

HIST 322 Notes

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Feedback is always appreciated. If you find errors or omissions, please take a moment and send email to <jberry@calpoly.edu>. Thanks.

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1 Course Outline

1. Progressivism
 - (a) Farmer Roots
 - (b) Colored Farmer's Alliance
 - (c) Jim Crow
 - (d) Working CLass
 - (e) Urban Ghettos
 - (f) Company Towns
 - (g) The IWW
 - (h) Progressivism at the State Level
2. National Progressivism
 - (a) Trust-busting and regulation
 - (b) Conservation and preservation
 - (c) Republican split
 - (d) Election of 1912

Identification Terms

Populist, Social Darwinism, Laissez faire economics, Colored Farmers Alliance, Jim Crow, Triangle, Shirtwaist Fire, Ludlow Massacre (?), Lawrence, Mass. Strike, Wisconsin Idea, John Muir

Objectives

1. Getting past liberalism vs. conservatism in American Politics
2. Hip (popular) culture as a celebration of the hybrid
3. Civil Rights as a process and not an event
4. The dangers of absolutes

2 Progressivism

An era where Americans begin to experiment with a lot of reform.

What was it that made Americans want to change their country? (We should contemplate this, but we're not going to directly discuss this.)

Issues (what forces a change in a country?):

- Industrialization
- Urbanization (rise of the cities, immigration)

2.1 Farmer Roots

The farmers are a group of individuals who very much feel they have been left behind by industrialization. They have a lot of complaints about their loss of status; they're no longer at the center of politics anymore and the political system isn't working for them anymore.

2.1.1 The Grange

A farmers' social organization. It has existed since the 1860s. The Grange isn't a political organization, but people start talking to each other about political issues. They realize that many of the issues are the same for many farmers.

Politically it doesn't go very far, and another group replaces them.

2.1.2 The Farmers' Alliance

First it's down in the South. This is largely because agriculture is very impoverished in the Southern US. During the 1880s you don't go to the bank to borrow money, you go to the store and get a lien against your crop, but interest rates are really, really high.

The Farmers' Alliance is beginning to realize in the late 1880s that they are a rather large political group. They formed the Populist party. They have huge support across the country, and given the Republican rise to power several decades earlier, it wasn't completely unrealistic that the Populists could take control.

The Populists want to use government to solve people's problems. The government should be able to do things like solve problems with the railroads, or with the furnishing merchants (those who gave liens to the farmers).

Populists want:

- Government ownership of the railroads.
- Direct election of Senators. Before they were elected by the state legislatures, so in a lot of states, big business was deciding who the senators would be.
- The initiative and the referendum.
- The sub-treasury. (Solution to the problem of the furnishing merchant)

- Free silver

They're fighting against Social Darwinism. Social Darwinist beliefs dominate most levels of government in the US. It's applying Darwinian ideas to society. Society operates according to "survival of the fittest". (Therefore, wealthy people work hard and thus deserve their money, and poor people don't work and therefore don't deserve to be rich.) Under Social Darwinism, the government should not intervene with programs like welfare or controlling the wealth of the rich. Social Darwinism is still the dominant system of thought to this day.

The Populists would argue that the values of Social Darwinism and Laissez-Faire economics aren't real; they're just protecting against special interests.

The Populists fall apart in 1896. They reduced their issues to one: "Free Silver" (i.e. allow silver to be used to back currency, which would have created a lot of inflation). The Populists and the Democrats merged for the 1896 election, because the Dems basically had the same issues. They lost the presidential election, and they never recovered from that.

2.2 Colored Farmers Alliance

We're adding civil rights to the discussion now.

Question: What does it mean to be an American? Why can some people claim full status as Americans, but others can't?

The Colored Farmers Alliance is the Farmers Alliance for black people in the South. An ex-Confederate named R.M. Humphrey started it in 1888 in East Texas. (He's doing this for political gain.) It spreads rapidly throughout the South, because small black farmers face the same problems as small white farmers. There is a lot of common ground between this and the Farmers Alliance.

Across the South, there are many cases of the black vote swinging the election in favor of the Populists. Poor white and black people tended to ally for the common benefit, against the wealthy people.

It doesn't take long before conservative Democrats become almost fanatical in their efforts to limit black voting, in their efforts to prevent the alliance from swinging things in favor of the Populists. So they go back to Redemption, which is taking the power back for the conservative Democrats. They start talking about "Negro dominance", using violence, threats, etc. to try to prevent the black people from voting Populist.

2.3 Jim Crow

Disenfranchisement Trying to take the vote away from black people.

Between 1889-1908, black people start losing the right to vote. This was accomplished on a per-state basis via things like poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses (to allow the whites who would otherwise be kicked out to vote) etc.

At the end of the civil war, there were separate schools, churches, etc. for black and white people, but there was no formalized, legal segregation system. Then during the 1890s, we see systematic segregation. We see the beginning of black and white drinking fountains, waiting rooms, train cars, etc. Then there is formalized residential segregation: black and white neighborhoods.

With Disenfranchisement and legalized segregation, we can see that the biracial coalition of the Populists is completely ripped apart.

Many whites thought the Jim Crow laws were a progressive reform.

2.4 Working Class

The whole idea of wage labor (money for work) is relatively new; it came along with industrialization. More and more Americans are in the working class as permanent wage laborers.

Producerism The idea that most of the value in a product is created by the person who produces it.

You see a lot of negative reactions to the growing working class. Furthermore, the working class is getting more diverse. US is getting a lot of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. The working class is gradually becoming more dominant and more diverse. This is perceived as bad because they're not being "Americanized".

2.5 Urban Ghettos

A lot of the working class lives in urban ghettos. Urban ghettos are also fairly new. They're even more disturbing to the traditional middle-class white person, because the primary constituents are the Europeans. A lot of immigration is chain migration; immigrants send letters home, friends and family come over, etc.

In a lot of these ghettos, people are still speaking their native language and not Americanizing; not integrating themselves into the US culture.

The working class starts to care about social reform because of the awful conditions in which they live.

2.5.1 **Triangle Shirtwaist Fire**

An incident that occurs in New York in 1911. Packed in with the ghettos are sweatshops where people work.

The Triangle Shirtwaist is a 10-story building, with sweatshops. On one of the top floor, there is the Triangle Shirtwaist company with Yiddish women working there. A fire breaks out and spreads rapidly on the 8th floor. So everyone tries to head out to the fire exits, but they're locked and they can't get out. So they take the elevators, but they're small. So some women jump down the elevator shaft, or out the windows.

The fire dept shows up, but the ladders aren't long enough.

128 were killed. Many get out by going to the roof and climbing to other buildings.

In the aftermath, New York does start to pass tougher regulations to make sure people can get out in case of fire, putting in fire sprinklers, etc.

2.6 **Company Towns**

If there's a need for a lot of labor, but no nearby population, a company will literally build a town. Sometimes they abuse: overcharge for rent, don't fix things, pay in Script instead of real money, etc.

In most cases, this is very hard, dirty, low-paid work.

So, workers try to organize (Unionization) to prevent/fix these things. But in rural settings, it's difficult to unionize (even though there is the greatest need for a union). How can you go on strike when you're living in a company house?

2.6.1 **Ludlow Massacre**

In Colorado, 1913, the United Mine Workers try to take on the mine owners. So they get the miners organized, and they sign deals with landowners to allow them to put up tent cities before they go on strike. In Sept 1913, they go on strike (mostly coal miners). The strike lasts all winter. It's very bitter, there is violence on both sides. The mine owners hire guards to guard the mines and harass the workers.

By the time Spring comes around, the strike is still going. A large group of guards has descended on the tent city at Ludlow. Shooting breaks out between the miners (mostly Polish) and the guards. The miners have dug trenches in the bottom of their tents. The miners are getting the worse end. They take the opportunity when a train pulls in front of them and they flee. Once the trains clear, the guards throw kerosene on the tents and light them on fire. Several women and children were burned to death.

The response is predictable: the violence spirals out of control. Ultimately, Wilson (the US president) has to send in federal troops to quell the violence and get production going again.

2.7 The IWW

Probably the most notorious union from this era. Stands for “Industrial Workers of the World”. Created in 1905 in Chicago. Basically wanted to take over the country by organizing the whole working class into one big union and going on strike. They are a very militant group.

Unlike other unions, the IWW is interested in organizing everyone (African Americans, women, unskilled labor, skilled labor, etc.).

2.7.1 Lawrence, Mass. Strike

Also known as the “Bread and Roses” strike, because it’s women doing most of the striking.

Lawrence, Mass. is a town that’s primarily devoted to textiles. For decades, people have been producing textiles here. By 1912, when the strike takes place, the labor force has turned over several times. At the time it’s mostly Italians and Eastern Europeans. Very low pay, child labor, people die early from inhaling nasty things, people lose fingers, no safety standards, etc.

The state of Mass passes a law limiting women to a 52-hour work week. But they work more, because they need the money. But when they realize their pay is essentially cut, they spontaneously self-organize and strike.

At this point, the IWW shows up. They send in their organizers to help the women, and they’re very successful because they have experience. With the help of the IWW, the strike rapidly shuts down the textile mills and the city of Lawrence.

Predictably, the company (the American Wollens Company) starts to get pretty desperate. So they come up with a scheme to break the union. They pay someone to plant dynamite into various union offices. They call the police: “they’re about to conduct a bombing campaign”. The police find the dynamite, but the IWW gets hold of the guy who planted it and he confesses. The IWW gets off the hook, the guy goes to jail and commits suicide.

AWC gets desperate and uses the pretext of a shooting to round up all the IWW organizers. Police throw them in jail without trial, and ship them off to elsewhere where they sit for months. The strike starts to wobble, and Big Bill Haywood steps in.

BBH had been a coal miner his whole life. He was a pretty effective organizer, it’s hard to arrest him because he’s a public figure. He brings a new tactic: suggests sending all the children away from Lawrence. The theory is, why not send the children away to various home (check them out, make sure they’re good homes, etc) and that way the women can devote their full time to striking. It also makes for good publicity.

So they do it, and the city passes an ordinance saying you can’t send out children anymore. So the union challenges it and tries to send out more. of course, violence

breaks out and we end up with police clubbing women and children. After this, they have to cave because Lawrence and the AWC look horrible here.

This incident is important because they proved that women can be unionized. It punches holes in a lot of myths that you can't organize some segments of the working class.

2.8 Progressivism at a State Level

2.8.1 Wisconsin Idea

Governor of Wisconsin in 1900: has progressive goals. (XXX what's his name?)

Primary interests in Wisconsin: railroad

While the governor is in office, he passes legislation for things like progressive income tax, labor laws, etc. He does this by bringing in expertise from the University of Wisconsin in Madison. He works with them to create legislation. These various fields (Sociology, Psychology, etc.) can act as an independent base for legislation.

The Wisconsin Idea is incorporating these ideas from science into law.

2.8.2 California

The situation in CA is a bit different. A lot of Western states are dominated by a few large corporations (in 1900). Usually, it's one particular industry, and they often exert a great deal of control over the state legislature and the US senate.

In CA in particular, there is one railroad that pisses everyone off: The Southern Pacific. They are overconfident, so they do things that are probably detrimental.

In the mid-1890s, there was a conflict over transport in/out of the bay area. Southern Pacific had a monopoly over this transport. A guy named John Davies sets up a ferry service to compete with SP. SP doesn't let him do that, they block his ferry in. So he rams them and damages them. In retaliation, SP refuses to let him through their drawbridge. So he destroys it.

A grand jury is convened to investigate, and refuses to convict him. Californians are so upset over SP control, that they allow the vigilatism to pass.

SP gets finally kicked out of politics in 1910. Hiram Johnson was elected, he passes a bunch of progressive reform.

2.8.3 Jim Crow/Disenfranchisement

Jim Crow/Disenfranchisement is classified as "progressivism".

3 National Progressivism

3.1 Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt will dominate this era. He's pretty conservative, though. He's tinkering around the edges; trying to fix some of the worst aspects of capitalism, but he basically believes the system is sound.

- Returned from the Spanish-American war
- Elected governor of New York
- Got kicked up to Vice President in 1900 under McKinley
- McKinley gets assassinated, so TR gets pushed up into the presidency.

- He's been a war hero
- He was a rancher
- He's published a number of books by the time he gets into office
- He reads (3-4 books a night)

When he comes into the presidency in 1901, he's already a very strong personality. He's going to use the presidency to try to create reform, and to alleviate some of the problems in the country. He refers to this as a **bully pulpit**.

Example of bully pulpit

In 1902-1903, there's a bad coal strike. They're doing really well with the strike, and the nation is almost shut down because the supply is dwindling, it's winter, and coal is really important. So TR drags in the leaders of the union, and the owners of the mines, and he tells them to come to an agreement. The mine owners don't want to cooperate.

Roosevelt gets so disgusted with the owners that he threatens to take the mines over with the army. [*Uhm, isn't this unconstitutional?*] The owners don't test this, they come to an agreement, and they don't have to send in the army.

3.2 Trust-Busting and Regulation

TR starts going after the **trusts**.

Trust A monopoly over a certain product (steel, coal, etc.). A trust controls/owns a bunch of smaller companies.

TR will take on the **Standard Oil Company**, which controls all the refineries. He starts on this in 1904 after his (wide-margin) reelection. He starts a PR campaign and he starts investigating them. In 1906 he tells the Justice dept to go after them. They use the Sherman Antitrust Act (which was already there, but nobody had ever used it).

It's not until 1909 until the court comes to a decision (after TR left office). They find against Standard Oil. In 1911, SO is broken up into many smaller companies. Many of today's oil companies are a result of the breakup of Standard Oil.

He also does this with other industries.

3.2.1 Industry Regulation

The Jungle is written, about the meat production issue. The Federal Food and Drug act is passed, requiring the government to inspect and quality-control the meat supply. But it puts a lot of the burden of reform on the shoulders of industry.

Same thing happened with medicine.

The added regulation and standards tend to kill off the smaller businesses. The bigger companies can take advantage of them to kick out the smaller guy and increase consumer confidence in their product.

3.3 Conservation vs. Preservation

People start talking about the need to conserve natural resources in the 1890s.

Example: There used to be huge forests around the great lakes. Now there's no timber-fu there.

TR formalizes this process of conservation. In the early 1900s, he creates the **Forest Service**. It's run by **Gifford Pinchot**. The forest service is given control of the national forests (set aside by the federal government). The goal is to conserve the land/trees. They do allow timber companies to cut, but then they replant. They manage the landscape.

The federal government is now in charge of managing the land. They used to just give it away. Now they don't do that anymore.

National Parks are supposed to **preserve**. This is where **John Muir** comes in.

3.3.1 John Muir

Poor Scottish immigrant. His dad's a farmer and brings the whole family over all at once, because he couldn't find a church he liked in Scotland.

They move to Wisconsin, set up a small family farm. They work for years to setup the farm, then after about 10 years, they move because the land's been worn out, do it all over again. He gets a firsthand experience of the toll farming takes on the land. He goes to college, and wants to be an inventor.

During the Civil War, he goes to Canada to flee the draft. When he's up there, he comes across a calypso borealis, which is a wild orchid. It gives him a transcendental (life-altering) experience: Nature doesn't have to be used to be valuable.

He ends up in California where he finds Yosemite, where he finds this "manifest example" of his idea. The valley's being destroyed; it's being overrun by tourists, entrepreneurs, etc.

So he starts publishing articles in magazines, etc. He gets the message out to various east coast audiences. So Americans start discovering these natural wonders.

The **National Park Service** is created in 1916. The purpose is preservation.

3.4 Republican Split

TR made a fateful decision in 1904. He told a bunch of reporters that he wasn't going to run again. So he doesn't in 1908. He takes off for the White Nile in Africa and goes on a safari (hunting large animals).

William Howard Taft is a close friend of TR; he is his replacement. TR trusted Taft to do what he said, so he works to get Taft elected. But once he gets into office, Taft and TR diverge.

3.5 Election of 1912

There's a tiff between **Gifford Pinchot** and someone else, and Pinchot gets fired. Taft ends up leaning more and more conservative, while Roosevelt gets more progressive. Roosevelt wants to run for president in 1912, but Taft wants to re-run. So the Republicans (some of whom are conservative) decide to nominate Taft, not Roosevelt.

Roosevelt decides to form his own party: the Progressive party, or the **Bull-Moose Party**. The 1912 election was 4-way:

- Woodrow Wilson – Democrats (considers himself progressive)
- TR – Progressive
- Taft – Republican (calls himself progressive, probably the most conservative)
- Eugene V. ??? – Socialist

All of them were pretty progressive (though Taft was pretty conservative). Woodrow Wilson won, of course. TR split the Republican vote (he still got more than Taft), but the largest body of votes went to Wilson.

3.5.1 New Nationalism

New Nationalism is TR's political platform in the election of 1912. It's the strongest version of progressivism. It's "Progressivism on Steroids". Roosevelt wants to use the federal government to establish a "**Square Deal**". Everyone (i.e. Eastern/Southern Europeans) should enjoy a fair shake at the economic table.

New Nationalism spells out the goals for the creation of the "liberal state", i.e. the large federal government being used to regulate the economy. The federal government is responsible for the national welfare.

Most of this stuff happens later under later presidents.

3.5.2 Wilson

He gets re-elected during World War I.

- 16th amendment (income taxes)
- 17th amendment (direct election of senators)
- Prohibition
- Women's rights (suffrage)

4 Early American Imperialism

4.1 Overseas Empire

- Protestant missionaries
- Expansionistic

Arguments for expansion

- Moral – spread Christianity, civilization, etc.
- Naval expansion (to protect our overseas trading interests), and navies need overseas bases.

4.2 Spanish-American War

A war in Cuba.

4.2.1 War history

- Cuba is a Spanish colony, and Cubans aren't thrilled about being colonists.
- In 1890s there is (yet another) rebellion, which gets pretty nasty. The Spanish bring in Valerian "Butcher" Wyler and creates concentration camps. But the beauraucracy is inefficient and people start starving, getting sick, etc.
- The American press picks up on this, portrays the Spanish as "misruling" Cuba, implying we should save Cuba.
- The USS Maine is sunk Feb 15, 1898. It was on a diplomatic mission to Cuba. The yellow press immediately blame it on the Spanish. The best explanation we have is the fuel exploded.
- McKinley asks for declaration of war on Apr 11. He gets it on Apr 25. The Teller amendment gets pushed into the declaration of war: "If we go to war with Span, we will not take Cuba as a colony."

4.2.2 The war itself

- The war itself is short.
- Spain decides to fight, despite the obvious disadvantage. They send their fleet over, but ours is bigger, their fleet gets blocked into Santiago harbor.
- US Army lands in Cuba, forces the fleet out. The **Rough Riders** are there, taking over the hills above the harbor. The fleet flees, we chase them down and sink them one by one.
- The fighting formally ends on 12 Aug, and the peace treaty is signed on 10 Dec.
 - We help ourselves to Guam
 - also Puerto Rico
 - We pay \$20M for the Phillipines.
 - The Spanish renounce all their rights to Cuba.

4.2.3 After the war

- Cuba becomes a "protectorate".
- The **Platt Amendment** sets out the terms of this
 - Cuba is required to provide us land for military bases ("Guantanamo Bay")
 - They devote their national revenue to pay back US debts

- They may not sign treaties that hurt US interests
- We reserve the right to intervene if civil disorder breaks out
- While we compliment ourselves on having liberated Cuba, Cubans aren't convinced of their freedom and they plan to liberate themselves from the US

4.2.4 How we get involved in the Philippines

- Takeover already planned – Roosevelt sent the orders
- When war breaks out, the plan goes into action
- Adm. George Dewey – commander of the Asiatic Squadron – takes Manila (sort of)
- Hostilities between Filipino revolutionaries and US
- Violent guerrilla war drags on for several years, in some areas till the 1930s.
 - To put down the rebellion, the US uses “Butcher” Wyler’s concentration policy
 - 1/3 of Batangas province dies as a result
 - The colony was never profitable – costly to garrison, requires huge investment in education and infrastructure

4.3 Becoming a World Power

The Big Stick: “Speak softly and carry a big stick, and you will go far.” – West African proverb, which TR liked.

The first test of this is the **Panama Canal**

4.3.1 Panama Canal

- The **USS Oregon** – a new battleship (in 1899), which we want to get over to the Caribbean to defeat Cuba. But it's currently in Puget Sound in the Pacific Northwest. To get over there, they have to travel 17000 miles. Panama canal would cut that journey by 2/3rds.
- Tried to negotiate a canal with Columbia. That falls through.
- Province of Panama encouraged to revolt from Columbia.
- US ensures their survival
- Newly-created Panama and US sign treaty turning over the canal zone to the US. \$25M one-time payment, then ? an annual rent payment

4.3.2 The Roosevelt Corollary

- There is a debt crisis in Venezuela (they borrowed, and defaulted).
- The corollary: US assumes “international police power” in the Western Hemisphere. Europe should stay out. It’s a corollary to the **Monroe Doctrine**
- Used to justify numerous interventions elsewhere

4.3.3 Woodrow Wilson – Moralism/Realism

- Wilson styles himself as a domestic policy president. He has a PhD, is Presbyterian, etc.
- **American Exceptionalism** guides his foreign policy.
 - It’s a belief that american values, etc. are universal goods.
 - These should be exported to other countries.
 - If they adopt these, the world will be a safer and better place.
 - Wilson often puts this in religious terms as a crusade.

First test of his beliefs is in Mexico

- Francisco Madero replaces Porfirio Diaz. Madero is not US-friendly, but Diaz was. But Madero supports democracy. Wilson takes the high road and supports Madero.
- Victoriano Huerta kills and replaces Madero. Wilson refuses to recognize Huerta.
- Wilson lends his support to Venustiano Carranza against Huerta. It’s an ongoing civil war. It takes forever, but Carranza wins and becomes the new leader of Mexico.
- **Francisco “Poncho” Villa** was a Lt. of Carranza, and we’d been supplying him with arms as well. He decides to stir things up and raids a US border town.
- We send the Army down in after him. He conducts a hit-and-run campaign against the US. Before we retaliated, he had maybe a few hundred followers, afterwards, he has tens of thousands. We never capture him (he’s assassinated in 1923) and we have to pull out.
- Despite Wilson’s moral stance, the US becomes even more unpopular in Mexico.

5 The Great War

Before the war – overall, things look good. Human possibility is increasing, technology is getting better, productivity is increasing.

5.1 Background/Overview

5.1.1 Reasons

- Rise of Germany – they were resentful of the British. Germany and Britain get into a naval arms race.
- Imperial Rivalry – These nations are led by monarchs, who like to squabble
- The alliance system – Miscalculations within the alliance system will make it a world war.
- The direct cause is the assassination of **Franz Ferdinand** late in July of 1914. He was the #2 man in Austria-Hungary, and was assassinated by a Serbian. A-H goes to war with Serbia.

5.1.2 How it started

- Austria goes to war with Serbia
- Both call on their allies, and the whole system of alliance is dragged into the conflict
- All Europe is soon at war
- Stalemate in the West – Germany plans to take out France, then turn around and deal with Russia. Also, the Serbians win against Austrians. Additionally, the Russians win against the Germans initially. The result is a stalemate in the West.

5.1.3 American Neutrality

- War seen as an example of all Europe’s faults
- America a “hyphenated” nation – America is full of recent immigrants, and it’s not clear that these immigrants will want to go to war against their homelands. (These fears turn out to be overblown, but at the time they didn’t know that.)
- But true neutrality is elusive – the British control the seas, we can’t trade equally with both sides because the British won’t let us

- Wartime propaganda by Allies shapes American opinion
- Geography against too. Vast, vast majority of trade goes to the Allies

5.1.4 Preparedness and Peace

- In response to American “neutrality”, Germany enacts its own blockade
 - May 7, 1915 – the **Lusitania** was sunk by a German **U-boat**. It was brand-new (finished in 1907), it was a passenger vessel
 - Diplomatic storm against Germany – sinking using U-boats isn’t seen as a legitimate way of waging warfare (the ship gets sunk with the crew on board, vs the British method, which is to accost with surface ships, remove the crew and then sink)
 - March 1916 – Germany pledges to halt U-Boat warfare. They don’t want to draw America into the war by continuing to sink ships using them.
- The US takes only baby steps to prepare (we begin enlarging the army, which is still tiny, and we begin to enlarge the navy)
- America continues to demand non-involvement
 - Isolationism is rampant in the Midwest
 - South also wants no part of it, for slightly different reasons – they don’t want the federal government assuming the vast new powers that would be required to fight the war. They like state’s rights.
 - Wilson runs for re-election in 1916 on the slogan “he kept us out of war”.

5.1.5 Keep the World Safe for Democracy

- Germany’s gamble for victory
 - Russian revolution and collapse of the eastern front – the Russian revolution starts in 1917, and the Germans recognize that if they can get the Russians out of the war, they can concentrate on the Western front.
 - Renewed submarine warfare – The subs are even more effective because they’ve had time to build up and get ready. This is the primary cause for US entering the war.
 - **Zimmerman telegram** – The last straw. Sent by the German foreign office to his counterpart in Mexico to make a deal with Mexico. The idea is for Mexico to stir up trouble on the US southern border to keep the US busy. The US/Britain intercepts it and is none too pleased.

- April 2, 1917 – Wilson asks for a declaration of war
 - Submarine warfare is a crime against humanity
 - War is also part of a larger struggle – a mission or crusade – to bring democracy, liberty and order to small nations. Pledges the US to a **New World Order** – hopefully, world peace.

5.1.6 American Mobilization

- You're in the Army Now
 - Only 200,000 men in Army at the start of the war.
 - There was no rush of volunteers
 - The draft is the only solution – the Selective Services Act
 - * By June 1917, nearly 10M signed up
 - * Some resistance, but almost 90% who are called up, show up.
 - * 2.8M are drafted into the army, and another 2M volunteer. Many of these are immigrants.

5.1.7 Racism in the Army

- Despite being a “War for Democracy”, the US Army is segregated
 - The highest-ranked black officer is Colonel Charles Young – he was forced to resign, the white officers were reluctant to serve under him
 - Another unofficial policy: black officers are limited to Captain to help prevent this from cropping up as much
 - 90% of African-American troops serve as laborers in Service and Supply
- Some positive steps taken
 - First black Officer Candidate School school created, Ft. Des Moines – 1100 commissions, only 1% of the officer corp
- Resentment flares at home – August 1917, Houston riot – Southern politicians apoplectic
 - A regiment of black soldiers are sent to Houston – they're building a training camp for soldiers, the unit needs to guard it, etc. They're very unhappy with the local police force, who are harassing them. Violence breaks out, some blacks get beat up, the soldiers march (armed) on the police station. People on both sides get shot, over 100 troopers participate in the riot. They send the soldiers out of Houston, and ultimately hang 19 of these guys, and a bunch spend a lot of time in prison.

- Overseas black units fare much better
 - 369th infantry regiment (**Men of Bronze** or **Harlem Hellfighters**)
 - * Limited to supply/support roles, which they're not happy about. They keep trying to get in the front lines, and they are eventually given the opportunity to go home, or fight with the French. They fight with the French.
 - * Not allowed in farewell parade
 - * Served in frontlines for 6 months
 - * 1st unit to reach the Rhine
 - * Awarded 171 Croix de Guerre medals for valor by the French
 - * Allowed in welcome home parade (New York pays attention, but most of the US doesn't)
 - * "I want to congratulate you for doing your bit to make the world safe for democracy ... and unsafe for hypocrisy." – A. Phillip Randolph

5.1.8 Americans in Battle

- First stage of the war is securing the sea lanes – not that much of a problem, not a single troop ship is hit by a torpedo. The convoy system works well.
- Next the US needs to get troops over fast enough to prevent a German victory – this IS a problem, though.
- We insist on the slow process of training our own army under John J. Pershing. We spend 6 months training behind the front lines, before we go out to fight.
- In the meantime, the Germans come close to victory, though they don't quite pull it off.
- Germany narrowly fails and American troops and material make the crucial difference in allowing allies to go on the offensive.
- November 11, 1918 – Armistice signed
 - German soil still unconquered
 - New Republican Government in Germany given task of accepting peace
 - Sows seeds of future discontent
- 52,000 Americans die in battle, Russia suffers 9M casualties, Germany 6M, France 5M, Britain and Italy 2M each

5.2 What happens in the US

5.2.1 Organizing the Economy

- There was ample warning that this was coming, but very little was done about it. The government completely lacks the necessary resources.
- Confusion is the result. For example, the War Department starts buying all the typewriters in the country (because they didn't want others getting them – government agencies compete to get the available supplies)
- Speculation (e.g. stocks, etc) is rampant – anything you can buy is going to be worth more next month
- Transportation fails spectacularly. Rail cars keep showing up in the ports, but the ships aren't there yet. So they keep backing up, in one case they were backed up all the way to Chicago.
- Fiasco with Railroads causes other problems. All these rail cars sitting all over the Eastern US are full, there aren't enough other rail cars to ship things like coal, etc. So the nation ends up grinding to a standstill.
- **William G. McAdoo** is appointed to run the **Railroad Administration**.
 - He is charged with untangling the mess.
 - He tells people to stop sending things, period.
 - He starts untangling things everywhere, and in the process invests a lot of money in the railroads.
 - Fires most of the middle managers.
 - By the end it's operating smoothly and efficiently.
- Who said the government couldn't run the Railroads? The Populists had government control of the RRs as a primary goal.
- **Bernard M. Baruch** runs the **War Industries Board**
 - Given authority over all wartime production – told Ford to produce wartime goods, but wanted to continue with producing consumer goods. They threaten to take over Ford factories, and Ford gets the message and does what he's supposed to.
 - Price controls and rationing
 - Standardizes industrial goods – 9/16 inch means 9/16 inch.
- Many other interventions
- Taxes shift – the income tax was passed before the war, and it is extended to everyone.

5.2.2 The Business of War

- Federal control was not inimical to profits. They make lots of money and find out pretty quickly that government contracts are great.
- Promotes corporatism in economy. The most money that's made during the war is made by the large industries. They want to go to one big place for everything, because it's easier to deal with.

corporatism An economy dominated by large corporations.

5.2.3 Labor and War

- Government cooperates with labor, **National War Labor Board** – it intervenes between management and unions. It's a government body that's designed to mediate. Unions shouldn't go on strike anymore, instead they should go to the NWLB and complain. Generally during the war, they support the unions.
- But war is no paradise for labor
 - Crowding, inflation – They pay more for rent, there are more people, etc. So they don't feel like they're getting that much out of this.
 - IWW crushed – they're arrested/deported/broken up, etc.

5.2.4 Repression and Reaction

- Selling the war: CPI – The **Committee on Public Information**, run by **George Creel**. He advertises the war, and “censors” the news.
 - They provide all the raw data to the newspapers, etc. (about 6 pounds per day) They include a cover sheet with the conclusions the newspapers can print.
 - They say you're not supposed to publish anything of “questionable” material, but don't define “questionable”, so (of course) most editors won't publish something if they think it's questionable.
- They never use the word “propaganda”, but that's what it is.

5.2.5 The Espionage and Sedition Act

- Espionage Act in June 1917
 - It's illegal to "aid the enemy"
 - CPI used the act to curb dissent by censoring news
 - Postmaster used to halt "treasonous" mailings. Over 30 newspapers lose their mailing privileges during the war, mostly ethnic working-man newspapers that are anti-British.
- The Sedition Act is added in May 1918
 - Outlawed "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language intended to cause contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute" to the government, constitution or flag
 - About 2,100 cases brought against Americans under the acts
 - Schneck v. US – the Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality, "clear and present danger"
 - * The Supreme Court holds that you don't always have a right to free speech, if that right presents a "clear and present danger".
- **Eugene V. Debs** (Socialist presidential candidate) runs afoul of the laws. He's giving a speech in OH, and says something like "you ought to know your sons and daughters are here for more than cannon fodder".
- Most victims less notorious:
 - DH Wallace – a British soldier who had fought in the war, and had immigrated to the US. When he comes to the US, it's getting ready for war, and he starts giving talks about this. "When you go away to war, you're a hero, and when you come back you're a bum, and the insane asylum will be full of veterans when the war is over."
 - John White – Farmer in Pennsylvania. Remember the atrocities? The German atrocities are no worse than what the US did in the Phillipines.
 - 20 years in jail
 - Rose Pastor Stockes – Writes a letter to the editor of the Kansas City Star: "No government which is for the profiteers can also be for the people, and I am for the people while the government is for the profiteers." – 10 years in jail
- Cities and states follow with their own censorship
- Councils of Defense – towns have these. They're patriotic organizations organized by local individuals to make sure people don't do un-American activities, subscribe to government bonds, etc. Some of them take ... other actions.

- The chief target of the CoDs were German-Americans – many Germans started changing their names
 - An elementary school in WY burns all their German-authored books
 - Gov of Iowa outlaws speaking of German in Iowa, etc.
 - Robert P. Prager – German immigrant, has a distinguishable German accent. He’s disabled, tries to join the armed forces, but isn’t admitted. Works in a mine in IL during the war. He gets singled out, so they parade him through town, making him sing patriotic songs. Prager writes down his First Amendment rights, takes them down to the town square and pins them up. The town gets pissed at him, so they parade him through town, strip him, wrap him in an American flag. The police put him in jail to protect him, the town breaks in, takes him out and hangs him.

5.2.6 The Fourteen Points

Wilson’s idea for settlement of the war

- Self-determination for the peoples of Europe – people should have their own governments of their own choosing
- New principles for international relations
 - Freedom of seas
 - No secret treaties
 - Reduced arms
 - Mediation of colonial claims instead of the war
- A **League of Nations** – resolve problems worldwide, and could use force to resolve things if necessary. Wilson is very optimistic about the league.
- Points are very well-received in Europe. It’s seen as a clean break from the past.

5.2.7 Wilson in Paris

- He receives a warm reception in Europe
- Less warm reception at Versailles
 - Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia created
 - Ottoman Empire and German Empire carved up – self-determination only for the people of Europe

- Wilson also defeated on war guilt clause – Germany ended up having restrictions on their army, and had to pay \$33bn in reparations
- Wilson does win promise of a League

5.2.8 Treaty fight

- The “Irreconcilables” are against the treaty no matter what, but there are only about 16.
- **Henry Cabot Lodge** leads the Republicans in the Senate, wants modified treaty – he is concerned about getting dragged into a war.
- Wilson opposed to amendments proposed by Lodge. He goes to the public to get them to support the unamended treaty. He wears himself out and collapses in Sept 1919, a week later he’s back in Washington and has a stroke.
- Lodge brings treaty up for a vote, it goes down to defeat. Needs 2/3rds vote, can only get 49 to 35.
- The treaty unamended is brought up, but voted down as well. The US never signs the treaty of Versailles.

5.2.9 The Russian Revolution and America’s Response

- March 1917 revolution in Russia leads to Czar Nicholas II’s overthrow
- V. I. Lenin and Bolsheviks gain control
- Allies urge intervention, but only ally with ability is US
- Summer of 1918, Wilson intervenes – we have a lot of supplies stored in Russia and we want to protect those

6 The Roaring Twenties

ID terms: Welfare Capitalism, Model-T, Birth of Nation

6.1 Economics

6.1.1 The Second Industrial Revolution

- What was the first one?

- The second?
 - Technology allows expansion of production without expanding labor supply
 - this means surplus, so people can have more gadgets
 - Technology like electric motors
 - Shift from producer-durable goods (machine tools, railroads, steel, etc) to consumer-durable goods (automobiles, radio, washing machines, telephones)

6.1.2 Welfare Capitalism

- It's **not** the welfare state. (A welfare state being a big government providing welfare for its citizens.)
- New relationship between corporations and employees
 - Provide more social and safety devices in return for less unionism – stock options, retirement programs, picnics, better safety conditions, etc.
 - Corporations also mount anti-union campaigns in the press – we don't want the radicalism of the Russian revolution here; Communism is bad
 - Company unions – It's a union controlled/owned/run by the company itself, with the intent of preventing the employees from joining a different type of union

6.1.3 The Automobile Age

- The era of mass automobile ownership
- Henry Ford pioneers the industry
 - Assembly-line production – specialization and standardized parts. Move the car, not the workers. It's much more efficient to have individual workers just do a single step.
 - \$5 day – workers are paid \$5/day, which at the time is quite a lot – people come from all over. This is double the going wage for workers. As a result they're very good employees, and there aren't problems with people skipping out on Mondays or just wandering off and finding other jobs. Also, their employees can actually afford the cars they build.
 - Price of Model-T declines to under \$300 by 1924
- Alfred P. Sloan at GM pioneers what we think of today as the modern car
- How to get people to buy new ones?

- Model year change – Don't just upgrade the car's machinery (which doesn't happen very often anyway), but update the style, etc.
- Multiple “makes” of the same car – Cadillac, Oldsmobile, Chevrolet, etc.
- Marketing first, then production

6.1.4 Exceptions: Ailing Industries

- Agriculture
 - Most in trouble – the Europeans go back to their farms after the war, so prices for food go down. This is a problem because the US is based in large part on ag.
 - Some do OK, such as on Great Plains, by intensifying their commitment to technology and capital investment
- Coal, railroads, textiles, also struggling – people are increasingly using petroleum, people are increasingly using cars. Textiles are moving to the south in search of cheaper labor, also some overexpansion

6.1.5 Movie Made America

- Film industry moves from New York to Hollywood – it's cheaper, different scenery, good weather
- Adopts new methods such as the first “talkie” the *Jazz Singer* (1927) – a talking film
- Stars become the new celebrities
 - Market develops for gossip about them
 - Their influence and status as a role model scares many Americans
- Scandal plagues the industry
 - The **Fatty Arbuckle scandal** tops the headlines in 1921 – he rents an apartment for memorial day weekend in SF. He fills the apt with booze and women with loose morals. At the end of the party, they find this actress, **Virginia Rap** in the bathroom with her clothing partially torn off, dying of a ruptured bladder. The story is that she had been raped and crushed to death. He gets off (she had an ongoing bladder condition, and the rupture probably wasn't related).
 - Other scandals abound
- Industry hires **Will Hays** to tackle the issue, lobbies against censorship and establishes internal guidelines for self-censorship.

6.2 Culture Wars – Resistance to Modernity

6.2.1 The Ku Klux Klan

- The old Klan died in 1872, reinvented in 1915
 - **William J. Simmons** reinvented it. He goes out to Stone Mountain outside of Atlanta, GA. Erects a huge cross, burns it and pledges to protect the US against negro dominance and protect the virtue of the women of America.
 - Simmons is a Methodist preacher, and his primary job is a history teacher. (!)
 - **Birth of a Nation** – <http://www.uno.edu/drcom/Griffith/Birth/R.html>
 - this is probably what really spawned the new introduction of the KKK. It was directed by **D.W. Griffith**, 3hrs long (which was really unusual). There hadn't been any movies before with battle scenes. Americans think it's very realistic.
 - It shows a version of the Civil War. The second half shows reconstruction. There's a picture of the south being dominated by this "negro government". The hero of the movie is the Little Colonel. It shows the South Carolina legislature (half of which is black), shows the black legislators drinking booze, eating chicken, passing laws allowing blacks and whites to marry, etc.
 - All of this was being presented as reality.
 - Within a decade, the KKK has 4M members
- The new Klan styled itself on the old, but adopted many modern business techniques. "This is an equal opportunity hate organization." It's about hating anyone that's not Anglo-Saxon Protestant.
 - Modelled after other fraternal organizations. (Do community service, drink occasionally, etc.) Americans love these organizations.
- Organized to make money as well as share values – \$10 to join (and the recruiter gets to keep \$4)
- Enters politics – they are a very powerful organization with lots of political members (senators, governors, etc)
 - Most famously in Indiana where Grand Dragon **David Curtis Stephenson** ran the "invisible empire". He controls the Indiana Klan, and also some of the neighboring states. He runs it like a business. He makes himself powerful by making anyone who wants to run for office sign a Klan pledge.

- Even president Harding was said to have joined. (This is open to some debate, it’s based only on testimony of one individual who was supposedly there.)
- Falls apart in a series of scandals after 1925
 - Stephenson makes overtures to his secretaries. He partially cannibalizes and rapes one of them on a train trip. She takes some poison (which kills her slowly), and she tells everything about Stephenson on her deathbed, with appropriate collaborating evidence.
 - Stephenson threatens to expose all the politicians who come after him, but they do anyway, and he exposes them all so we know a lot about Klan members now.
 - By the end of the 20s, they’re down to a few hundred thousand members.

6.2.2 Religious Fundamentalism

- Old style Protestantism doesn’t provide the security that many Americans seek. In general, many of them had come to an accomodation with the new sciences. Many of the sermons were high-brow, philosophical, etc. (read: boring).
- Large numbers turn to fundamentalism – a literal interpretation of the bible. They look for a more black-and-white, right-vs-wrong interpretation.
- High-profile issue is the teaching of evolution
 - The **Scopes “Monkey” Trial** tests the legality of religiously motivated prohibitions of its teaching. It’s called the Monkey trial to make fun of evolution.
 - **John T. Scopes** is a HS bio teacher who teaches evolution.
- Scopes “Monkey” Trial
 - This is mainly a show trial to get people interested/blah about this issue.
 - A lot of high-profile show up in Dayton, Tenn.
 - **Clarence Darrow**
 - * The best-known defense lawyer in the early 20th century.
 - * Atheist
 - * Controversial – got some kids who had murdered off on insanity
 - **William Jennings Bryan**
 - * After he failed at his bid for the presidency, he turns to religious fundamentalism.

- It’s pretty obvious from the get-go that Scopes is guilty.
- It shows the divide that exists between Americans
- Results are mixed
 - * Many think Bryan did a really good job at defending the Bible in the rural areas. Many urbanites think of this as a laughing-stock.
 - * Many urban Americans feel the case exposed the “silliness” of religious fundamentalism.
 - * Many states emboldened to pass laws against the teaching of evolution. Most don’t pull these laws until the 60s and 70s.
- Billy and Aimee – Rev. **Billy Sunday** and **Aimee Semple McPherson**
 - The greatest threat to fundamentalism was not from Scopes or Darrow, but from Hollywood and other Protestant denominations
 - Rev. Billy Sunday
 - * Turns religion into a consumer product like any other – mass revivals, mass marketing, up-to-date business management techniques. Sermons hit on political themes.
 - * Very anti-Radical
 - * “America is not a country for dissenters to live in.”
 - * “If some of you women would spend less on dope and cold cream and get down on your knees and pray, God would make you prettier.”
 - Aimee Semple McPherson
 - * Not religious growing up – when she was 17, she was converted by an itinerant preacher who married her and took her to SoCal, where they set up their own church, the **Foursquare Gospel**.
 - * She combined fundamentalism with Hollywood glamour
 - * She has a very direct and confrontational style
 - * Foursquare gospel – regeneration, Divine Healing, the Second Coming, and Baptism of the Holy Ghost
 - * Used special effects and drama in church services
 - * Rev. Sunday sold religion like GM sold cars, McPherson made religion into show business.

6.2.3 The New Negro

- Great Migration continues after war
- Harlem becomes hub for African American culture: **Harlem Renaissance**

- Celebration of black culture and traditions – literature, poetry, painters, musicians, etc.
- New types of black leaders emerge
 - * **A. Philip Randolph** and the **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**
 - * **Marcus Garvey**. He creates the **Universal Negro Improvement Association**. He advocates going back to Africa. He speaks of black nationalism – keeping black money, ideas, etc. within the black community. He sets up the **Black Star Line Steamship** company, to connect black groups together worldwide. He eventually gets convicted of mail fraud and has to leave the country.
- Black culture gets a new visibility with whites, too
 - Jazz – in Harlem you could go and listen to it being played
 - Cotton Club and “slumming” in Harlem

7 1930s – The Great Depression

7.1 Hard Times

7.1.1 The Bull Market

- Slowly in 1926 to 1927 then rapidly in 1928-1929
 - RCA goes from 85 to 420pt in 1928
 - Chrysler doubles in 1928
- John Rashkob, chairman of GM, publishes “Everyon Ought to be Rich” in Ladies Home Journal
 - Save \$15/month, and in 20 years have \$80K
- A number of factors encourage the rise
 - Wider ownership of stocks – normal people started investing, for their kids college education, for retirement, etc. In WWI, a lot of Americans started buying war bonds, and people started to learn about investing in the process.
 - Tax policy – changed to encourage Americans to put their money into stocks, etc

- Nothing does more than **margin trading**. Margin trading is like a credit card for the stock market. You borrow a certain amount of money, and use it to invest, and you only have to repay the original amount.
You'd go to the stock broker to borrow money, and give them a down payment. They'd loan you some based on what you borrowed, and you'd have to pay back the money that you borrowed, plus fees and interest, and you could pocket the rest. The collateral for a margin trade is the stock itself.
- Solid reasons for stock rise in 1926, but by 1928 a bubble has formed, so stocks were overvalued.

7.1.2 The Crash

- Slide begins in late October of 1929
 - Oct 28, the market lost 13%
 - Oct 29 was **Black Tuesday** – some stocks couldn't find buyers at any price
- All efforts to halt the slide fail
- Nation's leaders try to present optimism
 - Hoover: "The fundamental business of the country is sound"
 - Schwab: "Never before has American business been as firmly entrenched in prosperity as today" [hah]

7.1.3 Underlying Weaknesses

- Not everything is sound
- Tariff walls were created in the 20s to protect economy
 - Trying to sell other countries things while buying as little as possible – we pass tariffs, and other countries do the same in response
 - An attempt to eat the world and have it too – we're the world's biggest creditor, other countries owe us money, all in dollars
 - With no way to repay their loans, the international banking system begins to collapse
 - Hoover puts the primary blame for the Great Depression on the breakdown of international trade.
- Also, there is a structural problem with the economy

- Wealth distribution is skewed.
- Top 10% has an income equal to the bottom 42%.
- Top 1% holds 34% of the nation's savings.
- This isn't a moral issue, but a consumption issue.
 - Called the “under-consumption thesis”.
 - The problem is not a lack of goods, but too many; too many goods that people can't afford to buy.
 - If the money were spread more broadly, more Americans would be able to afford goods. People have to continually buy things to keep the economy going.

7.1.4 Mass Unemployment

- Goes from 5% to 25% in 1934.
 - It's much worse in some areas. In places like Detroit, the unemployment rate reaches 50%.
 - The “better” areas (such as SoCal) are then overwhelmed by newcomers.
- There's no social safety net.
 - Many blame their failure to find work on themselves.
 - Unemployment is seen as a social and a moral problem.
 - Gradually more and more Americans will start to think that something's wrong with the system, and that it's the government's job to start providing. It turns into a political problem.

7.1.5 Protest and Election of 1932

- Nation highly radicalized by events
 - Iowa – Farmer's Holiday – Farmers are stopping other farmers from selling their goods. They're trying to raise the price of goods
- In spring of 1932 a **Bonus Army** marches on Washington DC to collect \$1,000
 - WWI veterans promised \$1,000 in 1945
 - Want it paid early – most veterans are out of work in 1932
 - Nearly 20K vets march on Washington to promote a bill to pay the bonus early.

- The House passes the bill, but the Senate refuses it.
- Hoover refused to meet with the marchers. He's very standoffish, he doesn't acknowledge them, he tries to pretend they don't exist.
- Legislative session ends, some veterans go home, but some stay through.
- Secretary of War **Patrick Hurley** orders remaining marchers cleared out of Washington – uses the army. 28 July
 - He claims there was a revolutionary threat, but there's no evidence for that.
 - The police go in first and start to clear out protesters. One is running with his gun drawn, he falls, it fires, and the police open fire.
 - The army is called in (fixed bayonets, tanks, machine guns), led by **Douglas MacArthur**

7.2 FDR and the First New Deal

7.2.1 Restoring Confidence

- He comes into office in 1933.
- FDR reassures the people. He connects with Americans in a way that Hoover can't. He reassures them that the president cares about them and is trying to solve the problem.
- **Fireside Chats** – Radio addresses directly to the American public. He talks about things like business is somewhat responsible for the depression. They were weekly (as far as the class can remember).
- He calls a bank holiday.
 - The banking system is near collapse. Thousands of banks have gone out of business, and a lot of banks have been sued/are being investigated, and this reveals that many banks had been engaging in risky activities.
 - Banks are forced to close and not reopen until finances are sorted out. When they reopen, they have to have the stamp of government approval.
 - People's confidence begins returning.

7.2.2 The Hundred Days

- What is it?
 - Special Legislative Session of Congress
 - 1st Hundred Days aimed at providing relief
 - 2nd Hundred Days (1935) would be aimed at security
 - FDR is not a socialist, let alone a communist. New Deal reforms are essentially conservative.
- The **Civilian Conservation Corp** – A program for young people. Gives young men jobs in the National Forests somewhere, building roads, installing technology, doing fire breaks, etc. They get paid \$40/month, and get free room, board, doctor, etc.
- **Federal Emergency Relief Administration** – FDR’s program for the economy. It doesn’t work. It’s designed to encourage corps to increase production (provides low-cost loans, allows cartels, etc). This doesn’t solve the problem because people still don’t have enough spending power. If you’re cooperating with the FERA, you put a blue eagle in your store window.
- The **Agricultural Adjustment Administration**
 - Direct federal role in agriculture – we want to keep it as a nation of small farmers. (Why? Because farmers are independent.) But now farmers are increasingly becoming dependent on the federal government.
 - Government-subsidized scarcity – you pay the farmers to not grow as much. They’re trying to raise prices.
 - Very controversial
 - * Crops already started in 1933
 - * Drives out the sharecroppers – cotton, etc. Sharecroppers farm others’ land and give a certain percentage of their produce as rent on the land. Owners kick out sharecroppers as the way to reduce their acreage.
 - * Slippage – By the time you’re reinvested the government’s check (for not producing as much) in infrastructure, you’re able to produce more on the reduced land than you were able to produce in full before.
- The **Tennessee Valley Authority**
 - It was a systematic effort to improve an entire region.
 - Control was centralized within a Washington agency of “experts”. They’re going to build large public works (e.g. power-generating dams), which will employ a bunch of people, and create many maintenance jobs and encourage people depending on cheap power to come in.

- Conservatives and the power industry denounce it as socialist. They don't like it because the feds basically took over, and the power company wasn't thrilled with the government encroaching on their market.
- Despite all the objections, and despite the dislocation involved in flooding a bunch of towns with new dams, etc, this worked out pretty well.
- This method was never repeated, despite its success.

7.2.3 Roosevelt's Critics

- He's attacked from both left-wing and right-wing
 - **Charles E. Coughlin** – Radio preacher. Goes on quite a lot about Roosevelt's policies on the news.
 - **Upton Sinclair** and his End Poverty Program – running as a Democrat for CA governor. His program is to setup government workshops that employ the unemployed. Workshops would trade with other workshops, so you're creating a barter sub-economy. Also wants to create an old-age pension. He's barely defeated, and only because the Republicans bring in huge amounts of outside money.
 - **Francis E. Townsend's** "Old Age Revolving Pension"
- **Huey Long** – the **Kingfish** is Roosevelt's biggest left-wing critic.
 - Governor of Louisiana in 1928. He's kinda a Populist; wants to redistribute corporate money to poor people.
 - US Senate in 1930 – LA senator. But he keeps control of LA politics. He waits about 2 years before he finally gets another LA gov elected (and doesn't take his senate seat till then).
 - Creates the "Share Our Wealth Society" – he has a plan to fix America. "Break up the swollen fortunes and spread the wealth among the people." Thinks he can guarantee a minimum income of \$2,500/family with a \$5,000 homestead.

7.2.4 The Second Hundred Days

- Expanded commitment to America
 - Jobs, old age and unemployment, clear slums
 - Security
- April 1935 – \$5bn **Emergency Relief Act** passed

- The **Works Progress Administration** is in charge of spending much of it. They do a lot of construction, reconstruction, arts, cleanup, etc.
- **Social Security Act** is also passed
 - Pension for the elderly, unemployment insurance, . . .
- **National Labor Relations Act**, or the **Wagner Act**.
 - Replaces section 7a (in the reading).
 - The model for this is the National War Labor Board from WWI.

7.2.5 Court Packing

- New Deal seemed under threat from various Supreme Court decisions
- FDR's solution is to “pack” the court with new appointees.
 - Increases size from 9 to 15 justices as they reach 70 years of age.
 - There is a huge outcry against the move. Everyone (Democrats, Republicans, the newspapers, the public, etc.) stands up to him.
 - One Justice retires anyway, and the court rules more liberally.
 - He doesn't get the bill through.

7.2.6 The Roosevelt Recession

- By 1937, the New Deal seems to be working
 - Unemployment is down to about 14%.
 - Stocks are up.
 - Farm prices are climbing.
 - So now we need to balance the budget, right?
- Economy collapses again
 - Stock market crashes again
 - Unemployment shoots back up to the 20% range
 - The Depression isn't over.
 - Used as an example of **Keynesian Economics**:
 - * The guiding macroeconomic theory in the Western world
 - * During downturns in the business cycle, the government should spend more to prop it up. During good times, the government could tax more to balance the budget.

7.3 The New Deal and the West

7.3.1 The Dust Bowl

- Drought strikes the Plain in the early 1930s. It lasts until WWII. This isn't new; it happens every 30 years or so. However, farming layed some of the groundwork for this. They dry farm (i.e. no irrigation)
- Farming of 1920s had set the scene for the disaster that followed
 - In 1931, Montana and the Dakotas are as arid as the Sonora Desert
 - Without crops to hold the soil in place, it blows away.
 - Massive dust storms begin in spring of 1933, and they get worse and worse, lasting until 1941.
- One storm in May 1934 starts in Montana, Wyoming
 - Deposits something like 12M tons of soil on Chicago, like snow.
 - Two days later it strikes Boston, New York, Washington DC
 - Ships as far as 300 miles off the coast report having their decks covered with dust.
 - After May 1934, the worst storms center in the Southern Plains
- The federal response is confused
 - FDR wants to build a wall of trees (forest service wants to build strips of trees one mile apart). But this doesn't happen.
 - Drought relief service buys cattle and turns them into glue (literally)
 - Taylor Grazing Act closed the Public Domain (no more homesteading)
 - Resettlement Administration moves farmers out of the affected region and resettles them.
 - Soil Conservation Services teaches them how to farm in a way that does less damage.
- We don't really have these storms anymore because we have irrigation now. (But that relies on ground water, which is running out, so we may have to deal with it again in the future.)

7.3.2 Water Policy

- New Deal ushers in the era of big government water projects.
 - **Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam)**

- * Massive dam on the main channel of the Colorado river
- * Power and irrigation
- * Symbol of public works
- * Many are skeptical: “a dam in the desert?”
- * Success of the dam is used to justify further projects

8 World War II

“We must be the great arsenal of democracy.” – FDR

8.1 The Coming of World War II

8.1.1 Shadows of War

- There was a growing sense in the 30s that war was coming.
- Attitudes about Versailles
 - Japan and Italy both felt cheated
 - * They supported the winning side (the Allies), but got few spoils. Italy got some territory, but not as much as they thought they deserved. Japan felt the same.
 - * They were willing to redress their grievances by force (and on the opposite side).
- Russia’s lesson
 - They have no “side”. They got invaded by both sides.
 - If there is a renewed conflict, the logical thing to do is be neutral.
 - War is a capitalist fratricide to be avoided.
- France’s Lesson
 - Defense is stronger than offense (which is the opposite of their belief in WWI)
 - * They built massive fortifications along the border: the **Maginot Line**
 - * Fight a defensive war and wait for the allies to arrive
 - France could not stand alone against Germany
 - * Germany’s bigger: more populous, and more industrialized

- * They didn't trust the US: the US failed to sign American-Franco mutual defense treaty, or France gets to join the League of Nations. Wilson had promised both.
- * England is a fickle ally. They're not necessarily going to commit to defending the French.
- Britain's lesson
 - After four years of trench warfare, they were exhausted and unwilling to fight again.
 - * Somme River in 1916 – lost 420K
 - * Passchendaele in 1917 – lost 245K
 - * They vow to never hurl a large ground force into Europe again.
 - * They choose instead to rely on air and sea power.
- In Germany, Hitler saw the lessons of WWI as a prescription for victory in WWII.
 - He alone wanted to have another war.
 - He understood that the French and the British were reluctant to fight.
 - * He'll take advantage of their resistance to blind them and rob them of their will to resist.
- Hitler's clever game
 - Doesn't want a repeat of WWI
 - * Germany could not fight a protracted war against all.
 - * He's determined to fight the war in stages.
 - * Get one foe at a time with swift, overpowering blows.
 - * Use diplomacy and alliances to isolate victims.
 - * Take full advantage of changes in technology and doctrines.
 - * Will exploit his enemy's greatest weakness: unwillingness to renew hostilities, unwillingness to unite, and slavish devotion to outmoded doctrines of warfare.
- America's lesson
 - WWI is a mistake.
 - * Popular movies and novels depicted it as cruel and stupid
 - * Nye Investigations in 1934 – Run by Gerald P. Nye (senator from North Dakota). He wants to know: why did we go to war? The investigations reveal the huge profits of munitions manufacturers and bankers. This led to the passage of neutrality acts to prevent a new outbreak of war.

- America's **Neutrality Laws** passed in 1935
 - It was at first a reaction to some Italian aggression in Ethiopia.
 - Bans travel by Americans into war zone (no Lusitania)
 - Ban loans to belligerents
 - Impartial embargo on all belligerents
 - In 1937, these are made permanent with “ **cash-and-carry**” language. I.e. if you bring cash, and transport the goods yourself, we'll sell you the goods.
- Watching from Berlin, Hitler fears nothing from the US
 - In his reading of history, the US was an irrelevant latecomer to the Great War
 - War was lost by politicians in Berlin, who stabbed the Army in the back.
 - America is a mongrel race of timid shopkeepers doomed to the historical trash heap.
 - Hitler scorned FDR's fight with the Depression
 - While forged in the heat of his lurid imagination, his conclusions, at least for the time being, were not far wrong.

8.1.2 **Facism Spreads**

- Japan – seizes Manchuria in 1931
- They trigger a wider war with China in 1937 and occupy large areas of the north and the coast.
 - It was very bloody, and underreported fighting
 - **Rape of Nanking**
 - * At the time, Nanking was the capital of China.
 - * Japanese army murders approximately 300K civilians.
 - * They were told to kill everyone in the city.
 - * There were six weeks of butchery. The machete was the preferred weapon, although this becomes tiring after a while.
 - * The Japanese sink the USS Pinet in the meantime. The American reaction is “What the hell are we doing over there? Get out of China.”.
- Germany
 - Adolf Hitler seizes power in 1933.

- * Outrage at the Treaty of Versailles
- * Economic troubles
- * He uses “extra-legal” means to make himself dictator
- He re-arms the country
 - * Irritates Allies, it’s in violation of the treaty, but they are unwilling to invade
 - * This helps the economy
- He dreams of creating a pure German empire
- In 1936, Hitler remilitarizes the Rhineland
 - This is the industrial heartland of Germany, along the border with France
 - He only has a small army to send – this was a big gamble on his part. If the French had called his bluff, he would’ve had to pull out and almost certainly would have fallen from power.
 - The western powers do nothing (again, they don’t like war)
- Italy is also fascist
 - Benito Mussolini in power since 1922
 - Wants a new Roman Empire in Africa
 - In 1935, he invades Ethiopia
 - * He uses tanks, planes, and artillery to defeat Haile Salassie
 - * Europeans try to halt import of oil and steel to Italy in response.
 - * The US refused to do so, citing the **Neutrality Laws**.
- Hitler annexes Austria and then turns on Czechoslovakia
 - He demands the return of the **Sudetenland** – border region between Czech and Bohemia
 - **Neville Chamberlain** – prime minister of Britain – meets with him in Munich (the **Munich Conference**) to prevent war (Sept 1938)
 - * Appeasement – Hitler is given the Sudetenland. CZ is forced to break up without allies to help.
 - * Chamberlain returns to England having created “Peace in our time ...”
- The sole US commitment at Munich was to send both sides a telegram
 - To Munich: “Good Man”
 - To Hitler: “The government of the US has no political involvements in Europe, and will assume no obligations in the conduct of the present negotiations.”
- Six months later? Hitler takes the rest of Czechoslovakia.

8.1.3 Isolationism

- Most Americans view the brewing crisis with detachment
- FDR repeatedly buckled to the isolationist sentiment
 - He disavowed his former support for the League of Nations
 - New Deal tried to isolate the US economy.
 - He is more concerned with fighting battles at home than abroad.
 - Going into third term in 1940, he vows not to “send your boys to any foreign wars”.

8.1.4 FDR Readies for War

- With popular opinion and law behind neutrality, FDR is left waiting for war to happen.
 - Some money goes into the Navy (defense).
 - Cash-and-carry policy allows some aid to go to Britain.
 - War breaks out without US.
- Sept. 1, 1939: Germany invades Poland.
 - To the shock of the West, Russia and Germany have signed a non-aggression pact.
 - France and Britain declare war, but are busy mobilizing. **Sitzkrieg** (“sitting war”) in the West.
- FDR is left twiddling his thumbs.
 - He has no military, and he has the neutrality laws.
 - He’s reduced to sending a plea to the belligerents. He urges them to refrain from “bombardment from the air of civilian populations and unfortified cities”. (This is funny, because we end up doing this against Germany during the war. :p)
- In April 1940, the Sitzkrieg becomes the **Blitzkrieg** as Hitler crushes France and Britain.
 - This is a completely new style of war.
 - Uses combined arms (all branches of the military together) and mechanized spearheads (a way of organizing troops – tanks are organized into divisions, concentrated into mechanized units; everyone has something mechanized).

- The Germans end up smashing right through the Allies (which had mecha distributed thinly amongst their normal soldiers).
- In April, Germany seizes Norway, Denmark, Holland, and then Belgium.
- In May, they strike into France.
- By summer of 1940, Great Britain is isolated as the sole remaining major power fighting the Nazis at the end of a narrow chain of supply.
- The upshot is now you generally have to have a big army all the time; you don't have time to build up an army once war has broken out.
- There's little FDR can do at first. We have exactly 52 B-17 bombers (the most advanced plane)
- Allies start buying supplies from US
 - Limited by the need to pay cash
 - Also don't want to anger US public sentiment
- FDR does institute the first peacetime draft
- Destroyer-for-bases is the first breach in the dam of isolationism
- In March 1941, he begins the **Lend-Lease** program
 - Shipment of supplies to the Allies, same program runs throughout the war.
 - Still, at least publicly, hoping to avoid fighting.
 - This bill must convince Congress. It must be about something more than the "balance of power". So he talks about the essential human freedoms.
 - The Four Essential Human Freedoms – "We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want. . . . The fourth is freedom from fear."
- Meeting between FDR and Churchill
 - They meet in August, 1941.
 - **Atlantic Charter** – principles they would like to establish:
 - * Right of all people to choose their government
 - * Free trade among nations, freedom of the seas
 - * End to territorial seizure
 - * Disarmament
 - * Eventually endorsed by all the Allies, including the USSR

- Meanwhile, in Europe events proceed rapidly
 - Hitler attacks Yugoslavia to secure his rail connections to Romania and help Italians
 - Convinced of his invincibility, he then invades Russia: **Operation Barbarossa** begins in late June
 - His early successes lead most observers to conclude that he will soon defeat the USSR

8.1.5 Pearl Harbor

- September 27, 1941 – Japan joins the Axis
- Japan begins to take over Indochina
 - FDR tells the Japanese to withdraw or face sanctions
 - When they don't, he cuts their oil supply
 - Click is now ticking, they must seize their own, or give up
- They, of course, decide to gamble
- US intelligence indicates an attack is coming, but where is unclear
- Instead of attacking Asia, Japan decides to knock out the US fleet at Pearl Harbor
- Dec 7, 1941 at 7:53 AM the Japanese break radio silence with “Tora! Tora! Tora!” (“Tiger! Tiger! Tiger!”)
- By 10 AM, they are out of bombs and ammo
- Yamamoto's gamble seems to have paid off.
 - 18 naval vessels are sunk or heavily damaged, including 8 battleships.
 - More than 180 aircraft are destroyed, another 120 crippled.
 - 2,400 killed and 1,278 wounded.
- Victory is not complete, though:
 - No aircraft carriers were hit (none at Pearl Harbor).
 - Oil storage tanks weren't hit.
 - Ship repair facilities survive.
 - Nagumo returns for home, rather than risk another strike.
 - It was too strong psychologically and too weak physically.

- Roosevelt declares war on Japan on Dec. 8, 1941
- Germany declares war on US on Dec. 11
- US is now irrevocably in war. There are no more isolationists on Dec. 8.
- However, things look grim: Japan controls most of the Pacific. Hitler controls Europe and has almost defeated Russia.

8.1.6 Mobilizing for War

- Congress passes the **War Powers Act**
 - President is given almost unlimited authority to wage war.
 - This includes censorship of the news and curtailment of civil rights.
 - He uses his power to oversee a massive reorganization:
 - * The Supply Priorities and Allocation Board allocates raw materials and ends some civilian production
 - * Office of Price Administration
 - * National War Labor Board
 - * In the meantime, much of the New Deal dies out (Conservation Corps, WPA, etc).

8.2 The Home Front

8.2.1 Internment of Japanese Americans

- Dec 8, 1941 – bank accounts are frozen
- Feb 19, 1942 – Roosevelt issues an executive order suspending the civil rights of Japanese Americans and excluding them from military areas – many get ready to move.
- Spring 1942 – General John DeWitt begins rounding up Japanese and interning them in camps.
 - By the end of the summer, almost every West Coast resident that had at least one Japanese grandparent was interned.

8.2.2 Civil Rights and Race Riots

- Black Americans are infused with new militancy after WWI and the Harlem Renaissance
 - They want to know why they're going overseas to fight for democracy
 - **A. Philip Randolph** suggests a march on Washington
 - * To head this off, and appease critics, FDR outlaws racial discrimination in defense industries.
 - * Fair Employment Practices Committee – it's an important step, even if it doesn't do much to fix the problem by itself.

8.3 The World at War

8.3.1 Soviets Halt Germany

- Situation looks grim
 - The most productive regions of Russia are under German control, and Moscow is only miles away.
 - North Africa is falling to German and Italian troops.
 - Japanese have conquered the Philippines, Singapore and made the Pacific into their lake
- The first sign that the momentum is changing comes from the Soviet Union
- Hitler had gambled on a quick and early victory, knew his military superiority may not last
 - Barely fails to grab Moscow in Dec. 1941, weather then halts most operations
 - In 1942, he sets out to finish what he started
 - * Pushes south towards the Caspian Sea, and oil wells
 - * Major battle develops at **Stalingrad**. It's not strategically that important, but it is symbolically.
- Stalingrad
 - City becomes a symbol for both sides
 - Battle was from summer 1942 - winter 1943
 - German 6th Army almost takes it, but then becomes trapped.
 - Entire German Army captured or destroyed.

- Russia isn't through yet.
- Hitler gambles again in summer '43.
 - **Kursk** offensive, largest land battle in history.
 - Over 2M troops and 6K tanks.
 - Germans are defeated again.
 - After this they are mostly fighting a running retreat.
- With some help from the US (Lend-Lease), the Soviets build a massive army.

8.3.2 Allied Offensive

- Stalin repeatedly asks the Allies to open a second front in Europe to take the pressure off his armies
 - Early plans are rejected
 - Instead, the Allies pursue a peripheral strategy: the “soft underbelly” (Churchill's phrase and idea)
 - * Britain reinforces Egypt. US invades North Africa in Nov 1942
 - * By summer of 1943, the Allies are in Sicily
- Allies open a second front in the air
 - We hope to destroy German war capacity and reduce morale
 - Royal Airforce bombs at night and tries to create firestorms. If you can put enough high-explosive bombs down at once, knock out the water mains, etc. you can incinerate a whole city.
 - US forces try precision bombing in daylight. It doesn't work well, especially at first, and it's very costly.
 - Air front is mostly a distraction in 1943, but by 1944, it begins taking a toll on their industry (but not their morale).
 - In 1945, bombing becomes truly tremendous (Dresden)
- In 1944, the Allies finally open a second front on the ground
 - **Operation Overlord**, June 6, 1944. D-Day. Allied forces storm the beaches at **Normandy**.
 - By Sept, Paris is liberated
 - Germans, now engaged from two sides, only look forward to defeat.

8.3.3 High Cost of Victory in Europe

- Despite the invasion, Germans continue to fight
- US loses 200K killed and 800K dead [wtf?]
- As with WWI, Russia and Britain suffer higher totals
- May 8, 1945, Germany surrenders
 - Hitler had committed suicide at his Berlin bunker
 - Soviets and Americans are left in an uncomfortable line at Elbe river.

8.3.4 War in Asia and the Pacific

- Turning point in the Pacific is the **Battle of Midway**, June 4-6, 1942
- Carrier duel
 - ...

8.3.5 War in Asia

- Final island campaign is **Okinawa**
 - Okinawa is the last step before Japan. Also, there are a lot of US troops there still. The Japanese response is also used to justify use of the A-bomb
 - Begins Apr 1, 1945. Largest amphibious operation by US troops in Pacific
 - Japanese resist fiercely, use kamikaze tactics
 - 18,900 Americans killed/missing
- Home islands cut off and under heavy bombardment

8.4 Last Stages of the War

8.4.1 The Holocaust

- Hitler had begun persecuting Jews and other groups in 1930s
- It's not a secret, but most Americans aren't aware of it
 - Some liberal magazines carry the story
 - American Jews try to convince FDR to do something

- But there's no real urgency or attention paid to the issue.
- The story gains more attention as Soviet and American troops begin to liberate the camps
 - Eisenhower and Patton visit **Ohrdurf** in April 1945
 - “I want every American unit not actually in the front lines to see this place. We are told that the American soldier does not know what he is fighting for. Now, at least, he will know what he is fighting against.”
- The full story is that the Germans systematically destroyed 6M Jews, millions of Eastern European slave laborers, 250K Gypsies, handicapped and homosexual people.
- Becomes the symbol of evil in the world. The brutality of the camps sweeps moral relativism before it.
- Discredits racism and fascist ideology.

8.4.2 Yalta

- February 1945 – the Allies meet at Yalta on the Black Sea
 - The rosy language of the **Atlantic Charter** is largely for posterity
 - * British want their colonies back
 - * Soviets want a protective zone in Eastern Europe
 - * FDR is largely pragmatic
- Some agreements are made
 - Soviets agree to go to war against Japan once war in Europe is over
 - Everyone agrees to democratic elections in liberated territories
 - * Germany is under joint occupation and must pay \$22G
 - * Poland is to have “broad democratic provisional government” leading to “free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot”.
 - * Soviets guaranteed “friendly” governments on its borders.
 - * No enforcement or international control was agreed to.

8.4.3 The Atomic Bomb

- Truman is a very different character than FDR – more confrontational with the USSR. Problem is the Soviets have a bigger push
- Learns of successful test while meeting Soviets in Potsdam
 - Believes he now has an ace in his back pocket
 - Now he thinks there's no real need for Soviet cooperation
- Aug 6, 1945, the **Enola Gay** destroys **Hiroshima**. 40K die instantly, and 100K die subsequently
- Aug 8 – Soviets enter war against Japan
- Aug 9 – **Nagasaki** bombed (100K casualties)
- Aug 14 – Japanese surrender, sign treaty on Sept 2 in Tokyo Bay
- Why bomb?
 - Truman said to save lives
 - Critics say Japan would have surrendered anyway
- Leo Szilard and Albert Einstein point out that the bomb was designed to be used to defend against a German bomb. They object to the US using such a weapon first.
- ...
- Many generals, from Douglas MacArthur to Eisenhower and Adm. Nimitz later said it was unneeded.
- Decision to drop two bombs often criticized as well.
- Many suspect Truman dropped the bomb as a warning to the Soviets.
- Defenders point to Okinawa as evidence of Japanese unwillingness to surrender
- Many Japanese historians have supported that by pointing out that the bombs probably helped civilian leaders to overcome military resistance to a settlement.
- As historians, we should realize that Truman never seems to have considered NOT dropping it. The past is a different place.
- Most Americans happy (although that does not make it right or wrong in itself)

9 — Midterm —

10 Cold War

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” – Winston Churchill, 1946

10.1 The World Divided

10.1.1 Internationalism

- Leaders in all the Allied countries try to avoid a repeat of the failures that followed WWI.
 - Want to rekindle world trade
 - New international organizations to ease tensions
- **Bretton Woods** (city) – New Hampshire, July 1944
 - FDR, Stalin, Churchill are trying to take steps to prevent resumption of hostilities/the depression.
 - World Bank – loans and economic plans. The various member nations will provide capital, but the bank will be for the whole world and staffed by different companies.
 - International Monetary Fund (IMF) – encourage trade, stabilize exchange rates.
- The World Bank and IMF in reality ...
 - It's funded primarily by the US.
 - It supports capitalist development models.
 - Soviets, and many other nations, mistrust the bank.
 - * On VE day (May 8, 1945), the US had halted lend-lease shipments to the Soviet Union.
 - * Soviets and client states cut themselves off from these “tools” of Western Imperialism.
- The **United Nations** is created as a new supra-national organization
 - The first meeting for the UN is at Dumbarton Oaks, July 1944
 - To mediate disputes, but also to use military force if called for.

- The actual structure makes the UN unable to halt the Cold War
 - * The real power is in the security council.
 - * Great Britain, France, Russia, China, US all have veto power.
- Its creation is supported by over 80% of the US population. We learned our lessons from WWI.
- There are some structural differences between the League of Nations and the UN that makes it both more effective, and less likely to drag its members into conflict.

- **Nuremberg Trials**

- This is an example of successful cooperation between Russia and the US.
- What do we do with high Nazi officials?
- Trial of high Nazi officials for war crimes and crimes against humanity
- They revealed the ghastly nature of organized cruelty to the world.
- The **Nuremberg Principle** was applied by the court to counter the defense of “following orders”.
- “No soldier or civilian could be required, or should obey, an order—whatever its source—that conflicted with basic humanitarian tenets.”
- This principle doesn’t bring the world closer together, but it will form an important precedent for internationalism after the end of the Cold War. The idea is we hold individuals – instead of nations – accountable for the crimes (e.g. Milosevic in Yugoslavia).

10.1.2 Europe Divided

- The **Atlantic Charter** and **Yalta** – disarmament, nations should be free to choose their own form of government. Except—oops—the Soviets were guaranteed friendly governments on their borders, and the US was guaranteed a free and fair Poland, which is contradictory.
- Poland is a test case for self-determination.
 - The first thing Poland is going to do when they get self-determination is to kick the Communists out. The Poles hate the Soviets.
 - A free and fair government in Poland means an anti-Soviet government.
 - Stalin was promised the opposite.
 - He sets up a mini Soviet Union in Poland that’s a satellite state. It’s an “independent” state, but still a satellite of USSR. This is a great upset to Americans.

- The division of Germany amplifies the conflict.
 - We let a lot of high Nazi officials go back into power, to get our side of Germany going quickly, because they know what they need to do.
 - Nothing’s happening on the Eastern side. The Soviets are taking reparations out of East Germany.
- Despite the high ideals of wartime, the new world looks a lot like the old.
 - Colonialism – once the French get their country back, they want to go out and take their colonies back.
 - Americans talk of human rights and self-determination, but look after their own self-interest first.
 - Soviets advocate worldwide revolution while maintaining strict control of their buffer states.

10.1.3 Containment

- Truman vs. FDR
- **Containment** – Doctrine of using military, economic and diplomatic strategies to turn back Communism and secure the leading role in world affairs for the US.
 - Containment isn’t just a military policy.
 - This is a slowly-evolving policy.
 - Truman vs. FDR – Containment is a Trumanesque policy, not an FDRish policy.
 - FDR was very pragmatic and didn’t want to be hemmed in.
 - Truman is relatively inexperienced, has a bit of a chip on his shoulder with respect to the USSR. Containment allows him to stand up to the USSR, and it is tailor-made for him.
- Truman is more confrontational from the start.
 - In April 1945, he scolds Molotov like a Missouri mule driver for not having kept his pledges on Poland.
 - Stalin responds to Truman with “Poland borders on the Soviet Union which cannot be said about Great Britain of the USA . . . I do not know whether a genuinely representative Government has been established in Greece, or whether the Belgian Government is a genuinely democratic one. The Soviet Union was not consulted when those Governments were being formed, nor did it claim the right to interfere in those matters, because it realizes how important Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.”

- Iran, 1946 – During WWII, we are sending lend-lease supplies to the USSR through Iran. Thus, Soviet troops have moved south into north Iran and British troops have moved into south Iran. USSR troops in Iran is bad because of oil. We don't want them there. We engineer a deal – we get them to agree to withdraw, in exchange for what they believe to be a special, lucrative oil deal. They withdraw, the Iranian parliament starts talking about the deal, and ultimately never passes the legislation to create it.
- Turkey – control of the Dardanelle Straits – USSR wants it because it gives access to the sea through the Black Sea. They want joint control of the straits, and guarantees of safe passage through the area. This is disturbing to the Turks because it would be allowing an enemy into the area. We back up the Turks by sending over an aircraft carrier. The Soviets ultimately back down.
- Greece
 - Greek civil war pits Royalists against Communists. The Royalists are supported by the British. The Communists were supported by Tito in Yugoslavia. Stalin had made a deal with the British – you get Greece back at the end of the war, and we get Romania. The Communists are winning in Greece. The British can't afford to continue supporting the Royalists, so they offer it to us.
 - US and Soviet role in the conflict
 - But how do we talk the American public into supporting this?
 - * We're busy demobilizing the army.
 - * Baby boom is starting.
 - * Consumer spending power is on the rise.
 - * Truman takes the advice of Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg and “scares the hell out of the country”
- March 1947 – **Truman Doctrine**
 - The survival of the American system of free trade is linked to a “Western” victory in Greece.
 - “At the present moment in world history, nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions .. and freedom from political oppression. The second way ...”
 - \$400M in aid for Greece and Turkey.
 - The move proved politically popular in the US because of the “get tough” attitude that Truman takes.
 - The principle of the Truman Doctrine was that the US had declared its right to intervene to save other nations from Communist subversion.

- **Marshall Plan** – named after George C. Marshall, the general and Secretary of State – 1948-1951
 - Europe is in desperate condition after the war.
 - Communism might win by the ballot box – people tend to vote radical during hard times, and Communism is promising to redistribute the wealth.
 - The Marshall Plan is designed to shore up Europe.
 - * \$13bn in assistance. Most of it is grants, some of it is loans.
 - * More than half goes to Britain, Germany and France.
 - * The Soviets are offered it, but refuse. We decide we have to offer it, because otherwise we would look nasty. We're hoping they don't take it and thankfully they don't.
 - * Most of the money is spent on US goods.

10.1.4 Berlin Airlift and NATO

- **Berlin Airlift**
- June 1948 – Western zones in Germany are united to create the Federal Republic of Western Germany. Except we weren't supposed to do anything with Germany without talking to the Soviets first.
- Stalin responds by cutting off traffic to West Berlin (June 24, 1948)
 - Both start preparing for war.
 - US sends B-29 “Atomic” bombers to England. But we don't take any bombs.
 - We make a big deal out of this.
- Instead of war, Truman supplies Berlin from the air, hence the Berlin Airlift. We do this for about a year.
- This was a big deal in 1948, because the logistics were incredibly difficult. They need fuel, food, etc. Nevertheless, we succeed admirably. Also it makes us look really good.
- In response to the crisis, Western Europe and the US form the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (“NATO”) in April 1949.
 - It's a mutual defense pact in which “an armed attack against one or more of them . . . shall be considered an attack against them all.”
- In May 1949, Stalin gives up the blockade.

10.1.5 Cold War in Asia

- Japan is rebuilt by Douglas MacArthur in the same manner as Germany.
- US supports independence in Indonesia and grants the Phi
- China is the real problem.
 - US supports Chaing Kai-shek (Nationalist Chinese), who is corrupt
 - At the end of WWII, Chaing launches an attack against **Mao Zedong's** Communists. Chaing loses.
 - At the end of 1949, Chiang flees to Taiwan and sets up camp there. They're relatively safe there because the US navy is protecting them.
 - China falls to the Communists.
 - The Republicans berate Truman for having "lost" China. (We'll see this again with Vietnam and Johnson – he doesn't want to lose Vietnam like Truman lost China)
 - China and the USSR sign a treaty of alliance in 1950.

10.1.6 Atomic Diplomacy

- Containment depends on military force to back it up. This takes the form of the US atomic monopoly.
 - Truman didn't want to create an international system of control after WWII. Though there are various proposals – the atomic bomb is a totally different weapon and needs to be thought about differently.
 - We begin stockpiling and testing, and we have 50 of them by 1949.
 - We keep putting off the possibility of the Soviets getting their own bomb.
- The USSR tests their first atomic bomb in Aug 1949.
- Both sides stockpile the A-bomb and begin developing the H-bomb.

10.1.7 Concluding Thoughts

- This new world is a break with US traditions. It's totally different from the one before.
 - The things we did after WWI didn't work. So we have to try something else.
 - We are now militarily strong.

- We become the champion of the UN, even though we didn't like the League of Nations back in 1920.
- Even though we passed 5 neutrality laws in the 1930s, we overwhelmingly decide to become a charter member of NATO in 1949.
- We establish the world bank in 1945 and commit \$17bn to the **Marshall Plan**.

10.2 Cold War at Home

10.2.1 National Security Act of 1947

- **National Security Act**
- **Department of Defense** replaces the War department. There's a new cabinet position, the **Secretary of Defense**, who has control of all armed forces.
- **National Security Council** – The highest-level advisory committee to the president. They're not cabinet officials; the president appoints them. They get high-level data from CIA, NSA, etc. and compile it.
- **Central Intelligence Agency** – A permanent spy agency.
- The National Security Act transforms government and economy...
 - 10% of the 900,000 people were in security before.
 - After the cold war, well over 2,000,000 employed, 75% of which are in security.
 - This growth undermines the military-civilian separation.
 - * The Department of Defense starts financing lots of research.
 - * Ex-military personnel are in widespread employment at the DoD.
 - The CIA budget rapidly outgrows the State Dept. budget.

10.2.2 Loyalty-Security Program

- In March 1947, the federal government starts ...
 - review boards to monitor federal employees for Communist sympathies. This was started early on.
 - No proof is needed. There is no appeal. People can lose their jobs with no recourse.
 - Later additions to the program add “homosexual” to the bad list.
- State and local governments, and private companies follow suit.

- What is a “subversive”? The Attorney General puts together a list.
 - Communists
 - Civil rights organizations
 - By 1960, the FBI has files on 430,000 people.
 - If you’re a member of a “subversive” group, you usually lose your job, and the group gets disbanded.
- Truman starts this program, but it gets out of control.
 - In 1950, Congress passes the **Internal Security Act**. Truman vetoed it, but it was overridden.
 - * It required Communists and other subversive organizations to register.
 - * It authorized their arrest and internment in time of crisis.
 - In 1952, again over Truman’s veto, Congress passes the **Immigration and Nationalities Act**, which bars subversives and gays from citizenship.

10.2.3 The Red Scare in Hollywood

- **Red Scare in Hollywood**
- Many people think Hollywood has Communist sympathies, even during WWII.
- The **House Un-American Activities Committee** (“HUAC”) begins investigating in 1945.
 - The investigation drags on for years.
 - They subpoena witnesses, gather testimonies, and generally do a lot of grandstanding.
 - Some of the “investigations” approach the level of a farce.
 - For example, they investigate Ginger Rogers for her part in “Tender Comrade”, where she says something like “Share and share alike.”.
 - Another example: “Song of Russia”. The crime in this movie is they show Russian children smiling. (Everyone knows commie children don’t smile and aren’t happy, right? ;P)
- The Hollywood Ten (1947-1948) decide to stand up to the committee.
 - Ten witnesses refuse to name names. They claim the First and Sixth amendment (freedom of speech, and right to a speedy trial).
 - They are each sent to prison for 1 year to 18 months and blacklisted.
 - Thousands of other Hollywood actors/screenwriters/etc. are also blacklisted.

10.2.4 Spy Cases

- Summer 1948: **Whittaker Chambers** and **Alger Hiss**. Chambers confessed to being a courier for Hiss. He would take microfilms that were dropped in a pumpkin and relay them to the Soviets.
 - Richard Nixon is the prosecutor for Hiss.
 - First trial ends in a hung jury.
 - Second convicts Hiss of perjury.
 - The trial is front-page news. This really places Nixon in the spotlight.
 - We know now that Alger Hiss was in fact guilty, though he didn't have access to really secret documents. He was spying during the 30s.
- Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
 - They are accused of conveying atomic information to the Soviets in 1951.
 - They are convicted using FBI witness testimony that was obviously coached.
 - Executed (electric chair): 19 June 1953.
 - This move is hugely unpopular all over the world, but it's popular in the US.
 - He was demonstrated to be guilty, but she wasn't. He had been involved in the Manhattan project. They convicted her because they didn't know how much she knew, besides which, if she knew (and she must've, being his wife) she should've come forward.

10.2.5 McCarthyism

- Sen. **Joseph R. McCarthy** is perhaps the best-known anti-Communist.
 - He begins in Feb 1950 by claiming that Communists had infiltrated the State Department.
 - Congress gives him his own committee to subpoena, investigate, etc. He keeps claiming to have a list, but he never gives it to anyone. A lot of people recognize that he's grandstanding, but nobody is willing to stand up to him because they're being afraid of being considered soft on Communism.
 - He fell in 1954 after the Army Hearings.
 - * (He'd tried to get some favors for some of his aides. Deferrals, etc. But they didn't cooperate, so he goes after them.)
 - * He accused the Army of harboring Communists.
 - * He goes on TV with the hearings. He doesn't come across as a good crime-fighter at all. He comes across very poorly and is censored.

10.3 The End of the Democratic Era

10.3.1 The Korean War

- Korea is an unwinnable war, which people don't like.
- Nobody's paying much attention to Korea. At the end of WWII it had been divided up into North/South Korea.
- The North (Communist) starts building up offensive arms.
- They launch an attack against the South in June 1950. Nobody in the US is expecting this.
- The Korean War was done as a UN action.
 - The Soviets are boycotting the security council, protesting that China's seat is actually Taiwan.
 - The US asks the security council to vote on Korea, there's no USSR to veto, so it passes.
- We rout the NKs from South.
- We start pushing into North. China starts warning us.
- Nov 1950 – Chinese intervene
 - This is the longest retreat for us in US history.
 - McArthur is afraid he won't be able to stop the "Chinese hoard".
 - There is a lot of discussion about using nukes against China
 - * Truman disagrees with this stance.
 - * He removes McArthur in April 1951 – "the wrong war, at the wrong place and at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy".
 - * Gen. **Matthew Ridgeway** replaces, and holds the line. He pushes them back to approximately where the original Korean border was.
- After Ridgeway gets them back, they sit at stalemate. We continue to defend that line.

10.3.2 The Price of National Security

- The nature of "war" has changed. There are no more formal declarations of war. The last one was WWII, and yet the US has fought many wars since WWII.

- The US assumes responsibility globally for fighting Communism.
- Many skeptics see Korea as a precedent for many future unwinnable conflicts.
- **NSC-68 – National Security Council Document 68 – April 1950**
 - This is a “blueprint” for the Cold War.
 - It asserts the USSR is on a systematic plan of world domination.
 - The US must shift from being merely defensive to actively containing the USSR.
 - We must increase military spending, and perhaps restrict civil liberties.
 - This document sat on Truman’s desk for 6 months before it was signed. Truman doesn’t like the idea of having to sign this because of the civil liberties issue.
 - It was finally signed when the Korean War broke out.

10.3.3 The Election of 1952

- **Adlai E. Stevenson** runs for the Democrats. He’s a pretty intellectual person.
- **Dwight Eisenhower** runs for the Republicans.
 - He has no large campaign issues.
 - He also knows that Americans are interested mainly in stability. He leaves the New Deal alone, and promises to end the Korean War.
 - Vice President – **Richard M. Nixon**
 - * It is alleged that Nixon is taking illegal campaign contributions.
 - * Eisenhower wants to drop him.
 - * Nixon comes out and talks to them on TV. He says he hasn’t taken anything illegally except his cocker spaniel, which his family loves and won’t give up.

11 Mid-Century America

“History does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid.” – Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower

11.1 American Society at Mid-Century

11.1.1 Subsidizing Prosperity

- Eisenhower had a lot of policies that subsidized the middle class.
- The **Federal Housing Administration** – A federal agency that insures mortgage lenders. It makes it cheaper to loan money for people to build houses. They only ensure projects in suburban areas, not in inner cities.
- **Levittown**
 - William Levitt comes home from WWII, goes to Long Island in NY, gets 1,500 acres of potato fields and turns them into 17,000 homes.
 - He’s the General Motors/Ford of house building.
 - This provides cheap housing (which a lot of people wanted). People could move out of the city/their parents’ homes.
 - It also creates jobs.
 - Interestingly enough, all 82,000 people in Levittown are white. Once you buy into a home, you have to sign a contract saying you won’t sell to an African American. Levittown is effectively a completely white world.
 - People also became more dependent on their cars.
- The **Servicemen’s Readjustment Act** (GI bill)
 - Veterans get grants and loans for “readjustment”. They go to college, and the government pays for it. For many of these people, they are the first in their families to go to college.
 - This translates into more jobs, and better jobs, which translates into higher tax payments to the government.
 - Black people could get these too.
 - It’s not just education. You could get loans for buying farms, homes, starting small businesses, etc.
- The middle class is growing, and they need a way to transport themselves.
- The **Federal Highway Act** (1956)
 - This is a stereotypically Eisenhower act.
 - It’s justified as a military necessity, such that they can get troops and supplies moved during wartime. (Of course, there are lots of problems with that.)

- The states lobby very strongly to have the highways go through the cities. Of course, the problem with this is freeways tend to look like parking lots during emergencies.
- It creates a separate tax on oil, tires, buses, and trucks. The money goes into a separate highway fund.
- \$76bn has been spent on 41,000 miles of interstate highway by 1972.

11.2 Youth Culture

11.2.1 The Youth Market

- During the 1950s, people are getting richer. The Baby Boom happens, so there are more young people.
- Young people in the 1930s didn't have much spending power. But they have more in the 1950s; enough so they become a recognizable marketing segment.
- Consumption and production are linked – the youth market can't just decide what they want, they have to make choices between the available products.
- \$10bn/year by the late 1950s
- Many corporations become dependent on this market segment, so it rapidly becomes a large part of the corporate strategy.

11.2.2 Rock 'n' Roll

- The young market segment reshaped the music industry.
 - The TV starts appearing in living rooms. The radio used to serve a lot of the same uses as the TV. The radio has been freed up for other uses, and they're getting cheaper, and they're showing up in cars...
 - Lots of AM stations (thousands are showing up across the country)
 - They start playing "crossover" or cover versions of African American rhythm and blues. White artists are reproducing lots of R&B.
 - The big labels (RCA, Decca, MGM, Capitol) tend to ignore the "real thing".
- Example of a cover artist: Pat Boone (he redid something by Fat Domino (???))
- A lot of people start looking for the real thing.
- **Alan Freed**

- Disc Jockey
- He hosts the “Moondog Matinee” in Ohio.
- He popularizes the term “Rock ’n’ Roll” (which applies to both black and white artists – it’s the same style of music)
- He becomes a concert promoter – bringing acts out of the South to the Midwest.
- These concerts tend to have large audiences of screaming white kids in front of an African American band. (This is a big deal to parents whose daughters are running off to see black artists. . .)

- **Elvis Presley**

- Reinvents American popular music by mixing R&B, country and gospel. This hybridization was a key component of “hip culture”.
- It’s not just the music that’s being sold, it’s also his behavior. He endears himself to the youth group, and antagonizes the adult group. He almost deliberately tries to set parents off.
- His nickname: “Elvis the Pelvis” – because he shakes his hips when he sings. (Why? Well, hip-shaking tends to imply nookie. . .) Hip-shaking at that time was considered so indecent it couldn’t be shown on television.
- He also stands for consumerism – he just spends all his money, he’s broke his whole life even though he makes millions. He buys a pink Cadillac for his mom (who can’t drive) with his first royalty check. His philosophy is “don’t worry about the future, just go with it”. This philosophy isn’t widely promoted – work, school, etc. are all about “sacrifice now, enjoy later”.

11.2.3 Movies: Deviance and Delinquency

- TV is a crisis for Hollywood (or so they thought) – people weren’t paying for movies anymore.
- So they try 3D movies, that doesn’t really work.
- They come up with a new type of film in the 1950s – films with existential heroes.
 - Existential – life only has as much meaning as we put into it.
 - “On the Waterfront”, “East of Eden”, “From Here to Eternity”, and “Rebel Without a Cause”.
 - * They try to convey more complex emotions. There are a lot of unresolved issues.

- * New stars – young, sexy stars.
 - * Tragic heroes (e.g. James Dean) – people trying to find out the meaning of life and not finding much there.
 - * “Sometimes you can’t tell who’s good and who’s bad!” – East of Eden
- Many people (adults) start to feel that movies, music, comics, etc. are inspiring their kids to deviance and delinquency.
 - This goes all the way to the US Senate, which has an investigation in the mid-1950s. The actual statistics don’t reflect the fear; there is only a small increase in “deviance and delinquency”.
 - There is one big spike, however – oddly enough, during WWII, there was a big spike, because the fathers were away at war.

11.3 Mass Culture and its Discontents

11.3.1 What is Mass Culture?

- It isn’t popular culture – pop. culture is Broadway, the circus, etc. which is designed to appeal to a wide audience.
- Everytime you see a Broadway play, it’s a bit different. But TV beams out the exact same show at exactly the same time.
- Everyone gets exactly the same thing, and there’s much less interaction. People don’t even have to leave home to watch TV.

11.3.2 Television: Tube of Plenty

- TV develops rapidly after WWII.
- It was dominated from NBC, CBS, ABC right from the start.
- How do you pay for TV?
 - It’s much more expensive than radio. You need more equipment, a more advanced studio, etc.
 - A corporation would come in and sponsor radio shows. But TV was too expensive for that.
 - They start selling 30-second commercial blocks. Corporate interests pay for our mass culture in this way.
- Early TV was fairly diverse.

- TV has always been dominated by situation comedies. This is still true to this day.
- Early comedies are quite diverse – they deal with ethnicity, real politics, etc. (“The Honeymooners” – Family lives in a 1-room apt, not very nice, they have 2 neighbors. They deal with money problems, things like that.)
- By the late 50s, this is replaced with the “Americana” 1950s TV (e.g. “Leave it to Beaver” – Beaver screws up, dad comes home, solves it, all is right with the world). White, affluent, middle-class, suburban.
- The exception to the previous point is “I Love Lucy” – she continues to deal with real issues. It was also the first interracial marriage on TV (Ricky Ricardo, the Cuban guy).

11.3.3 Cultural Critics

- Not everybody is happy with the generic stereotypes.
- **The Beats**
 - They’re reacting against the sense of conformity that is prevalent in the 50s.
 - They also lay a lot of groundwork for the counter-culture 60s.
 - “Beat” is literal – emotionally and physically exhausted by society always telling you to conform. These people don’t want to get married, live in the suburbs, have 2.4 kids, etc.
 - Jack Kerouac – “On the Road”
 - * Published in 1956, but it was written about 6 years before.
 - * He’d written other books, but this was the only one published.
 - * Most of his stuff written after “On the Road” was stuff he wrote before it got published – he can’t handle the fame.
 - * “It was time for us to move on. We took a bus to Detroit. Our money was now running quite low . . . We were both as miserable-looking as anybody could be after all the thing we’d done. Exhausted, Dean fell asleep in the bus that roared across the state of Michigan. I took up a conversation with a gorgeous country girl wearing a low-cut cotton blouse that displayed the beautiful sun-tan on her breast tops. . . .”
 - * It’s a road-trip across America. It involves drugs, women, etc. and doesn’t have much of a point to it.
 - * This is the beginning of the “road trip” mythology – the idea of going out and finding yourself on the road.
 - Beatniks

- Allen Ginsberg – “Howl”
 - * He lives a long time, and is involved in counter-culture up into the 1990s.
 - * He has a habit of saying whatever he wants, whenever he wants.
 - * He’s married, but openly gay.
 - * “I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked, dragging / themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix, . . .”

11.4 Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

11.4.1 Civil Rights after WWII

- The Great Migration – African Americans moving from the South to the North. Begins in WWI, continues through WWII.
 - When they move North, they get to vote. They have more political power.
 - They get better jobs and are in a better economic position.
- The Democratic party starts to embrace civil rights.
- **Congress on Racial Equality** (“CORE”) – they start testing *Morgan v. Virginia*, which is about desegregated interstate bussing. It’s not really all that desegregated in the South, and so blacks are starting to test that more and more.

11.4.2 *Brown v. Board of Education*

- The NAACP has been following a policy of challenging the “equal” part of “separate but equal” (which came from **Plessy v. Ferguson**). But this is too slow; you have to sue every single time to get things changed.
- In the 1950s, they decide to go after the “separate but equal” doctrine itself.
- **Thurgood Marshall** – 1951 (the lawyer)
- Oliver Brown in Topeka, Kansas
- Marshall uses sociological data to argue that segregation stigmatizes the groups being segregated against.
- In May 1954, the court (led by **Earl Warren**) rules against segregation. He states that “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

- They wanted a unanimous decision (which is very tough to overturn), because it would affect the South as well
- Some of the Justices were concerned that if they make this ruling and set a timetable, they were concerned that people would ignore it and reduce the power of the Supreme Court.
- So the court rules in May 1955, that desegregation must happen with “all deliberate speed”. The ruling changes everything, yet it doesn’t desegregate one single school on its own.

11.4.3 Crisis in Little Rock

- The Southern states (obviously) don’t like *Brown*.
- Some states privatize their public schools, so they don’t have to abide by it.
- Others have decentralized the school system, so that if you want to desegregate, you’d have to sue every single individual school.
- Eisenhower has other priorities than civil rights.
- Little Rock becomes a test case for how the desegregation will happen. It’s one of the more progressive Southern cities.
 - A federal court rules that Little Rock HS must admit 9 black students.
 - Gov. **Orville Faubus** dispatches the National Guard to prevent the black students from entering the school.
 - He gains instant popularity because of this.
 - Violence breaks out, a lot of people are afraid of what will happen to the students. A number of reporters are beat up, and people are afraid the students will be next.
 - Eisenhower sends in the 101st Airborne Division. He pulls out the National Guard and drops them in to restore order.
 - The 9 students are admitted, and they go to classes.
 - (Limited) success!
- Faubus closes the high school the next year.

11.5 No Easy Road to Freedom – 1957-62

11.5.1 Martin Luther King Jr.

- Middle-class background
- Lives in a good suburb of Atlanta
- Goes to college, graduate school, seminary school
- Leaves the South, and doesn't have a whole lot of interest in going back.
- He believes strongly in non-violence (a la Ghandi).
- He ends up back down in the South after college anyway. He's there to be a minister.

11.5.2 Montgomery Bus Boycott – Dec 1955

- **Rosa Parks** is a 42 year old seamstress. She's asked to give her seat up for a white passenger who just got on. She's tired and doesn't want to give up her seat, so the busdriver takes her down to the court square and has her arrested.
- A lot of the money for the Montgomery Bus system comes from black people.
- The NAACP organizes a bus boycott.
- Martin Luther King Jr. becomes the leader of the boycott.
- He is powerful and effective. For example, during this, his house is bombed (though everyone's OK). Black crowds descend on his house, carrying tire irons and the like, they're pissed off. Instead of inciting them, he tells them to put down their weapons, they you can't let white people make them hate them.
- After 382 days, the city gives in and the bus system was desegregated.

11.5.3 Southern Christian Leadership Conference

- King wants to maintain the momentum, so he founds the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference**. It's created specifically as a vehicle to push aggressive civil rights actions.
 - From the beginning, they embrace the non-violent approach.
 - However, they want to incite white violence. Why? Because the media shows up and they get publicity.
 - They're hoping to get the support of white moderates and liberals.
 - This more direct action will help civil rights progress faster.

11.6 The Movement at High Tide

11.6.1 JFK and the March on Washington

- **John F. Kennedy** has tried so far to avoid the civil rights issue. (We'll talk about him later.) He's trying to straddle the fence.
 - Finally, he gets on the “civil rights” side of the fence. (He's losing Southern white support, anyway.)
 - “Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Viet-Nam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops.”
 - He puts civil rights on the table, but he dies.

11.6.2 Lyndon Baines Johnson and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

- He's racist, but he's not a white supremacist.
- He was a school teacher before he was a politician. He's a people person.
- He pushes the civil rights legislation just as hard as Kennedy.
- “The only thing bigger than Johnson is his ego.”
- He thinks he can do anything better than Kennedy. He felt shown up by Kennedy.
- Uses the “Johnson treatment” to get votes – he's very physically threatening, vulgar, gross, etc. He knows how Congress works – the carrot and the stick.
- The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** outlaws discrimination:
 - Brings an end to **Jim Crow**
 - Ends public discrimination
 - Ends employment discrimination
 - Ends bias in federal-assisted programs
 - Authorizes the DoJ to desegregate schools
 - But it doesn't touch on voting.

11.6.3 Selma and the Voting Rights Act of 1965

- Johnson is landslide-re-elected – 61% in 1964
- The Democrats control both houses
- Decides to craft voting rights legislation
- Civil Rights movement stages a march on **Selma, Alabama**. They're attacked by the police. (“**Bloody Sunday**”)
- Johnson signs the **Voting Rights Act of 1965** in August
 - Federal supervisory of voter registration if <50% of voting age residents are registered
 - No more voting restrictions
 - Between 1964 and 1968, registration in Mississippi went from 7 to 59%.
 - Black voters (total): 1M → 3.1M

11.7 The Cold War Continues

Switching back to Eisenhower...

11.7.1 New Look in Foreign Affairs

- **New Look**
- Eisenhower is conservative. He wants to downsize the government. He wants to stabilize the military budget.
- His solution is “New Look” policy – spend more on strategic weapons (e.g. nukes), and less on conventional.
- He relies on the threat of massive retaliation.
- This works well – from 1954 to 1961, total federal spending rose by only \$800M.
- However, some people feel this is very inflexible. We couldn't do any sort of measured retaliation – it's all or nothing.
- Eisenhower also benefits from a decline in the Cold War.
 - **Joseph Stalin** dies in 1953, and **Nikita Khrushchev** takes over in 1956.
 - K. withdraws troops from Austria and starts rolling the military back.

- He reorients the Soviet economy towards consumer goods – stops nuclear testing, etc.
- He also visits the US in 1959, meets with Eisenhower. He wanted to visit Disneyland, but couldn't because of the security risk.
- Ike and K. meet in Paris in May 1960. Officially they're there to talk about German reunification, and nuclear disarmament.
 - Ike is planning a tour of the USSR.
 - People are starting to wonder: will they end the Cold War?
 - Ike likes to save money, he won WWII, and now he could help win the cold war.
 - Of course, it didn't end . . .
- May 1960: Soviets shoot down a U2 spyplane.
 - K. confronts Ike. Ike denies spying it.
 - K. traps him into saying that, and so the Soviets produce the U2 pilot: **Gary Powers**. So not only does he get Ike spying, he gets him lying.
 - Eisenhower refuses to apologize, and he refuses to halt the flights. K. really wants an apology, but Ike doesn't want to be seen as backing down. Ike doesn't trust the USSR, either. But he's not worried, because he knows that the US is better off missile-wise.

11.7.2 Covert Actions

- Eisenhower likes covert actions. They're cheap.
- He's supported by **Allen Dulles** (head of the CIA) and **John Foster Dulles** (head of the State dept.).
- We get involved in the 3rd world (Guatemala, Iran, etc.). This turns into the new battleground for the Cold War.

11.7.3 Intervening Around the World

- Iran, 1953
 - Prime Minister **Mohammed Mossedegh** pledged to nationalize foreign business holdings such as the British Anglo-Iran Oil Co.
 - He tries to negotiate with the British.
 - When the British refuse to negotiate, he seizes it. This is a hugely-popular move in Iran.

- The British respond with a blockade. The US and other European powers cooperate with the blockade.
- The CIA organizes a coup to replace Mossdegh with the Shah of Iran – **Riza Shah Pahlavi**. He had a position before, but not one of real power. The Shah becomes the new dictator.
- Once he's in power, he renegotiates the oil deals and gives US companies about 40% of the Iranian oil business.
- This is seen in the US as a big success.
- However, it creates long-term problems with the Iranian public opinion – they supported Mossedegh, and they weren't happy with him being overthrown by the US.
- The Shah falls from power in 78-79 via a revolution, there's a hostage situation – long story short, the Iranians really don't like us anymore.

- **CIA and Guatemala, 1954**

- **Jacobo Arbenz** was elected in 1950 on a pledge of land reform.
- 2% of the Guatemalan population owned 72% of the land. There are a lot of tenant farmers.
- He also encourages unionization.
- The **United Fruit Company** (a US company) is one of the biggest landowners. Arbenz wants to take away some of the unused land that they're holding and give it to the peasants. He offers to pay them what they've said it's worth (which of course is less than it actually is), and they get upset.
- The United Fruit Company begins a campaign to paint Arbenz as a Communist.
 - * He's leftist, but he's not a traditional Communist, nor is he connected with the Soviets.
 - * They hire US advertising agencies to conduct the campaign.
 - * They bring in journalists to Guatemala, put them up in nice hotels, take them to interview people, etc. but only show them one side of the story.
 - * They also lobby the Eisenhower administration.
- The CIA begins training a small army (a few hundred) in neighboring Honduras. We invade in 1954. Arbenz decides not to fight (it's very clear the US is behind the coup).
- Arbenz is replaced with **Castillo Armas**.
 - * Armas arrests thousands of political opponents and murders hundreds of these. The CIA provided him with lists of dissenters.

- * He outlaws unions.
- * He's assassinated in 1957.
- Decades of civil war follow.
- UFC is eventually forced to break up by the Justice Department in 1958, so they don't even benefit from this action. Its remaining holdings are sold to Del Monte in 1972.

11.7.4 **Ike's Warning: The Military-Industrial Complex**

- Ike was originally a military guy, before he gets his two-term presidency.
- In his farewell address in Jan. 1961, he warns us about the "military-industrial complex".
- "Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence – economic, political, even spiritual – is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government."
- Defense spending becomes caught up in our economy – it's very important in many people's lives. It affects people's livelihoods, so we need to be careful.

11.8 **John F. Kennedy**

11.8.1 **Election of 1960**

- Kennedy is pretty well-known already. He's a war hero, he's written (sort of) books.
- He gets the Democratic nomination for the presidency.
- Nixon becomes the Republican candidate for president.
- They conduct the first televised presidential debate. The people that watched on TV thought Kennedy won. Those who listened to it on radio thought Nixon won.

- Moral: How you present yourself – appearance, sound, etc. is important.
- Kennedy wins by 100K votes.

11.8.2 **Kennedy on the Cold War**

- Increases Cold War spending.
- “Liberals spend heavy on defense.”
- He expands covert operations.
- Our involvement in Vietnam and Laos starts to “spiral out of control”.

11.8.3 **The Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs**

- **Fidel Castro** leads a revolution in the 1950s
 - By 1959, he is victorious
 - He’s an interesting character: a revolutionary, leading a revolution against the evil Bautista regime. He’s good-looking (at the time).
 - He’s a hero in many countries, including the US.
 - He’s not all that popular with the administration (Eisenhower, CIA, etc.)
 - He’s not a Communist, yet ...it’s not clear what he is yet, but he has Communists in the group.
 - He’s talked about land redistribution. There are a lot of fears about what will happen in Cuba.
- **Bay of Pigs**
 - In Jan 1960, Castro begins taking away land (70K acres) from American sugar companies. (They refused to sell at any price.)
 - He starts with his dad’s land, then the evil corporations’, endearing himself to the public.
 - We try to undermine his revolution. We bomb some of the sugar refineries to try to create a crisis.
 - We go to the European nations and pressure them not to loan money to Cuba.
 - We begin training an army of 1.4K expatriates (trained by CIA). This was started under Eisenhower.
 - Kennedy signs off on the attempt.

- April 17, 1961 – they land at the Bay of Pigs
 - * All 1.4K are killed or captured, marched around in front of cameras, etc.
 - * Makes us look horrible, because we invaded Cuba.
 - * Makes Castro look good for fighting off the invasion.
- What was the CIA thinking?
 - * The CIA got its information from exiles who hated Castro. They believed the people would rise up and throw him out.
 - * However, Castro was a popular hero in Cuba.
- After the failed invasion, the CIA tries to assassinate Castro 8 different times, and fails.

11.8.4 The Cuban Missile Crisis

- Castro turns to the Soviets for assistance (he's already getting economic assistance from them, but now he gets military assistance).
- The Soviets help arm the Cubans as part of the package. This includes medium- and intermediate-range nuclear weapons (intermediate is longer-range than medium).
- Khrushchev is quick to exploit Cuba's request for help.
- In late Oct 1962, a U2 spyplane images these missiles. This creates an immediate problem in the US.
- Most of the US is now within range of Soviet missiles.
- Kennedy is faced with a difficult choice.
 - Strike immediately (the military's preferred option)
 - Ignore them (they can blow us up twice over, now they can blow us up three times over, so what?)
- Kennedy goes public with the information on Oct 22, 1962.
 - He goes on national TV, lays out the facts, etc. It becomes a political issue, and he now must do something about it.
 - He decides on a "military interdiction zone" (blockade) – the Navy is boarding ships headed towards Cuba to make sure that no more weapons, etc. are headed towards Cuba.
 - Soviet ships are already on the way, being shadowed by Soviet submarines. There is a looming conflict.

- Neither side will back down.
- On Oct. 27, Khrushchev “blinks” – sends a telegram to the US.
 - If the US pledges not to attack Cuba, the Soviets will withdraw their missiles.
 - Oh, by the way, the Soviets want the US to remove their missiles from Turkey. (This came in a second telegram.)
 - * We have some intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Turkey (Jupiter missiles).
 - * Well, we can’t do this . . . we can’t be seen as knuckling under.
 - The world gets ready to blow itself up again. We don’t want to be seen as backing down.
- We come up with a compromise.
 - Kennedy and his advisors agree to ignore the second telegram, but inform the Soviets through back channels that the missiles will soon be out of Turkey.
 - The missiles were supposed to be out of Turkey already, but the Turks were dragging their feet.
 - The US publically pledges not to invade Cuba. The Soviets start pulling the missiles out of Cuba, and the Jupiter missiles come out.
 - After the crisis, a hotline is put in place between the White House and the Kremlin (the “red phone”).
- What do we know now?
 - If we had attacked Cuba, they probably realistically wouldn’t have nuked us. But they might have seized West Berlin. (We only had 4.5K US troops there.) They certainly would have retaliated somehow.
 - There were in fact working missiles in Cuba. The US military had claimed they weren’t working, but apparently there were. There were also battle-field nukes (small nuclear weapons that could have taken out ships, etc.). Some ICBMs may have been ready to go, but it’s not entirely clear.
 - Even today, Castro says he would have used them if he’d had the choice.

11.8.5 Assassination

- 22 November 1963 – Kennedy shot and killed in Dallas, TX.
- He’s campaigning for reelection at the time.

- Lots of Americans are watching him on TV when this happens. He's an instant martyr.
- The investigation is the **Warren commission**, led by **Earl Warren** (the Supreme Court justice that decided on **Brown v. Board of Education**).
- They conclude that **Lee Harvey Oswald** was working alone. He put 3 shots out in 8 seconds and had killed him.
- We don't really know what happened. There were 3 bullets, as far as we know, all accounted for.
- The evidence is inconclusive, however. There are a number of possible explanations, and nobody's sure what's true and what isn't.
- Most of the documents about the assassination are top-secret (and will be for another 20 years).
- Lee Harvey Oswald is assassinated right afterwards by someone connected with the Mafia.
- Why did Oswald do this? He's an ex-Marine (Marine intelligence) – probably has informal connections with CIA. He's a Communist, married a Soviet woman (how'd that happen?).

12 The 1960s and Vietnam

America's Longest War

12.1 Vietnam

12.1.1 US Involvement in Indochina

- We get involved in Vietnam because of containment – trying to contain Communism.
- During WWII
 - We support **Ho Chi Minh** – we help him get into the country, we equip his army, etc. He's a Communist.
 - The Japanese had taken control of Indochina in WWII. We want someone in Vietnam to fight against the Japanese so they stay there and don't cause trouble elsewhere.
 - HCM declares independence.

- The French, however, want their colony back.
- The Civil War begins between HCM and the returning French forces. The French tell us they need their colonies to be strong economically. We're OK with that (and besides, HCM is a Commie). We pay for about 75% of the French war effort. Incidentally, HCM is now getting support from the Communist block.
- The French try to regain control. But they're defeated at **Dien Bien Phu** in March 1954.
- At the Geneva peace conference, the country is split in half.
 - The South is given to **Diem**.
 - We also promise to hold elections in 1956. The country will be reunited under whoever wins the election.
 - The problem is that HCM would probably win. We couldn't allow that, that would be giving the country over to the Communists.
- In 1959, a civil war breaks out in South Vietnam. It's not started by HCM. It's started by the South Vietnamese communists. Diem isn't very popular in the South (he's Catholic, most of them are Buddhist).
- HCM starts sending assistance down to help the **Vietcong** in the South.
- We start supplying Diem.
- Unlike our other covert operations, this one is not successful. North is winning.

12.1.2 Johnson's War

- Johnson is faced with a choice: either cede Vietnam to the Communists, or commit further.
- He doesn't want to get involved in Vietnam. He wants to pass legislation to help people. But if he were to lose in Vietnam, the Republicans would beat him up bigtime.
- He decides to intervene.
- Aug 1964 – there's an attack on two US destroyers in the **Gulf of Tonkin**.
 - We have US ships in international waters off the coast of North Vietnam. We're also helping the South Vietnamese attack North Vietnam. The destroyers are providing support (signals, radar, etc.).
 - Aug 2 – the *Maddox* is attacked, but not really injured

- Aug 4 – it (supposedly) comes under attack again. This is probably a fabrication.
- The public is told that two destroyers are under attack by the North Vietnamese.
- This is used as a pretext to get Congress to pass the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**. It authorizes the president to “take all necessary means” to defend US armed forces and protect Southeast Asia against “aggression of subversion”.

12.1.3 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- It authorizes the president to “take all necessary means” to defend US armed forces and protect Southeast Asia against “aggression of subversion”.
- It was written six weeks before the *Maddox* attack.
- The incident was intended to drag the country into war.

12.1.4 Deeper into the Quagmire

- Johnson plans to use airpower. He doesn’t want to get committed on the ground and possibly jeopardize American lives. Hopefully he could just use airpower to support the South Vietnamese and let them do the rest on the ground.
- Feb 1965 attack on Pleiku marine barracks are used to justify operation **Rolling Thunder**
 - He’s hoping to bring the North to negotiations.
 - We gradually escalate the bombing campaign.
 - This doesn’t work very well. It gives them time to get used to the bombing, set up defenses, relocate things, etc.
- The VC likes to target airbases. So we send more and more troops to defend the airbases. There’s no real discussion about it, it’s gradual escalation.
- The escalation continues until there are 500K troops in Vietnam.
- Our long-term goal is to wear down the North Vietnamese. (They become fixated on the body count . . . how many VC have we killed?)
- But who’s going to wear down first, us or them? We’re fighting for containment, and they’re fighting for freedom and the right to self-determination. The Vietnamese people thought this was a war for independence. Also, this isn’t new to Vietnam. Everybody else has already tried to invade their country.

- Both the North and South will be devastated by the bombardment. There's massive collateral damage from the bombing.
- There is a lot of chemical weaponry used.
 - Agent Orange – defoliant. Kills all the plants (so we can see troop movements from the air)
 - We spray rice crops to create famines

12.1.5 Vietnam Cultural Notes

- Keep in mind, Vietnam is primarily a Buddhist country. Americans have very little experience with this.
- The media is very open about showing the consequences of the war (the body bags, etc.)
- Some Vietnamese Buddhist monks burn themselves in protest to the Diem government (who was cracking down on Buddhist temples, supposedly harboring Communists, etc.). This is a very political act. (Incidentally, some Americans burn themselves in front of the White House.)

12.1.6 The Credibility Gap

- The war is popular at first, but as people see more and more of the consequences, they turn against it.
- Note: The press can set the national agenda. It has a big effect on attitudes.
- They start to openly question the administration by 1967. They start talking about a “**Credibility Gap**”.
- Why are we there? Are we winning?
- Even by late 1967, a lot of Americans still support the war (roughly 50-50).
- The gap gets worse as the war goes on. (In some ways it's a credibility gap.)

12.2 A Generation in Conflict

12.2.1 The Times They Are A-Changing

- The Bay Area shows the first signs that the nation has left the 1950s era of conformity.

- Young people start to become much more politicized in the 1960s.
- The **Free Speech Movement**
 - Starts at UC Berkeley – idealistic students
 - A lot of students spend the summer of 1964 trying to register rural black voters in Mississippi
 - They get back and find prejudice and racism in the bay area.
 - So they decide to keep the civil rights campaign going.
 - They start to organize boycotts. They setup booths on Telegraph Ave (a traditional free-speech area) and hand out material to encourage boycotts of businesses.
 - Businesses don't like this, so they pressure the University.
 - University tries to prohibit political activities on campus. But there's a very strong counter-reaction.
 - The University tries to suspend students, but more and more start protesting and the movement keeps growing.
 - The civil rights groups send representatives up to support the Berkeley students.
 - This is becoming symbolic of a wider struggle in the bay area.
 - “There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all!” – from a speech given at UC Berkeley at the beginning of the movement.
 - They occupy the administration building (“Sprowl Hall” (?))
 - The University faculty intervene and decide to come down on the side of the students. (They have a lot of influence over how the UC system works.)
 - As a result, students are given the right of free speech on campus.
- This changes the way universities work. It used to be that universities were like your parents when you went to college (curfews, no coed dorms, etc.). Increasingly, they move away from this.
- This started a trend all over the world – there are a lot of protests all over the world (it's not clear whether these are just anti-war, anti-Vietnam, or what).
- The hippie/counter-culture also appears

- Best-known center: Haight-Ashbury in SF
- At the time there's a lot more optimism about alternative lifestyles than there is now.
- 1967 – “Summer of Love” – Tens of thousands of people from all over converging on SF. Show support for peace on earth, etc.
- Many cities have hippie communities.
- Premarital sex became more common and accepted. People are allowed to live together before they get married. There's more sex ed in high school education.
- Drug use also became more widespread.

12.2.2 From Campus Protest to Mass Mobilization

- After the start of Rolling Thunder in 1965, students start turning against the war.
 - They don't want to get drafted.
 - They got most of what they wanted as far as civil rights are concerned, so now they need a new cause – oh look! war!
 - They hold “teach-in”s – extra “classes” that are discussions talking about Vietnam, etc.
 - They question the role of the University in the war. Universities are getting lots of DoD money for war research.
 - They light draft offices on fire to hopefully prevent people from being drafted.
 - Some even light themselves on fire.
 - By 1969-70, the US is pretty radicalized. We even have a domestic terrorism campaign. \$21M damage, 43 dead

12.2.3 Teenage Soldiers

- Avg. age during WWII was 25ish. During Vietnam, it was 19.
- Soldiers fight the whole time they're in Vietnam.
- A lot of the anger at the war gets directed at the draft.
- Draft favors poor/minorities, because of the deferment system. If you can afford to go to college, you can get out of war. Deferments are ended in 1969.
- The army starts to reflect a lot of what's going on in society. Soldiers are protesting the war.

12.3 War on Poverty

12.3.1 The Great Society

- Johnson is a domestic-policy president who likes to do things for people.
- As president, he pushes a lot of legislative/bureaucratic changes to help Americans.
- We're the richest country in the world, we ought to be able to fix our problems at home.
- **Office of Economic Opportunity** ("OEO") – Runs some of the great society programs
 - Job Corp – A trade school; vocational training
 - VISTA – Volunteers in Service to America. A domestic Peace Corps for college graduates. Do projects in parts of America where there are poverty problems.
 - Community Action Program ("CAP") – There are some bad areas in cities. Let the community decide what they need. They write their own grant proposals to get federal money through the CAP program to do what they wanted. Also helps to get people involved in fixing their own problems.
 - Medicare/Medicaid are also part of the OEO.
- But these programs didn't do much to alter the nation's social structure. There really isn't much wealth redistribution.
- Most of the funding goes to Medicare/Medicaid, which is the elderly middle class.
- All the money in the 1960s is going to Vietnam.

12.4 1968

12.4.1 The Tet Offensive

- Jan 30, 1968
- Tet is the Chinese new year. It's an unofficial truce day.
- The VC decides to launch a massive offensive across South Vietnam.
- Most of the attacks are in urban areas. Up to now, they were mostly in rural areas.

- This ensures huge publicity.
- We're not ready, it's a huge surprise, there are heavy casualties. They temporarily take over some cities.
- Ultimately, we defeat them militarily. But it's still a diplomatic victory for the VC.
- Johnson up to this point was talking about how we're close to winning the war, etc. A lot of middle of the road Americans start to question the government's credibility.
- As a result, Johnson decides not to run again, despite all the domestic stuff he's done.
- Newspapers across the nation claim we need a lot more troops for Vietnam. People (including Congress) aren't happy about that. The military has no idea how many more troops they'll need.

12.5 The Nixon Presidency

12.5.1 The Southern Strategy

- Nixon begins to reshape American politics.
- He starts trying to get the South democratic vote. He starts realigning the Republicans and succeeds in picking up the South vote.
- Nixon's trying to appeal to the “**silent majority**” – the centrist Americans who are getting tired of liberal reforms. These people are discontent with the riots, protests, etc. He tries to bring them into the fold too.

12.5.2 Nixon's War

- He gets responsibility for the Vietnam war.
- He gives a campaign promise to win the war honorably and quickly.
- We lose, and we pull out slowly.
- **Henry A. Kissinger** is responsible for Nixon's war policy. He has a simple explanation for Vietnam: our prestige is on the line, we can't cut and run. We need the credibility, and if we cut out of Vietnam, we lose credibility.
- But the war is unpopular. What are we going to do?
- The solution: “Give us six months”

12.5.3 Vietnamization

- Nixon's solution: turn the war over to the Vietnamese to fight. Give the South Vietnamese what they need to fight themselves: weapons, training, etc.
- Politically, it works. Militarily, it doesn't. We already tried to do this, but it didn't work then and won't work now. Nixon knows this.
- He also wants to increase pressure on the North to settle, so he steps up the bombing. (Except everything that can be bombed, has, except for a few things.)
- We expand the war to Cambodia/Laos in April 1970. (We'd been bombing there for a year already.) We actually invade Cambodia, going after the Vietnamese rebels that would step across the border in South Vietnam.
- It gets out that we have troops in Cambodia, which sets off the biggest war protests yet. (4 students were shot and killed by national guardsmen in Kent State)
- Nixon's a little bit crazy . . . the "Mad Bomber". You never know what Nixon might do, so you better come to some sort of agreement.
- He's forced by public pressure to withdraw from Cambodia, but he then encourages S. Vietnam to invade Laos. (They get their butts kicked.)
- In 1972, Kissinger enters into secret peace negotiations with N. Vietnamese. They give us back our POWs, and we pull out. The South refuses to sign at first, but they're ultimately forced into it. We sign and pull out, but we keep supporting them economically and with supplies.
- "I'm not going to be the first President to lose a war." – LBJ 1974, Nixon 1972
- The south crumbles in April 1975 and Vietnam becomes Communist.
- We lost 58K lives and \$150B.

12.5.4 The China Card

- Nixon is very successful with his China foreign policy.
 - We want China in our metaphorical poker hand. But we currently have no relations with them whatsoever.
 - Nixon decides to start trading with them, open diplomacy with them. This puts pressure on the USSR.
 - This is perfect for Nixon, because he's a staunch anti-Communist, so he can't be accused of being one.
- Also tries to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, but that doesn't work.

12.6 Watergate

12.6.1 Foreign Policy as a Conspiracy

- In Nixon's foreign policy, he pursues covert actions.
- He tries to bring some of these methods back to the US in domestic politics.

12.6.2 The Age of Dirty Tricks

- Nixon gets a team of insiders to help him with his reelection – **The Plumbers**. They work for an organization: the CRP (“Committee to Reelect the President”).
- The Plumbers fix leaks. ;)
 - They withhold information from the public.
 - They discredit opponents through wiretaps, breakins to psychiatrists
 - Then they start laundering illegal campaign contributions through Mexico.
 - It's run by former CIA agent **E. Howard Hunt** and former FBI agent **G. Gordon Liddy**.
 - Example: They go after **Daniel Ellsberg**
- Plumber successes:
 - They accused **George McGovern** of supporting “abortion, acid and amnesty [for draft dodgers]”. McGovern is the Democrat that runs against Nixon in 1972.
 - They also discredit his running-mate by revealing he had undergone shock treatment for depression.
 - They get enormous amounts of money for **CRP** (a.k.a. “**CREEP**”) for Nixon's reelection.
 - They go into the Watergate building in Washington DC, where the Democrats have their national headquarters. They put in wiretaps to listen in on the Democrats' strategic conversations. They find out some of the wiretaps aren't working very well, so they break in again (and that's when they get caught).
- 17 June 1972 – five “burglars” are caught in the Watergate building
 - Most of the mare ex-CIA/FBI. Most of them also have Cuban connections.
 - One (**James McCord**) is an employee of CRP and the Republican National Committee.

- * He also has E. Howard Hunt's whitehouse phone number in his papers.
- They're carrying \$100 bills that were issued to CRP. Several hundred on them, several thousand back in their hotel room.
- They're all brought up on charges, including Hunt and Liddy.
- Nixon starts to put pressure on the CIA/FBI to stop following the connections (money, etc) back to the whitehouse.
 - The FBI is pretty cooperative.
 - Woodward and Bernstein – reporters for the Washington Post – keep the public eye on the issue. (The WP has an axe to grind with Nixon) They get the news from **Deep Throat** – someone in the FBI who was worried that Nixon was influencing the FBI.
 - Judge **John Sirica** (“Maximum John”) hands down 30-year sentences for those who were caught, but offers to reduce the sentence if they give up more information.
 - * They ultimately do talk
 - * They implicate the CRP in the break-in. (But it's still the president's word against theirs.)
- The Senate begins conducting its own investigation
 - Nixon aide **John Dean** – is brought before the Senate. He's afraid that Nixon will turn him into a scapegoat. So he decides to tell the Senate everything and points the finger at Nixon.
 - But it's still Dean's word against Nixon's word.
 - **Alexander Butterfield** accidentally let slip the fact that there's a taping system in the white house.
 - The Senate decides to get Nixon to give up the tapes.
 - The Supreme Court finally rules that he has to do so (June 1974), and he does turn the tapes over.
 - It's very obvious from the tapes that Nixon was intimately involved in the coverup. He orchestrated the coverup, although there's no evidence that he ordered the breakin. But there were 18min missing from the tapes (it was obvious he had deleted the section).
- They now have enough to impeach Nixon.
- Rather than be impeached, he resigns. It's already clear they have enough evidence.

12.6.3 A Summing Up

- Nixon had both liberal and conservative tendencies.
 - He’s actually quite consistent, though. He’s consistently middle-of-the-road. He’s trying to prevent the extremities on both the left and the right, and uses underhanded tactics to discredit them.
 - Nixon is all about control (for instance, he created the EPA, because otherwise the liberals would do it, and if he creates it, he controls it).
 - He violates all these rules, because he feels he’s doing the right thing for the right reasons. (“The ends justify the means”?) He believed that history would find in his favor.
- No subsequent scandal has been nearly as far-reaching or as dramatic as Watergate.

13 The Overextended Society

– America from Carter to the Cold War’s End

13.1 The New Conservatism

13.1.1 A Troubled Economy

- **Stagflation** – early 1970s to early 1980s
 - Slow or no growth, with high inflation.
 - What is the solution to slow growth? The traditional solution is to spend more. (**Keynesian Economics**) That doesn’t work here because inflation will go up even more than it already is.
 - Nobody’s quite sure what to do about it.
 - Causes:
 - * 1973 – the Arabs start boycotting the shipment of oil to the US. (At this point we import about 1/3rd of our oil, so we’re dependent on foreign oil.)
We support the Israelis in the Yom Kippur War, and the Arabs cut off oil in retaliation. They go from \$0.40 to \$0.75 per gallon almost overnight.
 - * Our industrial competitiveness starts declining as a result. Energy costs go up, which tends to affect the price of everything else. Japan and other countries start to take over some of our market.

- * We're spending way too much on Vietnam.
- This is a big reason for political change as well – people aren't happy economically.

13.1.2 The New Right

- The “**New Right**” isn't any one group – it's a bunch of different groups (many of which are still around today).
- They're angry over the “excesses” of the civil rights movement. They don't like school bussing, the Black Panthers, etc. People who feel civil rights have gone far enough/too far. Imagine how many centrist Americans are pissed off by the anti-war protesters, etc. They turn into the new right.
- A big part of the New Right are the religious fundamentalists. They're vocal and energetic.
- Think of people like **Jerry Falwell**, who formed the **Moral Majority** lobbying group. They're against things like porn, gay marriage, etc. They want more defense spending, less welfare spending, etc.
- Also, **Pat Robertson** and **Jim Baker** (who ends up wrapped-up in scandal)
- By the 70s, they're playing an important role in politics.

13.1.3 Anti-ERA and Anti-Abortion

- “Preservation of family values” is one of New Right's greatest goals.
- Prayer in schools
- Reinstatement of the death penalty
- End women's liberation
 - The ERA is a Constitutional amendment that has been discussed since the 1920s.
 - In 1972, Congress says OK, so it goes to the states.
 - The amendment: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”
 - Some New Right groups make an issue of this.
 - **Phyllis Schlafly** is the figurehead for that movement. She wants to stop the ERA.

- * ERA is “a bunch of bitter women seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems.”
- * ERA would deprive women of their true rights “such as the right of a wife to be supported by her husband.”
- They focus on campaigning in the more conservative states.
- The amendment dies in 1982.
- End abortion rights

13.1.4 “The Me Decade”

- What happened to the counter-culture and political activism?
- A lot of people back down from their ideology and become less politicized. They become more focused on themselves.
- The 60s/70s were seen as narcissistic, selfish, personal.
- **Norman Mailer:** “The 70s was the decade in which people put emphasis on the skin, . . .”
- Think of John Travolta – “Saturday Night Fever”
- Think Jimi Hendrix (60s) on stage lighting his guitar on fire. (“The hell with this”) vs David Bowie in glitter in the 70s.
- Stereotype of the 70s – people get high. People spend their industrial classes making pipe fixtures into bongs.

13.1.5 “This Ain’t No Foolin Around”

- The liberal left was always a small, disorganized minority. The 60s were the exception – they had Vietnam and other such big issues to unify them. Civil rights are still an issue, but people can’t always agree on which path to follow.
- The economic uncertainty of stagflation made the future uncertain, and many people were less willing to engage in “lost causes”. People wanted to keep focused on making sure they could provide for themselves.
- People in the 1970s are more jaded, realistic.
- The 1970s popular culture tended to be more jaded.
 - There’s no more utopian naivete like in the 60s.
 - Personal art is “no longer just a matter of running away from mommy”.

- Bob Dylan (most of his good music was from the 70s, not the 60s) – talks about a boxer (Hurricane Carter) that got thrown in prison because of racist cops. Dylan championed the cause of outlaws.
- Irony is also rather prevalent.

13.2 Adjusting to a New World

Carter gets a lot of the blame for the bad economy, but it wasn't really his fault. He also gets blamed for a lot of the foreign crises, even though they weren't his fault either.

13.2.1 The Iran Hostage Crisis

- We currently have a very bad relationship with Iran. This is an ongoing problem, and this is one of the reasons why.
- There's a revolution in Iran in 1979. They don't like us. They don't like our support of the Shah and our messing with their politics.
- Nov 4, 1979 – Iranian Fundamentalists storm the US embassy in Tehran.
- The Shah flees Iran. He's a person on the home (although he has something like \$20bn stashed in various bank accounts.)
- In 1979 he comes to the US for cancer treatment. When he enters the US, that's when they storm the embassy. They take the embassy personnel and hold them hostage. (They have 52 hostages.)
- Carter is left with few choices:
 - Military action
 - Negotiate. They offer to trade the hostages for the Shah, an apology, and a promise never to interfere again. The US is not happy with their request.
 - We choose the military option – **Operation Eagle Claw**. It fails, and it makes a repeat operation difficult. It's also a huge publicity defeat. They send in **Delta Force** commandos.
 - * They plan to fly in, stop at Desert One. It's pretty apparent they'll have to turn around. The helicopters have issues, the pilots don't know how to fly them, etc.
 - * Two helicopters crash into each other attempting to take off from Desert One to return to the carriers. We leave the wreckage and the Iranians find it.

* The US Army is now seen as incompetent and incapable.

- Hostages are released on Jan 20, 1981 (after 444 days). This is Reagan's inauguration day. (There are a lot of conspiracy theories around why they were released.)
- The crisis is blamed for Carter's defeat in the election.
- It sours the US-Iranian relations to this day. Many people are very angry at Iran.

13.3 The Reagan Revolution

13.3.1 Reaganomics

- Reagan breaks with Keynesian ideas and switches to a supply-side approach.
- He reduces both taxes and government spending.
- The idea is to create more wealthy people, who will start carrying out more economic activities and it's a trickle-down effect. (See George Gilder's "Wealth and Poverty" (1981))
- It starts out according to plan. He cuts taxes by \$747B over 5 years. He cuts capital gains and the highest-bracket income taxes. He cuts spending by \$136B over 2 years (cuts come from welfare, housing, etc.).
- Then it becomes Reaganomics (instead of supply-side).
 - He begins a massive military buildup.
 - The budget deficit takes off. Net government spending increases dramatically.
- Does it work? Conservatives say yes (because the economy does start to recover). Critics say no – it's just Keynesian economics, and the problem was solved by some banking changes made by Carter.

13.3.2 The Evil Empire

- Confronting the Soviet Union becomes a huge part of the Reagan presidency.
- He describes them as "an evil empire . . . the focus of evil in the modern world."
- He resisted disarmament and increases nuclear and conventional arms.
- He starts a lot of new military programs:

- Star Wars – SDI
- MX and Pershing missiles
- B1 bomber
- This is quite popular with Americans. He restores people’s faith in America.

13.3.3 Reagan Doctrine and Central America

- The **Reagan Doctrine** restated the **Truman Doctrine**. The US will intervene anywhere to fight Communism.
- Central America is the new focus of his efforts.
- 1983 – we invade the island country of **Grenada**.
- But **El Salvador** is our biggest problem. We’re supporting the right-wing dictatorship that’s in place there, and the Communists are supporting the leftist rebels. The Communists are getting support from Nicaragua, who is getting support from Cuba and the USSR.
- The **Sandinistas** in Nicaragua are “an unusual and extraordinary threat to national security”.
- We begin arming Nicaraguan exiles and training them: the **Contras**. They’re primarily based on Honduras.
 - They carry out a terrorist campaign in Nicaragua. They’re not a big enough force to fight directly.
 - But it’s not working fast enough . . .
- In 1984, the CIA begins secretly dropping mines in Nicaraguan harbors to prevent the Soviets from going in. (It sinks a Soviet ship, and we get in trouble with the World Court, but we continue.)
 - US domestic opinion starts to turn against Reagan.
 - There is a lot of bad publicity in the US about this.
 - Congress (controlled by Democrats) decides to make an issue of this. In 1984, they pass the **Boland Amendment** forbidding government agencies from supporting “directly or indirectly military or paramilitary operations” in Central America.
- Many of our actions in Central America, in hindsight, appear to be a waste of time and lives . . . the Cold War is about to end . . .

13.3.4 Glasnost and Arms Control

- 1985 – **Mikhail Gorbachev** assumes power in the USSR.
 - He’s disenchanted with the old Communist philosophy.
 - He wants arms control treaties with the US.
 - Gorbachev and Reagan meet each other and start talking.
- The US is reluctant to sign arms control treaties
 - We sign the INF treaty in 1987 – the intermediate range
 - **Dick Cheney**, the Secretary of Defense, calls it a “dangerous trap”.
 - Reagan does not want to give up the SDI.
- The Soviets begin cutting back on military/imperialism anyway.
 - Withdraws from Afghanistan
 - Cuts back on internal party power

13.3.5 The Iran-Contra Scandal

- Reagan also wanted to be tough against terrorism in the middle-east.
- Lebanon has 8 US hostages. They’re getting some funding from Iran.
- A war between Iran and Iraq is too tempting to avoid.
 - The US plays both sides.
 - We overtly support Iraq (satellite data, \$5bn, etc.)
 - We support the Iranians covertly. We agree to supply weapons, spare parts if the hostages in Lebanon are released.
 - The Iranians are willing to pay lots of money for these weapons because they can’t get them anywhere else. (Everybody agreed not to sell Iran weapons after the last hostage crisis.)
 - We get one hostage released, and they take two more.
 - The money from the sale goes to the Contras in Central America (sidestepping the Boland Amendment).
- The story goes public in 1987. It becomes a big scandal for Reagan.
- **Oliver North** takes the fall for the Iran-Contra Scandal. (He supposedly runs the operation.) He says he’s doing it for patriotism.

- Congress investigates, pins the blame on North and Poindexter. Reagan appears to be ignorant, confused and removed from the situation, but not at fault. But the special prosecutor, **George Walsh**, says he believes Reagan knew, but he couldn't prove it.
- The full story is unknown.
- George Bush Sr (who is also heavily implicated) pardons all the key players in 1992 after he lost re-election.

13.4 New World Order

13.4.1 Collapse of Communism

- 1989 is a big year
- It almost collapses in China – **Tiananmen Square**.
 - Bush Sr. used to be the ambassador to China before he was director of the CIA. He promotes engagement.

13.4.2 China

- April 1989 – Students begin protesting in Tiananmen Square (in Beijing). They want the end of Communism.
- Gorbachev is scheduled to visit in May.
- They're "protesting" in favor of Gorbachev.
- **Deng Xiaoping** bans protests.
- More and more come, over 1M are demonstrating.
- Jun 3 – Deng orders the Army to halt the protests. Many people were killed (we don't really know, there's no free press there). The world is outraged.
- Communism isn't over, and the US does little to help.

13.4.3 Central America

- Bush continues Reagan's support of the Contras
- Other Central American leaders devise a peace plan.

- They decide to hold an election in Nicaragua. If they want to be Communists, let 'em.
- We refuse to cooperate, but they hold them anyway. The Contras continue the attacks right up until election day.
- The UN observes the elections.
- The result: Communism falls in Nicaragua. The communist leader peacefully steps down and allows the opposition leader to take power.

13.4.4 Soviet Union

- Gorbachev continues to reform the Soviet Union.
- He also allows East Europe to do their own reforms.
 - Hungary opens borders
 - Poland opens elections
 - There are riots all over
- Gorbachev visits France. People wonder what he's going to do about these riots, etc. He responds saying that it's "their affair". The Soviet Union won't intervene anymore in Eastern Europe.
- Summer of 1989 – communism falls all over East Europe
 - Poland first – though the US doesn't offer much assistance
 - East Germany – the Berlin wall comes down, Germany reunites
 - November 1990 – Bush announces that the Cold War is over. Gorbachev had been saying this for over a year...

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