THE PROGRESSIVE ERA (1900-1920)

I. Road to Progressivism
A. Greenback Labor Party of 1870s sought to thwart power of the "robber barons" and wanted inflationary monetary measures.
B. Legacy of Populism
   1. Populism failed as a 3rd Party cause but had political influence for 25 years after its failure in the 1896 elections.
   2. Populist ideas that carry forward:
      a. railroad legislation (1903 & 1906)
      b. income tax (16th Amendment -- 1912)
      c. expanded currency and credit structure (1913, 1916)
      d. direct election of Senators (17th Amendment -- 1913)
      e. initiative, referendum and recall (early 1900s)
      f. postal savings banks (1910)
      g. subtreasury plan (1916)
   3. Though Populist ideas are geared to rural life, many of its ideas will appeal to the urban progressives who seek to curb power of trusts, political machines, and social injustice.

II. The Progressives
A. Believed an efficient gov’t could protect the public interest and restore order to society. Government is an agency of human welfare
B. Specific issues for reform: (explain each individually)
   1. The break-up or regulation of trusts
   2. Killing political machines
   3. Improve squalid conditions in the cities
   4. Improve working conditions for female labor and end child labor
   5. Consumer protection
   6. Voting reform
   7. Conservation
   8. banking reform
   9. labor reform (working conditions and unionization)
   10. Prohibition of alcohol
   11. Female suffrage
C. Thus, Progressive crusaders created a reform movement not seen since the 2nd Great Awakening

III. Progressive Agenda: trusts, political machines, living and working conditions
A. Trusts
   1. By 1910 the wealthiest 2% accounted for almost 20% of total income.
   2. Competition was being eliminated by an oligarchy; small businessmen no longer able to compete.
   3. Plutocracy
B. Political Machines
   1. Bosses who controlled districts or cities regularly accepted bribes from special interests for favors. Taxpayers often paid the bill.
   2. Immigrants were often enticed by bosses for their vote. Result: immigrants represented but WASPs weren’t.
   3. Municipal politics now out of the hands of civic minded Americans.
C. Shame of the Cities
   1. Urbanization
      a. Between 1880 and 1920, about 27 million immigrants entered the U.S., mostly from Eastern & Southern Europe (1/3 went back home)
      b. Many rural Americans came to the city looking for work due to increased opportunities.
      c. Cities offered entertainment, shopping, new technology (electricity, plumbing) & anonymity.
   2. Results:
      a. Living conditions in many parts of the large cities were revolting.
b. City infrastructure ill-equipped to deal with the population explosion.
c. Crime: violence, gambling, and prostitution became rampant.
d. Working conditions were appalling; women & child labor exploited

IV. Progressive Analysts
A. Between 1870 and 1920, college enrollment increased 400%
B. Many schools est. separate social science departments e.g. econ., poly sci, and sociology.
   1. Attempted to analyze human society with same objectivity that scientists used to study nature.
   2. Reflected growing faith in ability of people to analyze society and solve human problems.
   3. Rejected ‘survival of the fittest’ ideology
   4. Many social science professors and students they influenced became progressives.
C. John Dewey (1859-1952)
   1. Believed education for living and working played a crucial role in democracy.
   2. Number of 17-yr.-olds who finished high school almost doubled in the 1920s, to more than 25%.
D. Lester Frank Ward
   1. Challenged “survival of the fittest” thought
   2. Argued it was natural for people to control and change their social environment -- the laws, customs, and relationships among people-- for their own benefit.
   3. It was the role of gov’t to shape society’s destiny.
E. Advances in science
   1. Massive public-health program launched by Rockefeller Foundation in South in 1909 virtually wiped out hookworm by 1920s.
   2. Better nutrition and health care helped increase life expectancy of a newborn infant from 50 years in 1901 to 59 years in 1929.
F. Pre-1900 Critics and others
   1. Henry Demarest Lloyd -- *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894)
      a. Criticized Standard Oil
      b. Beginning of investigative journalism.
   2. Thorstein Veblen -- *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
   3. Jacob A. Riis -- *How the Other Half Lives* (1890)
      a. Exposed the dirt, disease, vice, and misery of the rat-infested New York slums
      b. Heavily influenced Theodore Roosevelt
      a. Considered a classic masterwork of feminist literature.
      b. Called on women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.
      c. Advocated centralized nurseries and cooperative kitchens to facilitate women’s participation in the work force.
   5. Socialists criticized existing injustices
      a. Many were European immigrants who hated excesses of capitalism
      b. Many Progressives, such as Woodrow Wilson, saw socialism as biggest threat to US.
H. Social Gospel Movement
   1. Emphasized the role of the church in improving life on earth rather than in helping individuals get into heaven.
   2. Walter Rauschenbusch
   3. Washington Gladden

V. Muckrakers
A. Journalists who attempted to expose the evils of society
   1. Popular magazines such as McClure’s, Cosmopolitan (owned by Hearst), Collier’s, and Everybody’s emerged.
   2. Yellow press also played a role especially Pulitzer and Hearst
B. Lincoln Steffens -- *Shame of the Cities* (1902)
C. Ida M. Tarbell -- published devastating expose on Standard Oil Co.
   1. Detailed Rockefeller’s ruthless tactics to crush competition
   2. In 1911, Standard Oil trust broken up as result.
D. Upton Sinclair -- *The Jungle* (1906)
   1. Graphic depictions of the unsanitary conditions in the packing plant sparked a reaction to the meat industry and led to eventual regulation under Theodore Roosevelt.
   2. Inspired Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)
E. David G. Phillips -- "The Treason of the State", articles in Cosmopolitan
   1. Charged that 75 of 90 senators did not represent the people but rather the trusts and the railroads.
   2. Provoked President Roosevelt to label this genre of journalism "muckraking"
F. John Spargo -- *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906)
G. Ray Stannard Baker -- *Following the Color Line* (1908)
H. Frank Norris -- *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1903)
I. Theodore Dreiser: *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914)

VI. Progressive Activists
A. City had new opportunities for women
   1. Social workers and secretaries, store clerks and seamstresses, telephone operators and bookkeepers.
   2. Many still worked in deplorable conditions.
B. Jane Addams (1860-1935)
C. Women & Child Labor Reform
   1. Florence Kelley
      a. Investigated and reported on child labor while living at Hull House.
      b. Kelley also a life-long battler for welfare of women, blacks, and consumers.
   2. Gains in women and child labor reform
      a. *Muller v. Oregon*, 1906 -- upheld Oregon law restricting women’s labor to 10-hour workday.
      b. Many states secured enactment of safety and sanitation codes for industry and closed certain harmful trades to juveniles.
      c. Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in 1911 killed 146 women workers, mostly girls
      d. By 1916, 32 states regulated the hours and ages at which children could work
      e. Some states adopted compulsory education up to the high school level.
      f. Conservative Supreme Court eventually overturned many gains

VII. Political Reforms
A. Robert LaFollette & the "Wisconsin Experiment"
   1. As governor of Wisconsin in 1901, he helped destroy the political machine, wrestle control away from lumber & railroad trusts, & est. a progressive government.
      a. He was the first of Republican "insurgents" to reach the Senate
      b. Perfected scheme for regulating public utilities by instituting public utilities commissions that created legislation for workers’ safety, railroads, & regulation of public utilities.
      c. Replaced the existing spoils system with state civil service
   2. Direct primary: In 1903, LaFollette pressured the legislature to institute an election open to all voters within a party.
   3. Introduced the initiative, referendum, and recall.
      a. initiative -- allowed citizens to introduce a bill
      b. referendum: procedure where voters cast ballots for or against proposed laws.
      c. recall: gave citizens right to remove elected officials from office.
   4. Direct election of Senators
      a. Enacted to counter Senate corruption and control by trusts
      b. In 1913, approved as the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.
   5. Adopted a state income tax; first state to do so.
B. Australian Ballot (secret ballot)
   1. Became introduced more widely in states to counteract boss rule.
   2. Reduced bribery voting now done secretly and bribers unable to monitor voters.
   3. Unfortunately, ballot also eliminated illiterate voters as party workers could not help voters mark their ballots.
C. Galveston, Texas and the Commission System
1. In Sept., 1900, a tidal wave devastated the city.
2. Commission system
   a. The city placed power into the hands of 5 commissioners, 2 elected & 3 appointed; a full-time city manager was hired.
   b. Commission system peaked in 1915 (later replaced by city manager system.)
   c. Within 20 years, 400 cities adopted Commission System
   d. Reduced the power of machine politics

VIII. President Theodore Roosevelt -- 1st "modern" president
   A. 1st Pres. in U.S. History to use government as a vehicle to directly help public interest.
      1. Saw the Presidency as a "bully pulpit" to preach his ideas
      2. Supported progressive reform with strong rhetoric but in reality was more moderate.
      3. Often bypassed congressional opposition
      4. Enormously popular among a large percentage of Americans
   B. 1st Pres. to play a significant role in world affairs
      1. "Speak softly but carry a big stick [and] you will go far"
      2. Major proponent of military and naval preparedness.

IX. "Square Deal" was his 1906 campaign slogan
   A. TR’s program embraced three C’s:
      1. Control of the corporations
      2. Consumer protection
      3. Conservation of natural resources
   B. Control of Corporations
      1. Anthracite Coal Strike (1902) - (hard coal used much in heating homes)
         a. 140,000 workers of the United Mine Workers union in coal mines of Pennsylvania went on strike demanding 20% increase in pay and reduction of work day from 10 to 9 hrs., fair weighing of coal, and better safety conditions.
         b. George F. Baer, president of the company, assumed public would react against miners thus refused to arbitrate or negotiate.
         c. TR threatened to seize mines and operate them with federal troops if owners refused to compromise (unprecedented in U.S. history)
         d. Owners consented to arbitration
            i. Miners received a 10% pay boost and 9 hr. wk day
            ii. Owners got assurances that union would not be officially recognized.
      2. Department of Commerce & Labor created to settle disputes between capital and labor in 1903.
      3. In 1902, Roosevelt attacked the Northern Securities Company, a holding company organized by J. P. Morgan & James G. Hill due to its monopoly of railroads in NW.
         a. Supreme Court upheld the Roosevelt’s antitrust suit to dissolve it in 1904.
         b. Roosevelt now seen as a “trustbuster”.
      4. Elkins Act (1903)
         a. Aimed primarily at reducing abuse of rebates used by railroads.
         b. Heavy fines could now be imposed on both railroads and shippers for abusing rebates.
      5. Hepburn Act (1906)
         a. Expanded the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission (created in 1887)
         b. Concluded that there were “good trusts” and “bad trusts” which were greedy. “Bad Trusts” should be dealt with but good trusts were healthy.
      6. Roosevelt as a “trustbuster”
         a. Reputation inflated as TR exaggerated his anti-trust activities to gain political popularity.
         b. TR did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
         c. Believed in regulating, not fragmenting trusts.
         d. In reality, trusts healthier at end of TR’s reign than at anytime before.
         e. President Taft busted up more trusts than TR.
   C. Consumer Protection
1. Impulse for meat protection  
a. European markets threatened to ban American meat since some meat from small packinghouses was found to be tainted.  
b. Upton Sinclair: *The Jungle* (1906)

2. Meat Inspection Act (1906)  
a. Induced by TR, Congress passed the bill  
b. Preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection throughout the meat making process.  
c. Though largest packers resisted certain features of the act, they accepted it as a means to drive out smaller businesses.

3. Pure Food & Drug Act (1906)  
a. Prevented adulteration and mislabeling of foods and drugs.  
b. Hitherto, many patent medicines laced with alcohol while labels misrepresented the contents of their containers.

D. Conservation  
1. Roosevelt and conservation  
a. TR, an outdoorsman, appalled at destruction of timber & mineral resources.  
b. Gifford Pinchot, head of federal Division of Forestry, had made significant contributions before TR.  
c. Conservation Roosevelt’s most tangible enduring achievement.

2. Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902  
a. Gov’t authorized to collect money from sale of public lands in western states and use funds for development of irrigation projects.  
b. Settlers repaid cost of reclamation by building successful farms.  
c. Money put into revolving account to finance more such projects.  
d. Dozens of dams constructed on virtually every major western river in subsequent decades.

3. Saving the forests  
a. TR set aside 125 million acres of forests in federal reserves.  
b. Also earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, as well as water resources useful for irrigation and power.

E. Roosevelt wins reelection in 1904  
1. Elected “in his own right” by large electoral margin over Democrats.  
2. Eugene Debs ran on Socialist ticket; Prohibition party also on the ballot.  
3. Made himself a “lame duck” president by announcing after his election that he would, under no circumstances, run for a third term.

X. Panic of 1907  
A. Wall Street suffered a short but brutal panic in 1907  
1. “Runs” on banks, suicides, and criminal indictments against speculators.  
a. TR cooperated with Morgan banks and other large banks to prevent a banking collapse by transferring millions of Treasury funds from one bank to another.  
b. Causes: speculation and mismanagement in Wall Street banks and trust companies as well as overextension of credit caused the panic.  
2. Business leaders assailed Roosevelt for causing the panic due to his anti-business tactics and called the financial setback the “Roosevelt Panic”  
3. Roosevelt felt wounded by criticism, accused Wall Street of engineering the panic, and now sought to further reduce power of trusts.  
a. Embarked on a second wave of trustbusting.  
b. Reform now became acceptable (esp. lower tariff)  
c. Insurgent Republicans and Democrats took on Republican “Old Guard.”

B. Results  
1. Panic showed the acute need for elastic money supply.  
a. During panic, banks unable to increase volume of currency in circulation.  
b. Those with money reluctant to loan money to fellow banks.  
c. This apparent weakness paved way for Federal Reserve Act of 1913.  
2. Labor and local reformers gained important middle-class allies.
a. TR began incorporating Bryan’s ideas.
b. Progressives finally embraced reforms put forth reformers of early 1900s, Socialists, strikers and marchers of 1894, People’s party, Knights of Labor, Farmers’ Alliancemen, and Greenbackers.

XI. President William H. Taft
   A. Election of 1908
      1. Taft d. Bryan 321-162
      2. Socialist party under Eugene Debs and Prohibition party under garnered just a fraction of the popular vote.
   B. Style
      1. Taft lacked the fire or guts that possessed TR.
         a. Content to keep status quo rather than rocking the boat.
         b. Adopted attitude of passivity toward Congress (insurgent Republicans and Democrats opposed him)
      c. Taft became an ally of the old guard Republicans by default.
      2. Cabinet did not contain one member of TR’s reformist wing.
   C. Dollar Diplomacy (see Imperialism notes)
   D. Taft as trustbuster
      1. Brought 90 suits against the trusts during his four years in office; 2X that of TR
         a. 1911, United States v. American Tobacco Company
            i. Supreme Court ordered the company to reorganize on the basis of the “rule of reason” but did not order its dissolution.
            ii. “Rule of reason” meant only reasonable restraints of trade were authorized.
         b. 1911, Court ordered dissolution of Standard Oil Company
   E. Progressive Legislation under Taft
      1. Conservation: Taft a dedicated conservationist; contributions equaled or out-did TR’s.
         a. Bureau of Mines established to control mineral resources
         b. Protected water-power sites from private development.
      2. Mann-Elkins Act (1910) - Telegraph, telephone, & cable corporations put under ICC jurisdiction
      3. Postal Savings Bank System (1910) - Post Office Department was authorized to receive savings deposits from individuals and pay interest of 2% per year on such deposits. -- This had been a major Populist idea.

XII. Split in the Republican party
   A. Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909
      1. Reducing tariff high on the list for progressive reformers.
      2. House passed moderately reductive bill (with inheritance tax provision) but senatorial reactionaries tacked on hundreds of upward tariff revisions (tariff avg. about 37%)
      3. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in August thus betraying his campaign promises.
   B. Ballinger-Pinchot controversy (1910)
      1. Overshadowed Taft’s conservation successes.
      2. Secretary of Interior Ballinger opened public lands in WY, MT, and Alaska to corporate development
      3. Ballinger sharply criticized by Gifford Pinchot, chief of Agriculture Department’s Division of Forestry and a strong TR supporter.
      4. Taft dismissed Pinchot on narrow ground of insubordination.
      5. Storm of protest arose from conservationists and Roosevelt’s friends.
   C. Split in GOP complete when Taft deserted progressives in their attack on leading Old Guard Speaker of the House, “Uncle Joe” Cannon.
   D. 1910, Roosevelt’s Osawatomie speech, Kansas.
      1. Roosevelt had been out of country during 1909 and first half of 1910 but tariff and conservation issues galvanized him to become more active.
      2. Shocked Old Guard Republicans with new doctrine: “New Nationalism”
      3. Marked new era in politics where Old Guard Republican were now on defensive.
   E. Republicans lost badly in congressional elections of 1910.
F. 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.
G. Taft-Roosevelt split
   1. Early 1911, National Progressive Republican League formed
      a. Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin its leading candidate for Republican presidential
         nominee but eventually elbowed aside by TR.
      b. TR reasoned that the 3rd-term tradition applied to three consecutive terms.
   2. Roosevelt became the progressive candidate with LaFollette being elbowed aside.
      a. 1912 Republican convention in Chicago gave Taft nomination although Roosevelt
         clearly had a majority of Republican votes.
      b. Progressives left the party to form a third party: TR’s “Bull Moose Party”

XIII. Election of 1912
A. Dr. Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) nominated by Democrats
   1. Platform: antitrust legislation, monetary changes, and tariff reductions.
   2. Wilson’s "New Freedom" -- Favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and free
      functioning of unregulated and unmonopolized markets; states’ rights
B. Progressive-Republican party (Bull Moose party)
   1. Pro-Roosevelt convention met in Chicago in August, 1912 and nominated TR
      a. Party consisted largely of cultured, middle-class people: journalists, social workers,
         settlement house workers, young lawyers.
      b. "New Nationalism" -- Favored continued consolidation of trusts and labor
         unions, paralleled by the growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington;
         more efficient government
      c. TR influenced by Herbert Croly: The Promise of American Life (1910):
   2. TR shot in chest in Milwaukee before giving campaign speech
C. Republicans nominated Taft who did no campaigning; dominated by “Old Guard”
D. Results
      a. Wilson got only 41% of pop. vote; smaller than Bryan’s 3 previous efforts.
      b. Democrats won a majority in Congress for the next 6 years.
      c. TR and Taft combined polled over 1.25 million pop. votes more than Wilson.
      d. Thus, progressivism clearly won out
      e. TR’s party fatally split Republican vote, thus giving Wilson the victory.
   2. Socialist Party’s Eugene V. Debs polled nearly 1 million, votes (6%); 2X 1908 figures
      a. Height of American socialist movement.
      b. A growing number of Americans believed Socialists as a last alternative to the
         corrupt 2-party system before revolution.
      c. Socialists part of progressive movement (though not sanctioned by progressives)
      d. Socialists supported by IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), a radical diverse group of
         militant unionists and socialists who advocated strikes and sabotage over politics.
   3. Why did Progressive-Republican party fail?
      a. Fatally centered around one leader: TR.
      b. Elected few candidates to state & local offices; no patronage to give followers
      c. Yet, 3rd party impact spurred Wilsonian Democrats to enact their ideas.

XIV. Wilson’s Presidency
A. Background
   1. Believed president should play a dynamic role in gov’t
      a. Congress could not function properly unless president provided leadership
      b. Gov’ts responsibility was to pass good laws and let the courts enforce them.
   2. Dramatically successful as governor and president in appealing over heads of
      legislators to the sovereign people.
   3. Not willing to go as far as TR in gov’t activism.
   4. Unlike TR, Wilson lacked common touch
   5. Moral righteousness made him often uncompromising
B. Wilson came to office with a clear plan few presidents have rivaled.
   1. First four years saw more positive legislation since at any time since Alexander Hamilton.
2. Aimed to attack the "triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

C. Underwood Tariff Bill -- 1913 (Underwood-Simmons Tariff)
1. In unprecedented move, summoned Congress into special session in early 1913 and read message in person rather than by a clerk (custom since Jefferson’s day).
2. Underwood Tariff Bill passed by House
3. Wilson appealed to the people to demand their Senators pass the bill.
4. Provisions:
   a. Substantially reduced tariff to about 29% from 37-40% under Payne- Aldrich Tariff.
   b. Enacted a graduated income tax, under authority granted by recently ratified 16th Amendment.

D. Federal Reserve Act (1913)
1. Nation’s existing National Banking Act, enacted during Civil War, showed its weakness during Panic of 1907 with its inelasticity of money.
2. Republican solution: a huge national bank
3. Pujo Committee & the Democratic solution
   a. Conservative Democrats favored a decentralized system privately owned and controlled but free from Wall Street.
   b. Louis Brandeis: Other People’s Money and How the Bankers Use It (1913)
   d. June 1913, Wilson appealed dramatically for second time in Congress pushing for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
   a. Most significant economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal.
   b. Provisions:
      i. Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president oversaw nationwide system of 12 regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
      ii. Board empowered to issue paper money “Federal Reserve Notes”.

D. Attacking the trusts
1. Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914
   a. Early 1914, Wilson again went to Congress to appeal for regulation of trusts.
   b. Provisions:
      i. Empowered presidentially appointed commission to monitor industries engaged in interstate commerce e.g. meat packers.
      ii. cease and desist orders: Commissioners could end unfair trade practices, including unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, & bribery.
   c. lacked enforcement powers.
2. Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914
   a. Purpose: To implement Sherman Anti-Trust by increasing list of business practices deemed objectionable including price discrimination & interlocking directorates.
   b. Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.

E. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency.
1. In order to win election of 1916, Wilson signed other reforms
2. Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916: low-interest credit available to farmers.
4. Federal Highway Act of 1916 provided highway construction in rural areas
5. Smith-Levee Act: Established agricultural extension work in the state colleges.
7. Workingmen's Compensation Act of 1916 (Kerr-McGillcuddy Act), granted assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability.
9. Adamson Act of 1916 established an 8-hr day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime, & maximum 16-hr shifts.
10. Minimum wages.
11. Prisons and "reform" schools forced to change goal from punishment to rehabilitation.
XV. The Supreme Court during the Progressive Era.
   A. Court conservative; overturned many progressive gains in Congress and in the states
      1. *Lochner v. New York*, 1905, represented a setback for 10-hr/day movement as the Court invalidated a New York 10-hr law for bakers.
      2. 1918, overturned Child Labor Act of 1916
   B. *Schenck v. U.S.* (1919)—Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., stated Congress could limit free speech when words represented a "clear and present danger... that ... will bring about ... evils that Congress has the right to prevent."
      a. "A person could not cry "fire" in an empty theater."
      b. Holmes recognized importance of protecting "the principle of free thought -- not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."
   C. Wilson appointed Louis D. Brandeis as the first Jew to the Supreme Court in 1916.
      1. Had national reputation as the "People's Attorney" for his then-unique trait of defending public causes without a fee.
      2. In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), he pioneered a new type of appellate legal brief, emphasizing economic and social evidence rather than legal precedents.
         i. Thus, the "Brandeis brief" became prototype for later reform litigation.
         ii. Case upheld a ten-hour maximum workday set by the state of Oregon.
      3. As Court justice for 23 years, earned reputation as greatest legal craftsman of his era.

XVI. Prohibition of alcohol
   A. Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) led by Francis Willard in late 19th c.
   B. Anti-Saloon League allied with WCTU in 1893: aggressive, well organized, & well-financed
   C. Some states and numerous counties passed "dry" laws which controlled, restricted, or abolished alcohol during late 19th and early 20th century.
      1. By 1914, 1/2 U.S. population lived in "dry" territory
      2. 3/4 total area had outlawed the saloon.
      3. Big cities remained went "wet"; large immigrant populations drank traditionally.
   D. Attitude of sacrifice during WWI made alcohol consumption unpatriotic
      1. Gov't passed laws limiting production of alcoholic beverages.
      2. Ingredients could be used for industrial uses and feeding armies or those disclocated.
   E. 18th Amendment (1919) banned sale, transport, manufacturing, or consumption of alcohol. -- Volstead Act passed in 1919 to enforce 18th Amendment

XVII. Women's Suffrage
   A. By 1890, women had partial suffrage in 19 states.
   B. National American Woman Suffrage Association grew from 13K in 1893 to 75,000 in 1910 led by Carrie Chapman Catt.
      1. Most effective leader of the new generation of women suffrage proponents.
      2. De-emphasized argument that women deserved the vote as a matter of right because they were in all respects the equals of men.
      3. Stressed desirability of suffrage so women could continue to discharge their traditional duties as homemakers and mothers in the increasingly public world of the city e.g. boards of public health, police commissions, and school boards.
         a. Publicized women's contributions to the war effort which President Wilson used in urging Congress to approve suffrage.
         b. With prohibition imminent as a result of WWI, liquor lobby eased its opposition to female suffrage.
   E. Alice Paul's Congressional Union used militant tactics to gain attention such as picketing the White House in 1916 and going on hunger strikes.
      1. Led most militant women out of NAWSA to form the Congressional Union.
      2. Put forth Equal Rights Amendment after 1920
   F. 19th Amendment passed in 1920 granting women full suffrage.

XVIII. African Americans made few gains during the Progressive era
A. TR lambasted by critics for allowing Booker T. Washington to dine in the White House. TR never again publicly supported blacks.

B. Great African American migration northward resulted in violence
   1. By 1920, 2 million blacks lived in the North (out of 11 million)
   2. Race riots - due largely to large migrations of blacks out of the south into predominantly white northern cities, especially during and after WWI.

C. Large numbers of lynchings continued between 1890 and 1920

D. Organizing for increased rights
   1. W.E.B. DuBois demanded immediate social and economic equality for blacks.
      a. Called Washington an “Uncle Tom” for condemned blacks to manual labor and perpetual inferiority.
      b. His opposition to Washington as well as other blacks led to the formation of the Niagara Movement (1905-1909)
         i. Demanded immediate end to segregation and to discrimination in the unions, courts, and public accommodations.
         ii. Demanded equality of economic and educational opportunity.
      c. DuBois demanded that the “talented tenth” of the black community be given full and immediate access to the mainstream of American life.
   2. NAACP formed
   3. Activism of Washington, Du Bois and others led to some advances.
      a. Black illiteracy rate cut in half between 1900 and 1910.
      b. Black ownership of land increased 10%.

E. Wilson and African Americans
   1. White-supremacist tendencies
      a. His two-volume history of the U.S. is now notorious for its racist view of Reconstruction.
      b. Wilson greatly admired D.W. Griffith’s Birth of a Nation
      c. Congress would not pass several pieces of legislation that Wilson proposed to limit civil rights for African Americans.
   2. Wilson presided over accelerated segregation in federal bureaucracy
   3. African Americans effectively left out of the Democratic party until the 1930s.

XIX. Wilsonian Foreign Policy (excluding World War I)
A. Wilson hated imperialism and thus recoiled initially from an aggressive foreign policy.
   1. Repelled by “Big Stick” policy and “dollar diplomacy.”
   2. Yet, Wilson would eventually intervene in Latin America more than any other president in U.S. history.

B. Anti-imperialist policies
   1. Within one week in office, Wilson proclaimed gov’t would no longer offer special support to American investors in Latin America in China.
   2. Repealed the Panama Canal Tolls Act which had exempted U.S. shipping from tolls thus provoking protest from Great Britain.
   3. Jones Act in 1916 supported by Sec. of State William Jennings Bryan
      a. Granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a “stable gov’t” could be established.
      b. 30 years later on July 4, 1946, Philippines received their independence.
   5. Crisis with Japan
      b. Japan protested vigorously; U.S. Navy feared Japan might attack Philippines.
      c. Sec. of State Bryan went to California and pleaded with state legislature to soften its stand and thus tensions eased somewhat.

C. Imperialism under Wilson
   1. Wilson kept marines in Nicaragua to maintain order after they had landed in 1912 and an American financial expert had taken over control of customs.
   2. U.S. forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when Haitian president torn to pieces.
   3. 1916, U.S. marines sent to Dominican Republic when riots & civil war broke out.
4. 1917, U.S. purchased Virgin Islands from Denmark

D. Mexico
   a. Porfirio Diaz had been dictator since 1876 but now opposed by Indian masses
      and frustrated middle-class.
   b. Francisco Madero, revolutionary, replaced Diaz as president of Mexico in 1911.
      i. Foreign investors feared Madero would yield to radicals who vowed
         to confiscate property owned by foreigners.
      ii. Foreign diplomats (including U.S.) and business people plotted with discontented
           elements of Mexican army to replace Madero with General Huerta.
      iii. In reality, Madero was moderate and preferred by Wilson.
2. Poor Mexicans waged a revolution and in Feb. 1913 overthrew Madero.
   a. General Huerta, a full-blooded Indian, installed as president
   b. Massive migration of Mexicans to U.S. ensued
   a. Wilson initially stood firm against intervention; though he did not recognize Huerta
   b. Later, Wilson massed U.S. troops on the border and sent warships to Mexico
      warning Huerta that unless he abdicated, the U.S. would overthrow him.
      i. Wilson saw Huerta as a "brute"; "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect
         good men."
      ii. 1914, he allowed U.S. arms to flow to Venustiano Carranza and
           Francisco "Pancho" Villa who were Huerta’s principal rivals.
5. Tampico Incident: April 1914, small party of U.S. sailors arrested at Atlantic seaport of
   Tampico for being in a war zone without a permit.
6. Wilson ordered the navy to seize Vera Cruz.
   a. Congress and much of the American public outraged.
   b. Both Huerta and Carranza condemned the U.S. act.
   c. 126 Mexican casualties, 19 American
   d. Americans occupied (and modernized) the city for seven months.
7. ABC Powers (Argentina, Chile, & Brazil) offered to mediate just as full-scale
   war seemed inevitable (Niagara Falls Conference).
8. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa emerged as Carranza's chief rival
   a. Carranza was reluctantly supported by U.S. with arms and diplomatic recognition.
   b. Villa retaliated by killing 18 Americans at Santa Ysabel, Mexico in Jan. 1916.
   c. March 1916, Villa’s army shot up Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 Americans.
   a. Penetrated 300 miles into Mexican state of Chihuahua with 5,800 forces where U.S.
      forces clashed with Carranza’s forces and mauled Villa's forces.
   b. Villa never captured by U.S. but ultimately assassinated in 1923.
10. U.S. withdraws
    a. Wilson’s intervention in Mexico seen as so egregious that both sides in Mexico’s civil
       war wanted U.S. out.
    b. With threat of war with Germany becoming real, U.S. withdrew its invading army on
       February 5, 1917.
E. Wilson’s foreign policy so unpopular that it was flatly repudiated in the 1920s.

XX. Election of 1916
A. Republicans and bull moose Progressives met in Chicago.
   1. Progressives renominated TR but he had no desire to once-again split the
      Republican vote as he hated Wilson.
   2. Republican Old Guard nominated Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes,
      ex-governor of New York who had achieved solid liberal reforms
B. Wilson nominated at Democratic convention in St. Louis.
   1. Slogan: "He Kept Us Out of War."
   2. Democratic orators warned that electing Hughes meant getting involved in WWI
1. Midwesterners and westerners voted overwhelmingly for Wilson based on his progressive reforms and antiwar policies.
2. Voters who hoped Wilson would keep them from war were soon to be disappointed.
WORLD WAR I
I. The Great War rages in Europe
   A. Beginning of the Great War
      1. June 28, 1914, Serb nationalist, Princip, killed Austrian heir Archduke Ferdinand and his wife while visiting Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.
      2. Austria issued a warning to Serbia to let Austrian investigators examine the evidence. If Serbia did not agree, it would be war.
         a. Serbia backed by Russia.
         b. Austria backed by Germany eventually declared war on Serbia.
      3. Serbia, backed by Russia, initially refused to accept Austria's terms.
      4. Germany declared war on Russia and France in early days of August.
      5. Germany launched massive invasion of France through Belgium (Schlieffen Plan)
         a. Objective was to knock France out early so they could concentrate on Russia.
         b. Britain, seeing its coastline jeopardized by invasion of Belgium, allied with France; declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914.
         c. A year later, Britain, France, & Russia lured Italy on their side
         d. Four long years of bloody trench warfare in the west would ensue while savage fighting would occur in eastern Europe.
      6. Central Powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and later Ottoman Empire & Bulgaria.
      7. Allies: France, Britain, Russia, (later Japan, Italy, and the U.S.)
   B. Precarious U.S. neutrality
      1. Wilson called for U.S. neutrality in both thought and deed.
      2. Both sides in Europe tried to gain U.S. support.
         a. Britain enjoyed close cultural, linguistic, and economic ties with America and had advantage of controlling most transatlantic cables.
         b. Germany and Austria-Hungary counted on natural sympathies of German-Americans in U.S.
         c. Many Irish-Americans, German-Americans and Jews did not favor allies.
         d. Most Americans anti-German from the outset of the war.
         e. Yet, most Americans eager to stay out of the war.
   C. U.S. money flows to Europe
      1. Initially, the war had a disastrous impact on the American economy.
         a. Germany, France, Britain, and Austria went off gold standard and quickly sought to exchange their American securities for American gold.
         b. U.S. plunged into sharp recession; stock market did not open again until November.
      2. U.S. economy received a boost via British & French war orders by spring 1915.
         a. Trade with Allies reached $2.4 billion
         b. Central Powers protested the massive trade between U.S. & the Allies but this trade did not violate the international neutrality laws.
      3. Britain began forcing American vessels into British ports which, despite U.S. protests, proved effective in virtually ending U.S.-German trade.
         a. In response, Germany announced a submarine war area around British Isles.
         b. Submarine a brand new war technology which did not fit existing international law.
         c. Germany stated that they would not try to sink neutral shipping but warned that mistakes would probably occur.
         d. Wilson sternly warned Germany that it would be held to "strict accountability" for any attacks on U.S. vessels or citizens.
   D. Submarine warfare and the sinking of the Lusitania
      1. In first months of 1915, German U-boats sank about ninety ships in the war zone.
      2. Lusitania, a British passenger liner, was sunk off coast of Ireland on May 7, 1915
         a. 1,198 lives lost including 128 Americans.
         b. Lusitania carrying 4,200 cases of small-arms ammunition, a fact that the Germans used for sinking the ship.
         c. Germany refused to apologize; U-boat commander lionized in Germany.
         d. Significance: American public opinion turned against Germany; seen by many as beginning of U.S. road to entry into the war.
3. Wilson attempted to sternly warn Germans against further aggression against U.S. interests.
   a. Sec. of State Bryan, a pacifist, resigned rather than get involved in diplomacy that might lead to war.
   b. Wilson: “There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.”
4. When another British liner, the Arabic, was sunk in August, 1915, with loss of two Americans, Germany reluctantly agreed not to sink unarmed and unresisting passenger ships without warning.

E. House-Grey Memorandum
1. Early 1915, Wilson sent Colonel House on unsuccessful visit to belligerent nations on both sides to offer mediation.
2. Later, House returned to London to propose Wilson call a peace conference.
   a. If Germany refused, U.S. would enter war on Allied side.
   b. Agreement signed in February, 1916 by British foreign secretary Edward Gray

F. Sussex Ultimatum
1. March 1916, Germany torpedoed a French passenger steamer, the Sussex.
2. Wilson informed Germany that unless they stopped sinking merchant ships without warning, he would break diplomatic relations.
3. Germany’s response (Sussex Pledge):
   a. Reluctantly agreed not to sink passenger & merchant ships without warning.
   b. However, U.S. would have to persuade the Allies to modify what Germany saw as an illegal blockade.
4. Thus, Wilson’s diplomatic victory precarious as Germany could renounce its agreement at any time if the blockade continued to inflict damage on her.
5. Wilson embarked on increased preparedness.
   a. Revenue Acts of 1916 & 1917 increased taxes on high incomes
   b. Significance: Pre-war revenues
      i. 75% excise taxes and tariffs; war & post-war revenues
      ii. 75% from income, estate and excess profits taxes.

G. “Watchful waiting” during Fall 1916 (election season)
1. Wilson’s cautious stance on Mexico and Europe became known as “watchful waiting”
2. Meanwhile, Germany had finally proposed a peace conference on Dec. 12, 1916, but without Wilson.

H. “Peace without victory” speech, Jan. 22, 1917: Wilson declared only a negotiated “peace without victory” would prove durable.

II. German aggression pulls U.S. into war
A. January, 1917, Germany declared intentions of waging unrestricted submarine warfare.
   1. All ships would be sunk including American ships.
   2. Used their Sussex Pledge to justify policy as U.S. had not persuaded Allies to stop “illegal” blockade.
   3. Germans believed U.S. would enter the war too late.
B. Wilson broke diplomatic relations w/ Germany but refused to move toward war unless “overt” acts were committed against U.S. lives and property.
   1. Asked Congress for authority to arm U.S. merchant ships; Midwestern Senators blocked the measure.
   2. Wilson had held Zimmerman Note for a week and now used it as his ace in the hole to get Congressional approval to arm merchant ships.
C. Zimmerman Note
   1. Intercepted by Britain February 24th and published in U.S. on March 1, 1917
   2. Contents:
      a. German foreign secretary Zimmerman had secretly proposed an alliance with Mexico using the recovery of TX, NM, and AZ as bait if Germany won the war.
      b. Japan would be invited into an anti-U.S. alliance.
D. German U-boats sank 4 unarmed U.S. merchant vessels in 1st two weeks of March.
E. April 2, 1917, Wilson asks joint session of Congress for a declaration of war.
   1. April 6, America declared war on Germany
2. Five reasons why Wilson asked for a Declaration of war
   a. Most important: Unrestricted submarine warfare.
   b. Zimmerman Note
   c. Russian Revolution in March 1917 created more acceptable Russian democracy.
   d. U.S. could end war quickly and insures itself a major role in ensuing peace.
   e. Moral reason: German mass-killing of civilians; British harassment of U.S. ships endurable
3. Later myth emerged that U.S. munitions manufacturers and Wall Street bankers had lured the U.S. into war in order to make handsome profits.

III. Wilsonian idealism
   A. For over a century, U.S. had prided themselves on isolationism from the Old World.
   B. Wilson needed to instill burning idealism in order to get Americans aroused to the war task.
      1. Twin goals:
         a. "Make the world safe for democracy" as a crusade
         b. "A war to end war"
      2. Wilson contrasted selfish war aims of the Europeans with U.S. altruism.
         a. U.S. did not fight for profit or territorial conquest.
         b. U.S. wanted to shape an international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of autocracy and militarism.
         c. Wilson genuine in his belief in democratic ideals and U.S. as a world model.
      3. Result: Persuaded Americans to embark on the crusade

IV. Fourteen Points
   A. Delivered 14 Points Address to Congress on January, 8, 1918.
      1. Made Wilson the moral leader of the Allied cause
         a. Inspired embattled Allies to push harder in the war
         b. Demoralized enemy gov'ts by issuing alluring promises to their dissatisfied minorities.
      2. Provisions:
         a. Abolish secret treaties
         b. Freedom of the seas
         c. Remove economic barriers
         d. Reduction of armament burdens
         e. Adjustment of colonial claims in interests of both native peoples and colonizers.
         f. Promise of independence ("self-determination") to oppressed minority groups.
         g. 14th point: International organization to supply collective security
            i. Foreshadowed League of Nations
            ii. Wilson hoped it would guarantee political independence and territorial integrity of all countries, large or small.

V. Mobilizing for war
   A. Creel Committee - Committee of Public Information (CPI)
      1. Committee on Public Information created to sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims.
         a. Headed by George Creel, a young journalist.
         b. Established voluntary censorship of the press.
         c. Employed about 150,000 workers at home and overseas.
         d. Propaganda included posters, leaflets & pamphlets and anti-German movies.
      2. Set-up volunteer Liberty Leagues in every community and urged members to spy on neighbors especially with foreign names and to report any suspicious words or actions to the justice department.
      3. Creel typified American war mobilization which relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws.
   B. Restrictions on Civil Liberties during WWI.
      1. Most serious attacks on civil liberties since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.
      2. Anti-German hysteria swept the country, largely due to Creel Committee propaganda
         a. Rampant rumors of spying and sabotage resulted.
         b. A few German-Americans were tarred, feathered, and beaten: one lynched
         c. Orchestras found it unsafe to play Wagner or Beethoven
d. Teaching of German language discontinued in many high schools & colleges.
e. Yet, Germans proved to be loyal Americans

3. Espionage Act of 1917
   a. Provided fines & imprisonment for persons making false statements aiding
   the enemy, inciting rebellion in the military, or obstructing draft recruitment.
   b. Wilson also wanted broad presidential censorship powers; Congress refused.

   a. Forbade any criticism of the gov’t, flag, or uniform and expanded mail exclusion.
   b. Resulted in 1,900 prosecutions
   c. Anti-war Socialists and members of radical union IWW especially targeted.

5. WWI Constituted an ugly chapter in history of U.S. civil liberty.
   a. After the war, presidential pardons freely granted.
   b. Some victims stayed in jail into the 1930s.
   c. 1920, Wilson vetoed a bill to abolish the Espionage and Sedition acts

C. Mobilizing factories
1. Nation’s economy initially not geared for war
   a. Wilson belatedly backed mild preparedness measures beginning in 1915
   b. Ignorance regarding war preparedness was major stumbling block.
2. Bernard Baruch appointed to head the War Industries Board in March, 1918.
   a. Formed by Wilson late in war after significant political battles with Congress.
   b. Aimed to control raw materials, production, prices & labor relations.
   c. Never had more than feeble formal powers; disbanded within days after the armistice.
   d. Set precedent for future gov’t-industry cooperation for 1920s and New Deal
   agencies of 1930s.
3. Encouraging workers for the war effort
   a. Slogan “Labor Will Win the War”.
   b. Women encouraged to enter industry and agriculture
   c. Thousands of African Americans in the South migrated north to work in war-related factories
   d. “Work or fight” rule issued by War Dept. in 1918: required able-bodied men to
       regularly employed in some useful occupation.
   e. Mexican-American workers also replaced workers who were on the front line.
4. Grievances of labor
   a. WWI inflation kept pace with 1918 wages.
   b. About 6,000 strikes during the war
   c. National War Labor Board created to oversee labor disputes
      i. With Taft as co-chairman, finally established as the supreme court for labor disputes;
         presided over 1,000 cases.
      ii. Essentially prohibited strikes but encouraged progressive reforms: higher-wages,
          8-hr day, and unionization.
      iii. Samuel Gompers a board member; gave loyal support to the war effort.
      iv. Significance: recognition of workers’ right to unionize revolutionized labor relations.
   d. Left-wing IWW (popularly known as the "I Won't Works" or "Wobblies"
      used crippling labor sabotage (including 6,000 strikes) to undermine war effort.
      i. Many were transient laborers in fruit or lumber industries and were victims of the
          worst working conditions in the country.
      ii. Many "Wobblies" arrested, beaten up, or run out of town

VI. The War Economy
A. Herbert Hoover and the Food Administration
   1. Quaker-humanitarian already a hero since he had successfully led a massive
      charitable drive to feed the starving people of war-torn Belgium.
   2. Preferred to rely on voluntary compliance rather than formal laws.
   3. Congress severely restricted the use of foodstuffs for manufacturing alcoholic
      beverages.
      a. Spirit of self-denial helped accelerate wave of prohibition sweeping the U.S.
b. 18th Amendment, passed in 1919, prohibited sale, transportation, manufacturing, and consumption of alcohol.

4. Results:
   a. Farm production increased by 25%
   b. Food exports to the Allies tripled in volume.
   c. Hoover’s methods imitated in other war agencies.
      i. Fuel Administration: “heatless Mondays,” “lightless Tuesdays,” and “gasless Sundays.”
      ii. Treasury sponsored monster parades and used slogans like “Halt the Hun” to promote four great bond drives.

B. Bond Drives ("Liberty Loans")
   1. Parades and slogans used to promote four great Liberty Loan drives followed by
      a Victory Loan campaign in 1919.
      a. Each drive oversubscribed: resulting increased money supply caused terrible inflation.
   2. Coercion used on German-Americans to buy Liberty Bonds

C. Combined efforts netted 2/3 of current cost of the war to the U.S.

D. Government enforcement
   1. Took over nation’s railroads following horrible traffic problems in late 1917
   2. Seized enemy merchant vessels trapped in America’s harbors and orchestrated a gigantic drive to construct new merchant ships.
   3. Major U.S. contribution to war effort was food, money, and above all, men.

VII. Mobilizing the army
   A. April & May, 1917, Allies claimed they were running out of manpower; Western Front would collapse.
   B. Wilson proposed universal male conscription to raise an army.
      1. Proposed bill ran into much criticism in Congress.
      2. Selective Service Act passed in May 1917
         a. Required registration of all men ages 18 through 45.
         b. No “draft dodger” could purchase his exemption or hire a substitute.
   C. Results:
      1. Conscription proved effective
         a. Within months, army increased from about 200K to over 4 million.
         b. For the first time, women admitted to the armed forces: 11,000 to the navy and 269 to the marine corp.
         c. No bloodshed
         d. Yet, 337,000 “slacklers” escaped the draft and about 4,000 were excused

VIII. American “Doughboys” in WWI
   A. War at sea
      1. 1917 -- Germans sank 6.5 tons of Allied and U.S. shipping
         -- Only 2.7 million tons were built in the meantime.
      2. U.S. began convoy system in July 1917; British navy greatly resisted German U-boats
   B. Communist Russia’s quick withdrawal from the war eased Germany’s eastern front.
      1. Germany quickly re-deployed battle tested German divisions to the front in France where for the first time, they enjoyed superiority in numbers.
      2. Germany correctly calculated U.S would be late in coming into war.
   C. America’s “Unknown War” against Russia
      1. 1917: Wilson secretly sent aid to White Russians fighting the Bolsheviks.
      2. Summer of 1918: Wilson ordered a naval blockade of Russia.
      3. Archangel expedition: (summer 1918) U.S. contributed about 5,000 troops to an Allied invasion of northern Russia at Archangel and Murmansk hoping to keep Russian stores of munitions from falling into German hands.
      4. Wilson sent nearly 10,000 troops to Siberia as part of Allied expedition.
      5. U.S. involvement help prolong Russian civil war resulting in thousands more casualties.
      6. Russia long resented these “capitalistic” interventions as trying to strangle their communist revolution.
7. Wilson believed spread of communism was greatest threat to peace and international stability.

D. Western Front: France, 1918
1. Spring 1918, Germany launched its massive drive on the western front.
2. American Expeditionary Force enters the war
   a. AEF composed of soldiers and Marines sent to France under Pershing
   b. First U.S. trainees used as replacements in Allied armies and were generally deployed in quiet sectors with the British and French.
   c. Some Americans fought in small detachments in Belgium and Italy.
3. Late May, 1918, Germany came within 40 mile of Paris.
   a. 30,000 U.S. troops thrown into the breach at Chateau-Thierry, in the heart of the German advance.
      i. First significant engagement of U.S. troops in a European war.
   b. By July, Germany’s drive spent and U.S. forces participated in French counteroffensive in the Second Battle of the Marne.
   c. Sept 1918, 9 U.S. divisions joined 4 French divisions to push Germans from the St. Mihiel salient, a major German stronghold in France.
   a. Americans had been dissatisfied with merely bolstering British and French forces and demanded a separate army.
   b. Army assigned a front of 85 miles, stretching northwestward from the Swiss border to meet the French lines.
   c. Pershing’s army undertook the Meuse-Argonne offensive, from Sept. 26 to Nov. 11, 1918.
      i. Part of last mighty Allied assault involving several million men.
      ii. Largest battle thus far in U.S. history: 47 days and engaged 1.2 million American soldiers; 10% casualties (112,000)

E. End of the war
1. Germany suffering from desertion of its allies, British blockade’s causing critical food shortages, and Allied assaults.
2. Germany’s surrender spurred by Wilson’s 14 Points
   a. German generals warned their gov’t of their imminent defeat.
   b. German gov’t turned to seemingly moderate Wilson in October 3, 1918, seeking a peace based on the 14 Points.
   c. Wilson demanded Kaiser’s removal before an armistice could be negotiated.
   d. Nov. 11, 1918, Germany laid down her arms.

F. Segregation in American army
1. Blacks initially divided on whether or not to support the war.
2. Most blacks did labor duty.
3. 400,000 U.S. black troops not allowed to march for victory parade in Paris in 1919.

G. Casualties
1. Americans lost about 112,432 men total: 48,000 battle deaths; 62,000 dead of disease; 230,000 wounded
2. About 10 million soldiers died on all sides
3. About 20 million civilian casualties resulted: most as a result of the Russian Revolution, many as a result of influenza epidemic, over 1 million Armenians at the hands of the Turks; 750,000 Germans due to Allied blockade.

IX. Wilson loses Congress at home.
A. Wilson’s post-war popularity in the world unprecedented
B. Republican victory in Congressional election of 1918
   1. Wilson broke the bi-partisan truce held during the war to appeal for a Democratic victory in the 1918 Congressional elections.
   2. Move backfired when Republicans regained their majority in Congress.
   3. Having staked his prestige on the election, Wilson returned to Europe a diminished leader.
C. Wilson infuriated Republicans by personally going to the Paris peace conference.
1. Hitherto, no President had traveled to Europe.
2. Further infuriated Republicans when he excluded Republican Senators in peace delegation.

X. Versailles Peace Conference (beginning Jan. 18, 1919)
A. Big Four: Wilson -- U.S., David Lloyd George - Britain; Premier Georges Clemenceau - France, Premier Vittorio Orlando -- Italy
1. Drove the peace conference; each had his own agenda.
2. European leaders did not embrace Wilson’s ideas despite his overwhelming popularity among the European masses.
3. Meanwhile, Europe seemed to be slipping into anarchy; esp. Bolshevist threat
B. Wilson’s goal was a world parliament to be known as the League of Nations.
2. Europeans agreed League Covenant, the Constitution for the League of Nations
   a. Collective security was chief aim: Called on all members to protect the “territorial integrity” and “political independence” of all other members.
   b. Article X of Versailles Treaty provided for the League of Nations
3. Five permanent members to be U.S., Fr. Br., It, and Japan
   -- 42 Allied and neutral countries would meet in a general assembly
   -- Germany and Russia excluded.
C. Versailles Treaty
1. Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty (“war-guilt” clause)
   a. Placed sole blame for WWI on Germany.
   b. Germany obliged to pay reparations to the Allies = $31 billion over 30 years.
   c. Germany forced to accept severe military restrictions and loss of territory.
   d. Germany left out of League of Nations (Russia also)
2. Self-determination granted to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Yugoslavia.
3. Opposition to treaty at home when Wilson returned with the treaty draft in Feb. 1919
   a. Republicans led by Henry Cabot Lodge threatened to kill the treaty if Wilson did not provide provisions for preserving Monroe Doctrine and providing a means for U.S. to leave the League if it so desired.
   b. Wilson’s Allied adversaries at Versailles now in a stronger bargaining position
D. Completion of treaty
   a. When Wilson returned to France, delegates had separated League from the Treaty due to growing unrest in Europe and certain colonial regions.
   b. Final signing ceremony at Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on June, 28, 1919
   c. Germany had agreed to armistice on a peace based on the 14 Points but was now forced to sign a treaty containing only about 4 of the original 14 Points.
   d. Wilson forced to compromise away some of less cherished 14 Points in order to salvage League of Nations.
E. American reaction
XI. Defeat of Versailles Treaty (1919)
A. Americans initially favored Versailles Treaty with the League of Nations.
B. Republicans opposed to treaty
   1. Senator Lodge wished to amend it but had no real hope of defeating it.
   2. Lodge opposed treaty as infringement of U.S. role in Western Hemisphere.
   3. Lodge bogged 264-page treaty in Senate Foreign Relations Committee
C. Wilson’s speaking tour, Fall of 1919
   1. Wilson feared any senatorial modification to Treaty would encourage Europeans to also make modifications and amend the League out of existence.
   2. Wilson decided to appeal over the heads of the Senate to the people by going on an ambitious speechmaking tour.
      a. Physicians and friends advised Wilson against it as his health was in question.
      b. Believed correctly public in favor of Treaty but miscalculated public’s interest in a treaty w/o modifications: Wilson obsessed with treaty
c. “Irreconcilable” senators Borah and Johnson followed him in each city a few days later with the Republican spin. (La Follette also); opposed treaty in any form.

D. Wilson collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion in Pueblo, CO on Sept. 25, 1919.
1. Several days later, a stroke paralyzed one side of his body.
2. He did not meet his cabinet for 7.5 months.

E. Lodge Reservations
1. Lodge unable to amend treaty outright, came up with 14 formal reservations to it.
   a. Reserved rights of U.S. under the Monroe Doctrine and the Constitution and otherwise sought to protect American sovereignty.
   b. Focused on Article X of League as it morally bound the U.S. to aid any member victimized by external aggression.

F. Wilson rejected the Lodge Reservations as they “emasculated” the entire pact.
1. Ordered Democrats to vote against treaty with Lodge Reservations attached.
2. Nov. 19, 1919, Loyal Democrats in the Senate along with the “irreconcilables” rejected treaty with Lodge Reservations appended, 55-39.
3. Ironically, 4/5 of senators favored the treaty, with or without, reservations.
4. Wilson again urged treaty to be defeated a second time in 1920.
   a. Yet, Wilson’s solution was to make the Presidential election of 1920 a “solemn referendum” on the treaty.
   b. Many historians believe Wilson’s health made him intransigent
   c. Democrats lost the presidential election in 1920 and League was never ratified.

G. Separate peace with Germany ratified on July 25, 1921

XIII. World War I political results
A. U.S emerged as world’s economic & political leader
B. Russian Revolution ultimately instituted
C. Britain, France, Austria and Turkey went into various states of decline.
D. Germany devastated by Versailles peace conference

XIV. Election of 1920
A. Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding of Ohio.
   1. Platform was effectively ambiguous on the issue of the League.
   2. Harding spoke of returning America to “normalcy”
B. Democrats nominated James M. Cox of Ohio who strongly supported the League
C. Result:
   1. Harding d. Cox
   2. First time full-suffrage for women in national election.
   3. Results displayed public desire for change from idealism, moral overstrain, and self-sacrifice.
   4. Isolationists turned results into a death sentence for the League of Nations.
   5. Two main causes for the failure of peace:
      a. The Great Depression (precipitating cause)
      b. “War psychosis” (dubbed by Wilson and others): hatreds raised up in Europe by a war that lasted so long that Europe’s leaders lost all perspective.
AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE 1920s
I. "Americanism" in the 1920s
   A. "Red Scare" and the "Great Unrest"
      1. Overview:
         a. Fear of radicalism (esp. Bolshevism), large numbers of strikes, and bombings resulted in street violence and government crackdown on suspected radicals.
         b. "Red Summer" resulted in deaths of blacks and whites due to racial violence.
      2. Oct. 1917, Bolshevik Revolution in Russia sparked paranoia that communism would spread to the U.S.
         a. Two small communist parties formed in the U.S. (70,000 members total)
         b. WWI anti-German hatred transferred to any foreigners
      3. Large numbers of strikes occurred after World War I; 4 million workers went on strike.
         a. Largely result of inflation during the war and frustrated union-organizing drives.
            i. More strikes occurred in 1917 but number of strikers far more in 1919.
            ii. Wilson lifted war-time price controls but refused to lift anti-strike regulations.
            iii. Corporate leaders repudiated war-time concessions they had made to labor.
            iv. Millions of returning veterans furious at the economic situation at home.
            v. Labor had sacrificed during the war and would now expect payback.
         b. Many Americans believed that labor troubles were the result of Bolshevism.
         c. Wilson’s 6-month absence from the U.S. to negotiate Versailles Treaty began to cripple federal gov’t during the Great Unrest of 1919.
      4. Palmer Raids
         a. After bomb scares, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, got $500,000 from Congress to “tear out the radical seeds that have entangled American ideas in their poisonous theories.”
b. Nov. 1919, 249 "radicals" deported to Russia after nationwide dragnets; mostly anarchists
c. Jan. 2, 1920, 5,000 suspected communists arrested in 33 cities during
d. Public reaction
   i. Most Americans condoned Palmer’s actions.
   ii. Many began to question the compromising of individual rights.
e. "Red Scare" ended in Summer of 1920 when alleged May Day strikes never occurred.
f. Conservatives used the "red scare" to break the backs of fledgling unions.

B. Sacco and Vanzetti case
1. 1921, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti charged & convicted of killing two people in a robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts.
2. Jury and judge probably prejudiced: defendants were Italians, atheists, anarchists, and draft dodgers.
   a. The defendants’ radicalism became an issue during the trial.
   b. Evidence not conclusive; many believe sentence unjust and due to prejudice.
3. Repeated motions for a new trial were denied by Judge Webster Thayer and the Massachusetts Supreme Court.
4. In 1927, Judge Thayer sentenced the men to death by electric chair.
   a. Case attracted world attention as riots broke out in Japan, Warsaw, Paris, and Buenos Aires after the executions.
   b. Because the powers that convicted Sacco and Vanzetti were members of the upper class, the execution seemed to be class-based.
   c. Distinguished Americans such as Felix Frankfurter, Albert Einstein, and George Bernard Shaw protested; Italian-American community deeply affected.

C. Ku Klux Klan
1. Resurgence of the Klan began in the South but also spread heavily into the Southwest and the North Central states -- IL, IN, OH
   a. Northcentral states = 40% of new Klan membership
   b. Resurgence spawned by 1915 movie Birth of a Nation, by D.W. Griffith.
2. More resembled nativist “Know-Nothings” and American Protective Association than the antiblack terrorist organization of the 1860s.
3. Demise of the KKK
   a. 1925 -- David Stephenson, KKK leader in Indiana, went to jail for 2nd degree murder of woman who he had brutally kidnapped and abused.
   b. Embezzlement by Klan officials led to a congressional investigation.
4. Violence against blacks in 1919 race riots partly due to attitudes proliferated by KKK

D. Closing the doors on immigration
1. Many in America, esp. rural areas, believed immigrants were eroding old-fashioned American values.
2. 1921 Immigration Act: ended open immigration with a limit and quota system.
   a. 350,000 total per annum and no more than 3% of the people already in U.S.
   b. Only 158,367 from countries other than N. and W. Europe
3. 1924 National Origins Act (Immigration Act of 1924)
   a. Reduced immigration to 152,000 total per annum.
   b. 3% down to 2%; 21,847 from countries other than N. and W. Europe
   c. Census year to base figures was changed from 1910 to 1890.
   d. Asians banned completely
   e. Irish and Germans not as affected: were discriminated against in 1850s.
   f. Canadians and Latin Americans exempt from the quota system.
   g. Five years later, the Act of 1929, using 1920 as quota base, virtually cut immigration in half by limiting the total to 152,574 per annum.

E. Scopes Trial-- "Monkey Trial" -- 1925 in Dayton, eastern Tennessee
1. High-school biology teacher John Scopes indicted for teaching evolution.
   a. Tennessee’s Butler Law of 1924 banned any teaching of theories that contradicted the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible.
b. ACLU wanted to fight the case and ran ad in the NY Times asking for a teacher to
volunteer to be arrested for violating the Butler Law.
c. Case attracted huge public following
2. Clarence Darrow defended Scopes
3. William Jennings Bryan was the prosecutor; Presbyterian Fundamentalist
4. Fundamentalism itself seemed to be on trial.
5. John Scopes found guilty of violating the Butler Act and fined $100.
6. Fundamentalism suffered a setback as well.
F. Prohibition (One of last of the Progressive reforms)
1. 18th Amendment ratified by states in 1919.
   a. Supported by churches and women.
   b. Volstead Act of 1919 implemented the amendment.
2. Problems with enforcement
   a. Federal authorities had never satisfactorily enforced a law where the
      majority of the people -- or a strong minority -- were hostile to it.
   b. Lack of enforcement officials
   c. Alcohol could be sold by doctor's prescription.
   d. Alcohol was necessary for industrial uses (poison was supposed to be added to it to
      prevent consumption).
   e. Alcohol could be manufactured in small amounts almost anywhere e.g. homes
3. Results of Prohibition
   a. Rise of organized crime
      i. Huge profits from "bootlegging" became foundation for corruption.
      ii. Al Capone -- Most powerful gangster of the 1920s.
      iii. John Dillinger was another powerful gangster boss.
      iv. Increase in gang violence: About 500 gang members killed in Chicago during 1920s.
      v. Many gov't officials accepted bribes and did not enforce prohibition.
      vi. Organized crime spread to prostitution, gambling, and narcotics.
      vii. By 1930, annual "take" of underworld estimated at $12 to $18 billion.
   b. Rise of speakeasies (supposedly secret bars operated by bootleggers)
   c. Disappearance of saloons
   d. Many Americans became used to casually breaking the law.
   e. Prohibition may have worked if light wine and beer allowed
4. Prohibition was repealed in 1933, only 14 years after it was passed.
II. Mass-Consumption Economy
A. Glorification of business --Business became almost a religion.
   1. The Man Nobody Knows by Bruce Barton became top selling book in 1925-1926.
      a. Called Jesus the first modern businessman
         i. "Picked up 12 men from the bottom of society and forged an
            organization that conquered the world."
         ii. "Every advertising man ought to study the parables of Jesus. They are
            marvelously condensed, as all good advertising should be.
   2. Calvin Coolidge: "The man who builds a factory builds a temple; The
      man who works there worships there."
   3. Businessmen were considered the people that "ruled" the nation.
B. Booming Economy
   1. U.S. came out of WWI the world's largest creditor nation.
      a. Brief depression, 1920-1921
      b. Andrew Mellon's "trickle down" tax policies favored the rapid expansion
         of capital investment.
      c. Buying on credit became another innovative feature of the postwar economy.
   2. Between 1922 & 1928, industrial productivity rose 70%.
   3. Wages at an all-time high.
   4. Electric power increased 19-fold between 1912 and 1929.
      a. Before WWI, 20% of homes had electricity; by 1930 = 70%.
b. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and electric stoves came into vogue.

5. New technology = greater efficiency
   a. Electric motors
   b. Assembly line

6. New industries:
   a. light metals-aluminum, synthetics
   b. Movies, radio manufacturing
   c. Auto industry became king.

7. Inventions
   a. Telephoto and Television (though not widely available until 1947)
   b. Medical breakthroughs
      i. Iron lung (respirator), cures for TB and small-pox
      ii. Life expectancy in 1910 = 49 years; 1930 = 59 years

8. Construction
   a. Skyscrapers began to change the horizon of major cities.
   b. Empire State Building -- tallest building in the world at 102 stories.

9. 1st trans-Atlantic telephone

C. Corporate Revolution
   1. Mergers continued at a furious pace in 1920s.
   2. Chain stores became common (e.g., Sears and Roebuck)

D. Managerial Revolution
   1. Corporate leadership began to be controlled by college-trained, replaceable managers,
      rather than the “build the company from the ground up Henry Ford types.”
   2. Business schools began to open up on college campuses around the country.
   3. Business began adding more and more layers of management.

E. New White Collar Workers
   1. 1920-1930, white collar jobs rose 38.1%; 10.5 million to 14.5 million
   2. Manual labor jobs up only 7.9%, 28.5 million to 30.7 million.
   3. Huge increase of consumer products created a need for advertising and sales people.
   4. Women increasingly entered the work force.
      a. Typewriter, invented by Remington Co. in 1874, significant
      b. Almost all typists were middle-class, high school-educated and female.
      c. Women also teachers, shop clerks, cashiers, & switchboard operators.
      d. Yet, 57% of female work force comprised of black and foreign-born women,
         mostly in domestic service jobs.

F. Advertising emerged as a new industry.
   1. American manufacturers seemed to have mastered problems of production and
      were now more concerned about finding mass markets for their goods.
      a. Typical worker: young white college grads or former newspaper writers.
      b. Men outnumbered women 10 to 1.
   2. Used persuasion, allure, and sexual suggestion
   3. Sports became big business
      a. Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey became household names due to “image making.”
      b. Fans bought tickets in such numbers that Yankee Stadium became known as
         “the house that Ruth built.”
      c. 1921, heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey knocked out French lightweight
         George Carpentier and attracted the first in a series of million-dollar “gates.”

G. Scientific Management -- Frederick W. Taylor
   1. Started movement to develop more efficient working methods increasing productivity,
      which eventually led to increased wages, which led to increase profits.
   2. The Principles of Scientific Management (1911) very influential.
      a. Auto industry accepted it right away (especially Henry Ford)
      b. No established regulations.
      c. Workers hated Taylorism as it concentrated power in production process to
         managers rather than workers and intially resulted in lower wages.
H. Henry Ford and the assembly line
1. Detroit emerged as the automobile capital of the world
   a. 1890s, Americans began to adapt the European gasoline engine to the
      making of cars.
   b. By 1910, 69 companies existed with a total annual production of 181,000 units.
   c. By 1929, Ford, General Motors and Chrysler made 83% of vehicles (“the Big Three”)
2. Ford realized workers were also consumers
   a. In 1914, raised worker salaries from $2 a day to $5 if workers adopted
      “thrifty habits”
   b. Ford paid good benefits, hired handicapped, convicts, and immigrants.
   c. Ford called a “traitor” to his class by many wealthy people.
3. Ford’s use of the assembly line made him about $25,000 a day throughout the 1920s
   a. Took only 1.5 hours to build a car (before assembly line: 14 hours)
   b. Model-T became the staple car in America for many years.
   c. By 1930, Americans owned almost 30 million cars; 20 million Model T’s.
   d. Drawback: work incredibly tedious -- machine often set the pace.
4. Automobile’s impact
   a. Replaced the steel industry as the king industry in America.
   b. Employed about 6 million people by 1930.
   c. Supporting industries such as rubber, glass, fabrics, highway construction,
      and thousands of service stations and garages.
   d. Nation’s standard of living improved.
   e. Railroad industry decimated by passenger cars, buses, and trucks.
   f. Speedy marketing of perishable foodstuffs were accelerated.
   g. New network of highways emerged; 387,000 mi. in 1921 to 662,000 in 1929
   h. Leisure time spent traveling to new open spaces.
   i. Isolation among sections broken down while less attractive states lost population at
      an alarming rate.
   j. Buses made possible consolidation of schools and to some extent churches.
   k. Sprawling suburbs spread out even further as America became a nation of
      commuters.
   l. One million Americans had died in car accidents by 1951, more than all
      killed in all America’s battles hitherto.
I. The Airplane
1. Dec. 17, 1903, Wright Bros. (Orville and Wilbur) flew a gasoline-powered plane
   12 seconds and 120 feet at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.
2. Airplane used with some success for various purposes during World War I.
3. Shortly after the war, passenger lines with airmail contracts came into being.
4. By the 1930s and 1940s, travel by air on regularly scheduled airlines was markedly
   safer than on many overcrowded highways.
5. 1927, Charles Lindbergh flew the first solo flight across the Atlantic.
   a. Spirit of St. Louis flew from NY to Paris in 39 hours and 39 minutes.
   b. Lindbergh became an American icon and world hero.
6. Impact of the airplane:
   a. Civilization became more closely linked
   b. Railroads received yet another setback as airplanes stole passengers and
      mail service.
   c. Airplanes used with devastating effects on cities during World War II.
J. Radio
1. Guglielmo Marconi, an Italian, invented wireless telegraphy in the 1890s.
2. First voice-carrying radio came in Nov. 1920 when KDKA in Pittsburgh carried
   the news of the Harding landslide.
3. Later, transatlantic wireless photographs, radiotelephones, and TV emerged.
4. National Broadcasting Co. organized in 1926; Columbia Broadcasting Co. in 1927
5. Impact of the radio:
a. Created a new bustling industry
b. Added to American life as leisure hours were filled listening to programs.
c. Nation more closely-knit.
d. Advertising perfected as an art.
e. Sports further stimulated
f. Politicians used the airwaves to garner votes.
g. Newscasts informed millions of listeners.
h. Music of famous artists and symphony orchestras beamed into homes.

K. Movies
1. Emergence of the movie industry
   a. First real moving picture in 1903 when the first story sequence reached the screen.
   b. First full-length classic was D.W. Griffith’s Birth of a Nation (1915) which glorified the KKK and defamed blacks.
   c. Movies got a tremendous boost as anti-German propaganda during World War I.
   d. Hollywood became the movie capital of the world.
   e. 1927, first “talkie,” The Jazz Singer, featured Al Jolson in a blackface.
   f. By 1930, some color films were being produced.
2. Impact of movies
   a. Eclipsed all other new forms of amusement.
   b. Became new major industry employing about 325,000 people in 1930.
   c. Actors and actresses, some with huge salaries, became more popular than the nation’s political leaders.
   d. American culture bound more closely together as movies became the standard for taste, styles, songs, and morals.
   e. Provided education through informative “shorts” such as newsreels and travelogues.

L. Changes in Working Conditions
1. Reduction in Hours
   a. 1923 - US Steel offered its workers three eight-hour shifts instead of a 12-hour shift, partially because of pressure from Harding.
   b. By mid-20s, steel making so efficient that workers given more time off.
2. Welfare Capitalism - An American Plan of Business
   a. If workers are taken care of, no unions or strikes would be needed.
   b. Only one major flaw -- Unions could not compete with industrial prosperity, so that wages were not raised significantly.

III. Social life during the "Roaring 20s"
A. Census of 1920 revealed for the first time that Americans no longer lived in the countryside but in urban areas.

B. A sexual revolution
1. Theories of Dr. Sigmund Freud mistakenly interpreted by Americans that sexual repression was responsible for a variety of nervous emotional ills.
2. The “flaming youth” of the “Jazz Age” emphasized sexual promiscuity and drinking, as well as new forms of dancing considered erotic by the older generation.
3. Although illegal, birth control promoted by Margaret Sanger and others and was widely accepted.
4. Sexual revolution brought about some emancipation
   a. Flapper styles expressed the new freedom of women
   b. One-piece bathing suits shocked older Americans.
   c. Women could smoke & socialize with men in public more freely than before.
5. As women became more independent, they continued to organize
   a. National Women’s Party began in 1923 to agitate for an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution (ERA) -- Alice Paul
   b. League of Women Voters founded in 1920 by leaders of the NAWSA.
   c. Divorce laws were liberalized in many states at the insistence of women
   d. Many women stayed in the work force after WWI
   e. Rise in church and synagogue membership as a reaction to a changing society.
C. "Jazz"

1. The term "Jazz" became popular after WWI
2. Pre-WWI development
   a. African influenced slave spirituals grew into jubilees and the blues.
   b. Blacks folk music retained a certain melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic element
      that formed a common body of sound.
3. Late 19th Century
   a. Minstrelsy, vaudeville, sentimental ballads, & band music were the most popular
      genres among both white and black audiences.
   b. Ragtime works became published in the late 1890's; considered to be earliest jazz.
   c. Blues developed simultaneously along with ragtime
4. New Orleans Dixieland Jazz
   a. Group improvisation: trumpet playing the lead, the clarinet playing a counter melody,
      trombone playing more counter melody, piano, guitar or banjo for accompaniment, bass or
      tuba, and drums.
   b. Moderate to fast tempos in 2/4 meter
   c. Louis Armstrong become first master improviser--some see this as the creation of jazz.
   d. During WWI, the migration of blacks north also meant the migration of
      jazz to northern cities.
5. New Orleans exports jazz
   a. In the 20's, Chicago became a center among jazz musicians. Many came from New
      Orleans. Would later become the center during the 1930's swing era.
   b. New York also flourished (the Cotton Club) during Harlem Renaissance
E. The Harlem Renaissance

1. Development
   a. Harlem, a black enclave in NYC with about 100,000 residents in the 1920s,
      grew rapidly during and after WWI (largest black pop. in Northern U.S.)
   b. Significance: Harlem produced a wealth of African American poetry, literature, art,
      and music, expressing the pain, sorrow, and discrimination blacks
      felt at this time.
2. Poets: Langston Hughes & Claude McKay
3. Jazz: Duke Ellington (1899-1974) and the Cotton Club (famous night club)
4. Marcus Garvey
   a. Leader of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)
      i. "Back to Africa Movement": Purpose was to promote the resettlement of American
         blacks in Africa.
      ii. Advocated black racial pride and separatism rather than integration.
      iii. Garvey a native of Jamaica and founded UNIA there.
   b. Black Star Steamship Co., intended to transport his black followers to
      Africa, went bankrupt in 1923.
   c. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover monitored Garvey and eventually sought to
      have him arrested and imprisoned.
   d. Garvey instilled self-confidence and self-reliance among blacks, and later
      became the basis for the Nation of Islam (Black Muslim) movement in 1960s
G. The "Lost Generation"

1. After WWI, a new generation of writers outside of the dominant Protestant
   New England burst upon the literary scene.
   a. Their works often conveyed resentment of ideals betrayed by society.
   b. Term coined by Gertrude Stein, one of leaders of "Lost Generation"
2. Henry L. Mencken, in his American Mercury magazine, assailed marriage,
   patriotism, democracy, prohibition, Rotarians, and the middle-class American
   "booboisie."
   a. Attacked do-gooders as "Puritans": Puritanism was the "haunting fear that
      someone, somewhere, might be happy."
   b. Became somewhat of patron saint of many young authors who he admired
for their critical attitude toward American society.
3. F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940)
   a. At age 24, published *This Side of Paradise*; he became an overnight celebrity.
   b. *The Great Gatsby* (1925)
5. Ernest Hemingway (1889-1961)
   b. Responded to propaganda and overblown appeal of patriotism by devising his own lean, word-sparing style.
   c. *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) -- wrote of disillusioned, spiritually numb American expatriates in Europe.
   d. *Farewell to Arms* (1929) -- One of the finest novels in any language about the war experience.
6. Sinclair Lewis (1885-1951)
   a. Chronicled midwestern life from his home in Minnesota as acquisitive, amoral, and hypercritical.
   b. *Mainstreet* (1920) -- Story of one woman’s unsuccessful war against provincialism.
   c. *Babbitt* (1922) -- Affectionately pilloried George F. Babbitt, a prosperous, vulgar, middle-class real estate broker who slavishly conformed to the respectable materialism of his group.
7. William Faulkner (1897-1962) -- Mississipian
   a. Considered perhaps the best American novelist of the 20th century.
   b. *Soldier’s Pay* (1926) -- Bitter war novel
   c. *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) and *As I Lay Dying* (1930) depicted the consciousness from the constricted souls of his ingrown southern characters.
8. Poetry
   c. e. e. cummings -- Relied on diction & peculiar typesetting to produce new poetical effects.
G. Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright
   1. Most famous architect in U.S. history.
   2. Buildings should grow from their sites; not slavishly imitate Greek & Roman models.
POLITICS IN THE 1920s and the GREAT DEPRESSION

I. Election of 1920
   A. Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding of Ohio (Calvin Coolidge as vice president)
      1. Platform was effectively ambiguous on the issue of the League of Nations
      2. Harding spoke of returning America to “Normalcy”
      3. Conservative “Old Guard” wing of the Republicans now dominated as Teddy Roosevelt’s Progressive followers had bolted the party in 1912 and no longer had as much influence in Republican party once they came back in 1916.
   B. Democrats nominated James M. Cox of Ohio who strongly supported League of Nations
   C. Result:
      1. Harding d. Cox 404-127; 16,143,407 to 9,130,328
      2. First time full-suffrage for women in national election.
      3. Eugene V. Debs received largest number of votes for Socialist party (919,799) while sitting in jail
      4. Results displayed public desire for change from idealism, moral overstrains, and self-sacrifice.
      5. Isolationists turned results into a death sentence for the League of Nations.

II. Conservatism vs. Liberalism (Progressivism)

III. Domestic aftermath of World War I
   A. War Industries Board dismantled
   B. Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920
      1. Railroads returned to private management in 1920 and encouraged to consolidate
      2. Interstate Commerce Commission pledged to guarantee profitability of the railroads.
      3. Reformers had hoped railroads would be nationalized (an old Populist idea)
   C. Race riots
      1. Spurred by black migration to northern cities during the war.
      2. Chicago race riots (1919)
      3. Other riots in Knoxville, Omaha, Washington, and other cities.
   D. Veterans’ Bureau created by Congress in 1921 authorized to operate hospitals and proved vocational rehabilitation for disabled veterans.
   E. American Legion founded in Paris in 1919 by Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.
      1. Known for its militant patriotism, conservatism, and anti-radicalism
      2. Lobbied aggressively for veterans’ benefits.
   F. “Red Scare” in late 1919 and 1920 aimed against radicals and unions.

IV. Harding’s administration
   A. Scandal
      1. “Ohio Gang” or “Poker Cabinet”
         a. Harding appointed his friends to prominent positions in his cabinet and used his connections with them to make money in some instances.
         b. Harding considered one of the worst presidents in U.S. history.
      2. Col. Charles R. Forbes, head of the Veteran’s Bureau and his accomplices looted the gov’t of about $200 million, mostly in connection with building of veterans’ hospitals.
      3. Teapot Dome Scandal
         a. 1921, Sec. of Interior Albert Fall arranged transfer of valuable naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, WY & Elk Hills, CA to Interior Dept.
         b. Harding indiscreetly signed the secret order.
         c. Fall then leased lands to 2 oilmen and received a bribe of about $400,000
         d. The scandal became public in 1923 and the three men were indicted in 1924 but the case was not resolved until 1929.
         e. Scandal undermined Americans’ faith in the courts & public officials
      4. Attorney General Harry Daugherty brought to Senate investigation for illegal sale of pardons and liquor permits.
         a. He was forced to resign and brought to trial in 1927.
         b. Jury twice failed to convict him.
         c. Several of his advisors committed suicide rather than face humiliation for corruption.
   B. Harding died in San Francisco on August 2, 1923, while on a speech making tour.
1. Scandals had not yet reached the public in full force.
2. Stress from the scandals of his friends and underlings may have prompted his death.
3. Vice-president Calvin Coolidge took the reins of the presidency.

C. Talented members of Harding’s cabinet
1. Charles Evans Hughes: Secretary of state
2. Andrew W. Mellon: Secretary of the Treasury
3. Herbert Hoover: Secretary of Commerce
4. Republican “Old Guard” dominated Harding’s administration

D. Harding’s conservative economic agenda
1. Conservatives believed role of gov’t was to make business more profitable.
   a. Tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy: “trickle down” economics
      i. Advocated by Sec. of the Treasury Andrew Mellon who favored rapid expansion of capital investment.
      ii. Premise: high taxes forced investors to invest in tax-exempt securities rather than in factories that provided economic growth.
      iii. Mellon engineered series of tax cuts implemented from 1921-1926
      iv. Much of tax burden shifted to middle-class
   b. Higher tariffs: Fordney-McCumber Tariff (1922)
      i. Businessmen feared cheap goods coming from a recovering Europe.
      ii. Tariff rates pushed from 27% (Underwood Tariff) to an average of 38.5% (almost as high as the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909).
      iii. Duties on farm produce increased
      iv. President authorized, with the advice of the fact finding Tariff Commission, to increase duties by as much as 50%.
   v. Impact:
      -- Europeans’ post-WWI economic recovery impeded
      -- Europeans had more trouble paying back huge debt owed U.S.
      -- Retaliatory tariff measures against U.S. goods hurt U.S. manufacturers.
      -- High European tariffs also hurt neighboring Europeans.

2. Government’s role should be limited and should stay out of business (laissez faire)
   a. Less government regulation: Harding appointed people to regulate agencies that didn’t like regulation

3. Government helped to facilitate monopolies and consolidation of industries
   a. Antitrust laws often ignored, circumvented, or inadequately enforced by Daugherty’s friendly prosecutors in the attorney general’s office.
   b. Industrialists set up trade associations where an industry would agree upon standardization of a product, publicity campaigns, and a united front in dealing with other industries and customers.

4. Businessmen should run the government as they had experience in management.

5. Rejected federal gov’t programs to help ordinary citizens
   a. To the Mississippi flood victims appeal: “The gov’t is not an insurer of its citizens against the hazards of the elements.”
   b. Many conservatives believed local communities and charity should take that responsibility: Hoover’s philosophy during the Depression

6. Appointed conservatives to the Supreme Court.
   a. Harding appointed 4 Supreme Court justices in his less than 3 yrs as president
      i. Judges reactionary and held back reforms for nearly two decades.
      ii. Exception: William H. Taft as Chief Justice, was relatively liberal
      iii. Court killed a federal child-labor law, stripped away many of labor’s gains, and restricted government intervention in the economy.
      iv. Adkins v. Children’s Hospital (1923) -- the Court invalidated a minimum-wage law for women.

7. Hostile to Unions
   a. Reacted to 1919 Seattle General Strike, Boston Police Strike, United Mine Workers strike in 1919 and numerous others
b. Membership in labor unions dropped nearly 30% between 1920 and 1930  
c. 1922, Railway Labor Board ordered 12% wage cut provoking a 2-mos. strike  

8. Reducing the national debt by making government smaller  
a. Nat’l debt increased from $1.2 billion in 1914 to about $24 billion in 1921.  
b. Bureau of the Budget created by Congress in 1921 to reduce nat’l debt.  
c. Sec. of Treasury Andrew Mellon reduced national debt by $10 billion from about $26 billion to $16 billion.  

V. Foreign Policy under Harding and Coolidge  
A. Isolationism after WWI  
1. Isolationists in effect, signed death sentence for the League of Nations by refusing to sign League Covenant and the Versailles Treaty.  
a. Later, the U.S. would bear part of the blame for WWII as it undercut the League of Nations by refusing to join it.  
b. Security Treaty with France also rejected by the Senate.  
c. U.S. thus spurned an opportunity to emerge as a world leader and to shape world events for the benefit of peace.  
2. July 1921, Congress passed simple joint resolution declaring WWI officially over.  
3. Senate refused adhere to the World Court, judicial arm of the League of Nations.  

B. Washington Disarmament Conference -- 1921-1922  
1. Threats to peace  
a. Naval arms race shaping up between U.S., Britain, and Japan.  
b. Long-standing Anglo-Japanese alliance (1902) obligated Britain to aid Japan in the event of a Japanese war with the U.S.  
2. Conference set to tackle naval disarmament and the situation in the Far East.  
3. Five Power Treaty (signed February 1922)  
a. Hughes proposed an existing 5-5-3 battleship ration with U.S. & Britain receiving five ships for every 3 Japanese ships.  
b. Italy and France would receive 1.75 ships each  
c. In return, Japan received guarantees that U.S. & Br. would refrain from fortifying their Far Eastern territories including Philippines.  
d. Building of new battleships would be banned for 10 years.  
6. Loopholes in treaties:  
a. No restrictions on small warships which resulted in the other powers constructing cruisers, destroyers, and submarines while U.S. lagged dangerously behind.  
b. Congress declared it was making no commitment to the use of armed force or any kind of joint action when it ratified the 4-Power Treaty.  

C. Intervention in the Caribbean and Central America  
1. U.S. troops removed from Dominican Republic in 1924 (after 8 yrs)  
2. Remained in Haiti from 1914 to 1934  
3. Coolidge removed forces from Nicaragua in 1925 (there since 1909) but sent 5,000 back in 1926 until 1933 after U.S. had placed Anastasio Somoza in power.  
4. Mexico  
a. Mexico made its oil fields public and said US companies could not own them for the next 50 years.  
b. Coolidge directed Dwight D. Morrow, a prominent international banker, to settle situation w/o resorting to war.  
c. Mexico agrees to allow pre-1917 companies to keep oil fields.  
5. Clark Memorandum (1928)  
a. Sec. of St. J. Reuben Clark pledged US would never intervene in Latin American affairs in order to protect US property rights.  
b. Rebuked the Roosevelt Corollary--US would intervene for its own defense.  

D. Loans and reparations  
1. U.S. emerged from WWI a creditor nation & demanded repayment.
2. European protests
   a. British and French protested demands as unfair as they had sacrificed their youth in the war for victory.
   b. Debtors also complained that the effect of their loans had fueled the American economy as U.S. products and services were bought.
   c. U.S. tariffs were making it impossible for them to sell goods and earn the money necessary to repay debts.
3. Allied demands on Germany
   a. France and Britain demanded Germany make enormous reparations payments totaling about $32 billion for war damages.
   b. France sent troops into Germany’s industrialized Ruhr Valley in 1923
   c. Berlin responded by allowing its currency to inflate astronomically.
   d. Coolidge refused debt cancellation
4. Dawes Plan of 1924
   a. Rescheduled German reparations payments and opened the way for further American private loans to Germany
   b. U.S. loans helped Germany repay France & Britain, who in turn paid back the U.S. for their debts.
   c. U.S. credit continued to help this finance issue until crash of 1929.
   d. U.S. policies harbored ill-will among European nations toward U.S.
5. Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)
   1. Growing unrest in Europe due to a slumping economy and Japan’s aggressive moves against China concerned democratic countries including the U.S. & France.
   2. Eventual agreement ratified by 62 nations
   3. Made war ‘illegal’ except for defensive purposes.
   4. Major flaw: No enforcement mechanism
   5. Gave Americans a false sense of security in the 1930s.
6. Two main causes for the failure of peace:
   1. The Great Depression (precipitating cause)
   2. “War psychosis”

VI. Coolidge’s presidency
A. Coolidge carried out Harding’s conservative programs
B. The Farm Problem
   1. Causes
      a. Recovery of European farmers brought less demand for U.S. farm products.
      b. Machines facilitated more food production but increased supply meant a decrease in food prices.
   2. Depression hit the agricultural sector in the 1920s as 25% of farms were sold for debt or taxes.
   3. McNary-Haugen Bill (proposed 1924 to 1928)
      a. Bipartisan Congressional “farm bloc” from agricultural states aimed to help farmers.
      b. Sought to keep agricultural prices high by authorizing the gov’t to buy up surpluses and sell them abroad.
      c. Gov’t losses would be made up by a special tax on the farmers.
      d. Coolidge vetoed it twice
      e. Result: Farm prices stayed down and disgruntled farmers sought to make a difference in the 1924 elections.
D. Election of 1924
   1. Party nominations
      a. Republicans nominated Coolidge
      b. Democrats nominated conservative businessman John W. Davis
   2. Result:
      a. Coolidge d. Davis & La Follette 382 - 136 - 13
b. La Follette received nearly 5 million votes.
c. Nation too prosperous for most to be overly concerned with reform.

E. Muscle Shoals
1. During WWI the gov’t had constructed a dam and two nitrate plants on the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals, Alabama
2. Both Harding and Coolidge opposed progressive plans for federal development of hydroelectric generating stations on the Tennessee River.
   a. Senator George Norris wanted project owned & controlled by gov’t.
   b. Republicans saw it as too socialistic.
   c. The proposal would have significantly improved the economic plight of the Tennessee Valley region.
3. Muscle Shoals became nucleus of New Deal’s Tennessee Valley Authority in the 1930s.

VI. Election of 1928
A. Nominations
1. Herbert Hoover nominated by Republicans on platform of prosperity and prohibition.
2. Alfred E. Smith nominated by Democrats
B. Campaign
1. Radio used significantly for the 1st time.
2. Hoover decried un-American “socialism” and preached “rugged individualism”
3. Religious bigotry displayed over Smith’s Catholicism.
C. Results:
   1. Hoover d. Smith 444 to 87; 21,391,993 to 15,016,169
   2. Huge Republican majority was returned to the House of Representatives.

VII. Hoover’s presidency
A. Herbert Hoover
1. Organized food drives for starving people of Belgium during WWI.
2. His leadership of the Food Administration during WWI earned him the titles of “Great Engineer” and “Wonder Boy.”
3. Prototypical businessman who decried socialism or large-scale gov’t intervention in the economy.
4. As secretary of commerce, he supported some progressive ideas e.g. endorsing labor unions and supporting federal regulation of new radio broadcasting industry.
5. Claimed in 1928 that “Poverty will be banished from the nation.”
B. The Great Crash of 1929
1. Bull market
2. On margin buying of stocks.
   a. Investors purchased stocks from stockbrokers for as little as 5% down
   b. When stock values rose, investors would pay back their debt.
   c. If prices of stock decreased more than 10%, broker would sell stock for whatever price they could get.
   d. Banks loaned money to stockbrokers to facilitate on margin buying.
3. Overspeculation:
   a. Investors gambled that prices would continue to rise
   b. Artificial rises in stock & commodity values fueled speculation.
   c. Hoover unsuccessfully tried early to curb speculation through the Federal Reserve Board.
4. The Great Crash
   a. Oct. 29, 1929 (“Black Tuesday”) -- Everybody wanted to sell. Within hours, the stock market crashed.
   b. By mid-November, $25 billion in stock value had disappeared
5. Traditional historical interpretation puts the Crash as the immediate cause of the Great Depression.
C. Effects of the Great Depression
1. By 1932, 5,761 banks had failed (22% of total)
2. Thousands of businesses failed
3. Unemployment reached 25% by 1932 (13 million people) excluding farmers.
a. As high as 33% including farmers; Chicago = 50%!
b. Low-skilled workers most susceptible (professionals and middle-class suffered less)
4. Total wages dropped from $12 billion to $7 billion from 1929 to 1932
5. By 1932, 25% of farmers lost their farms
6. People experienced loss of self-worth
   a. Many families broke up; marriage rate and birth rate declined.
   b. 3 million people became hobos and lived in makeshift shacks known as "Hoovervilles"
   c. Malnutrition rampant in certain areas but death by starvation uncommon.
7. Depression longest and most devastating in U.S. history and world history.
   a. U.S. hit the hardest among industrialized nations.
   b. International reparations and war debts structure collapsed.
   c. U.S. exports dropped, further hurting the U.S. economy.

VIII. Long-term Causes of the Great Depression
A. Weak industries
   1. Cotton industry was affected by the rise of synthetic materials.
   2. Railroad industry was affected by the automobile
   3. Low food prices affected the farming industry
      a. Demand for foodstuffs dropped after WWI.
      b. Government refused price supports in 1920's.
B. Overproduction of goods by manufacturers
   1. Consumers began to spend less on goods -- underconsumption
   2. Many warehouses full of products that couldn't be sold. Result: companies lost money.
C. Uneven distribution of income
   1. 5% of the population received 30% of the total income.
      -- One estimate: Income of top 1% increased about 75%; bottom 93% = only 6%.
   2. Low wages for industrial workers and farmers.
   3. One-half of country lived below the poverty line. These were potential customers.
D. Unstable banking system
   1. Due to mismanagement and overspeculation
   2. 1% of banks controlled 46% of bank resources.
E. Weak international economy- protectionist trade policies stopped foreign trade
   1. Hawley-Smoot Tariff (1930) -- created highest tariff in U.S. history
   2. 23 nations retaliated by imposing tariffs on U.S. exports.

IX. Hoover's response to the Great Depression
A. Hoover's philosophy
   1. Hoover believed that outside forces in Europe were responsible for the Great Depression.
      a. Economic consequences of WWI
      b. Post-war military alliances and doubling of prewar armament.
      c. Inflationary public works programs to alleviate unemployment.
      d. Unbalanced budgets and increasing debt.
   2. Hoover thus took too long to initiate domestic measures to help the economy believing
      instead the international system had to be repaired.
B. Farming
      a. Designed to help farmers help themselves, largely through producers’ cooperatives.
      b. Federal Farm Board est. in 1930 with a revolving fund of about $500 million
         i. Money lent to farm organization seeking to buy, sell and store agricultural surpluses.
         ii. Goal: increase sagging prices by buying up surpluses.
   2. Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930
      a. Tariff became the highest peace-time barrier in the nation’s history.
      b. Foreign govt’s interpreted tariff as an economic declaration of war.
      c. Exacerbated the existing economic depression.
      d. International financial chaos resulted in U.S. becoming even more isolationist
B. Economic recovery
1. Volunteerism
   a. Hoover believed voluntary cooperation (like in WWI) would enable the country to weather the depression.
   b. Urged businesses to avoid lay-offs of workers and wage cuts.
   c. Secured no-strike pledges from labor leaders.
   d. Urged all citizens to contribute to charities to ease the suffering.
   e. In reality, private charity not adequate to meet the country’s needs.

2. Public works
   a. In 1930 Congress appropriated $750 million for public buildings, river and harbor improvements, & highway construction in an effort to stimulate employment.
   b. Hoover Dam begun in 1930 and completed in 1936.

3. Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)
   a. Created by Congress in 1932
   b. RFC had appropriation of $500 million and authority to borrow $1.5 billion for loans to railroads, banks, and other financial institutions.
   c. Later, approved legislation authorizing RFC to lend $300 million to states for relief, & to make loans to states & cities for self-liquidating public works.
   d. Prevented the failure of basic firms on which many other elements of the economy depended, but was criticized by some as relief for the rich.

4. Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act (1932)
   a. Passed by Congress and signed by Hoover
   b. Outlawed “yellow dog” (antiunion) contracts and forbade the federal courts to issue injunctions to restrain strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing.

5. Refusal of relief (“rugged individualism”)
   a. Hoover opposed vetoed use of federal funds for relief for the needy.
   b. Compromised by authorizing RFC to lend $300 million to states for relief, & to make loans to states and cities for self-liquidating public works.

C. Moratorium on international debts (1931)
   1. Hoover courageously pushed for a 1-year freeze on international debts to help European countries (esp. Germany) recover.
   2. Yet, the international economy was too heavily damaged for this to make much difference.

D. Bonus Army
   1. 14,000 unemployed veterans marched on Washington in summer of 1932 to lobby Congress for payment of bonus approved in 1932, payable in 1945.
   2. At Hoover’s insistence, Senate did not pass the bonus bill and about half of the Bonus Army accepted congressional transportation home.
   3. Remaining 5 or 6K lived in shanties along the Anacostia river and to lobby for their cause.
   4. Hoover called in the Army to remove the bonus army after 2 veterans were killed in a clash with the police.
   5. Significance: Hoover appeared heartless to already angry Americans and contributed to his defeat in the November elections.

X. Foreign Policy during Hoover’s presidency
   A. Japanese attack Manchuria in September, 1931
      1. Open Door shut as Western world was reeling in economic chaos.
      2. Violated League of Nations covenant as well as other international agreements signed earlier by the Japanese government.
      3. League of Nations condemned the action
         a. Result: Japan left the League
         b. Hoover, reflecting isolationism of the nation, wanted no part in military action in Far East.
         c. U.S. severely handicapped the League by not taking part in preventing Japanese aggression.
   4. Hoover-Stimson Doctrine (1932)
      a. Declared U.S. would not recognize any territorial acquisitions that were achieved by force; Japan infuriated as U.S. had conquered territories a few decades earlier.
      b. Japan not deterred: bombed Shanghai in 1932 with appalling losses to civilians.
5. Japanese aggression seen by many historians as the beginning of World War II.
   a. Naked aggression was not halted by the League of Nations.
   b. Hitler and Mussolini would soon bring Europe to war.

B. Good Neighbor Policy
1. Hoover aimed to abandon interventionist philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt.
   a. Took a goodwill trip after his election in 1928 of Latin American aboard a U.S. battleship.
   b. Great Depression meant less money for U.S. investors to spend overseas thus decreasing U.S. interest in economic imperialism.
2. 1932, negotiated new treaty with Haiti which provided for later withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1934.
3. Early 1933, U.S. forces left Nicaragua after an unwelcome stay of nearly 20 years.
THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL

I. Franklin D. Roosevelt

A. Background
   1. Born at family estate at Hyde Park, New York; raised in a wealthy family
   2. Undersecretary of the Navy during WWI -- responsible for increased naval strength
   3. Vice Presidential nominee for Democratic Party in 1920 (James Cox lost election)
   4. Struck by polio in 1921
   5. Elected governor of NY in 1928 and 1930
      a. Depression programs for the unemployed, public works, aid to farmers, and
         conservation attracted national attention.
      b. Dubbed “traitor to his class” by the rich
      c. Spoke frequently of his concern for the plight of the "forgotten man."

B. Eleanor Roosevelt
   1. Niece of Theodore Roosevelt
   2. Pushed FDR to maintain political career; vigorously campaigning on his behalf.
   3. Major leader of the female wing of the Democratic party in 1920s and early 30s.
   4. Became the “conscience of the New Deal”
   5. Championed causes for women, children, the impoverished, and African Americans

II. Election of 1932

A. Roosevelt -- Democratic candidate (chosen over Al Smith)
   1. “I pledge you, I pledge myself to a new deal for the American people.”
   2. Somewhat vague and contradictory during campaign
      a. Promised balanced budget & 25% cuts in gov’t spending
      b. Promised gov’t aid for the unemployed
      c. Advocated repeal of Prohibition

B. Hoover -- Republican candidate
   1. Platform: Higher tariffs and maintenance of the gold standard.
   2. Reaffirmed faith in American free enterprise and individual initiative

C. Roosevelt defeats Hoover
   1. 472 to 59 in the electoral count; Hoover carried only 6 states.
   2. 22,809,638 to 15,758,901 in popular vote
   3. Blacks, traditionally loyal to Republican party of Lincoln, shifted to Democrats

D. “Lame duck” period
   1. Hoover tried unsuccessfully to bind Roosevelt to an anti-inflationary policy that would
      have jeopardized future New Deal programs.
   2. Hoover managed to arrange two meetings with FDR but Roosevelt refused to
      carry out Hoover's plans or suggestions.
   3. Meanwhile, the American economy came to a virtual halt.
   4. Twenty-first Amendment passed by Congress in February, 1933
      a. Repeal of prohibition
      b. Amendment ratified by the states and took effect in December, 1933

E. Twentieth Amendment (adopted in 1933)
   1. Presidential, vice presidential, and congressional terms begin in January
   2. FDR first president to begin new presidential term on January 20th, 1936

III. Effects of the Great Depression by 1932

A. 25%-33% unemployment
B. About 25% of banks failed
C. 25% of farmers lost their farms
D. Large numbers of businesses failed
E. Loss of self-worth among millions of Americans

IV. The New Deal

A. FDR’s administration
   1. “Brain Trust”: FDR selected experts for his “inner circle” rather than the typical
      politicians or businessmen.
   2. Notable cabinet members and members of Roosevelt’s “innocer circle”
a. Cordell Hull -- Secretary of State
b. Frances Perkins became the first woman cabinet member; sec. of labor
c. Harold L. Ickes -- sec. of interior; headed PWA
d. Harry Hopkins -- head of FERA and later, WPA
e. Eleanor Roosevelt

B. First "Hundred Days" (March 9-June 16, 1933)
1. FDR did not have a developed plan when he took office.
   a. Intended to experiment and find out what worked.
   b. As a result, many programs overlapped or contradicted others.
   c. Sought practical solutions to practical problems.
   d. Used the fireside chats as a means to communicate with the American people.
2. Plan: Relief, Recovery, and Reform
   a. Short-range goals were relief and immediate recovery, esp. within 1st 2 years
   b. Long-range goals were permanent recovery and reform of current abuses, especially those that had produced the Great Depression
   c. Embraced such progressive ideas as unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, minimum-wage regulations, conservation and development of natural resources, and restrictions on child labor.
   d. Designed to deal with immediate emergencies, some measures of which were derived from progressive ideas.
3. Unprecedented passage of legislation in U.S. history
   a. Congress eager to cooperate with FDR due to his strong mandate
   b. Gave the president extraordinary blank-check powers
   c. Some legislation delegated legislative authority to the chief executive.
   d. 1st 100 Days legislation has left a lasting mark on the nation

C. The Banking Crisis
1. Crisis
   a. 5,190 banks failed in 1933 bringing total number to 10,951
   b. Banks in 38 states were closed by state governments.
   c. Remainder open for limited operations only.
2. FDR declared national “banking holiday” between March 6-10
   a. Only banks who were solvent could reopen
   b. Aimed to restore faith in the nation's banking industry
   c. Government endorsement of banks would encourage people's trust
3. Took nation off the gold standard (March 6, 1933)
   a. Ordered all private holdings of gold to be surrendered to the Treasury in exchange of paper currency.
   b. Congress responded by canceling the gold-payment clause in all contracts and authorizing repayment in paper money.
   c. In 1934, reduced value of the gold content of the dollar to 50.06 cents
      i. Value of dollar set at $35 per ounce of gold, 59% of its former value.
      ii. FDR wanted to stimulate business through controlled inflation
      iii. New purchasing power not significantly changed except with the unfavorable purchase of foreign goods.
   d. Forbade the export of gold or redemption of currency in gold
4. Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933 (March 9, 1933)
   a. Gave president (Treasury) power to open sound banks after ten days and to merge or liquidate unsound ones.
   b. Provided additional funds for banks from the RFC and the Federal Reserve
   c. Forbade the hoarding of gold.
5. March 12, first of his 30 "Fireside Chats", listened to by 35 million Americans, gave assurances that it was now safer to keep money in the reopened banks than "under the mattress."
6. Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) -- June 13, 1933
a. Designed to refinance mortgages on about 1 million nonfarm homes.
b. Banks were bailed out as a result as many foreclosures were prevented.
c. Eventually lent over 3 billion dollars to over one million home owners.
d. Middle-class loyalties shifted to the Democratic party.
7. Glass-Steagall Banking Reform Act (Banking Act of 1933) -- June 16, 1933
   a. Provided for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)
   b. Separated commercial banking from the more speculative activity of investment banking.

D. Regulation of Banks and Big Business
1. “Truth in Securities Act” (Federal Securities Act) -- May, 1933
2. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) -- June 6, 1934
3. Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 (August 26) -- 2nd New Deal
   a. Reduced the possibilities of a business buying up other businesses with a minimum amount of capital.
   b. Empowered Securities and Exchange Commission to restrict public holding companies to one natural region and to eliminate duplicate holding companies.
4. Banking Act of 1935 created a strong central Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System with broad powers over the operations of the regional banks.

E. Relief and Unemployment programs of the Hundred Days
1. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) -- March 31, 1933
   a. Most popular of New Deal programs
   b. Provided for the employment of 2.75 million young men (18-24) in fresh-air government camps to keep them out of trouble during the 1930s.
   c. Workers ate together in mess halls, lived in barracks, and followed a strict schedule.
   d. Most of monthly payment made to the family of each member.
   e. Some criticized it as being too militaristic in nature.
2. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)
   a. Created by Federal Emergency Relief Act (May 12, 1933)
   b. Headed by Harry Hopkins
   c. Ultimately granted $3 billion to states for direct dole payments or preferably for wages on work projects.
   d. Later, Hopkins felt that giving people $ broke down their self-respect and will to work; sought relief programs to put people back to work.
   e. Civil Works Administration (CWA) (branch of the FERA) -- Nov. 1933
3. Public Works Administration (PWA) -- Created by NIRA in 1933
   a. Headed by Harold L. Ickes
   b. Allocated over $4 billion to state and local governments to provide jobs on 34,000 public projects such as building schools and dams, refurbishing gov't buildings, planning sewage systems, improving highways, and generally modernizing the nation.
4. Works Progress Administration (WPA) -- May, 1935 (2nd New Deal)
   a. Created on the heels of unrest and criticism from such figures as Father Charles Coughlin, Huey Long, and Dr. Francis Townsend.
   b. Employed nearly 9 million people on public projects such as buildings, bridges, and hard-surfaced roads, airports, schools, hospitals.
   c. Total cost: $11.4 BILLION; eventually employed 40% of nation’s workers.
   d. Federal Arts Project -- Agencies of the WPA also found part-time occupations for high-school and college students and for actors, musicians, and writers.
5. National Youth Administration (NYA) -- June, 1935
   a. Created as part of the WPA
   b. Provided part-time jobs for high school and college students to enable them to stay in school, and to help young adults not in school to find jobs.
F. Agricultural Programs of the Hundred Days
1. Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) -- May 12, 1933
   a. Headed by George Peek
b. Attempted to eliminate price-depressing surpluses by paying growers to reduce their crop acreage -- subsidies.
   i. Goal: Prices equal to those of 1909-1914 period.
   ii. Subsidy money came from a tax on the processing of the commodities.

c. Much of the cotton crop for 1933 was plowed under.

d. Several million pigs were purchased and slaughtered. Much meat was either distributed to people on relief or used for fertilizer.

e. Criticized for destruction of food at a time when thousands were hungry.

f. Farm income was increased but tenants and sharecroppers were hurt when owners took land out of cultivation, thus removing the tenants but retaining the subsidies.

g. Eventually killed in the Supreme Court case *Butler vs. U.S*.

h. Commodity Credit Corporation est. in Oct. 1933 to make loans to corn and cotton farmers against their crops so that they could hold onto them for higher prices

2. Federal Farm Loan Act
   a. Allocated millions of dollars to help farmers meet their mortgages.
   b. Consolidated all farm credit programs into the Farm Credit Admin.

3. Addressing the Dust Bowl refugees
   a. Late 1933, drought struck states in the trans-Mississippi Great Plains
   b. In five years, 350,000 Oklahomans and Arkansans -- "Okies" and "Arkies" migrated to southern California.
   c. Frasier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act of 1934
      i. Allowed farmers to defer foreclosure on their land while they obtained new financing.
      ii. Helped them to recover property already lost through easy financing.

4. Rural Electrification Administration (REA) -- May 1935 -- Provided loans and WPA labor to electric cooperatives to build lines into rural areas not served by private companies.

G. Industry and Labor
1. National Industrial Recovery Administration (NIRA) -- June 16, 1933
   a. Most complex and far reaching of New Deal programs was designed to prevent extreme competition, labor-management disputes, & over-production
   b. Board composed of labor leaders and industrial leaders in over two hundred individual industries were to work out codes of "fair competition".
      i. Maximum work hours: spread employment out among more people.
      ii. Minimum wages were established.
      iii. Minimum prices set (to avoid cutthroat competition)
      iv. Production limits and quotas instituted (to keep prices higher)
   c. Antitrust laws temporarily suspended for two years.
   d. Section 7a
      i. Workers formally guaranteed the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.
      ii. "yellow dog", or antiunion contract was forbidden.
   e. Certain safeguarding restrictions were placed on the use of child labor.

2. National Recovery Administration (NRA)
   a. Created under leadership of Hugh Johnson to enforce the law and generate public enthusiasm for the NIRA.
   b. The "blue eagle" was displayed by merchants adhering to NRA codes with the slogan "we do our part."
   c. Results:
      i. In the short run, business did improve
      ii. NRA eventually shot down by the Supreme Court in Schechter "sick chicken" decision.
      iii. Criticized by some as favoring large firms as they were the ones making the codes.
3. Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act of 1935) -- 2nd New Deal
   a. A major milestone in the American labor movement
   b. Reasserted the right of labor to engage in self-organization and to bargain
      collectively through representatives of its own choice
4. Fair Labor Standards Act (Wages and Hours Bill) -- 1938 (2nd New Deal)
   a. Last of the New Deal legislation
   b. Established minimum-wage and a 40-hour week for industries in interstate commerce.
   c. Labor for children under 16 forbidden; dangerous labor forbidden under the age of 18.
5. Labor became a staunch ally of Roosevelt and the Democratic party.

H. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) -- May, 1933
   1. TVA was a public corporation under a 3-member board.
   2. Intended to reform the power monopoly of utility companies by building
      hydroelectric power plants in the Tennessee valley while employing thousands.
      a. 20 dams build in an area of 40,000 sq. miles to stop flooding and soil
         erosion, improve navigation, and generate hydroelectric power.
      b. Govt’s Muscle Shoals property on the Tennessee River the nucleus of the project.
   3. Sought to establish fair rates by discovering how much the production and
      distribution of electricity cost.
   4. Huge success: provided full employment in the region, cheap electric power, low-cost housing,
      abundant cheap nitrates, restoration of eroded soil, reforestation, improved navigation, and
      flood control.
   5. Criticized by many as socialistic due to government control of public utilities and
      a planned regional economy.
      a. Fought unsuccessfully in the courts by private power companies.
      b. Congress refused other similar projects.

I. Housing Reform
   1. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) -- 1934
      a. Stimulated the building industry by supplying small loans to householders
         for improving their dwellings or completing new ones.
      b. One of the few “alphabetical agencies” to outlast the age of Roosevelt
   2. United States Housing Authority (USHA) -- 1937
      a. Lent money to states or communities for low-cost construction
      b. For first time in a century, slum areas in US stopped growing; even shrank.
      c. Criticized by real estate promoters, builders, and landlords (“slumlords”) as well as anti-New Dealers who considered it a waste of money.
      d. The project fell far short of its ambitious goal of 650,000 units.

J. Social Security Act of 1935 (August, 1935) -- 2nd New Deal
   1. One of the most complicated and far-reaching laws ever to pass Congress.
   2. Provided for federal-state unemployment insurance
   3. Provided for old-age pensions for retired workers
   4. Financed by a payroll tax on both employers and employees
   5. Funded assistance for dependent mothers with children.
   6. Provision also made for the blind, physically handicapped, delinquent
      children, and other dependents.
   7. Criticized by conservatives being built on a cult of leisure rather than work.

K. Revenue Act of 1935
   1. Raised income taxes on higher incomes, and also inheritance, large gift, and capital gains
      taxes.
   2. Reversed many of Andrew Mellon’s tax cuts in the 1920s.

L. Indian Reorganization Act of 1934
   1. Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioner, John Collier, persuaded Congress to repeal
      the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.
   2. New law restored tribal ownership of lands, recognized tribal constitutions and
      government, and provided loans to tribes for economic development.
   3. Collier also secured creation of Indian Emergency Conservation Program, an
Indian CCC for projects on the reservations.

M. Effects of the First New Deal
   a. GNP rose from $74.2 billion to $91.4 billion.
   b. Manufacturing salaries and wages increased about 50% with average weekly earnings going from $16.73 to $20.13.
   c. Farm income more than doubled.
   d. Money supply, as currency and demand deposits grew nearly 15%.
   e. Unemployment dropped from about 25% of nonfarm workers to about 20.1% (10.6 million).

V. Critics of the New Deal
   A. The American Liberty League
      1. Group of wealthy Republicans and conservative Democrats (e.g. Al Smith and John W. Davis) formed in 1934 to fight "socialistic" New Deal schemes.
      2. Sought to defend business interests and promote the open shop.
      3. Unsuccessful in unseating FDR in 1936 elections.
   B. Father Charles Coughlin
      1. Initially a New Deal supporter who eventually bitterly criticized it.
      2. Had largest radio audience in U.S. history -- 40 million listeners
      3. Called Roosevelt a liar for not nationalizing the nation's banks
      4. Eventually resorted to anti-Semitism, strong fascist rhetoric, and demagoguery that caused his show to be canceled.
   C. Senator Huey P. ("Kingfish") Long
      1. "Share Our Wealth" program promised to make "Every Man a King" by supplying each family with $5,000 at the expense of the prosperous.
      2. Popular Governor in Louisiana due to his raising taxes to gain funds for schools and hospitals to serve the poor; roads were improved & bridges built in neglected areas.
      3. Controlled Louisiana politics from his senate seat by abolishing local Louisiana governments and putting himself in control of all appointments to gov't offices.
      4. Assassinated in 1935; may have posed a challenge to Roosevelt in 1936
   D. Dr. Francis Townsend
      1. Organized over 5 million supporters for his Old Age Revolving Pension Plan.
      2. Advocated giving each senior citizen $200 per month (about 2X the average worker’s salary) provided that the money be spent within a month.
      3. Scheme would be funded by a national gross sales tax.
      4. Some estimates had the scheme costing about 1/2 the national income.

VI. Second New Deal
   A. Roosevelt responded to Democratic voters, the imminent destruction of the NRA, and the approaching election of 1936.
   B. Roosevelt pushed a series of new programs in the spring of 1935 and much of it was passed during summer
   C. Programs included: WPA, NYA, REA, Wagner Act (NLRB), Social Security Act, Banking Act of 1935, Public Utility Holding Company, Revenue Act

VII. 1936 elections
   A. New coalition in Democratic party: blacks, unions, intellectuals, big city machines, South.
   B. Republicans could offer no viable alternatives
      1. Alfred Landon of Kansas, a former progressive supporter of TR, nominated.
      2. Criticized New Deal for operating under unconstitutional laws and called for balanced budget, higher tariffs, and lower corporate taxes.
      3. Did not call for repeal of all New Deal legislation but promised better and less expensive relief, farm and labor programs.
   C. Union Party
      2. Vicious attacks by Smith and Coughlin on FDR brought a backlash against them while American Catholic leaders denounced Coughlin.
   D. Result: Roosevelt d. Republican candidate Alfred M. Landon 523 to 2 (VT and ME)

VIII. Roosevelt and the Supreme Court
A. Court Challenges to the New Deal
   1. Schechter vs. US (1935)
      a. Court ruled the NRA as unconstitutional
      b. Congress could not "delegate legislative authority" to the executive branch or to code-makers in industry.
      c. Congressional control of interstate commerce could not apply to local Brooklyn fowl business of the Schechter brothers.
      d. Decision may have helped Roosevelt since NRA was already floundering and FDR could blame the Supreme Court's decision.
   2. Butler vs. US (1935)
      a. Court ruled regulatory taxation provisions of the AAA as unconstitutional
      b. Federal gov't could not tax businesses that bought agricultural products for the benefit of the farmers who received federal subsidies.
   3. As a result of both cases, Roosevelt in 1935 revamped his recovery and reform measures to launch the Second New Deal.

B. Judiciary Reorganization Bill -- 1937
   1. Attempt by FDR to remove old conservative justices by imposing a retirement requirement for justices 70 years or older; six over 70 at the time.
   2. Critics accused FDR of being a "dictator" and trying to pack the court -- "court packing"
   3. Bill was not passed
   4. Ironically, FDR made 9 appointments to the Court due to resignations or deaths.

IX. The End of the New Deal
   A. Recession of 1937-38
      1. FDR authorized reduction in the "pump priming" practices in early 1937
      2. By 1938, the country had slipped into a deep recession, wiping out most of the gains since 1933.
      3. Programs --such as the WPA -- giving direct aid through work programs were once again resumed and the economy began to improve in 1938.
      4. FDR employed economic theory of John Maynard Keynes
         a. Government should spend money from deficit spending in order to "prime the pump" of the economy.
         b. Government would make up the money when the economy improved through increased tax revenue.
         c. These programs intended to provide temporary relief for people in need, and to be disbanded when the economy improved.
   B. Congressional elections in 1938 cut heavily into the Democratic control. 80 seats lost.
   C. Clouds of war diverted public attention away from the domestic economy

X. Criticisms of the New Deal
   A. The New Deal failed to cure the Great Depression
   B. Bureaucracy mushroomed: with hundreds of thousands of employees, it became the largest business in the country.
   C. States faded further into the background; more central control from the federal government
   D. The national debt doubled from 1932 to 1939 (19.5 billion to 40.4 billion)
   E. America was becoming a "handout" state, undermining old virtues of thrift and initiative.
   F. Business accused the New Deal of fomenting class strife while laborers and farmers were pampered
   G. Critics claimed that the New Deal was a "planned economy" and "creeping socialism" that was far too interventionist in the private sector.
   H. FDR criticized for attempting to change the Supreme Court
   I. Criticism for FDR trying to "purge" members of Congress in 1938 elections and create a "dummy Congress."
   J. More farm surpluses under Roosevelt than under Hoover.
   K. Millions still unemployed
   L. The New Deal didn't cure the depression, the Second World War did.
XI. Support of the New Deal
   A. The New Deal relieved the worst of the crisis in 1933
   B. Promoted the principle that the federal government was morally bound to prevent mass hunger and starvation by “managing” the economy
   C. America’s economic system was kept from collapse
   D. A fairer distribution of national income was achieved
   E. Citizens were enabled to retain their self-respect.
   F. FDR deflected popular resentments against business and may have saved the American system of free enterprise.
   G. Roosevelt purged capitalism of some of its worst abuses
   H. FDR provided reform without a bloody revolution, as was the case in Europe.
   I. Middle-of-the-road approach -- not radical left wing or conservative right wing -- made him the greatest American conservative since Hamilton.
## New Deal Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Act or Program</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Year Enacted</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Adjustment Act</td>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Protected farmers from price drops by providing crop subsidies to reduce production, educational programs to teach methods of preventing soil erosion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Works Administration</td>
<td>CWA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Provided public works jobs at $15/week to four million workers in 1934.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian Conservation Corps</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Sent 250,000 young men to work camps to perform reforestation and conservation tasks. Removed surplus of workers from cities, provided healthy conditions for boys, provided money for families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Emergency Relief Act</td>
<td>FERA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Distributed millions of dollars of direct aid to unemployed workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass-Steagall Act</td>
<td>FDIC</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Created federally insured bank deposits ($2500 per investor at first) to prevent bank failures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Industrial Recovery Act</td>
<td>NIRA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Created NRA to enforce codes of fair competition, minimum wages, and to permit collective bargaining of workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Youth Administration</td>
<td>NYA</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Provided part-time employment to more than two million college and high school students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works Administration</td>
<td>PWA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Received $3.3 billion appropriation from Congress for public works projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Electrification</td>
<td>REA</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Encouraged farmers to join cooperatives to bring electricity to farms. Despite its efforts, by 1940 only 40% of American farms were electrified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securities and Exchange</td>
<td>SEC</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Regulated stock market and restricted margin buying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Security Act</td>
<td></td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Response to critics (Dr. Townsend and Huey Long), it provided pensions, unemployment insurance, and aid to blind, deaf, disabled, and dependent children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee Valley Authority</td>
<td>TVA</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Federal government build series of dams to prevent flooding and sell electricity. First public competition with private power industries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagner Act</td>
<td>NLRB</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Allowed workers to join unions and outlawed union-busting tactics by management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Progress Administration</td>
<td>WPA</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Employed 8.5 million workers in construction and other jobs, but more importantly provided work in arts, theater, and literary projects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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ROAD TO WORLD WAR II
I. Attempts at Collective Security in 1920s and the Great Depression
   A. Treaty of Versailles punished Germany severely; excluded most of Wilson’s 14 Points
      1. League of Nations sought collective security but without support from U.S., USSR
         and Germany, the League was crippled.
      2. U.S. Senate refused to adhere to World Court, League of Nation’s judicial arm.
      3. Effectiveness of League of Nations
         a. Helped settle disputes between small powers
         b. Less successful when major powers involved
   B. Washington Disarmament Conference -- 1921-1922
      1. Sought to reduce naval arms race between U.S., Japan & Britain and resolve disputes
         in the Pacific.
      2. Five Power Treaty (5-5-3 battleship ratio) and other agreements week as they had
         no enforcement provisions.
      3. Open Door in China preserved.
   C. Locarno Pact (1926)
      1. Western Europe agreed to guarantee existing borders and seek peaceful solutions.
      2. Germany promoted peaceful settlement of disputes with its neighbors in E. Europe--
         Poland & Czech.
      3. Many Europeans believed the “spirit of Locarno” would mean no more war in Europe.
   D. Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)
      1. Ratified by 62 nations: made war illegal except for defensive purposes.
      2. Major flaws: No enforcement mechanism; aggressors could use “defensive purposes”
         argument when attacking.
   E. War debts and reparations
      1. US the largest creditor nation after WWI; Allies owe US $16 billion
      2. Allies couldn’t pay so they depended on Germany’s reparation payments to pay US
         a. U.S. tariff policies hurt European recovery
         b. Germany economy couldn’t handle pressure and collapsed in 1923
      3. Dawes Plan (1924)
         a. US bankers loaned Germany $. Germany paid UK & Fr. who paid back U.S.
         b. U.S. credit continued to help this finance issue until crash of 1929.
      4. Hoover declared debt moratorium in 1931 and before long, all
debtors defaulted (except Finland which paid its loan ending in 1976).
      5. U.S. policies harbored ill-will among European nations toward U.S.
         -- Contributed to neutrality legislation passed by Congress during 1930s.
   F. The Great Depression became a major cause of totalitarianism in Japan and Germany
      2. Germany ravaged by 50% unemployment & enormous inflation.
      3. Japan exports fell by 50%; blames West for protectionist trade policies.
         a. Begins to attack the disarmament policy established in 1922.
         b. Military restless with parliament & economy; assassinates prime minister in1930.
II. American Foreign Policy in early 1930s
   A. Good Neighbor Policy
      1. Pre-FDR polices began an improvement of relations with Latin America.
         a. U.S. troops removed from several Latin American countries
         b. Oil crisis with Mexico in 1928 resolved peacful
         c. Clark Memorandum (1928): U.S. will not intervene in Latin America for its own
            national purposes
      2. Policy essentially a reaction to overseas aggression
3. Montevideo Conference -- 7th Pan-American Conference (1933)
   a. Sec of St. Cordell Hull -- “No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.”
   b. Recommended tariffs be lowered
5. 1934 -- Marines withdrew from Haiti and stayed out of war-torn Cuba
   a. 1st time since 1915 no US troops in Latin America
   b. Signed treaty with Cuba repealing the Platt Amendment
6. 1936 Buenos Aires Convention -- U.S. agreed to admit all American disputes to arbitration.
7. 1938 -- US did not intervene when Mexico nationalized its oil fields
8. Declaration of Lima (1938) -- 21 states agreed to resist together any threat to peace in the hemisphere
9. Declaration of Panama (1939) -- U.S. eased policy toward Panama

B. London Economic Conference
1. Attended by 66 nations in summer of 1933
2. Purpose: Confront the global depression
   -- Goals: stabilize national currencies and revive international trade.
3. FDR torpedoed conference as he did not want to return to a gold standard.
   -- Resulted in more international isolationism and extreme nationalism.

C. Reduction of Tariffs under Sec. of State Cordell Hull
1. Trade agreements
   a. Aimed at both relief and recovery; part of Good Neighbor Policy
   b. Low-tariffs would be implemented (including reduction of Hawley Smoot)
   c. Significance:
      i. Reversed high-tariff policy since Civil War that had damaged U.S. and international economies after WWI.
      ii. Paved way for U.S.-led free-trade int’l economic system after WWII.
2. By 1939, Hull successfully negotiated pacts with 21 countries.

D. FDR Recognizes U.S.S.R. (late 1933)

E. Philippines: Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934)
1. Islands to become free after 10-year period of economic and political tutelage.
2. Jones Act in 1916 supported by Sec. of State William Jennings Bryan
   -- Had granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a "stable gov’t" could be established.
3. Why give up Philippines?
   a. Organized labor wanted low-wage Filipino labor excluded from U.S.
   b. U.S. sugar growers and other producers eager to restrict competition from Philippines.
   c. U.S. isolationists eager to be rid of a political liability in Far East.
4. U.S. economic terms towards Philippines were harsh
5. Japan encouraged by U.S. unwillingness to maintain control of Far East possessions.

III. Failure of collective security
A. Rise of totalitarian regimes (sought to control every aspect of the lives of the people)
1. fascism: glorified the state and sought to expand (“survival of the fittest”)
   a. Italy -- Mussolini (1922)
   b. Japanese military dictatorship (early 1930s)
   c. Germany -- Adolf Hitler (1933)
2. communism: became a ruthless dictatorship under Stalin in USSR (1924-1953)
B. 1931 -- Japan invades Manchuria
1. League of Nations condemns action; no enforcement
   a. Japan violated Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact
   b. Hoover-Stimson Doctrine: President Hoover refused to consider economic
      or political sanctions but refused to recognize Japanese conquest of “Manchukuo”
   c. Japan withdraws from League of Nations
2. Reasons for Japanese aggression
   a. Badly needed raw materials (coal, oil, & iron)
   b. Wanted more space for its large population
   c. Wanted to open new foreign markets but economically frustrated
   d. Anger at the U.S. for Japan’s given unequal status in the 1921 naval treaties
   e. Anger at Hoover and Stimson for refusing to recognize Manchukuo
3. 1934, ended Washington Naval Treaty (1922) & started on massive naval buildup
4. 1936, signs Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany (against communism esp. USSR)
5. 1940, signs Tripartite Pact: Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis
C. 1935 -- Italy invades Ethiopia with bombers and tanks; wins in 1936
   1. Mussolini sought to reestablish the glory of the Roman Empire.
   2. League of Nations hit Italy with economic sanctions except oil.
   3. July, League lifts sanctions: seen as end of League of Nations
IV. American Isolationism in the face of fascist aggression
   A. Americans concerned with their own economic depression
      1. Sought to avoid involvement in Europe in the face of rising dictatorships
      2. Not immediately alarmed at totalitarianism.
      3. American sentiment cried for a constitutional amendment to forbid a declaration
         of war by Congress -- except in case of invasion -- unless there was first a
         favorable public referendum.
   B. Nye Committee
      1. Many believed WWI was needless and US entered so munitions makers could profit
         a. Nye Committee investigated this charge.
         b. Munitions manufacturers dubbed “merchants of death”
      2. Committee charged bankers had wanted war to protect loans, arms makers to make $
         and Wilson had provoked Germany by sailing in to warring nation’s waters.
      3. Today many believe the committee was flawed and excessively anti-business
      1. When president proclaimed existence of a foreign war, certain restrictions would
         automatically go into effect:
         a. Prohibited sale of arms to belligerent nations
         b. Prohibited loans and credits to belligerent nations
         c. Forbade Americans to travel on vessels of nations at war (in contrast to WWI)
         d. Non-military goods must be purchased on a cash and carry basis--pay when goods
            are picked up
         e. Banned involvement in the Spanish Civil War
      2. In effect, limited options of President in a crisis
      3. America declined to build up its armed forces where it could deter aggressors.
         a. Navy declined in relative strength.
         b. Did not want to burden taxpayers during the depression
   D. Spanish Civil War (1936)
      1. Nationalists, led by Francisco Franco, fight the democratic Republican gov’t (Loyalists)
         a. Wants to restore power of church & destroy socialism & communism in Spain
         b. Calls for fascist state
2. Congress, encouraged by FDR, amends neutrality legislation to apply to an arms embargo to both Republican Loyalists and fascist rebels.

3. International implications:
   a. Democracies of the world stood by as the Loyalist democracy in Spain was killed by fascist aggressors.
   b. Rome-Mussolini & Hitler use Spain as testing ground for future aggression

4. Rome-Berlin Axis help Nationalists win (1939); Franco imposes fascism in Spain
   a. Italy signs Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in 1937
   b. Weakness of democratic countries encourage Hitler & Mussolini

E. Japan launches full-scale attack on southern China (1937)
   1. Invaded from northeastern China moved south & west
      a. Established "new order in Asia" in which Japan had commercial supremacy in China; end of the Open Door
      b. Further expansion: French Indochina (Vietnam); Dutch East Indies

2. Panay Incident
   b. Roosevelt reacted angrily: planned to seize U.S.-held property in China.
   c. Japan apologized, paid U.S. an indemnity, and promised no further attacks.
   d. American public called for withdrawal of all American forces from China.

3. Roosevelt's "Quarantine Speech" (1937)
   a. Condemned Japan and Ethiopia for their aggressive actions.
   b. Called on democracies to "quarantine" the aggressors by economic embargoes.
   c. Criticized by isolationists who feared FDR's posture might lead U.S. into war.
   d. FDR retreated and sought less direct means to address totalitarianism.

F. German aggression
   1. Hitler withdrew from League of Nations in 1933
   2. 1937, withdrew from clauses of Treaty of Versailles that pertained to Germany.
   3. Germany absorbs Austria in March 1938 ("Anschluss")
      a. British P.M. Neville Chamberlain adopts a policy of appeasement toward Germany (does not want another World War—British still haunted by WWI)
         i. Rejects joining alliance w/ France & Russia claiming it would destroy possibility of future negotiations.
         ii. Appeasement--: Making concessions to an aggressor in order to preserve peace
         iii. Pacifism--: Refusal to fight in a war
            --widespread in Br. & Fr. as memories of WWI still deep
   3. Germany takes Czechoslovakia
      a. Hitler demands the Sudetenland (a German-speaking province in Czechoslovakia
      b. Munich Conference (Sept. 1938)
      c. March 1939, Hitler invades rest of Czechoslovakia (six mos. later)
   4. Invasion of Poland starts WWII
      a. 1 week after invasion of Czechoslovakia Hitler demands return of Danzig on the Baltic Coast in Polish Corridor
      b. Chamberlain says Britain would aid Poland if attacked; France follows suit
      d. Sept. 1, 1939, Germany troops invade Poland
      e. Two days later, Britain & France declare war on Germany; WWII begins

V. Axis offensives in Europe and elsewhere

A. Germany invades Poland--Sept. 1, 1939
   1. Blitzkrieg--"lightning war"--new type of warfare
   2. Poland unable to successfully defend itself; surrenders Sept. 27, 1939

B. Soviet Union expansion in the East
   1. USSR invades Poland from the east about a month after Germany.
   2. Stalin annexes Estonia, Latvia, & Lithuania (1940)
   3. Invades Finland (November 1939) "Winter War" and wins in March 1940

C. Neutrality Act of 1939 (response to German invasion of Poland)
   2. Sept. 5, 1939 -- FDR officially proclaims U.S. neutrality
   3. Sept. 21, FDR persuades Congress in special session to allow U.S. to aid European democracies in limited fashion.
      a. Sale of weapons to European democracies on a "cash-and-carry" basis.
      b. FDR authorized to proclaim danger zones which U.S. ships & citizens could not enter (contrast to Wilson’s WWI policy)
   5. Results
      a. Democracies benefited as they controlled the Atlantic
      b. U.S. economy improved as European demand for war goods helped bring the country out of the recession of 1937-1938.

C. German expansion in Western Europe
   1. April 1940: conquered Denmark & Norway
   2. April 1940, FDR declared that Greenland, a possession of conquered Denmark, was covered by the Monroe Doctrine.
   3. May 1940: Netherlands, Belgium, & Luxembourg fall
   4. Fall of France (June, 1940)
      a. German troops occupied 2/3 of France & took control of its gov’t.
      b. Vichy gov’t installed as puppet gov’t "Vichy France" (capital--Vichy)

D. Battle of Britain
   1. Hitler’s demands to Britain:
      a. Return of German colonies
      b. Agree to Germany’s domination of continental Europe.
      c. Britain categorically refuses
   2. Hitler orders German bombers to attack Royal Air Force (Aug.13)
   3. Germans bomb London (beginning Sept.7)
   4. Results
      a. RAF defeated the Luftwaffe
      b. Plans are cancelled for German invasion of Britain
      c. British morale increases: Winston Churchill inspirational leader:

E. Tripartite Pact (September, 1940)
   1. Japan was added to the Rome-Berlin axis for mutual defense and military support.
   2. U.S. policy toward Japan increasingly grew more confrontational.

F. Germany & Italy expand into Balkans & N. Africa: Greece, Yugoslavia, Egypt.

G. Germany invades Soviet Union in June, 1941
   1. Lebensraum--"living space" for new German Empire extending into Eastern Europe
   2. Germany’s advance halted on outskirts of Moscow in late 1941 (winter set in)
   3. Siege of Leningrad lasted two years
   4. U.S. eventually sent $11 billion of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviets
5. Russian invasion was Hitler’s second fatal error: opened a second front before Britain was subdued.

VI. U.S. response to the war in Europe

A. FDR’s “Arsenal of Democracy” speech (December 29, 1939) -- “Fireside Chat”
   1. U.S. cannot remain neutral since its independence has never before been in such danger
   2. Nazi war aim was world domination
   3. Many feel this speech marked entrance of U.S. into the war.

B. U.S. response to fall of France and Battle of Britain
   1. FDR called on America to build a huge airforce and 2-ocean navy.
   2. Congress appropriated $37 billion.
   3. Sept. 1940, Congress passes Selective Service and Training Act
   4. Havana Conference of 1940
      a. U.S. agreed to share with 20 Latin American republics the responsibility of upholding the Monroe Doctrine.
      b. First time Monroe Doctrine was multi-lateral.

C. Internationalism
   1. Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies
      a. Most potent of pro-intervention movement.
      b. Claimed U.S. couldn’t let Axis powers dominate the world.
      c. Urged direct aid to Britain.
      d. Appealed to isolationists for “All Methods Short of War” to defeat Hitler.
   2. Roosevelt had strong internationalist sympathies but had to temper them publicly

D. Isolationists:
   1. America First Committee.
   2. Senator Robert A. Taft: argued for “Fortress America”; defense not intervention

E. Destroyer-Bases Deal
   1. Sept. 2, 1940, FDR agreed to transfer to Britain 50 WWI-class destroyers
   2. Britain promised U.S. 8 valuable defensive base sites from Newfoundland to South America.
   3. Agreement achieved by simple presidential agreement.

F. Election of 1940
   1. Republicans nominated Wendell L. Willkie.
      a. Condemned FDR’s alleged dictatorship & deficit spending of the New Deal.
      b. Like FDR, promised to stay out of war & strengthen U.S.’s defenses.
   2. Democrats nominated FDR for a third term
      a. FDR vowed to keep U.S. out of the war.
      b. Vigorously defended the New Deal and U.S. aid to the Allies.
   3. Result:
      a. FDR d. Willkie 449-82; closer than 1932 and 1936 elections.
      b. Democrats maintained their majority in Congress

G. “Four Freedoms” speech (January 6, 1941) -- made to Congress
   1. Now elected, FDR did not have to worry as much about critics.
   2. FDR asked Congress for increased authority to help Britain.
   3. Four Freedoms:
      a. Speech and expression
      b. Religion
      c. Freedom from Want
      d. Freedom from fear
   4. Congress responded with Lend-Lease
H. Lend-Lease (April 1941) and increase U.S. involvement in the European war.
1. Considered one of most momentous laws ever passed by Congress.
2. Provisions:
   a. Authorized President to give military supplies to any nation he deemed "vital to
      the defense of the US."
   b. Accounts would be settled after the war.
3. Criticism
   a. Isolationists and anti-Roosevelt Republicans saw it as "the blank check bill."
   b. Some saw it as getting the U.S. even closer to involvement in the war.
4. Results:
   a. Effectively ended U.S. neutrality; economic declaration of war.
   b. U.S. war production immediately increased
   c. Hitler began sinking U.S. ships on a limited scale with German subs
   d. By wars end, U.S. had sent about $50 billion worth of arms and equipment to
      nations fighting aggressors esp. Britain and U.S.S.R.
I. U.S. patrol of Western Atlantic
1. April 1941, FDR started the American Neutrality Patrol.
2. Convoys
   a. July 1941, FDR orders navy to escort lend-lease shipments to Iceland
   b. British would take them the rest of the way.
   c. Many ships still sunk
   d. Sept. 4, FDR proclaimed a shoot-on-sight policy vis-à-vis German U-boats.
   e. Nov. 1941, Congress proclaimed merchant ships could now be armed and
      could enter combat zones with munitions for Britain.
3. April 1941, U.S. forces occupy Greenland and in May.
4. July 1941, Occupation of Iceland (Danish territory) to protect it from Germany.
VII. Atlantic Conference and the Atlantic Charter (August 1941)
A. Secret meeting between FDR and Churchill on U.S. warship off coast of Newfoundland.
   1. First of a series of conferences between the two leaders
B. Atlantic Charter
   1. Formally accepted by FDR and Churchill and endorsed by Stalin later that year.
   2. No territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants (self-determination)
   3. Gov’ts abolished by the dictators would be regained.
   4. Called for "a permanent system of general security"
C. Reaction:
   1. Liberals applauded the charter as they had Wilson’s 14 Points.
   2. Isolationists condemned neutral U.S. conferring with "belligerent" Britain on
      common policies.
VIII. Escalating tensions with Japan
A. Escalating tensions between Japan & US
   1. US refused to recognize Manchukuo when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931.
   2. Japan outlined the proposed Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere
      a. Japanese empire of undefined boundaries in east Asia and Western Pacific.
      b. Declared the Open Door policy ended and forced out American and other
         business interests from occupied China.
   3. Embargo of 1940 passed by Congress (July)
      a. Following fall of France, new militant Japanese gov’t got the right from Vichy
         France to build air bases and to station troops in northern French Indochina.
      b. U.S. placed embargo on export of aviation gasoline, lubricants, scrap iron and steel
to Japan and granted an additional loan to China.
c. In December, extended embargo to include iron ore and pig iron, some
chemicals, machine tools, and other products.
5. Early 1941, FDR moves American Pacific Fleet from West Coast to Pearl Harbor
to demonstrate military readiness
6. Embargo of 1941
a. July, Japan gained new concession from Vichy France by obtaining military control
of southern Indochina.
b. U.S. freezes Japanese assets in the U.S., closes the Panama Canal to Japan,
and activates the Philippine militia, and places embargo on export of oil and
other vital products to Japan.
B. Japanese-U.S. negotiations.
1. Offered withdrawal from southern Indochina if US would resume economic relations
2. US demanded Japanese withdrawal from Indochina and China, promise not to attack
any other area in western Pacific, and withdraw from the Tripartite Pact.
3. No agreement reached.
4. Negotiations an attempt by U.S. to buy time to fortify Philippines and build 2-ocean
navy authorized by Congress in 1940.
C. Final negotiations
1. October, 1941 Hideki Tojo, an outspoken expansionist, becomes Prime Minister
2. Japanese secretly decide if no agreement by November 25, Japan would attack U.S.
D. Japanese decision to attack
1. Made during unsuccessful negotiations with US on December 1.
2. Felt war with US inevitable
3. Japanese war plan:
   a. Take Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Philippines to gain oil, metals
   and other raw materials.
   b. Attack on Pearl Harbor would destroy U.S. Pacific fleet and keep it from
   interfering with its plans.
4. U.S. experts crack the top-secret code of the Japanese
   a. Between Dec. 1 and Dec. 6 expect Japan to attack Dutch East Indies and Malaya.
   b. U.S. thought Japan would avoid direct attack on U.S. to avoid provocation.
E. Pearl Harbor--Dec. 7th, 1941 (7:55 A.M. Sunday -- second wave at 8:50 A.M.)
1. Damage:
   a. Japanese sank or badly damaged all 8 battleships inside the Harbor including
   the Oklahoma and the Arizona.
   b. Damaged 10 other ships; destroyed 188 planes
   c. Over 2,500 Americans killed; 1,100 wounded
   d. 3 aircraft carriers escaped destruction--out at sea
   f. Japanese losses much smaller
2. Roosevelt asks Congress for Declaration of War against Japan(Dec. 8)
   a. "a date that will live in infamy."
   b. Congress quickly complies with only 1 dissenting vote.
3. Germany & Italy declare war against U.S. (three days later)
   a. Ally with Japan
   b. Hitler's 3rd fatal blunder: Germany didn't have to declare war on U.S.; FDR and
   Churchill then agreed to defeat "Germany first" rather than U.S. concentrating on
   Japan
4. U.S. increase of troops--2 to 12 million (1946)
THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD WAR II

I. Declarations of war
A. U.S. declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941
B. December 11, Axis Powers -- Germany and Italy -- declare war on the U.S.
C. Britain and U.S. decide to focus on Germany first; later concentrate on Japan
D. Declaration of the United Nations
   1. January 1, 1942, representatives of 26 nations meet in Washington, D.C. and
      sign the Declaration of the United Nations
   2. Pledge themselves to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.
   3. Promise not to make a separate peace with their common enemies.

II. Japanese Empire
A. Conquests in Pacific
   2. Japan controlled Singapore, Dutch East Indies, Malay peninsula, Hong Kong, and
      Burma by spring 1942
   3. Defeat U.S. in the Philippines (March 1942 -- General MacArthur "I shall return")
B. Resources
   1. Controlled 95% of world's raw rubber; 70% of tin; 70% of rice.
   2. Oil from Dutch East Indies fueled Japan’s war machine
   3. Indochinese rice fed soldiers
C. Dominated population of 450 million
   1. Played on Asians’ bitterness of European colonial rule
   2. "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" --"Asia for the Asians"
   3. Forced labor for construction projects; often abused the population
D. Recognized the independence of Burma (1943), Vietnam, & Indonesia
E. Nationalists organized resistance to Japanese rule (like Chiang kai-shek in China)

III. The Home Front
A. Military mobilization
   1. Selective Service registration expanded to men 18-65 after Pearl Harbor.
      Period of enlistment extended to 6 months after fighting.
   2. 258,000 women enlisted as WAC’s (Women’s Army Corp), WAVES
      (Women Appointed for Voluntary Emergency Service), and WAF’s (Women’s
      Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron).
   3. By war’s end, 16 million men and women served.
B. Economic mobilization
   1. OWM (Office for War Mobilization) established to supervise various
      agencies intended to increase war production.
   2. War Production Board
      a. WPD est. in 1942 by FDR to regulate the use of raw materials
      b. 1/2 of factory production went into war materials. By 1943, the US was
         producing twice as many goods as all the enemy countries combined.
   3. "Rosie the Riveter"
      a. More than five million women joined the labor force during the war, often moving to
         new communities to find jobs in the aircraft, munitions, and automobile industries.
      b. Propaganda campaign urged women to fill ranks of the nation’s assembly lines
      c. Women’s increased wages from jobs in industry helped to swell family incomes
         and pave the way for postwar consumer demand.
      d. Despite these gains, in 1945 an average woman’s pay was still less than two-thirds
         that of a male worker, and at war’s end, pressures increased on women to return
         to homemaking rather than to stay in the work force.
   4. Demographic impact of war mobilization
      a. “Sunbelt” region began to emerge during the war years in California and
         in certain areas of the South.
      b. Population and power shift from Northeast to Southwest & South
C. Controlling inflation
1. More people were working but less consumer goods were available.
2. Too much $ = inflation; cost of living increased
3. War Labor Board: sought to maintain but not improve a worker's standard of living; wages kept pace with rise in cost of living.
4. Office of Economic Stabilization -- Office of Price Administration (OPA)
   a. Froze prices and rents at March 1942 levels
   b. Rationing
      i. Certificate Plan
      ii. Coupon Plan
5. Anti-inflation measures successful
   a. WWI cost of living up 170%
   b. WWII -- less than 29%

D. Taxes were increased to finance the war
1. Many who had never had to pay taxes were now required to.
2. 1939 -- 4 million filed tax returns; in 1945 --50 million!

E. Beginning of National Debt
1. 1941 = $49 billion; 1945 = $259 billion
2. 2/5 was pay as we go; 3/5 was borrowed

F. Smith-Connolly Antistrike Act (1943) -- expired in 1947
1. Authorized gov’t seizure of plant or mine idled by a strike if war effort was impeded.
2. Response to strikes especially by John L. Lewis

G. Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD)
1. Organized before Pearl Harbor, led to advances in technology, radar, insecticides, etc.
2. Manhattan Project--1942

IV. Discrimination during the war
A. African American civil rights issues
1. During war years, there was massive migration of minorities to industrial centers.
2. Violence plagued 47 cities, the worst example occurring in Detroit.
   a. Detroit Race Riot in June, 1943; 25 blacks dead; 9 whites;
3. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
   a. African-Americans were excluded from well-paying jobs in war-related industries.
   b. Randolph made three demands of the president
      i. Equal access to defense jobs
      ii. Desegregation of the armed forces
      iii. End to segregation in federal agencies
   c. March on Washington Movement -- Randolph proposed a black March on Washington in 1941 if his conditions were not met.
   d. FDR issued Executive Order 8802 in June, 1941 establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to investigate violations in defense industries.
   e. Result:
      i. Gov’t agencies, job training programs, and defense contractors ended segregation
      ii. Randolph dubbed “father of the Civil Rights movement”
4. NAACP grows in membership from 50,000 before the war, to 500,000 by war’s end
5. Adam Clayton Powell from Harlem elected to the Senate in 1944

B. Mexican Americans
1. Bracero Program
2. Zoot Suit riots in L.A. (1943)

C. Internment of Japanese Americans -- Japanese relocation
1. Executive Order 9066 (Feb. 19, 1942)
2. 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were forcibly interned. Pearl Harbor left public paranoid that people of Japanese ancestry living in California might help Japan.
3. General John DeWitt organized the removal of people of Japanese ancestry to 10 locations in 7 states
   a. They were given 48 hours to dispose of their belongings
   b. Camps were in desolate areas
c. Conditions harsh, yet many remained loyal to US; after 1943, 17,600 Nisei fought in US Army.
   a. Korematsu v. US - Supreme Court upholds internment
   b. Seen by military as potential “fifth column”
5. Labor and business wanted Japanese removed to help themselves
6. Represented the greatest violation of civil liberties during WWII.
7. No act of sabotage was ever proven against any Japanese-American
8. Camps closed in March, 1946

V. The Grand Alliance
A. A coalition of the nations who were at war with the Axis Powers created with the signing of the "United Nations Declaration", Jan 1, 1942.
B. Objectives
   1. Germany first
   2. Many who were outraged from Pearl Harbor complained.
C. Military Plans:
   1. Economic blockades on Germany & Italy
   2. Air attacks on Germany
   3. Peripheral strikes in the Mediterranean
   4. Final direct assault on Germany

VI. Allied defeats:
A. Asia and the Pacific
   2. U.S. loss of the Philippines
      a. 20,000 U.S. troops led by General Douglas MacArthur withdrew to Bataan, close to Manila, but eventually surrendered.
      b. Bataan death march - 85-mile forced march of U.S. GIs who were tortured and eventually burned alive.
      c. MacArthur ordered by Washington to leave secretly for Australia.
   3. Doolittle Raid: Americans executed a militarily insignificant raid on Japan in April, 1942 in retaliation for Pearl Harbor.
B. Early Defeats in Europe
   1. German submarines sunk 8 million tons worth of allied supplies -- 25% of the USSR's.
   2. Germans were as far east as Stalingrad by fall 1942, and as deep as El Alamein, Egypt

VII. Allied Turning Points in the War
A. Battle of Stalingrad (Sept. 1942)
   1. Perhaps most important battle of the war
      a. First major Nazi defeat on land.
      b. Henceforth, German army in retreat from the east until Berlin is occupied by the Russians in the spring of 1945.
   2. Stalin never forgave the Allies for not opening a 2nd front earlier; USSR had to bear the full brunt of Nazi invasion.
   1. British had been desperately fighting German Panzer divisions in North Africa since 1941.
   2. Nov. 1943, 100,000 Allied troops invaded N. Africa in Algeria & Morocco (Casablanca)
   3. Major victory at the Battle of El Alamein—signaled end of Nazi presence in N. Africa
C. Europe
   1. Invasion of Italy (commanded by George C. Patton)
      a. July 10, 1943, British and U.S. forces land on Sicily; victorious within 1 month
      b. Mussolini forced out of power by officials within fascist party.
      c. June 4, 1944 -- Allies march into Rome
      d. Other parts of Italy remain under Nazi control until Spring 1945.
   2. D-Day (June 6, 1944) -- "Operation Overlord" - perhaps war’s most important battle
      a. Commanded by General Dwight D. Eisenhower
b. 120,000 troops left England and landed at 5 beachheads at Normandy Coast.
c. Casualties during D-Day: 2,245 Allies killed; 1,670 wounded
d. Significance of battle:
   i. Second front established (to Russia’s joy)
   ii. Had Allies failed, Hitler could have focused on Eastern Front and perhaps
       negotiated an end to the war with Stalin leaving most of Europe under Nazi control.

3. Invasion of Germany
a. Pre-invasion bombing
b. Allied invasion in Sept. 1944 repelled by Germany
c. Battle of the Bulge (December 16, 1944)
d. Britain & US attack Dresden with fire bombs killing 100,000 & destroying factories &
   rail lines.
e. April 1945
   i. U.S. approach Berlin from west while Soviets come from east.
   ii. German resistance in Italy collapsing.
   iii. Mussolini caught by Italian resistance and killed
f. Hitler goes into bunker under Chancellery in April and commits
   suicide on April 30.
g. Germany surrenders unconditionally on May 7, 1945

D. Japan is pushed back to its mainland
1. Battle of the Coral Sea (May 1942) - entire battle fought with aircraft.
2. Battle of Midway (June 4-7, 1942) - turning point in the Pacific war
3. Island Hopping campaign begins in 1943 - eventually pushed Japanese forces all the
   way back to Japan.
   a. Sought to neutralize Japanese island strongholds with air and sea power
      and then move on.
   b. Battle of Guadalcanal (Solomon Islands -- August 1942-February 1943)
4. Iwo Jima (February, 1945)
5. Okinawa (April 1, 1945 -- ends in June)
   a. 50,000 American casualties resulted from fierce fighting which
      virtually destroyed Japan’s remaining defenses.
   b. Bloodshed influenced the eventual use of the atomic bomb to
      prevent further U.S. casualties from ground assaults.
6. Bombing of Japan results in destruction of most major cities

VIII. Election of 1944 and death of FDR
A. FDR, with running-mate Harry S. Truman, defeated Republican opponent Thomas Dewey.
B. April 12, 1945 -- FDR dies at Warm Springs, GA
C. Harry Truman becomes president

IX. The Atomic Bomb
A. U.S. successfully tests bomb in mid-July, 1945 at Alamagordo, New Mexico.
B. Potsdam Conference (Mid-July - August)
   1. Three allied leaders (Truman, Stalin, and Clement Atlee) warn Japan
      w/o specifics to surrender or suffer "complete and utter destruction."
   2. Japan refuses removal of emperor but shows signs in secret dispatches it might be willing
      to surrender if emperor remains on throne.
   3. Military advisors warn of casualties as high as 46,000 if U.S. invades Japan.
C. August 6, 1945 -- First atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima
   1. 80,000 killed immediately; 100,000 injured
   2. Bomb dropped by the Enola Gay
   3. Japanese gov’t still does not surrender
D. August 8, Soviet Union enters the war against Japan as promised
E. August 9 -- 2nd bomb dropped on Nagasaki; 60,000 dead
F. August 14 -- Japan surrenders
   1. World War II is over.
G. The decision to drop the atomic bomb became controversial in past few decades.

X. Allied Diplomacy during the war
   A. Casablanca Conference (January 14-25, 1943)
      1. FDR and Winston Churchill declare a policy of unconditional surrender for "all enemies"
      2. Agreed that Italy would be invaded first before opening a 2nd Front in France.
   B. Tehran Conference (November 28-December 1, 1943)
      1. Allies agree to an invasion of the Western Europe in 1944.
      2. Stalin reaffirmed the Soviet commitment to enter the war against Japan and discussed coordination of the Soviet offensive with the Allied invasion of France.
      3. Disputes over post-war world
         a. Stalin insisted on Soviet control of Eastern Europe and the carving up of Germany
         b. Churchill demanded free governments in Eastern Europe and a strong Germany after the war to preserve a balance of power in Europe.
         c. Roosevelt acted as a mediator and believed he could work with Stalin to achieve a post-world peace within the construct of the United Nations.
   E. Yalta Conference (February 4-11, 1945)
      1. "Big Three" met to discuss post-war Europe.
      2. Stalin agreed to enter Pacific war within 3 months after Germany surrendered
      3. Stalin agreed to a "Declaration of Liberated Europe" which called for free elections.
      4. Called for a world organization to meet in the U.S. beginning on April 25, 1945 and agreed Soviets would have 3 votes in the General Assembly and that the U.S., Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China would be permanent members of the Security Council.
      5. Germany divided into occupied zones and a coalition government of communists and non-communists was agreed to for Poland.
      6. FDR accepted Soviet control of Outer Mongolia, the Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin Island, Port Arthur (Darien), and participation in the operation of the Manchurian railroads.
   F. Potsdam Conference (July 17 to August 2, 1945)
      1. Truman, Stalin, and Clement Atlee (Britain) met at Potsdam, eastern Germany.
      2. Conference disagreed on most issues; war alliance beginning to break down.
      3. During conference, Truman ordered dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan.
      4. Established a Council of Foreign Ministers to draft peace treaties for the Balkans.
      5. Approvals given to concept of war-crimes trials and the demilitarization and denazification of Germany.

XI. Aftermath
   A. Massive casualties
      1. 46-55 million dead; 35 million wounded; 3 million missing
         a. About 30 million soldiers died (including about 300,000 Americans)
         b. 25 million civilians
   B. 30 million Europeans lost their homeland (60% of them German) and relocated
   C. Massive destruction of cities
   D. Holocaust
      1. Six million Jews were liquidated as part of Hitler's "Final Solution"
      2. Six million others also killed including Gypsies, Homosexuals, physically handicapped, Jehovah's Witnesses and political opponents.
      3. U.S. response to Europe's Jews before and during the war was extremely biased.

XII. Post-war Political issues
   A. WWII made allies of ideological enemies
      1. Prior to WWII, Stalin's communist dictatorship was condemned by the West.
      2. Soviets conversely denounced "Western Imperialism"
      3. Once the war was over, the rivalry between East & West quickly reemerged
   B. Fate of Eastern Europe
      1. By war's end, the Soviets controlled most of Eastern Europe.
         a. Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary surrendered to Soviets when they were invaded.
b. Soviets drive Nazis from Poland and Czech.
2. Stalin promises free elections; West is wary that Europe will have communist governments imposed.

C. Germany's fate
1. Soviets wished for a weak Germany
2. Britain & US wanted a strong economic Germany and a healthy democracy.

D. Shift in balance of power
1. Western Europe was no longer the leader in world affairs.
2. US & USSR emerged as the two superpowers

XIII. The Postwar World
A. Nationalism become a major force throughout the world.
   1. Colonies ruled by European nations demanded independence.
   2. India had been promised greater freedom as a reward for fighting in the war.
   3. French Indochina determined to resist European rule; nationalists had fought against Japanese.

B. Social changes
   1. African-Americans gained job opportunities during the war that had long been denied.
   2. Many women saw a future of wider opportunity after the war, while many returned to the home.
   3. Shift in population to the “sunbelt”

C. Technology
   1. Synthetic materials such as plastics were developed to replace natural ones in short supply.
   2. Improvement in airplanes and radar changed war
   3. A-bomb changed the course of human history; years after 1945 called “Atomic Age"

D. End of WWII sowed the seeds for the onset of the Cold War: 1946-1992
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event/Battle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany invades Poland</td>
<td>September 1, 1939</td>
<td>Polish-German border</td>
<td>Following non-aggression treaty with Soviet Union, German troops invade Poland. England and France declare war on Germany. Soviets invade Poland from East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany's blitzkrieg takes western Europe</td>
<td>March-June 1940</td>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France crushed by German offensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Britain</td>
<td>Fall 1940</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>German bombers ruin British cities in attempt to obtain British surrender before U.S. entry. Britain's breaking of German code (&quot;Ultra&quot;) helps overcome air attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. enacts draft bill</td>
<td>September 1940</td>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>Registration of all men between 21 and 35. Limit of 900,000 men in time of peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyer for Bases deal</td>
<td>September 1940</td>
<td>Washington D.C. and London</td>
<td>U.S. transfers 50 old destroyers to Britain in exchange for use of eight British Atlantic bases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lend-Lease plan</td>
<td>November 1940</td>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>U.S. would &quot;lend&quot; military equipment to cash-strapped Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany invades Russia</td>
<td>June 1941</td>
<td>Polish-Russian border</td>
<td>Germany begins two-front war with invasion of Russia. Germans halt 15 miles from Moscow in December 1941.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Charter</td>
<td>August 1941</td>
<td>North Atlantic</td>
<td>FDR and Churchill agree to war aims, self-determination, and condemnation of Nazism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan attacks Pearl Harbor</td>
<td>December 7, 1941</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>361 Japanese warplanes attack American airfields and shipyards, disabling 19 ships, destroying 200 planes, and killing over 2300 men. Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Malaya, Philippines soon fall to Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDR asks for war on Japan</td>
<td>December 8, 1941</td>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>Congress approves entry into war. Germany and Italy declare war on U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Coral Sea</td>
<td>May 1942</td>
<td>South Pacific</td>
<td>Carrier-based U.S. planes halt Japanese advance on Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midway</td>
<td>June 1942</td>
<td>Central Pacific</td>
<td>Threat on Hawaii ended as four Japanese aircraft carriers are sunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allies attack Germans in North Africa</td>
<td>November 1942</td>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>Huge Allied landing forces Germany to retreat to Tunisia, where they are surrounded by British and American forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalcanal</td>
<td>February 1943</td>
<td>Solomon Islands, South Pacific</td>
<td>Americans take first island in start of island-hopping strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans surrender at Stalingrad</td>
<td>February 1943</td>
<td>Central Russia</td>
<td>Germans surrender after fierce hand-to-hand fighting and huge casualties for each side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans surrender at Tunisia</td>
<td>May 1743</td>
<td>Tunisia, North Africa</td>
<td>Over 250,000 German and Italian troops are captured and Allies prepare to invade Sicily and Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allies invade Sicily</td>
<td>July 1943</td>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>In largest amphibious invasion in history, over 250,000 American and British troops land. Germans and Italians escape to mainland of Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy surrenders</td>
<td>September 1943</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Although Italian troops quit fighting Allies, Germans continue in fierce fighting. Rome finally surrenders on June 4, 1944.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-Day Invasion</td>
<td>June 6, 1944</td>
<td>Normandy coast of France</td>
<td>Allies use 4600 ships to invade German-held France. Suffering heavy casualties, the Allies were able to retook Paris in August.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of Leyte Gulf</td>
<td>October 1944</td>
<td>Pacific east of Philippines</td>
<td>60 Japanese ships in largest naval battle in history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle of the Bulge</td>
<td>December 1944</td>
<td>French-German-Belgian border</td>
<td>German counteroffensive almost succeeds in retaking Belgium but is crushed with Allied reinforcements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo Bombing Raids</td>
<td>March 1945</td>
<td>Tokyo, Japan</td>
<td>American bombers destroy 250,000 buildings and kill 83,000 in massive fire-bombing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians take Berlin</td>
<td>April 1945</td>
<td>Berlin, Germany</td>
<td>Russians take German capital after house-to-house fighting. Hitler commits suicide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-E Day</td>
<td>May 7, 1945</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>German government issues unconditional surrender to Allied forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa</td>
<td>April to June 1945</td>
<td>Southern tip of Japan</td>
<td>Fighting from caves and bunkers, Japanese inflict 80,000 losses on Americans. Over 30 American ships are sunk by Japanese suicide missions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. MacArthur retakes Philippines</td>
<td>July 1945</td>
<td>Philippine Islands</td>
<td>After Manila's fall to Americans in May, Japanese surrender here after inflicting 60,000 American casualties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>August 6, 1945</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>180,000 killed, wounded, or missing after atomic bomb is dropped. Two days later Soviet Union enters war against Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagasaki</td>
<td>August 9, 1945</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Second bomb is dropped after Japanese delay surrender. 80,000 killed or missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-J Day</td>
<td>September 2, 1945</td>
<td>Tokyo Bay</td>
<td>Japan surrenders with one term: the emperor must retain his throne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference /Treaty</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Highlights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty</td>
<td>August 23, 1939</td>
<td>Germany, Soviet Union</td>
<td>Hitler and Stalin sign non-aggression pact which meant the Soviets would not intervene if Poland were invaded. Hitler later invaded Russia (June 22, 1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Conference</td>
<td>August 1941</td>
<td>Great Britain, US</td>
<td>FDR and Churchill approve the Atlantic Charter which supported self-determination, a new permanent system of general security (a new League of Nations), and the right of people to regain governments abolished by dictators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca Conference</td>
<td>January 1943</td>
<td>Great Britain, US</td>
<td>FDR and Churchill agree to step up Pacific war, invade Sicily, increase pressure on Italy and insist on an unconditional surrender of Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teheran Conference</td>
<td>November 1943</td>
<td>Great Britain, US, Soviet Union</td>
<td>Allies agree to launch attacks from Russia on the east at the same time as US and Great Britain attack from west.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yalta Conference</td>
<td>February 1945</td>
<td>Great Britain, US, Soviet Union</td>
<td>Stalin agreed that Poland would have free elections after the war and that the Soviets would attack Japan within three months of the collapse of Germany. Soviets receive territory in Manchuria and several islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco Conference</td>
<td>April 22, 1945</td>
<td>50 nations</td>
<td>United Nations Charter approved establishing a Security Council with veto power for the Big Five powers (US, Great Britain, France, China, and Soviet Union) and a General Assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potsdam Conference</td>
<td>July 1945</td>
<td>U.S, Great Britain, Soviet Union</td>
<td>Pres. Truman met with Stalin and Churchill and agreed that Japan must surrender or risk destruction. Atomic bomb successfully tested on July 16 and then dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HARRY TRUMAN’S PRESIDENCY AND THE COLD WAR

I. Roots of the Cold War
   A. U.S. point of view
      1. Stalin seemed intent on creating “spheres” of influence in Eastern Europe
         a. Yalta Conference: Soviet pledge to allow democratic elections in E. Europe was
            broken incl. Poland, Romania, Bulgaria. Later Czechoslovakia & Hungary dominated
            by Moscow.
         b. USSR refused to release E. Germany while the US, British and French allowed their
            western zones to be unified into a new democratic West Germany.
      2. US wanted democracy spread throughout the world with a strong international
         organization to maintain global peace (United Nations)
   B. Soviet point of view
      1. US did not open western front in W. Europe early enough; millions of Soviet soldiers died
         fighting the brunt of Nazi armies alone until mid-1944.
      2. The US and British froze Russia out of the atomic bomb project.
      3. US terminated lend-lease to Moscow in 1945 and refused $6 billion plea
         from Stalin while granting Britain $3.75 billion in 1946.
      4. Soviets wanted a security guarantee for the Soviet western border, especially in Poland
         a. USSR twice attacked by Germany in 20th century.
            b. Eastern Europe would become a “buffer zone”
   C. Partitioning
      1. Korea & Vietnam split into northern and southern zones controlled by communists in the north
         and pro-democracy forces in the south.
      2. Germany split into 4 zones with Berlin also being split in to quadrants. Issue of Berlin nearly
         resulted in full-scale war in 1948-49

II. Shaping the Postwar World
   A. Bretton Woods Conference (1944): International Monetary Fund (IMF) created by western Allies
      1. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) founded to promote
         economic growth in war-torn and underdeveloped areas; stabilize currencies
      2. Soviets declined to participate
   B. United Nations
      1. Yalta Conference -- “Big Three” had called for a conference on world
         organization to meet in April 1945 in the United States
      2. Dumbarton Oaks Conference (August 21-October 7, 1944)
         -- Laid the basis for the United Nations Charter
         a. UN Charter created a General Assembly composed of all member nations which
            would act as the ultimate policy-making body.
         b. Security Council composed of US, USSR, China, Britain, and France (+ 6
            additional nations elected by the General Assembly for 2 year terms)
   C. The German Question
      A. Nuremberg Trials
         1. Potsdam Conference had decided on punishing war crimes and for a program
            of denazifying Germany.
         2. Allies tried 22 top Nazis at Nuremberg, Germany during 1945 and 1946.
         3. 12 Nazis hanged and seven sentenced to long jail terms.
         4. Legal critics in U.S. condemned proceedings as judicial lynchings because the victims
            were tried for offenses that had not been clear-cut crimes when the war began.
      B. Partition of Germany
         1. Soviets dominated their Eastern German zone after WWII.
            a. Sought to strip E. German resources and ship them to Russia as compensation for war losses.
            b. Did not want revitalized Germany that could once again pose a threat
         2. U.S. and W. Europeans felt German economy vital to recovery of Europe
         3. 1949, a democratic West Germany created; East Germany created under Soviet domination.
IV. Reconstruction of Japan
B. Japanese war criminals tried between 1946-48; 7 hanged (including Tojo), 18 sent to prison.
C. A constitution adopted in 1946 renouncing militarism & introducing Western-style democracy.
D. Within decades, Japan would become an economic powerhouse.

V. Policy of “Containment”
A. 1947, US Ambassador to Russia, George Kennan, warned Truman that Russia sought to expand its empire.
   1. Soviet leaders had an ideology that “the outside world was hostile and that it was their duty eventually to overthrow the political forces beyond their borders.”
   2. Soviet policy in E. Europe, Germany, and Middle East of great concern.
   3. Kennan’s ideas became the basis for Truman’s “containment” policy.
B. Truman Doctrine -- Defined US foreign policy for next 20 years.
   “It must be the policy of the US to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”
   1. Truman doctrine initiated a policy of “containment”: prevent the spread of communism
   2. March 12, 1947, Truman asked Congress for $400 million to support democracy in Turkey and Greece since the British were no longer able.
   3. Truman quickly recognized Israel in 1948 as the new country would be a bastion of democracy in the Middle East.
C. Marshall Plan (1947)
   1. France, Italy and Germany were still suffering from economic chaos after WWII.
   2. US feared Communist parties could exploit these hardships and take control.
   3. Sec. of State George C. Marshall invited Europeans to create a joint plan for economic recovery. US would provide financial assistance.
      b. Congress at first balked at huge monetary proposal but changed course after the Soviet-sponsored coup d’ etat in Czechoslovakia in Feb. 1948 which extended the influence of communism in Eastern Europe.
   4. Plan allocated $12.5 billion over four years in 16 cooperating countries.
   5. Within a few years, most recipients of the plan’s aid were exceeding prewar output
   6. Czechoslovakia initially interested in aid but pressure from Moscow forced a veto.
D. Organization of American States (OAS) created to prevent communism in Latin America
E. U.S. government reorganization and rearmament
   1. National Security Act of 1947 created the Department of Defense
      a. National Security Council (NSC) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) created by Truman in 1948 and 1949.
      b. NSC Number 68 (1950)
         i. Issued in response to the fall of China and onset of hostilities in Korea.
         ii. U.S. would implement a rigorous worldwide defense of Communism with “an immediate and large-scale build up of our military.”
   2. 1948, first peacetime military draft enacted
   3. "Voice of America" authorized by Congress beamed US broadcasts behind iron curtain
   4. Atomic Energy Commission created in 1946 -- established civilian control over nuclear development and gave president sole authority over the use of atomic weapons in warfare.
F. Berlin Airlift (1948-49)
   1. Berlin, deep inside E. Germany, was cut off from the west by Soviet forces in 1948.
      a. Russian response to the creation of the Federal Republic of German (West Germany)
      b. US, French, & British zones in Berlin became an “island” inside E. Germany
   2. US organized massive airlift for nearly a year; 277,000 flights, 2 million tons of supplies.
   3. Many thought World War III was inevitable
VI. The Cold War during Truman’s second term under Secretary of State Dean Acheson

A. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
      a. In 1953, Turkey & Greece joined.
      b. West Germany joined in 1954
      c. Created in response to Berlin Crisis.
   2. Collective security organization that essentially warned Moscow that a threat to any of the signatories would be met with force.
   3. In 1955 USSR formed Warsaw Pact as a response to NATO which included all eastern bloc countries -- satellite countries

B. Soviet Union exploded an atomic bomb in Sept. 1949; U.S. no longer had monopoly

C. China becomes Communist in 1949
   1. US supported Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi (Chang-Kai-Shek) during WWII
   2. In late 1949, Mao Zedong’s (Mao Tse-tung) communist forces defeated the last of Jiang’s forces and the Nationalists fled to Formosa (Taiwan).
   3. Loss of China seen as a major defeat for US.
   4. U.S. refused to recognize the People’s Republic of China (“Red China”) and maintained Jiang’s regime on the UN Security Council

D. The Hydrogen Bomb
   1. U.S. exploded H-bomb in 1952
   2. In 1953, Soviets successfully exploded an H-bomb; nuclear arms race continued.
   3. For the first time in history, humankind had the ability to end civilization.

E. Korean War (1950-53)
   1. Background
      a. During WWII, Russian troops occupied northern Korea while US troops occupied southern Korea.
      b. Before leaving in 1949, both set up rival regimes on each side of the 49th parallel.
         -- North Korea led by Communist dictator Kim Il-Sung
      c. Sec. of State Dean Acheson claimed Korea was outside essential US defense perimeter in the Pacific and U.S. forces were reduced there.
   3. Truman resurrected NSC-68, a call to quadruple US defense spending, and ordered a massive military buildup well beyond the purposes of the war.
   4. UN Security Council (with Russia absent) called for members to restore peace and condemned the invasion with a vote of 9-0
   5. UN votes to establish UN force with Truman’s choice, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, as UN commander who took his orders from Washington
   6. By August 1950, North Korea captured virtually all of S. Korea
   7. MacArthur directs surprise amphibious landing at Inchon behind Korean lines.
      a. Within two weeks, UN forces recapture nearly all of S. Korea as North Koreans retreat behind 38th parallel.
      b. Although original objectives are complete, MacArthur orders UN forces to cross 38th parallel with support of Truman and UN.
      c. UN calls for the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic Korea.
   8. November 1950, 300 thousand Chinese soldiers pour across Yalu River into N. Korea and force UN troops to retreat with heavy losses across 38th parallel.
   9. Truman fires MacArthur
      a. Truman seeks limited war (and announces it Nov. 28, 1950)
      b. MacArthur against limited war -- “No substitute for victory”
      c. MacArthur circumvents Truman and demands total N. Korean surrender.
d. Truman removes MacArthur from command and orders him back to US.

e. Significance: Civilian control of US military is reaffirmed

10. Cease-Fire
a. Negotiations begin in July 1951 and continue for 2 years while war continues.

b. Cease-fire signed on July 27, 1953 (armistice still in effect today)
   i. 38th parallel as boundary is restored.
   ii. DMZ along boundary

c. Americans disappointed at unclear conclusion (WWII had been a clear victory)

11. Results of Korean War
a. 54,000 US soldiers & 3,000 UN soldiers dead; 103,000 UN soldiers wounded
   (including Americans); 2 million civilians dead (mostly in South Korea); over 1.5 million dead Chinese and N. Korean soldiers.

b. UN successfully repelled N. Korean attack on S. Korea

c. US gov’t demonstrated its determination to enforce “containment”

VII. Truman's First Term -- domestic policy

A. Taft-Hartley Act -- June 1947 (passed by Congress over Truman's veto)
   1. Conservative response to powerful labor unions (Republicans gained Congress in 1946)
      a. In 1946, over 4 million workers went on strike demanding higher wages.
      b. Shutdowns in the auto, steel, electric, railroad, and maritime industries ensued.
      c. Much striking activity orchestrated by John L. Lewis, president of the
         United Mine Workers, who demanded higher pay, safer work conditions, and
         a small tax on coal to fund worker pensions.

   2. Major provisions of Taft-Hartley Act
      a. Most important: 80 day cooling-off period for strikers in key industries
      b. Outlawed the “closed-shop” (process of hiring only union members)
      c. Unions still flourished; AFL had 8 million in 1950; CIO 6 million

   3. By 1954, 15 states passed “right to work” laws outlawing the “union-shop.”

B. Civil Rights: gains for African Americans
   1. 1946, Truman created the President’s committee on Civil Rights
      -- In 1947, committee published To Secure These Rights, calling for desegregation in
      American society, anti-lynching legislation and an end to poll taxes.

   2. 1948, president banned racial discrimination in federal government hiring practices
      and ordered desegregation of the armed forces; blacks integrated in 1953

C. Presidential Succession Act of 1947
   1. Created as a contingency for nuclear war.

   2. After the vice-president, the Speaker of the House, president pro tempore (Senate)
      and secretary of state the next in line for succession.

D. 22nd Amendment (1951)
   1. Limited president to two terms; or a maximum of 10 years if he, as vice president,
      assumed the presidency due to the death or departure of a previous president.

   2. Largely a conservative move in the face of over 17 years of continuous Democratic rule
      in the White House (FDR and Truman)

VIII. Anti-Communist Crusade -- "Red Scare"

A. American Fears -- Paranoia about communism and its sympathizers began to set in due to:
   1. Communism at home: fear of spies infiltrating U.S. gov’t: Alger Hiss, Rosenbergs


   3. Spread of communism around the world (E. Europe, fall of China in 1949, Korea)

   4. Demagogue politicians using fear for gain (HUAC, McCarthy)

   5. Fear of another depression (recessions in 1946-47 and early ‘50s triggered concerns)

   6. Culture reflected these fears: movies such as Invasion of the Body Snatchers, The Blob, They

B. Smith Act of 1940
   1. Made it illegal to advocate the overthrow of the government by force or to belong
      to an organization advocating such a position.

   2. Used by Truman administration to jail leaders of the American Communist Party.

C. Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) indicts Alger Hiss, 1947
1. HUAC created in 1945 to root out communism during the “Red Scare” after WWII that lasted into the mid-1950s.
   a. Committee was sensationalistic, including going after public figures in Hollywood.
   b. Liberals and members of the New Deal targeted
   c. Senate counterpart to HUAC also active in anti-communist investigations.
2. Richard Nixon led the movement to indict Alger Hiss, a distinguished member of the “eastern establishment,” prominent ex-New Dealer, and current member of U.S. State Department
3. Hiss denied being a Communist agent in the 1930s but was convicted of perjury in 1950 and sentenced to 5 years in prison.
4. The case brought Nixon national prominence; was elected vice president 5 years later.

D. Truman’s “loyalty” program
1. Truman countered HUAC with anti-communist programs of his own.
   a. Attorney General identified 90 “disloyal” organizations who were not given the right to prove their innocence.
   b. Truman gave FBI approval and resources to go after suspected “reds”
2. Loyalty Review Board investigated more than 3 million fed. employees
3. Loyalty oaths were increasingly demanded of employees, esp. teachers
4. Many felt civil liberties were being suppressed.
5. Gov’t employees forbidden to:
   a. Criticize US foreign policy
   b. Advocate equal rights for women
   c. Own books on socialism
   d. Attend foreign films

E. McCarran Internal Security Bill (1950)
1. Required communist-front organizations to register with the attorney general and prevented their members from defense work and travel abroad.
2. Truman vetoed this bill which authorized the President to arrest and detain suspicious persons during an “internal security emergency”.
   a. Many felt this bill was a step towards a police state.
   b. Congress passed it anyway

F. The Rosenbergs, 1954
1. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted and executed for allegedly giving atomic bomb secrets to the Soviets.
2. Both were avowed communists.

G. Blacklisting
1. Many actors, writers, and directors had dabbled with the Communist Party in the 1930’s when it was considered fashionable.
2. 10 of these movie industry people, the “Hollywood Ten” refused to testify and decided to go to prison rather than testifying to the HUAC claiming protection from the Constitution.
3. The industry responded by denying work to 250 actors, writers, and directors.

H. McCarthyism
1. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Republican from Wisconsin) became a demagogue
2. In Feb. 1950, asserted that scores of unknown Communists were in the Dept. of State
   a. His technique was to make sweeping accusations, employ guilt by association and documents out of context
   b. Public convinced he was looking out for national security.
   c. Was unable to substantiate his claims but ruined many gov’t officials.
   d. Almost no one was safe from his accusations.
   e. Supporters tended to be Republican and blue-collar
3. Other Accusations:
   a. Claimed Democratic party was guilty of 20 years of treason
   b. Wanted Truman impeached for being soft on communism
   c. Claimed George Marshall was an instrument of Soviet conspiracy.
   d. Hinted Eisenhower was “soft on communism.”
e. McCarthy would slander people and claim they were homosexual as well as communist.

4. McCarthy’s Senate hearings created an atmosphere of conformity and fear

5. Eisenhower despised McCarthy but did little to oppose him

6. Downfall of McCarthy occurred when he took on the Army in 1954
   a. McCarthy was intensely examined by Joseph Welch, Army attorney.
   b. By Dec., 1954, Senate passed a resolution condemning McCarthy 67-22
   c. McCarthy died three years later from alcohol and exhaustion.

7. Did the end of McCarthy signal the end of the red scare? Not really, but hysteria did mellow.
   a. Sputnik caused some hysteria in 1957; Americans feared Soviets technologically superior.
   b. Many Americans built bomb shelters in their back yards fearing nuclear war with Soviets
   c. School’s continued “duck and cover” drills to prepare for a nuclear attack.
   d. John Birch Society, an ultra-conservative nationalist group, emerged in late 1950s.
   e. Aggressive rooting out of suspected communists still existed.

IX. Election of 1948 -- Truman defeats Dewey in a stunning upset (303-189)

A. Democrats were split into three camps: Truman, southern States’ Rights Party led by Strom Thurmond of S.C., and the new Progressive party who nominated Henry Wallace.

B. Thomas Dewey was nominated by the Republicans; Earl Warren v.p. nominee
   -- Platform included anti-“big-labor” plank and reduction of New Deal policies.

C. Truman called for housing, full employment, and higher minimum wage, better farm supports, new TVAs and extension of Social Security and more civil rights for African Americans.

D. Truman’s victory came with support from farmers, workers, and blacks who felt threatened by the Republicans.

E. Democrats established clear majority in both houses of Congress

X. The “Vital Center”: 1948-1968

A. A political consensus developed in America, although bitter political wrangling continued to characterize America.

B. Three major components to the “vital center” common in both major parties:
   1. Anti-communism; containment
   2. Belief that economic growth can solve all of society’s problems
   3. Political pluralism: belief that a variety of ideas can compete in America.

C. The “vital center” elected Truman in 1948; Eisenhower in 1952 & 1956; Kennedy in 1960; and Johnson in 1964.

D. Flaws in the “vital center”
   1. Vietnam War exposed problems with containment
   2. As many as 25% of Americans lived in poverty; the economic boom did not “lift all boats”
   3. Jim Crow demonstrated lack of true pluralism in America

E. “Vital Center” is shattered in 1968
   1. Vietnam War pits hawks against doves; amplifies generation gap
   2. White conservative backlash against liberalism— “Great Society” programs of Johnson, the civil rights movement, and apparent lack of law and order. -- Popular TV show: All in the Family with Archie Bunker as a “loveable” bigot

XI. Truman’s FAIR DEAL

A. The only major successes were raising the minimum wage, public housing and extending old-age insurance to more beneficiaries (SSA of 1950)

B. Sec. of Agriculture’s proposed program of continued price supports for farmers failed to be passed by Congress and surpluses continued to pile up.

C. In essence, Truman was able to preserve New Deal programs but unable to add to it.

D. Coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats prevented little more than the maintenance of existing programs.

E. Truman decides not to run for reelection in 1952
   1. Military deadlock in Korea, war-induced inflation, and White House scandal.
   3. Election of 1952, Eisenhower defeats Stevenson 442-89. Nixon is VP.

XII. American Society in the Post-WWII era (1945-1970)

A. GI Bill of Rights
1. Response to unemployment fears resulting from 15 million returning GIs from WWII.
2. Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944 sent millions of veterans to school.
   a. Majority attended technical and vocational schools.
   b. Eventually, about $14.5 spent on program.
3. Veteran’s Administration (VA) guaranteed about $16 billion in loans for veterans to buy homes, farms, and small businesses.

B. Baby Boom
1. In the 1950s, population grew by over 28 million; 97% in urban and suburban areas.
2. Between 1946 and 1961, 63.5 million babies were born.
3. Proportional growth in population unprecedented in American history.

1. National income nearly doubled in 1950s; almost doubled again in 1960s.
   a. Americans enjoyed about 40% of world's wealth despite accounting for only 6% of population.
   b. By mid-1950s, 60% of Americans owned their own homes compared with only 40% in the 1920s.
   c. Majority of postwar jobs went to women in urban offices and shops.
   d. Economy largely fueled by the growth of the defense industry.
   e. Cheap energy and increased supply of power facilitated growth.
   f. Rising productivity (due to increases in education and technology) increased the average Americans standard of living two-fold.
2. Consumerism mushroomed as Americans had more disposable income
3. Middle class
   a. 5.7 in 1947; over 12 million by early 1960s.
   b. Suburbs
      i. Grew 6X faster than cities in 1950s.
      ii. Resulted from increased car production, white flight from urban areas due to black migration into Northern and Midwestern cities, and gov’t policies that insured both builders and homeowners.
   c. Cult of domesticity re-emerges
      i. A few advocated that science supported the idea that women could only find fulfillment as a homemaker.
      ii. The concept of a woman’s place being in the home was widespread in magazines, TV, and society in general. -- TV shows included Father Knows Best, Ozzie & Harriet, Leave it to Beaver,
      iii. Dr. Benjamin Spock: The Commonsense Book of Baby and Child Care
         -- Sold an average of 1 million copies per year between 1946 and 1960.
         -- Message: Women’s primary responsibility was to stay home and nurture their children.