vietnam as well. Under this system, all males had to register with their local draft board once they turned 18. In the event of a war, local draft boards called men between the ages of 18-26 as they were needed. Naturally, as America’s doubts continued to grow about U.S. involvement in Vietnam, many young men tried to avoid military service for fear of being sent to fight and perhaps be killed in Vietnam.

Many young men were successful in what many referred to as “dodging the draft”; others were not. One type of deferment involved medical excuses so some men sought out doctors known to be sympathetic in order to obtain medical deferments. Because draft boards were local, qualifications varied. This prompted some men to change residences in order to stand before draft boards that were more lenient than others. Still, others joined the Coast Guard or National Guard to secure deferment from active military service in Vietnam.

One of the most common ways to avoid the draft involved a college deferment which allowed a young man the opportunity to put off military service until after he could earn a college degree. Many young men from the middle and upper classes (a huge majority of which were white), who could afford to go to college, did so to
avoid military service. Because of this, many of the young men being drafted and sent to Vietnam who were less privileged economically, included lower economic classes of whites and minorities. Vietnam could definitely be considered a working class war.

**Fortunate Son** by Creedence Clearwater Revival, 1969

Some folks are born made to wave the flag

Ooh, they're red, white and blue

And when the band plays "Hail to the chief"

Ooh, they point the cannon at you, Lord

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no senator's son, son

It ain't me, it ain't me; I ain't no fortunate one, no

As the draft continued, some Americans met the government's call to serve in Vietnam with outright resistance. Some Americans tried to evade the draft by leaving the country and moving to Canada. Others openly defied draft conscription through burning their draft cards in protest. Still others tried to physically harm themselves, so they would not pass the draft physical. Other draft dodgers went to jail instead of honoring their draft notice. Although draft resistance occurred, in 1977 president Jimmy Carter offered a full and complete pardon to Vietnam draft dodgers.

**African Americans in Vietnam**

The number of African Americans that served in Vietnam was disproportionate to the percentage that made up the African American population in the U.S. In the first few years of the war, black soldiers accounted for more than 20 percent of U.S. combat deaths even though only about 10 percent of the U.S. population at the time was black. In an attempt to try and correct the imbalance, in 1969, the Department of Defense instituted a lottery system within the draft. Even though black soldiers had fought in every U.S. war, the Vietnam War was the first major conflict in which they were fully integrated. Like changes back in the States, integration on paper was one thing; complete equality and substantive integration in the armed forces in Vietnam was another. Eventually, the racial tension that had been occurring at home erupted in Vietnam in the summer of 1967 in the form of a race riot at a U.S. Army stockade at Long Binh. While the main cause of the riot was due to the inability of military leaders to address legitimate complaints of racial discrimination, domestic tensions back home also played a role. Many black soldiers responded in proactive ways by forming organizations such as the Minority Servicemen's Association, the Concerned Veteran Association, Black Brothers United, the Zulu 1200s, De Mau Mau and the Black Liberation Front of the Armed Forces in part to protect themselves and in part to represent their collective interests.
Women in Vietnam

In the 1960s, the United State’s Military did not allow women to serve in combat situations. Even so, although very little official data exists, estimates from the Vietnam Women’s Memorial Foundation approximate that 11,000 military women were stationed in Vietnam during the war. Serving as nurses, physicians, air traffic controllers, intelligence officers, clerks, and other positions, women served in the U.S. Women’s Army Corps, the U.S. Navy, Air Force, Marines, and the Army Medical Specialist Corps. Along with women serving in the armed forces, an unknown number of civilian women volunteered through the Red Cross, the United Service Organizations (USO), Catholic Relief Services, and other humanitarian organizations. Some worked as foreign correspondents for various news organizations.

An Era of Youthful Opposition

Prior to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, an atmosphere of protest was growing across the country on many college campuses. Some were surprised that the youth of the 1960s had become more socially and politically active and would question government policies and actions. Others were not surprised because they were quick to realize that the personal experiences of the youth coming of age in the 1950s and the experiences of the youth coming of age in the 1960s differed greatly due to the extremely different dynamics of the economic and political events that occurred in each group’s frame of reference. The general contentment and conformity of 1950s youth gave way to a decade of social, political, economic, and cultural extremes, transformational change, and bizarre contrasts. By the end of the 1960s, many young people believed that the nation was in need of fundamental change.

The New Left

Many different activist groups and organizations became known as the New Left, a youth-dominated political movement of the 1960s that demanded sweeping changes in American society. According to historians Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, in their book, America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s, “The Left blazed through the Sixties like a meteor, reshaping the cultural landscape, particularly in the areas of gender and race.”

In March of 1965, the Johnson administration dispatched the first combat troops to Vietnam. 3,500 Marines landed at Da Nang airbase in Vietnam. Earlier that same month, the US had begun Operation Rolling Thunder, a sustained bombing campaign against North Vietnam. In the midst of these actions, students and professors at the University of Michigan staged the first teach-in. The teach-in held in March of 1965, was originally started by 10 educators and eventually garnered over 3,000 participants. Students and teachers delivered speeches and led discussions as a form of protest against the war in Vietnam. Soon teach-ins spread to other college campuses across the nation.
The **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) was part of the driving force behind the teach-ins and other forms of anti-war protests on college campuses. A leftist-student organization, the SDS was founded in the early 1960s by Tom Hayden and Al Haber. Its first convention was held in Port Huron, Michigan, where the group adopted “The Port Huron Statement,” a political manifesto, calling for citizens to take an active role in government to affect change. The SDS and other student groups, such as the **Free Speech Movement** founded at UC Berkeley in 1964, launched a youth movement that became better known as “The New Left.”

**Interactive 12.7 The Port Huron Statement**

In 1964, another New Left group was gaining momentum. The Free Speech Movement (FSM) at the University of California at Berkeley, first grew out of a clash between administrators of the school and students over students’ First Amendment rights such as free speech, academic freedom, and political gatherings on campus. Later fueled by opposition to the Vietnam War, the FSM was the first revolt of the decade to bring to a college campus the mass civil disobedience tactics first pioneered during the Civil Rights Movement. The strategies and tactics used by the FSM along with the SDS, quickly spread to colleges across the country. Visit the site below to see pictures of this historic, two-month protest along with a timeline of events:

**Interactive 12.8 The Free Speech Movement**

**From Protest to Resistance, Doves and Hawks Remain Divided**

Throughout the spring of 1965, some colleges began hosting “teach-ins” to protest the war. As the war continued, the number of protests grew and continued to divide the nation. In April of 1965, SDS orchestrated a protest march in Washington, D.C. Nearly 25,000 people participated in the demonstration that started at the US Capitol and ended at the Washington Monument. Anti-war protests would continue to increase, as
opposition to the war continued. Students became involved in the movement for many reasons. Many objected on moral grounds, believing it was wrong for the United States to become entangled in what was seen as a civil war between North and South Vietnam. As the draft intensified, students objected to serving in a war in which they could not find purpose.

Beyond college campuses the antiwar movement grew throughout other groups of American society. In addition to the hundreds of protests taking place across the nation, many musicians across multiple genres openly opposed the war through their music. Folk singers such as Peter, Paul and Mary and Joan Baez blazed the trail with their lyrical protests later followed by pop singers such as Barry McGuire, Phil Ochs, and Bob Dylan. Take a listen to one of Dylan’s most famous anti-Vietnam War songs:

**Interactive 12.9 Blowin’ in the Wind**

In the two years between 1965 and 1967, the antiwar movement intensified. By 1967, the US government had committed close to 500,000 troops to the conflict in Vietnam. While casualties mounted, as many as 40,000 men were drafted per month. As sentiment against the draft intensified, so did the protest. In October of 1967, over 100,000 including former veterans gathered at the Lincoln Memorial to protest continued American involvement in the country of Vietnam. Approximately 1,500 demonstrators were injured and at least 700 were arrested as protesters broke past military police.

By 1967, the divide between the doves—those who strongly opposed the war, and the hawks—those who felt that American military force was necessary to end the war, was a chasm. However, despite the dramatic images portrayed at antiwar protests, polls indicated that approximately two-thirds of Americans still felt that the war was justified. Those less certain about America’s role in Vietnam still struggled to understand how protesters could be so publicly critical about a war where fellow Americans were fighting and dying.

**Johnson is Still Committed to the Fight**

Despite the division that encompassed the entire nation and the turmoil that it caused, President Johnson was committed to the continuation of his policy of slow escalation in Vietnam.
QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Under what circumstances were the French ousted from Vietnam post-WWII?

2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

3. How did the U.S. misinterpret Vietnam's civil war as a component in the global struggle between communism and democracy that defined the Cold War?

4. How were conflicting ideas between communism and democracy during the Cold War responsible for U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

5. How is the Vietnam War reflective of the issue of presidential vs. congressional authority during wartime?

6. Why was the TET Offensive in 1968 considered the turning point of the war?

7. If the U.S. was fighting for freedom and democracy in Vietnam, why did some actions by American soldiers constitute war crimes?

8. Did President Nixon genuinely fulfill his promise to the American people to end the war in Vietnam through “peace with honor?”

9. What ramifications of the Vietnam War are still evident in American society today?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

The Tet Offensive

The Tet Offensive, a surprise attack, occurred on January 30th, 1968, when the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces launched a massive attack in many locations in South Vietnam. The name Tet Offensive is given to the event because it occurred on the Vietnamese New Year called Tet. There were signs that the North Vietnamese strategy was shifting before the Tet Offensive, but the massive scale of the attacks on cities and bases, even though it was not a military success, seemed to demonstrate that the Johnson administration’s portrayal of the war to the American public was different than what seemed to be happening in Vietnam. As battles waged on following Tet, the negative impact on the public’s opinion was enormous. The result was that more and more Americans began to question America’s role in the war.
One of the key people involved in U.S. military action in Vietnam was General William Westmoreland. A distinguished veteran of both WWII and the Korean War, Westmoreland was chosen by President Johnson to command the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV) from June, 1964 until June, 1968. When the general arrived in Vietnam in 1964, there were approximately 16,000 U.S. troops in the region. General Westmoreland immediately pushed for an increased military presence in South Vietnam to help keep the unstable government in Saigon from collapsing under the Communist North Vietnamese (NVA) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) also known as the Viet Cong. After the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, Westmoreland’s request seemed to be legitimate and additional troops were sent to Vietnam.

Westmoreland’s strategy in Vietnam was dependent upon superior U.S. firepower both on the ground and from intensive aerial bombardments. The goal was not to seize any territory but instead to inflict more losses than the Communists could sustain, thus forcing surrender by the Viet Cong and the NLF.

“Militarily, we succeeded in Vietnam. We won every engagement we were involved in out there.” --General William Westmoreland

The general’s “war of attrition” strategy was what many believed was Westmoreland’s leadership downfall in Vietnam. From a purely military standpoint, he was right—Viet Cong losses were substantial. But from a psychological and political perspective, the general could not have been more incorrect. The aftershock of the Tet Offensive significantly changed America’s opinion about its involvement in Vietnam.

One such Westmoreland critic was historian Lewis Sorley, a West Point graduate and Vietnam veteran who worked for Westmoreland. In his latest book, Westmoreland: The General Who Lost Vietnam, Sorley writes with regard to Westmoreland’s leadership that, “the most important, and also the saddest, is that in Vietnam and thereafter Westmoreland was willing to shade or misremember or deny or invent the record when his perceived interests were at stake. This was true in matters both great and small.”

Interactive 12.10 The General Who Lost Vietnam
**Tet is Responsible for Significant Changes**

The aftershock of the Tet Offensive caused a substantial shift in public opinion about the war. As coverage of the fighting in Vietnam continued by mainstream media across millions of television sets throughout the nation, what once had been described as balanced coverage of the war had now shifted and the media openly criticized the war. One of the nation’s most respected journalists at the time, Walter Cronkite, began using the word, “stalemate” in his reporting on the war. View a sample of what America’s first televised war coverage looked like:

**Interactive 12.11 First Televised War Coverage**

Minds were also changing at the White House too. Clark Clifford, the recently appointed Secretary of Defense after the departure of Robert McNamara, quickly concluded that the war in Vietnam was unwinnable. Clifford commented, “we seem to have a sinkhole. We put in more--they match it. I see more and more fighting with more and more casualties on the U.S. side and no end in sight to the action.”

Clifford wasn’t the only member of Johnson’s cabinet affected by the seismic shift in public opinion. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk reluctantly acknowledged that America’s mood had changed after the Tet Offensive. Once President Johnson realized he had lost the support of Walter Cronkite, he lamented, “If I’ve lost Walter Cronkite, then it’s over. I’ve lost Mr. Average Citizen.” On March 31, 1968, President Johnson finally responded to the growing division within the Democratic Party. In an address widely televised, Johnson announced that the U.S. would negotiate the ending of the war in Vietnam thus ending the policy of U.S. escalation. The President then went on to declare that because he didn’t want the presidency to become involved in divisions within the party, he would not seek reelection.

**The 1968 Presidential Election is Brutal**

The year 1968 was a tumultuous year for many reasons, so it wasn’t a surprise that the presidential election was one of many events that involved violence. With President Johnson not seeking reelection, two well-known candidates vied for the Democratic nomination. While Eugene McCarthy was supported by the antiwar populace, Hubert Humphrey was a loyal party man who had the support of the President.
As delegates arrived in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention, they met with 10,000 protesters with a multitude of goals. Some were hoping to persuade the DNC to adopt an antiwar platform while others were hoping to provoke violence to discredit the party. The mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, was insistent that law and order would prevail in his city. He mobilized 12,000 Chicago police officers and 5,000 National Guardsmen to keep control of the city.

Inside the convention hall, disorder continued as delegates debated bitterly over whether or not the party would adopt an antiwar platform. As delegates received word of the rioting occurring outside the convention hall, they shouted angrily at the mayor who in turn returned hostile shouting at the delegates. The entire scene, both inside and out of the convention hall was captured on tv with millions of Americans witnessing the disorder in Chicago.

Meanwhile, the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon benefited greatly from the disorder in the Democratic party. With a political career that had been all but dead, Nixon campaigned for, and helped Republicans win back 47 House seats and 3 Senate seats from Democrats in the 1966 Congressional election. Tapping into the many Republican alliances he had formed, he won the Republican party’s nomination.

Additionally, the entry of George Wallace, the former governor of Alabama, as a third-party candidate, helped Nixon’s candidacy. Wallace, a former Democrat was a longtime champion of states’ rights and school segregation. Running as an independent candidate, Wallace won in 5 Southern states and attracted many Northern white working-class voters who were disgusted with riots that were occurring in the inner cities and antiwar protests. While Nixon only captured 43% of the popular vote, he ended up defeating Humphrey by more than 100 electoral votes. America’s involvement in Vietnam was now Nixon’s albatross.
Section 5

The Legacy of the War

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

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2. In what ways was the government of President Diem responsible for the intensifying unrest within Vietnam?

3. How did the U.S. misinterpret Vietnam's civil war as a component in the global struggle between communism and democracy that defined the Cold War?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Peace with honor
Silent majority
Pentagon Papers
Post-traumatic stress disorder
detente

Nixon and Vietnamization

As President Nixon moved into the White House in January of 1969, negotiations that began during the Johnson presidency had quickly stalled. On one side, the United States and South Vietnam had demanded that all North Vietnamese forces would withdraw from South Vietnam and that the government of Nguyen Van Thieu government would remain in power. The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong demanded that the United States would withdraw its troops and that the Thieu government would step aside in order for a coalition government to be instated that would include the Viet Cong.

In the middle of the stalemate, President Nixon announced his strategy of Vietnamization which called for a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops in order for the South Vietnamese to take on a more active combat role in the war.

In the summer of 1969, President Nixon announced the first troop withdrawals from Vietnam. Referring to Vietnam, Nixon said, “One of the nightmares is war without end.” But as troops were being pulled out of Vietnam, the U.S. began to secretly extend the war into the countries of Cambodia and Laos, bombing Vietnamese sanctuaries, including the Ho Chi Minh Trail—the route that was used by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong to siphon troops, weapons, and supplies into South Vietnam. Nixon continued the war in Vietnam, attempting to achieve
what he called, “peace with honor.” Nixon’s goal was to maintain U.S. dignity as troops continued to return home while still preserving clout at the negotiation table in Vietnam. It was important to Nixon that the South Vietnamese government remain in place in South Vietnam. Through the bombing of neighboring countries, Nixon wanted the North Vietnamese that even though U.S. troops were being withdrawn, he was capable of anything. It was this policy that critics would argue prolonged the war for several additional years, many of which were bloody.

**Perspective From the Home Front**

Even though Nixon had been in office for less than a year, he felt it was important to seek support for his policies in Vietnam. He appealed to what he called the

**silent majority**--moderate, mainstream Americans who quietly supported his strategies.

**Nixon’s “Silent Majority” Speech**

November 3, 1969

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

Tonight I want to talk to you on a subject of deep concern to all Americans and to many people in all parts of the world -- the war in Vietnam.

I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their Government has told them about our policy. The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overriding issues of war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy.

Tonight, therefore, I would like to answer some of the questions that I know are on the minds of many of you listening to me.

Let us all understand that the question before us is not whether some Americans are for peace and some Americans are against peace. The question at issue is not whether Johnson’s war becomes Nixon’s war.

The great question is: How can we win America’s peace?
At the time we launched our search for peace I recognized we might not succeed in bringing an end to the war through negotiation. I, therefore, put into effect another plan to bring peace -- a plan which will bring the war to an end regardless of what happens on the negotiating front.

It is in line with a major shift in U.S. foreign policy which I described in my press conference at Guam on July 25. I laid down in Guam three principles as guidelines for future American policy toward Asia:

-- First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments.

-- Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security.

-- Third, in cases involving other types of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.

After I announced this policy, I found that the leaders of the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, South Korea, and other nations which might be threatened by Communist aggression, welcomed this new direction in American foreign policy.

The Vietnamization plan was launched following Secretary [Melvin] Laird's visit to Vietnam in March. Under the plan, I ordered first a substantial increase in the training and equipment of South Vietnamese forces.

In July, on my visit to Vietnam, I changed General [Creighton] Abrams' orders so that they were consistent with the objectives of our new policies. Under the new orders, the primary mission of our troops is to enable the South Vietnamese forces to assume the full responsibility for the security of South Vietnam.

Our air operations have been reduced by over 20 percent.

And now we have begun to see the results of this long overdue change in American policy in Vietnam.

Let me now turn to our program for the future.

We have adopted a plan which we have worked out in cooperation with the South Vietnamese for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. combat ground forces, and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces on an orderly scheduled timetable. This withdrawal will be made from strength and not from weakness. As South Vietnamese forces become stronger, the rate of American withdrawal can become greater.

And so tonight -- to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans -- I ask for your support.
I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge.

The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed; for the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris.

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

Fifty years ago, in this room and at this very desk, President Woodrow Wilson spoke words which caught the imagination of a war-weary world. He said: "This is the war to end war." His dream for peace after World War I was shattered on the hard realities of great power politics and Woodrow Wilson died a broken man.

Tonight I do not tell you that the war in Vietnam is the war to end wars. But I do say this: I have initiated a plan which will end this war in a way that will bring us closer to that great goal to which Woodrow Wilson and every American President in our history has been dedicated -- the goal of a just and lasting peace.


The speech was extremely successful--as a result, tens of thousands of letters and telegrams of support were sent to the President at the White House. Not only did the speech affect the war and Nixon presidency but also it promoted a political opportunity in the Republican Party to amass a New Majority and promote conservative policies. Others disagreed with the president, and voiced their opposition in letters and further demonstrations including another Moratorium later in November 1969.

The My Lai Massacre

Labelled by many as one of the most horrific incidents of violence committed against unarmed civilians during the Vietnam War, was the My Lai Massacre. Although the event occurred on March 16, 1968, the American public did not become aware of the atrocity until journalist Seymour Hersh broke the story in November of 1969. On March 16, 1968 a company of American soldiers brutally killed most of the inhabitants of the village (women, children, and elderly men) of My Lai after the company determined that there were no enemy inhabitants in the village. The brutal slaughter of more than 500 civilians sparked

Interactive 12.13 The My Lai Massacre

To understand multiple perspectives of those who were at the massacre, click on this brief, video
international outrage. The brutality of the massacre along with what was deemed as a cover up by the U.S. military further divided the United States over the Vietnam War.

The My Lai Massacre could have ended with many more civilian murders if it hadn’t been for the actions of an American helicopter pilot, Hugh Thompson and his crew. Learn about his heroic actions in this clip.

**Interactive 12.14 The Hugh Thompson Story**

Cambodia is Invaded

Even though news of the My Lai Massacre shocked the nation, by 1970, the mood of the nation appeared to be lessening in its explosivity as troops were returning home and the war was winding down. Across many college campuses student attention was shifting from the antiwar movement to the environment. But when on April 30th, 1970, President Nixon announced that U.S. troops had invaded Cambodia to clear the supply centers of the Viet Cong, college students across the country erupted in protest. Known as the first general student strike in U.S. history, more than 1.5 million college students closed down approximately 1,200 campuses.

**Kent State**

As massive student protests were occurring on campuses across the nation, disaster struck hardest at Kent State University in Ohio on May 4th when soldiers of the National Guard fired into a crowd of campus protesters, killing four and wounding nine. For a complete but brief explanation of how the event escalated to the extremity it did, view the following clip.

**Interactive 12.15 The Kent State Massacre**

Ten days after the Kent State incident, violence erupted at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Twelve students were wounded and two were killed.

**The Pentagon Papers**

Nixon’s policy of the invasion of Cambodia was extremely costly in terms of political support, especially in Congress. His failure to notify Congress about the invasion of Cambodia angered many in Congress. Their response was the repeal of the Tonkin Gulf
Resolution on December 31, 1970. Up until that point, the president had experienced almost complete independence in forming U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The President’s support took another substantial hit when in June of 1971 Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers. A top-secret Department of Defense study of U.S. military and political involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967, the Pentagon Papers contained damning secrets about U.S. actions in Vietnam. The information in the papers indicated that the Kennedy administration had actively helped overthrow and assassinate Diem in 1963. Additionally, the report contradicted official U.S. government pronouncements about the intensive bombing of North Vietnam which the report determined that there had been no impact on the enemy’s will to fight.

Ellsberg had served as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1954 to 1957 and in 1959 joined the RAND Corporation as a strategic analyst. In 1964, working for the Department of Defense, he worked on the escalation of the war in Vietnam. In 1965, Ellsberg transferred to the State Department serving two years at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, evaluating pacification in the field. Upon his return to the RAND Corporation in 1967, he worked on Robert McNamara’s top secret study regarding U.S. Decision-making in Vietnam from 1945-1968, which were later referred to as the Pentagon Papers.

As the war dragged on, knowing what Ellsberg knew, his opinion on U.S. involvement in Vietnam had changed. Ellsberg secretly copied the report in 1969 and in 1971, gave the 7,000 page study to the New York Times, the Washington Post, and 17 other newspapers. Ellsberg was charged by the U.S. government with 12 felony counts. By 1973, the charges against him were dismissed due to misconduct by the government, eventually leading to the convictions of several White House aides.

The War Finally Ends

By the middle of 1972, as a grueling stalemate continued, the growing social division throughout the nation combined with the upcoming presidential election, convinced the Nixon administration to change its negotiation policy in Paris. Nixon sent Henry Kissinger, his adviser for national security affairs to Vietnam to serve as his top negotiator. Kissinger had been privately meeting with North Vietnam’s chief negotiator, Le Duc Tho since 1969 and eventually dropped the administration’s insistence that all North Vietnamese troops be removed from South Vietnam. One week before the presidential election, Kissinger announced, “Peace is at hand.”
Nixon won reelection but the peace that Kissinger had promised was not to occur right away. The Thieu regime, frightened at the thought of North Vietnamese troops stationed in South Vietnam, rejected Kissinger’s plan. As talks broke off, in December, the president unleashed a series of intense bombings against the two largest cities in North Vietnam--Hanoi and Haiphong. At the beginning of the new year of 1973, negotiations resumed. On January 27, 1973, the U.S. signed an agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. North Vietnamese troops would remain in South Vietnam but the U.S. would become involved if the peace agreement were violated. For the United States, the war was over.

Despite the peace agreement, the war continued. After just a few months after the departure of U.S. troops, the cease-fire agreement collapsed. The North Vietnamese, after several years of fighting, launched a full-scale invasion against South Vietnamese forces in March, 1975. Thieu asked for help from the U.S. The U.S. provided aid economically but refused to send any troops. In April of 1975, North Vietnamese tanks rolled into Saigon and captured the city. Soon after, the South Vietnamese surrendered to the North Vietnamese. The war had ended.

**The War's Legacy is a Painful One**

By the time America’s participation in Vietnam had ended, 58,000 Americans had been killed and some 365,000 had been wounded. Politically, the war had left Southeast Asia highly unstable, which led to further war in Cambodia. In the U.S., the Vietnam conflict left many extremely cautious when it came to foreign affairs and when it came to domestic issues, many were quite cynical.

Many veterans who returned to the United States, came home to an ungrateful nation. In contrast to veterans who served in earlier American wars such as World War II, veterans of the Vietnam conflict were not welcomed home by parades and fanfare. The Vietnam conflict was an unpopular war and many Americans desired to put it behind them.

For some American families, however, the war lingered. Some Americans were unaccounted for and listed by the US government as prisoners of war (POWs) or missing in action (MIA). Other veterans who returned home faced various issues related to their experiences in Vietnam. Many suffered from and continue to suffer from **post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)**. PTSD is caused by a person experiencing traumatic, stressful situations that can lead to psychological effects including memory lapses, nightmares and
flashbacks among other effects. In addition to psychological effects, many veterans suffered from a myriad of other health related issues.

Although the war had ended, it did impact many changes to U.S. policy. The first major change was the abolishment of the draft. Secondly, Congress took steps to curb the president's power to make war with the passage of the War Powers Act in 1973. Its major provision was that a president must inform Congress within 48 hours if U.S. forces were sent into hostile areas without a declaration of war. Additionally, troops could only remain in the area for a maximum of 90 days unless Congress approves the president's actions or declares war.

With regard to the larger picture, the war in Vietnam significantly changed the nation's views about foreign policy. The nation had become quite cynical about its government and suspicious of a democracy that had consistently provided so much misleading information and concealed so many activities that many felt had cost millions of dollars and thousands of young lives.